

# AEMI

JOURNAL



Volume 6/7 • 2008 • 2009

Association of European Migration Institutions

AEMII  
JOURNAL



Volume 6 • 2008

*Special Issue on*

From Immigration to Integration:  
Documentation and Research in Europe

*Editor*

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions  
[www.aemi.dk](http://www.aemi.dk)

# AEMI Journal

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The Association of European Migration Institutions - AEMI, founded in 1991, is a network of organisations in Europe concerned with the documentation, research and presentation of European migration.

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Published in September 2009

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ISSN 1729-3561

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Printed in Norway by Omega Trykk, Stavanger

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# From the Editor

I am happy finally to present another volume of the AEMI Journal. It should have been out for our annual meeting in Genoa, Italy, last year, but due to some sudden health problems, the publication was delayed. That is why this edition, as the last one, is a double volume presenting the most important papers from the 2007 meeting in Turku, but also a few from last year's meeting in Genoa, Italy.

It is a fact that I have not been successful in communicating to the host institutions of the annual conference, nor to the speakers, the importance of providing me with the papers presented at the meeting. I will therefore use this opportunity to remind you all that our policy still is to publish papers from all our meetings. To be able to do so, I strongly encourage future contributors to e-mail their papers to me directly, in due time, meaning no later than 31 December. My e-mail address is [hans@emigrationcenter.com](mailto:hans@emigrationcenter.com).

It is also my experience that our Journal has become an important tool not only for documentation and dissemination of international migration research, but also to communicate to our national authorities and over-national organisations like EU, the Council of Europe, UNESCO and International Organisation of Migration (IOM), our mission of bridging research institutions, libraries, universities and museums worldwide dedicated to past, present and future migration. In this respect I believe a closer cooperation between AEMI and the International Network of Migration Institutions, would be very beneficial.

The complexity of immigration and integration in various countries in Europe - and Japan - is the main theme of this volume. But the Journal also focuses on digitization of archival material and celebrates the fact that the Council of Europe Cultural Routes finally recognised AEMI and migration heritage as a new European Cultural Route. It makes us also remember that intercultural education was highlighted during 2008 - the Year of Intercultural Dialogue in Europe.

Hans Storhaug,  
*Editor*

# Protocol of the Annual Meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions

*26 - 29 September, 2007  
Turku, Finland*



*Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions met for their annual meeting in Turku, Finland. Here they are gathered on the top of the roof of the host organization - the Finnish Migration Institute in Turku, Finland. Foto: H. Storhaug*

## **Thursday 26.09.07**

Conference members assembled at 9.00 a.m. in the conference room of the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland and were welcomed by the Director of the Institute, Professor Olavi Koivukangas. On behalf of the Association, the Chair-

man, Dr Brian Lambkin, thanked Professor Koivukangas and his colleagues for their kind welcome. He reminded members that the Association had previously met in Turku in 1993 and that Olavi, who had played a key role in the foundation of the Association, had ex-

pressed the wish that his Institute might host a further Annual Meeting before he retired. Comparing briefly the situation of this year's meeting on terra firma with that of the previous year on board the Adriatic Paradise in the harbor of Trogir, Croatia, the Chairman drew attention to the appropriateness of the Finnish Institute's dockside location, opposite an old rope works.

Professor Koivukangas then introduced the theme of this year's conference, 'From Immigration to Integration: Documentation and Research' and invited the keynote speaker, Minister for Europe and Immigration, Astrid Thors, to address the meeting. Ms Thors extended greetings of the Finnish government and proceeded to give an overview of current policy on immigration and the historical background to it.

The programme for the rest of the day and for the rest of the meeting was as follows:

Session 1: 10.30 - 12.00

*Documentation: Archives and Libraries*

Chair: Professor Olavi Koivukangas, Institute of Migration, Finland.

'Last Chance to Rescue Our History: Identifying, Acquiring and Preparing Basque Migration and Exile Archives for Public Domain Use', Assistant Benan Oregi and Assistant Joseba Arregui, the Basque Government for Relations with Basque Diaspora, Spain.

'Information Services of the Institute of Migration', Information service manager Jouni Korkiasaari, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland .

*Discussion*

Session 2: 13.15 - 15.00

*Documentation: Emigrant Registers*

Chair: Dr Director Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies at The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland.

'The Emigrant Register and Its Services', Genealogist Elisabeth Uschanov, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

'Finnish overseas emigration through Denmark', Director Henning V. Bender, The Danish Emigration Archives, Denmark.

*Discussion*

Afternoon

The General Assembly of AEMI. The minutes of the meeting are given below.

'Emigration in Port Bulletins from 1904 and 1963, Silvia Martini, International Study Centre on Italian Emigration, CISEI, Genoa, Italy.

Reception of the City of Turku at the City Hall.

**Friday 28.9.2007**

Session 3: 9.30 - 12. 30

*Documentation: Emigrant museums.*

Chair: Director Knut Djupedal, The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Norway.

'Recent Developments of Migration Museums and Future Directions', Coordinator Carine Rouah, International Network of Migration Museums, UNESCO, Paris, France.

'San Marino Memory Archive', Director Mrs. Noemi Ugolini and Assistant Mrs. Chiara Cardogna, Permanent Study Centre on Emigration - Museum of the Emigrant, San Marino.

'The Finnish Emigrant Museum',

Project Manager Tellervo Lahti, Finnish Emigrant Museum, Seinäjoki, Finland.

‘BallinStadt – The New Emigration Museum in Hamburg’, Mrs. Ursula Wöst, BallinStadt Hamburg Emigration Museum, Germany.

‘Latvians in the World: A Planned Latvian Emigration Museum and Research Center’, Director Maija Hinkle, Oral History Program at the American Latvian Association, USA.

‘The Norwegian Emigrant Museum’, Director Knut Djupedal, The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Norway.

*Discussion*

Session 4: 14.15 - 16.15

*Research: From immigration to integration*

Chair Professor, Director Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, CEMRI -Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, University of Aberta, Portugal.

‘Immigration in Europe: Good or Bad?’, Professor, Director Olavi Koivukangas, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

‘Integration Policies for Immigrants in Portugal’, Professor, Director Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, CEMRI - Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, University of Aberta, Portugal.

‘The Immigration and Integration of British Migrants to Ireland, 1607-2007’, Dr. Patrick Fitzgerald, Centre for Migration Studies at The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland.

‘The Immigration and Integration of Scottish Migrants to Ireland and the United States: the Case of the Mellon Family of Castletown, County Tyrone

and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania’, Dr., Director Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies at The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland.

Session 5: 16.30 - 18.00

*Research: From immigration to integration cont.*

‘How the New EU Member States (CEECs) Cope with Immigration: Lessons for Croatia’, Sociologist-Ph.D. Candidate Snježana Gregurovic, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia.

‘The Study of Ethnic Entrepreneurship from a Perspective of Gender: An Analysis of the Motivations, Barriers and Impact on Immigrant Empowerment’, Ph.D. Student María Villares Varela, Faculty of Sociology, University of Coruña, Spain.

‘Emigration of Finns in the Twenty-First Century to Germany and to the United States and Finnish Emigrants as a Resource of Finland’, Researcher Sirkku Wilkman, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

Conference dinner, Restaurant Svarte Rudolf.

**Saturday 29.9.2007**

Session 6: 9.30 - 12.00

*Research: From immigration to integration cont.*

Chair Director Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigrant Center.

‘Integration of Immigrants into the Finnish Labour Markets’, Docent, Research Director Elli Heikkilä and Researcher Maria Pikkarainen, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

‘Gendered Migration: The Case of

Finnish Expatriate Women in California', Lecturer Tiina Haapakoski, University of Toronto, Canada.

'Socio-labour Insertion of Immigrant Women in Spain', Professor Raquel Martinez and Researcher Montserrat Golias, Faculty of Sociology, University of Coruña, Spain.

'From Immigration to Integration: the Case of Japan', Researcher Kristin Björklund, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

#### *Discussion*

#### Visiting Turku Castle

Session 7: 15.00 - 16.30: *Research: From immigration to integration cont.*

Chair: Professor, Director Olavi Koivukangas, Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland.

'Youth and Migration Project 2008', Director Hans Storhaug, The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway.

#### *Final Discussion*



*Dating back to 1280, Turku Castle is the largest surviving medieval building in Finland, and one of the largest surviving medieval castles in Scandinavia.*

Photo: Hans Storhaug

#### Closing of the Conference,

Dr., Director Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies at The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland.

The Chairman thanked Professor Koivukangas and his colleagues for their excellent running of the conference and most generous hospitality. Presentations were made to Professor Koivukangas and his colleague Elli Heikillä as tokens of the warm appreciation expressed by all present. Professor Koivukangas then invited all present to his house that evening for a farewell party that was greatly enjoyed by all.

#### **General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI)**

#### **Minutes of Meeting**

The General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions was convened on in the Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland and called



*Keynote speaker, Minister for Europe and Immigration, Astrid Thors, flanked by Hans Storhaug, (left), and Olavi Koivukangas and AEMI President Brian Lambkin.*

to order at 13.15 on Thursday 27 September 2007 by the Chairman, Brian Lambkin.

*Present*

Representatives of the following member institutions were present:

The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark, represented by Dr Henning Bender

The Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, represented by Professor Olavi Koivukangas

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms Sarah Clement

The German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven, Germany, represented by Mr Steffen Wiegmann

The Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Northern Ireland, represented by Dr Brian Lambkin

The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway, represented by Mr Hans Storhaug

The Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway, represented by Ms Dina Tølfesby

The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, represented by Mr Knut Djupedal

The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Krakow, Poland, represented by Professor Adam Walaszek

The Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, Lisbon, Portugal, represented by Professor Maria-Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

San Marino Emigrant Museum and Study Center, San Marino, represented by Noemi Ugolini

The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden, represented by Dr Britt-Louise Berndtsson

The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamn, Finland, represented by Dr Eva Meyer

The Immigrant Institute, Sweden, represented by Mr Miguel Benito

The Kinship Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr Erik Gustavson

*The following institution applying for membership was represented:*

Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Basque Country (Spain), represented by Mr Benan Oregi and Mr Joseba Inaki Arregui

*Apologies*

Written apologies were received from:

Routes to the Routes, Oldenburg, Germany, represented by Dr Wolfgang Grams

The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration, Luxembourg, represented by Ms Antoinette Reuter

CISEI (Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana), Genoa, Italy, represented by Silvia Martini

*The following member institutions were not represented:*

The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia

Croatian Heritage Foundation, Zagreb, Croatia

Archives Department, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, England, UK

North Frisian Emigrant Archive, Bredstedt, Germany

Research Center for German Emigrants in the USA, Oldenburg, Germany

Friends of the German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven

CISEI (Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana), Genoa, Italy,  
 Centro Italiano di Studi Sull Emigrazione, Tramonti, Italy

The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration, Luxembourg

County Archives, Sogn og Fjordane, Kaupanger, Norway

Museum of Emigration and Communities, Fafe, Portugal

Museum of Scotland International, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK

Scots Abroad, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK

The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana, Slovenia

There were no representatives of associate members or personal members present.

#### *1. Election of presiding officer for the General Assembly*

The Chairman moved that Professor Adam Walaszek be elected presiding officer of the business meeting. The motion was agreed and Professor Walaszek took the chair.

#### *2. Minutes of General Assembly 2006*

The Minutes of the General Assembly 2006, held on board the Adriatic Paradise en route between the island of Vis and Trogir, Croatia, on Saturday 30 September, posted previously on the AEMI website, were approved.

#### *3. Chairman's Report for 2003-2004*

The Chairman gave his report. The full text is given separately at the AEMI website. The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Chairman's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

#### *4. Secretary and Treasurer's Report: Financial Statement and Accounts, 2006-2007*

The Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender presented the Financial Statement and Accounts for 2006-2007, as posted previously on the AEMI website.

The Association's Auditor, Dr Eva Meyer, who was present, confirmed that she was satisfied with the Accounts for 2006 and had signed them.

Agreed: It was agreed that the Auditor's Report should appear as a separate item on the Agenda of next year's meeting.

The Secretary and Treasurer reported that he had commissioned a Danish firm to upgrade the Association's website and demonstrated some of the improvements that would be made. He expected the upgraded website to be launched within a few weeks.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Secretary Treasurer and moved the adoption of his report and of the Accounts. The meeting adopted the motion.

#### *5. Journal Editor's Report*

The Editor of the Association's Journal, Hans Storhaug, reported that the latest volume had been published and he presented members with copies. This issue is the first to contain colour illustrations. It combines volumes 4 (2006) and 5 (2007), which contain reports of the Annual Meetings in Paris and Croatia respectively. The Editor was congratulated on the appearance of the Journal and there was some discussion of how it might be developed further. It was suggested that consideration be given to including book reviews. The Editor asked that contributors in future

make every effort to meet deadlines set and submit illustrations in either gif. or jpg. format. The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his continuing efforts on behalf of the Association.

Sarah Clement of Generiques was then invited to report on the publication of the latest issue of her institution's journal, *Migrance* 28. This French-language publication contains papers given at the Association's Annual Meeting in 2005 in Paris, which was hosted by Generiques. Sarah was similarly congratulated on her publication and thanked for making copies available to members.

#### *6. Proposed Budget for 2007-08*

The Secretary and Treasurer spoke to the proposed budget for 2007-08, posted previously on the AEMI website. He explained how this represented the most prudent use of resources, given that no significant increase in subscriptions could be contemplated in the medium term, and warned again (as he had the previous year) that unless additional funding was obtained, the Association would be unable to maintain its current level of activities beyond 2007. Knut Djupedal asked if a separate budget allocation should be made to support the development of European Migration Heritage Week.

*Agreed:* It was agreed to consider a separate allocation for this purpose in next year's budget. The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the proposed budget and the meeting accepted the motion.

#### *7. Appointment of Auditor for 2007-2008*

The Presiding Officer asked the Association's Auditor, Dr Eva Meyer, if she would be willing to continue serving as Auditor for the coming year and she confirmed that she was. The Presiding Officer thanked Dr Meyer on behalf of the Association.

#### *8. Venue of Annual Meeting 2008*

The Chairman reminded members of the procedure by which the venue is chosen for the Annual Meeting. The Association relies on member institutions coming forward and offering to act as host. In the event of more than one offer being received in a given year, the decision is made by members attending the Annual Meeting with special consideration being given to the desirability of moving the location of the Annual Meeting around Europe as inclusively as possible. Thus over the last five years the meeting has moved between north and south and east and west (Norway 2002, Portugal 2003, Sweden 2004, France 2005, Croatia 2006, Finland 2007).

He also reminded the meeting that in Paris (2005), where Finland had been decided on as the venue for 2007, expressions of interest in hosting future meetings were made by Erik Gustavson (Sweden), Simone Eick (Germany), Henning Bender (Denmark) and Silvia Martini (Italy). He then explained that two firm offers for hosting the meeting in 2008 had been received from member institutions, namely the German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven and the International Study Centre for Italian Migration, Genoa, Italy, Genoa. Invited to make a presentation on behalf of Bremerhaven, Steffen Wiegmann

reported on the progress of his institution since its opening in 2005, its award of European Museum of the Year in 2007 and the extensive plans for further tourism development in Bremerhaven in the vicinity of the Emigrant Centre and warmly made the invitation to colleagues. Jürgen Rudloff also spoke on behalf of Bremerhaven's offer.

Silvia Martini was not present to make a presentation on behalf of Genoa. She had sent a message a few days previously to say that she had been prevented by illness from attending and was unable at such short notice to send a representative in her place. She asked that Genoa's offer to host in 2008 be considered nevertheless. The Chairman said that, while in one sense it was a happy situation for the Association to have two member institutions keen to host the next year's meeting, it was a difficult decision for the meeting to make when Bremerhaven was represented and Genoa was not. The discussion that followed had regard to the fact that Bremerhaven had already kindly hosted meetings in 1991 and 2000 and that meeting there in 2008 after Finland would mean two meetings in succession in northern Europe. At the same time Genoa had issued an invitation in writing, emphasizing that as a new institution and member it would value the support of the Association's presence. On a proposal from the Chairman, seconded by the Secretary and Treasurer, it was agreed to defer the decision pending further investigation of the situation of Genoa.

*Agreed:* It was agreed that the Secretary and Treasurer should arrange to visit Genoa as soon as possible and report

back to the Board as to its viability as a venue for the 2008 meeting. In the light of his report, the Board would then make a decision as to the venue and communicate the outcome to the members as soon as possible.

The Chairman thanked Steffen Wiegmann and Jürgen Rudloff for their understanding and patience in the matter and asked them to communicate the appreciation of the meeting to Simone Eick and their colleagues on their return.

### *9. Admission of New Members*

The Presiding Officer asked the Chairman and Secretary/Treasurer to speak to the admission of new members.

The Chairman referred to the presentation made in Session 1 by Benan Oregi and Joseba Arregui with regard to the Basque Emigration Museum and Research Center Project and proposed its admission to membership. This was agreed by acclaim.

The Secretary/Treasurer reported that the Association pour la Maison de la Memoire de l'Emigration des Pyrenees et du Sud-Ouest, France, had requested to continue being designated as 'applying for membership'. This was agreed.

### *10. Members Projects*

AEMI 'European Migration Heritage Route'

San Marino Book Proposal

### *11.0 Any Other Business*

There being no other business, the Chairman thanked Professor Walaszek for acting as Presiding Officer and the General Assembly concluded at 17.15.

# The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman's Report 2006-2007

*Brian Lambkin*



*The Board held one face-to-face meeting in 2007, 2-3 July in Aalborg, Denmark, thanks to the hospitality of the Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender (left). Bender has retired from his position as Director of Aalborg City Archives and the Danish Emigration Archives. Photo: Hans Storhaug*

## *Ladies and Gentlemen:*

In reflecting on the events of the past year I would like to begin by recalling our Annual Meeting last year which took place in Croatia. In keeping with our theme, it was truly migratory, beginning in the beautiful mainland town of Trogir and then moving to the island of Vis and back again. We again thank Silva Meznaric and her colleagues at

the Institute for Ethnic and Migration Research, Zagreb, for welcoming us so warmly in Croatia. As ever, we rely on our Annual Meeting as our main means of renewing old friendships and making new ones, for reviewing progress, and for charting our direction for the coming year. We also thank Olavi Koivukangas and his colleagues for making us so welcome here in Finland.

As usual, there has been frequent communication between members of the Board, mainly by email, in preparation for the Annual Meeting, and in this regard I would like to pay tribute in particular to the cheerful, hard work of Olavi's colleague, Elli Heikkilä. Your Board, for the second year of this current three-year cycle, has been Henning Bender (Denmark) as general secretary, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the Association's *Journal*, Silva Meznaric (Croatia) as representative of last year's host institution, Olavi Koivukangas (Finland) as representative of the host institution of 2007, and myself as chairman (Northern Ireland). The Board held one face-to-face meeting this year 2-3 July in Aalborg, Denmark, thanks to the hospitality of the Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender. There we agreed to the proposal of the Editor to go ahead with combining two issues of the *Journal* in one volume and I am delighted to say that this is ready for us in Finland. We also reviewed our Strategic Plan, noting that since the Annual Meeting in Portugal (2003), the Association has gained 7 new members (iCroatia; Germany (Ballinstadt); Italy (Genoa); Portugal (Fafe); Scotland (Scots Abroad); Sweden (Kinship Center and Immigrant Institute). Regrettably, we have also lost 4 members in Iceland; Ireland (Dunbrody); Germany (Hamburg); Italy (Rome); Denmark (Farum). We also noted that there are some member institutions who have paid subscriptions consistently by never managed to send a representative to an Annual Meeting and we discussed possible ways of encouraging them to do so.

It was agreed to proceed with the updating of the AEMI website and the

Secretary and Treasurer will be reporting on progress. With regard to the idea of a European Migration History Search Database, it was noted that of the projects currently underway that are most likely to have an interest in developing this kind of resource are the MA in European Migration Studies programme and the Youth and Migration (YAM) project, both of which are concerned with promoting comparative studies and European awareness, and it was agreed that if possible presentations about each of these should be sought for the programme of the Annual Meeting. I am very pleased that Marina Luksic-Hacin and Hans Storhaug will be speaking about both these projects to us. You may recall that another project that we have in mind is for a book, in a convenient comparative format, which will outline the migration history of each European country and draw attention to the various resources available in each country, not least those of our own institutions. In this regard we noted that a new edition is in preparation of the book edited by Dirk Hoerder and Diethelm Knauf called *Fame, Fortune and Sweet Liberty: The Great European Emigration*, edited by Dirk Hoerder and Diethelm Knauf which was published in 1992. This is the book which probably comes closest so far to giving a country-by-country overview of European emigration. It thus goes some way towards meeting the need we have identified, but of course it does not attempt to deal with the dimension of migration the concerns so many of us - immigration, nor with the question of access to the resources of migration museums, libraries and archives.

We also discussed the conference on Migration Museums that was held 23-25 October in Rome, jointly organized by UNESCO and IOM with the objective of exchanging information on the role of migration museums in promoting migration integration policies and cultural diversity. This was a major new initiative in our field and I am pleased that four of our member institutions were represented at the conference (Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and Miguel Monteiro from Portugal, Miguel Benito from Sweden and Agnès Arquez-Roth from France) and I would like to return to the importance of that conference later.

The announcement in May that the German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven, had been awarded the title of European Museum of the Year, 2007, was excellent news. For Simone Eick and her colleagues, whose centre opened in 2005, this is a tremendous achievement and one of which we can all feel proud. Those of us who were present at the Association's Annual Meeting in Bremerhaven in 2000, hosted by Jürgen Rudloff and his colleagues, will recall the mood of high excitement and anticipation when the news of funding for the project was announced. I am grateful for the kind invitation to attend the gala dinner that was held in celebration of the award and regret not having been able to attend on behalf of the Association. Nevertheless, I trust you will join me in renewing our congratulations to Bremerhaven. Their project was born out of long years of persistence. Their success is an encouragement to us all and, we may hope, to those thinking of investing further in such projects!

More good news came in July with the official opening in Hamburg of BallinStadt – 'Port of Dreams – Emigrant World Hamburg'. Our congratulations go to our colleagues there for the realisation of their project which began in 2005. As in the case of Bremerhaven, this success is further encouragement to us all as evidence of the growing recognition of the importance of our theme. I am delighted that Ursula Wöst from BallinStadt is here with us to give a first-hand account of how she and her colleagues managed it and tell us about their future plans.

So far as the work of the Association as a whole is concerned, the main highlight of the year was the news from Antoinette Reuter in Luxembourg that our 'Migration Heritage Route' had been officially approved by the Council of Europe in April this year and that there will be a formal presentation of the charter at a special ceremony to be held in Luxembourg on October 5<sup>th</sup> at which the ambassadors of all our countries will be present. Regrettably, once again I am prevented by other commitments from attending but I am glad to say that the Board of the Association will be represented by Hans Storhaug. As Antoinette reminds us, the main activity associated with the 'Migration Heritage Route' so far is 'Migration Heritage Week', which we have designated as 4-14 October. That we have got as far as we have with this project, I need hardly remind you, is largely thanks to the initiative and hard work of Antoinette and her colleagues in Luxembourg in working closely with the European Institute of Cultural Routes. Our thanks go to Antoinette especially. I am sorry that she is not able

to be with us this extra-busy year for her when Luxembourg is European Capital of Culture, but I am sure you will want to join me in extending the appreciation of the Association for what she has helped us to achieve. The onus is now on us to continue building on this recognition of what our institutions have to offer and contributing as best we can to ensure the future success of the 'European Migration Heritage Route'.

Another highlight this year was the official opening in July, immediately after the Board meeting in Denmark, of the Museum of Emigration and Communities in Fafe, Portugal. Happily, I was able to attend this occasion on behalf of the Association at the invitation of Miguel Monteiro and his colleagues. You may recall that after the Annual Meeting in Lisbon 2003, hosted by Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, some of us made the journey north to the town of Fafe to be shown the ambitious plans for this new museum. Some of us may have wondered if they were not overly ambitious, requiring as they did the full backing of the municipal authority. What impressed me especially at the splendid opening was how wholeheartedly not only the municipal authority but also the national government was supporting this imaginative project that daringly incorporates the evidence of migration that is to be found in the townscape, in buildings such as the so-called 'Brazilian' houses. I am pleased that Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade who has long championed this project is here to tell us about what has been achieved.

I was also privileged this year to be invited to speak about the work of the Association at the Fourth World Con-

gress of Basque Communities Abroad in Bilbao, Euskal Herria, 9-13 July. If European countries are looking for models for developing the way in which they engage with their diasporas they could hardly do better than to take a close look at how our Basque colleagues manage this issue. The level of investment which goes into this and the results that are achieved are most impressive. In Bilbao I was pleased to meet Dr Gloria Tortoricagüena who directs the Centre for Basque Studies at the University of Reno, Nevada, and we had hoped that she would be able to attend our meeting here and speak about. Unfortunately she has had to pull out because in the meantime she has been appointed to a new post by the Office of the Presidency of the Basque Autonomous Government. In the special project, 'Euskadi and the Basques in the Age of Globalization', she has been appointed as the General Director for issues related to the Basque diaspora. Gloria will be staying in Reno, Nevada, and work and travel from there. Her charge is to research how globalization and innovation can be positively used to promote and improve Basque Country science, academics, arts and culture, lifestyle, and environment. She will serve as a consultant to a team that reports to the Basque Country President and his cabinet. Her new role begins on October 1, when she will formally leave the University of Reno and the Center for Basque Studies. This is another encouraging sign of recognition of the importance of our work with significant new investment and we wish Gloria well in her new post. Fortunately we do have Benan Oregi and Joseba Arregui with us to tell us more about this

development and in particular about how it fits with their Basque Migration Archives project.

As well as all this, we have in prospect next month the official opening of a new national migration museum in France on 10 October. As with Bremerhaven, those of us who attended the Annual Meeting of the Association in Paris in 2005 may recall being shown around the splendid Palais de la Porte Dorée as it was then in the process of redesign and refurbishment and wondering how it might be made ready in time for this grand opening. We appreciate that Paris is unable to be represented this year and we wish Patricia Sitruk and her colleagues every good wish for their big day and great success for the future of their venture.

In closing this review of a busy year of exciting developments, I would like return the conference on Migration Museums that was held in Rome last October because I believe this will prove to have been most important for our future direction as an Association. One of the benefits of attending the opening of the new museum in Fafe, Portugal, was the opportunity to meet with Luc Gruson and Agnès Arquez-Roth of the Cité Nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris, and also Carine Rouah of UNESCO who was also in attendance. Carine was one of the main organisers of the Rome conference and I am delighted that she has been able to come to address us here in Finland about her project. In choosing to focus on 'museums', I believe that this welcome initiative may be missing a trick. A main strength of our Association has been the vision of its founders in seeing

the need for all institutions concerned with the documentation, research and presentation of migration to come together. As we know, migration, relatively-speaking, is an 'artefact-poor' area of human experience (unless we are prepared to take the imaginative 'outdoor' approach of our colleagues in Fafe) and our understanding of migration has to rely on the collections of libraries and archives as much as on those of museums. We see this, for example, in the way that Bremerhaven avoids the exclusive description of itself as a museum, calling itself the *Deutsches Auswandererhaus* or German Emigration Center, incorporating not only a museum but a migration archive that supports family history research. Nevertheless, we must listen carefully to what Carine Rouah has to say to us about how she sees things developing. Her brief extends beyond European migration and she has a good overview of the opportunities that may be opening up. We must consider carefully the implications for our future development. As I said at this time last year, 'we should be open to new initiatives and proposals from whatever direction they come, bearing in mind the strategic objectives that we have set ourselves'.

If more evidence is needed of the momentum that is building in favour of new investment in migration institutions, I notice that the Museums Association will be debating at its annual conference next month in Glasgow 'Does the UK need a migration museum?' We have long argued for the relevance of what our institutions have to offer Europe, particularly as it comes to terms with the challenges of a very

new migration landscape. The means of developing a good understanding of our own migration history and heritage is what we offer our countries as they seek to make the best choices as host communities in promoting harmonious integration. We need to identify the opportunities that may be opening up to us and seize them. If, as we believe well-resourced and effective migration institutions are going to be essential to harmonious social integration in the future, then the question arises of how these institutions might best co-operate in the interests of Europe as a whole. We might fairly say that if AEMI had not been invented in 1989 it would need to be invented now. So after all the encouraging developments this year there is much for us to discuss.

In closing, I would like to draw your attention to another matter that needs discussing. Your Board is now entering the final year of its three-year term so elections are due to be held next year.

Thought needs to be given bringing new talent and energy to the leadership of the organisation and encouragement given as appropriate. For now, as ever, we are grateful to Henning Bender for his indefatigable work as secretary and treasurer, for maintaining and updating our website which provides such an indispensable service for us and for responding to the enquiries of members and prospective new members. Hans Storhaug deserves our special appreciation for continuing the onerous job of founder editor of our *Journal*. Finally, I would like to thank again Silva Meznaric and her colleagues for hosting the Annual Meeting in Croatia in 2006. And we also thank Olavi Koivukangas and his colleagues for undertaking the task of preparing to host us for a second time in Finland in 2006. May our deliberations here in Turku prove fruitful in the year ahead.

Brian Lambkin  
*Chairman*

# Integration Policies for Immigrants in Portugal

*Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade*

## **Introduction**

The expression 'to migrate', characterized by a semantic plurality, holds a variety of different meanings ranging from the mere mobility of individuals (which may be applied to the displacement of any human being) to a wide variety of broader social meanings.

As is well known, human mobility may be of a variety of types, driven by any number of different motives and may take on very different directions; it may be temporary in nature and, under such circumstances, may be of variable duration; it may be ignited by natural tragedies, political conflicts in a limited or confined region of the globe or encompass a more generalized area; or it may be driven by strictly personal and autonomous reasons.

Individuals leave their country of origin for a wide variety of motives: for professional reasons, for tourism and pleasure-related purposes, to study or to do an internship; or one may choose to move abroad for the destination country's milder climate, or for the quality of life it offers its citizens, particularly dur-

ing the retirement years. However, reasons of an economic nature continue to occupy a central position in the diverse range of motives that are the driving force behind human mobility.

In an effort to better understand this variety of 'situations of remarkable complexity, it is possible to classify migratory movements into a number of distinct categories, according to the main indicators of this phenomenon. However, such indicators are neither mutually exclusive nor entirely determinant.

## **The Present Context**

Presently, we live in a complex social reality in which the physical distance between countries and continents has shrunk and in which physical space has been brought closer together. In political terms, regional identities search for affirmation and national sovereign powers tend to associate themselves with one another in an effort to articulate their respective potentialities, allowing for a greater public affirmation of their respective ability to project themselves politically and manage, in conjunction,

their bolstered economic capabilities.

Viewed from this perspective, the proximity which has been created by globalization and the transnational spaces which continue to be established, as a result of the dislocation and settlement of migrants, has led to the creation of such a wide variety of situations that, in terms of the scientific analysis of migratory phenomena, occasional or even sectorial approximations are no longer permitted. On the contrary, it has become necessary to give priority to the global framework which must act as the backdrop for the study of migrations, allowing for the broader visualization of the migratory flows throughout their routes in the various parts of the world; to establish the location of the interruption platforms that may arise; and to know the relocations/reorientations that may take place and that necessarily alter the idealized linearity of the traditional routes.

From a global perspective, it is thus possible to delineate the broadened reservoirs of immigrants as well as the receptor basins of these same reservoirs, bringing together spaces that can, nevertheless, evolve over time.

At the present moment credible international sources of statistical information (OCDE; EU; IMO; PNUB) indicate that the number of men and women who were born in one country and who settled down in another to be greater than 200 million strong<sup>2</sup>. Western Europe is one of the principal receptor basins and has, over the last several decades, been the destination of individuals from countries in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America; to a lesser extent it has also been the chosen destina-

tion of migrants from Asia; and, more recently, of individuals from Central and Eastern Europe.

### **The Evolution of Migratory Currents**

Throughout the entire twentieth century, ties of an historical nature, inherited from the colonial past, opened the channels of linguistic and cultural commonality and directed the migratory flows from past colonial territories to promising European destinations. From these initial migratory flows, social ties emerged between correspondents from the country of origin and those in the destination county, which often filled immigrant candidates with the courage to embark on new adventures of their own, relying on the support and local framework of fellow compatriots they knew (or whom they knew through a friend or a friend-of-a-friend) living in the destination country in helping them through those difficult first moments following their arrival. In the majority of cases, the reality they faced was, however, vastly different from what they expected.

The living conditions of the average newly-settled immigrant have been known to be so unfavorable that it is difficult to understand how all the risks and insecurity they incurred (facts that today are common knowledge to most of those who choose to migrate) can be downplayed in light of the positive expectations associated with emigration. When, however, the situation in the country of origin is so critical that the very survival or safety of its citizens is put into question, all the predictable difficulties that could emerge during the

transit to the destination country and the subsequent process of settling down there (which can only nominally be referred to as a reception) causes potential emigrants to put the experience into perspective, in name of a better life in the future.

The imbalance between hope and objective reality is further hidden by the actions of those who benefit most from recruiting new migrants, reinforcing all the advantages and omitting the dangers and disadvantages of the process.

### **Immigration in Portugal**

Contrary to what has been referred by some, immigration is not a new social phenomenon to Portugal. There was, in centuries past, considerable importation of individuals from the African colonies to the Portuguese metropolis, both in the context of slavery as well as in other contexts, some of which were eminently favorable; it is known that roughly 100 years ago there was a large wave of immigration bringing individuals from the region of Galicia, in Spain, who settled down throughout the country, most of whom went on to work in hard manual labor jobs or in the hotel and tourism industries; considerable numbers of refugees from all over Europe, fleeing from the Second World War, also settled down in Portugal.

There was, also, an enormous number of British citizens, many of whom settled in our country over two centuries ago, with ties to the agriculture and production of Port wine in the northern part of the country; others who moved since the mid-twentieth century, especially towards the south of Portugal (the region of the Algarve), which has become

a permanent destination for retired employees of the British ex-colonies.

More recently, the history of immigration in the second half of the twentieth century, and more specifically, the period between 1975 and the present moment, is made up of four periods:

A) The first period of recent immigration to Portugal is visibly marked by the consequences of decolonization, whereby numerically significant migratory flows originated from the western coast of Africa: Cape Verde Islands, Guinea-Bissau and Angola. Less relevant are those contingents that originated from Mozambique, on the eastern coast of Africa. For reasons that will be made clear later on, the special characteristics of these migratory movements did not fade away with time, and are still prevalent at the present moment.

B) From the early 1980s until the mid 1990s a second migratory flow took shape and intensified, made up primarily of Brazilian citizens, generally possessing good professional qualifications (dentists, designers, communication and marketing specialists, artists, etc.) who made their way to our country because of a combination of factors, namely the political instability in Brazil (where military dictatorships came to power) as well as the economically unfavorable situation that that country was experiencing at the time, which particularly affected citizens with average to above average incomes, thanks to high inflation rates that reached triple digit values.

C) One may consider the third period that which began, in political terms, with Portugal's entry into the European Economic Community (Treaty of June,

1985) and which continued until the end of the 1980s. This shift was due, on the one hand, to increased intra-European circulation that brought with it foreign companies and highly qualified immigrants to Portugal from other member states of the EEC; on the other hand, to the possibility that is offered to its citizens to leave their countries without difficulty and settle down legally outside those countries, for periods of time that, in many cases, exceeded the stipulated time period without that incurring significant problems to the transgressor, although increasing the number of illegal immigrants in Portugal.

The availability of funds from the European Economic Community allowed for public investment on a grand scale, creating the need for a manual labor force that was indispensable for such ambitious projects, and the supply of manual labor in Portugal was soon found to be insufficient. As a result, the necessary conditions were created to allow for the entry of a considerable number of unqualified workers from various countries of origin. As these individuals settled down and acquired new qualifications, new contingents of immigrants were called upon to meet the ever growing need for manual labor.

Aside from the national infrastructures that were continuously being built during this period and which provided easier communication at both the national and international levels, the combination of events projected to the outside world (for instance the World's Fair in 1998 and the 2004 European Soccer Cup Championship) were situations of reciprocal attraction of interests and allowed the outside world to get to

know Portugal, projecting images of a country that, because of its geographic location and political regime, had, in the past, been cast into isolation for many decades. In approximately ten years the foreign population with legal authorization to reside in Portugal leaped from 58 000 to 191 000 individuals, representing a 30% average annual growth rate.

D) The present period of immigration in Portugal, which may be considered to have been born with the start of the present century, combines in large part the characteristics of the previous periods, both with respect to the progressive increase in the number of foreigners living in Portugal, legally and illegally, as well as the increasing diversity of the countries of origin. That said, there are still some very important differences, worth noting, that characterize this migration flux.

The first of these differences is the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Europe who, from the end of the previous century, initiated their entry into Portugal. Among the countries belonging to this group (including Russia, Moldavia, Bulgaria and Romania, among others), the Ukraine deserves special mention, occupying the most distinguished position.

It is possible - although this has yet to be confirmed - that part of the immigrant population originally from the Ukraine and Romania has begun a process of return or re-immigration, and it is expected that these contingents of immigrants will, in the future, decrease in number.

On the other hand, traditional immigrant flows of African origin have decelerated their rate of entry into the

country and it is interesting to note that their numbers are, in fact, lower than those of immigrants from E.U. nations. On the other hand, the number of Brazilian immigrants is on the rise, claiming first place with respect to the total volume of immigrant population (see Table 1, in annex). The composition of this group has changed significantly from that of the previous period. It is now mostly made up of unqualified manual laborers originating from all over Brazil, with special emphasis on those from the more remote interior states and regions of that country, which have a long history of migration: Minas Gerais, Parana and Nordeste.

#### E) A Short-term Prospective

During the last four years, the global value of public investment has decreased substantially, due to the need to take drastic measures to reduce government spending, in order to ensure that the national debt did not exceed the norms set in the Stability and Growth Pact, adopted by the E.U. However, the Portuguese government has announced that such measures shall be eased in the 2008 and 2009 State Budget; and there are plans in place to initiate large-scale public works such as the construction of a new international airport in Lisbon and start work on the construction of the network for High-Speed Trains (TGV).

It is, therefore, predictable that there will be a need for a large volume of supplementary labor in order to carry out such ambitious projects, and it is reasonable to expect that there will be a new appeal for contingents of immigrant laborers from abroad, both during

the above-referred years as well as the years that follow, thereby contradicting the incipient trend to reduce the total number of foreign workers in Portugal.

Today, more than 520 000 foreigners – both legally and illegally settled - live in Portugal, representing roughly 5% of the total resident population, and making up approximately 10% of the active or working population. Their geographic distribution throughout national territory is irregular and the diversity of nationalities that exist make a study of the maps of their regional distribution an interesting issue (see annex).

#### Regions of settlement

From the beginning of foreign settlement in national territory, there has been a preference for settling down in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (districts of Lisbon and Setubal) and in the south of the country (the Algarve), where the immigrant population is visibly more pronounced. However, the Metropolitan Area of Oporto has likewise sparked interest among these populations. The diversification and increase in the total number of foreigners brought with it visible changes in the geography of their territorial distribution and one may confirm from the Table dealing with their spatial localization that immigration in Portugal has shifted from an urban-metropolitan concentration of the population, to a series of new waves directed towards rural settlement areas. It is mostly the labour market, with the work opportunities that it offers, which mainly determines the regions of settlement of immigrants in Portugal. However, one must not also forget the impact

that immigrant networks - made up of immigrants with the same national origin - have in that process, both with respect to place of settlement and residence, as well as choice of professional activity.

The maps presented in the annex, established by geographer Maria Lucinda Fonseca (2007, 107-1509), permit the visualization of the above-mentioned affirmations.

### **Immigration policies in Portugal**

During the 1990s, the policies adopted by the Portuguese government regarding immigration assumed a mostly *reactive* character: that is, the legal texts and regulations concerning this matter were conceived with the intention to correct situations that had previously been deemed undesirable, but a strategy was not evident which would determine the migratory phenomenon, in the medium or long term.

It was generally accepted that the country needed foreign workers to guarantee its economic development; that there was a growing number of illegal immigrants whose situation had to be legalized; and, finally, that it was inconvenient to adopt an open-door policy with regards to immigration<sup>3</sup>.

With regards to public opinion, it differed from that of employers, who generally looked favorably upon the arrival of foreign manual laborers, while the general public expressed concern, more or less vocally, regarding the “excessive” volume of foreigners in Portugal.

Successive laws aimed at regulating immigration were enacted, as well as exceptional legal diplomas created to permit the legalization of illegal immi-

grants<sup>4</sup>. A present-day analysis of these official documents, looking back with the necessary distance, reveals a fluctuation between the principles of *jus sanguinis* and *jus solis*, as well as a restrictive tendency towards the entry of new immigrants. On the other hand, there was a progressive movement towards the stance adopted by the Council of Europe, with respect to the need to establish an intercultural dialogue and the successive clarifications of the doctrine of the European Union regarding the advantages of rejuvenating European populations with the entry of younger residents.

In this sense, one may consider that the Portuguese policy stance followed a positive evolution, one step at a time.

This entire situation was clarified when the organs of Portuguese sovereignty adopted a set of principles that shaped the new immigration laws in Portugal and which can be summarized as follows:

- It is acknowledged that there is a need for the annual entry of a significant number of foreigners, both to satisfy the need for manual laborers required for economic development to take place<sup>5</sup>, and to correct the general demographic aging of the Portuguese population.

- It is indispensable that all residents have access to the benefits of citizenship, regardless of whether the person in question is a legal immigrant or not, in the name of respect for human rights.

- As such, it is absolutely necessary that both central and local structures and mechanisms be created that will facilitate the resolution of problems of whatever nature that may arise amongst

foreign citizens, and namely to promote an intercultural dialogue with the majority population.

- In summary, the motto of this political position shall be *to welcome and to integrate*<sup>6</sup>, in a pro-active rather than reactive perspective.

One of the fundamental mechanisms of this political orientation was the reinforcement of the High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas/ACIME) (created in 2002), which took on the new name of High Commissariat for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue (Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e o Diálogo Intercultural/ACIDI) (2007), and which, moreover, integrated three already-existing bodies: the Intercultural Secretariat (Secretariado Entreculturas), the Choices Program (Programa Escolhas) and the Technical Mission for Dialogue Among Religions (Missão Técnica para o Diálogo com as Religiões).

The laws that give shape to this new policy include: The Nationality Law (Organic Law 2/2006, dated 17<sup>th</sup> of April and Decree Law 237-A/2006, dated 14<sup>th</sup> of December) approved by a vast majority of the Portuguese Parliament, which reinforces the principle of *jus solis*; and the so-called New Immigration Law (Law number 93/2007, dated 4<sup>th</sup> of July), approved by the same organ of sovereignty with favorable votes from the two largest parties in Portugal, and which defines the conditions and procedures for entry into, permanence, exit and withdrawal of foreign citizens from Portuguese territory, as well as the

statutes of long-term residence; and, although with a lower legal hierarchical status, the Resolution by the Counsel of Ministers (dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May of 2007), which delineates a Plan for the Integration of Immigrants.

### Structures for integration

It is not enough to create a legal framework that adequately satisfies the government's objectives regarding immigration. It is also necessary to create the operational structures that materialize such laws.

The existence of the ACIDI would not be enough to guarantee their action: the respective decentralized structures had to be created. These were named Local Centers for the Integration of Immigrants (Centros Locais de Apoio à Integração de Imigrantes, or CLAIIs) and were created throughout the country.

#### Notes

- 1 A parallel structure was likewise created, replicating the concept of the "Citizen Shops"<sup>7</sup>, and designated the National Center for the Integration of Immigrants (Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante or CNAI), where foreign citizens can find delegations of all the government agencies that may assist them in solving their problems: the Foreigners and Frontiers Service (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras), the ACIDI, the General Inspectorship of Labor (Inspeção Geral do Trabalho), the Social Security agency, the Conservatory of Central Registries (Conservatória dos Registos Centrais), the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Justice. With respect to the decentralization of administrative interventions, many Portuguese municipalities, particularly in areas of strong immigrant settlement, created autarchic structures aimed at solving the problems most commonly faced by these citizens<sup>8</sup>. As to initiatives taken by the civil society, it must be said that the central government itself encourages the setting up of associations of foreign citizens, in accordance with the idea that these individuals «need to be heard», so that their problems be known and even-

tually solved; as well as that they are encouraged to participate more actively in the general society, with the principle in mind of guaranteeing that the entire population, without exception, have the opportunity to benefit from full citizenship<sup>9</sup>. To summarize what has been said previously, it can be stated that Portugal has progressively followed the right path to achieve, in due time, the integration of its immigrants, who have been put on an equal footing, both legally and socially speaking, with all other Portuguese citizens.

- 2 It is interesting to add to this fact that 200 million is the total number of inhabitants of Brazil, the fifth most populous country in the world.
- 3 Past experience did not look favourably upon creating new extraordinary opportunities to legalize foreigners residing in Portugal illegally. In this way, ACIDI does not look favourably upon the renovation of such possibility, as was stated publicly by that agency's President (on the 19th September 2007) in a speak to present a special edition of the magazine CIDADE SOLIDÁRIA (*Migrações, Novos Desafios*) launched by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Lisbon on the same date.
- 4 As an example of erroneous opinions that can be adopted by public opinion, it has been argued that the Portuguese prison population has a disproportionate percentage of condemned foreigners. In fact, the above-mentioned imbalance is the result of the capture of drug traffickers coming from abroad, and are not migrant workers living in Portugal.
- 5 The *Eurobarometer* states that Portugal ranks 2nd in the E.U. in terms of countries that benefit most, percentage-wise, from the contribution that immigrants make towards economic growth.
- 6 *Receive* and *integrate* became a catch-phrase chosen by the ACIDI to define the essence of its mission.
- 7 "Citizen shops" are structures specially conceived to bring together, in a single specific location, all those administrative structures that citizens most frequently require, whether speaking of physical materials, transportation or communication problems, certificates, licences, etc.
- 8 There are, namely, three Municipalities with consultative organs directed towards aiding immigrants and foreign citizens, located in Lisbon (1993); Amadora (1995); and Oporto (2005).
- 9 Not even those residents who find themselves in illegal circumstances are denied access to education, health and social security.

ANNEX

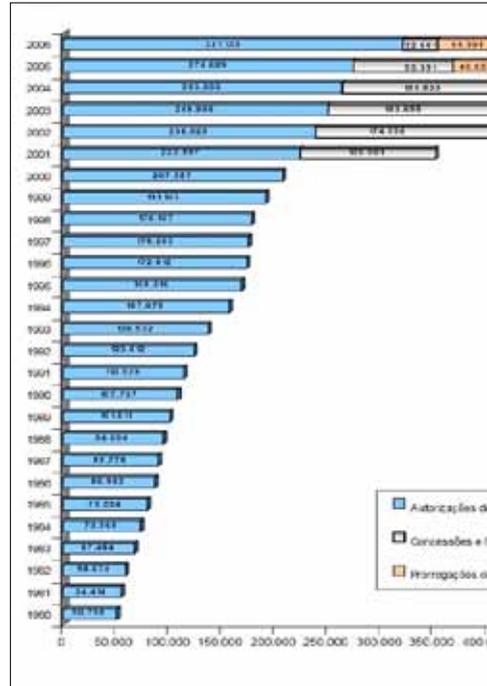
Table 1 Main nationalities of foreign citizens living legally in Portugal, 2006.

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007

Countires	Residents
Cape Verde	65485
Brazil	65463
Ukraine	37851
Angola	32215
Guinea-Bissau	24513
Others	182658
TOTAL	409185

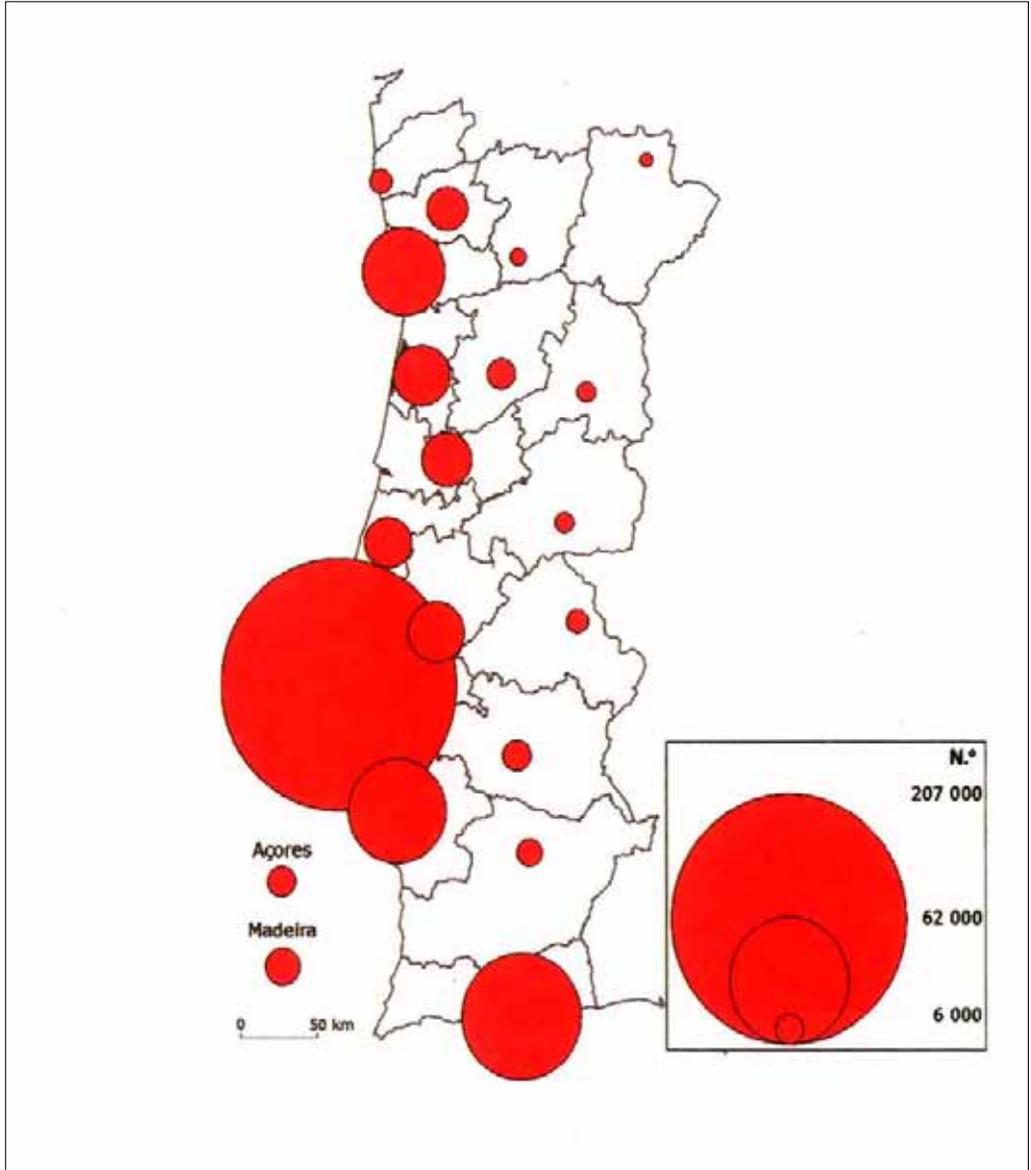
Table 2 Development of the Population of Foreign Residents in Portugal, 1980-2006.

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007.



Map 1

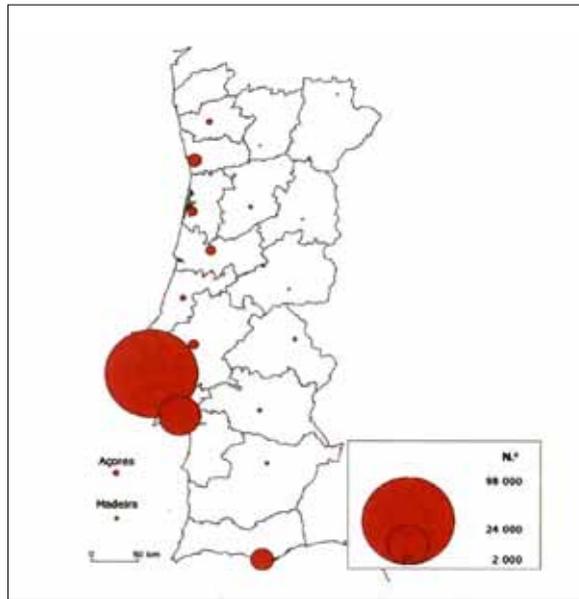
Geographic Distribution of Foreign Legal Residents in Portugal (2005).  
Source: Maria Lucinda Fonseca, 2007



Map 2

Geographic Distribution of Citizens from Portuguese-Speaking African Countries in Portugal (2005)

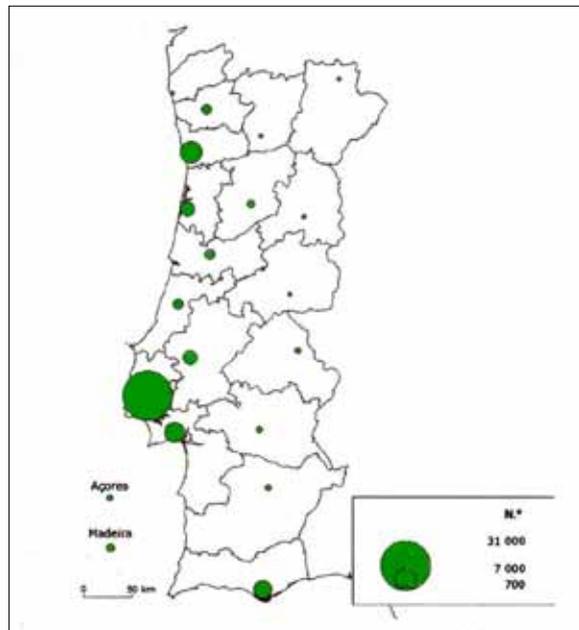
Source: Maria Lucinda Fonseca, 2007



Map 3

Geographic Distribution of Citizens from Brazil in Portugal (2005)

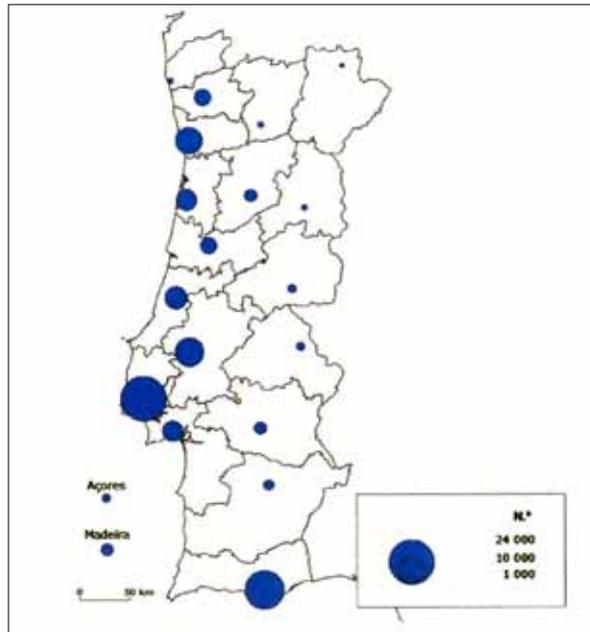
Source: Maria Lucinda Fonseca, 2007



Map 4

Geographic Distribution of Citizens from Central and Eastern Europe in Portugal (2005)

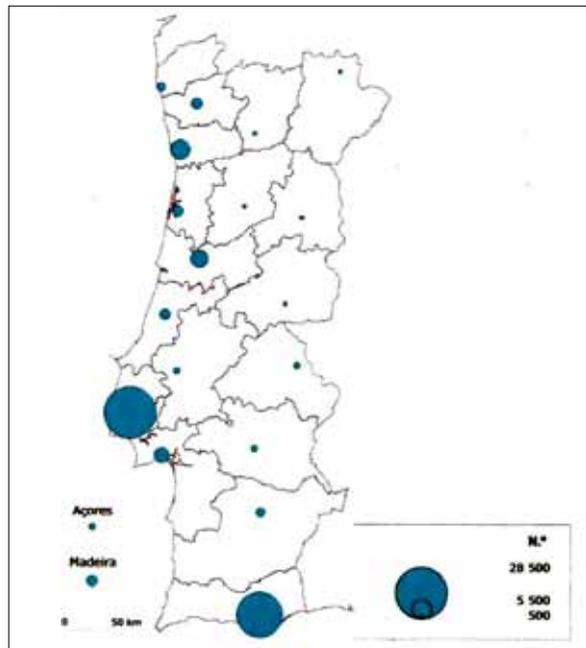
Source: Maria Lucinda Fonseca, 2007



Map 5

Geographic Distribution of Citizens from European Union countries in Portugal (2005)

Source: Maria Lucinda Fonseca, 2007



# Internationalization of Population and Labour Force from the Present to the Future in Finland

*Elli Heikkilä and Maria Pikkarainen*

## **Introduction**

The Finnish population is aging, and this is becoming a serious problem like in other developed countries. The Baby Boomers are retiring, and the lengthened life expectancy will increase the size of the elderly population in the coming years. The population of working age will also decrease, and it has been estimated to decrease most in the decade 2010, at a pace of almost 30,000 per year. When the baby boomers retire, there will not be enough labour force to replace them. The *Labour 2025* report suggests employing elderly, unemployed, disabled and immigrants. The immigrant labour reserve consists of foreigners living in Finland, naturalized immigrants and new potential immigrants.

This research project presents new information of internationalization of the population and labour in Finland. The development is analyzed for the whole country and all counties from the present day to the year 2015 and immigration is used as a special indicator. The object of the analysis is the employment of im-

migrants in the Finnish labour market, and anticipation of the future need for labor. The research was an anticipation project of International migration, need of labour and effects of immigration on education supply, which was funded by the European Social Fund, the Finnish Ministry of Education and the Institute of Migration.

The primary data of the research project are extensive gross flow-data obtained from Statistics Finland, the Ensti-database of the Finnish National Board of Education, and numerous surveys and interviews. Using a case-study from the University of Oulu, the willingness and intentions of university graduates to move abroad was studied, and also the interest of international students to stay in Finland. The interest of foreign university graduates to work in Finland was studied both in the University of Oulu and in Orion Pharma. Also the willingness of expatriate Finns to return migrate and enter the Finnish labour market was studied.

## **Immigration flows**

Finland has traditionally been a country

of emigration. People have left for other Western countries to find better job opportunities, and have especially preferred Sweden. Finland became a country of immigration in the beginning of the 1980s, when the balance of international migration switched to positive. The most noticeable wave of immigration occurred in the 1990s, when Ingrian Finns received returnee-status (Figure 1). The reception of refugees, for example, Somalis during the first half of the 1990s, has further increased the flow of immigration to Finland. Reception centres have been established all over the country for newly arrived asylum seekers. Finland also takes in a yearly quota of refugees, currently 750 persons.

Immigrants, or foreign citizens, in Finland numbered 121,739 in 2006,

representing 2.3 percent of the total population. The largest groups of foreigners during that year were Russian citizens (25,326), Estonians (17,599), Swedes (8,265); and of refugee backgrounds, Somalis (4,623) (Figure 2). The total number of those born abroad was 187,910 in 2006.

Finland is getting the highest immigration flows from EU-15 and the second highest from EU-10 (Figure 3). Europe as a continent is thus playing an important role in migration processes, both in immigration to Finland and emigration from Finland. There exists also immigration from more distant continents like Asia and Africa.

Migration flows between Finland and its border countries Sweden, Russia and Estonia are great compared to the flows

Figure 1. Foreign population in Finland in 1980–2006 (Data: Statistics Finland).

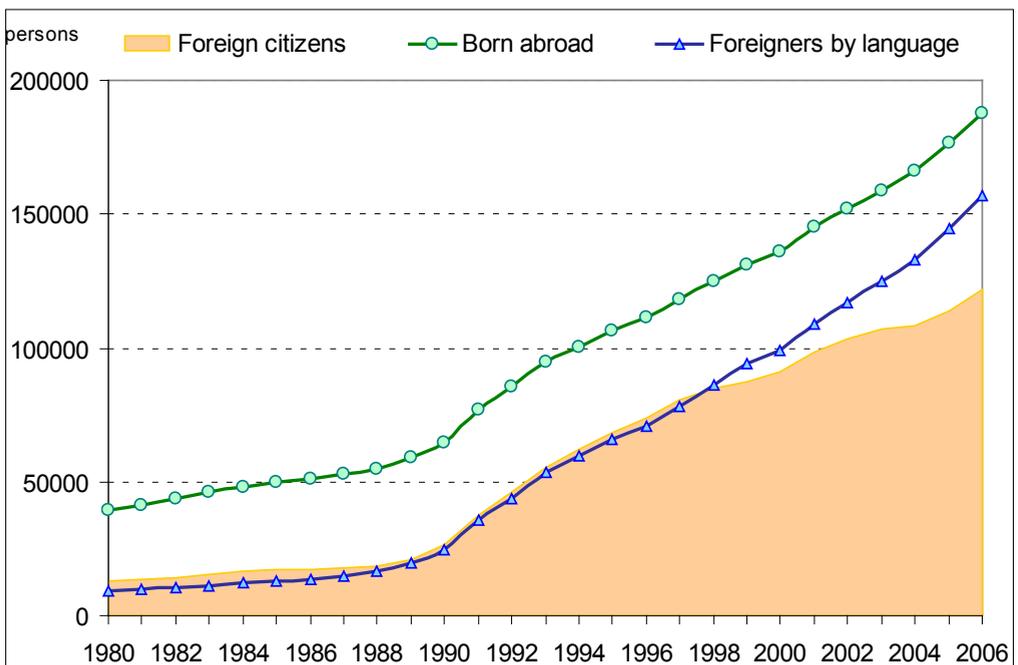
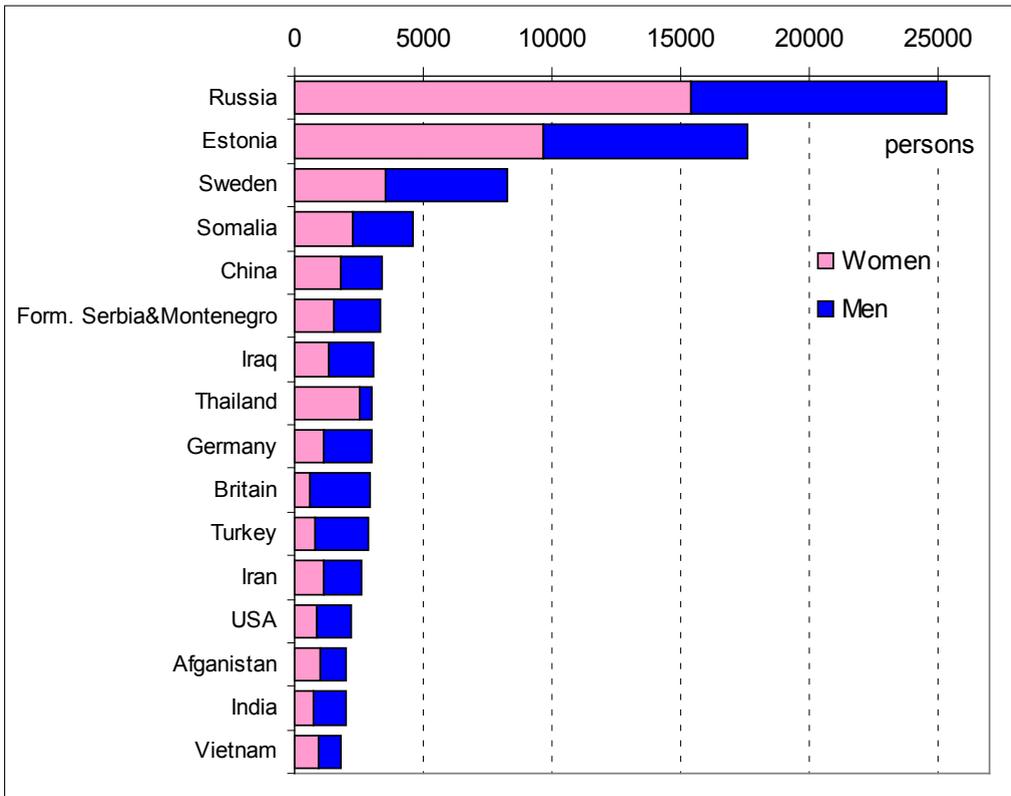


Figure 2. The biggest immigrants groups by citizenship in 2006 (Data: Statistics Finland).

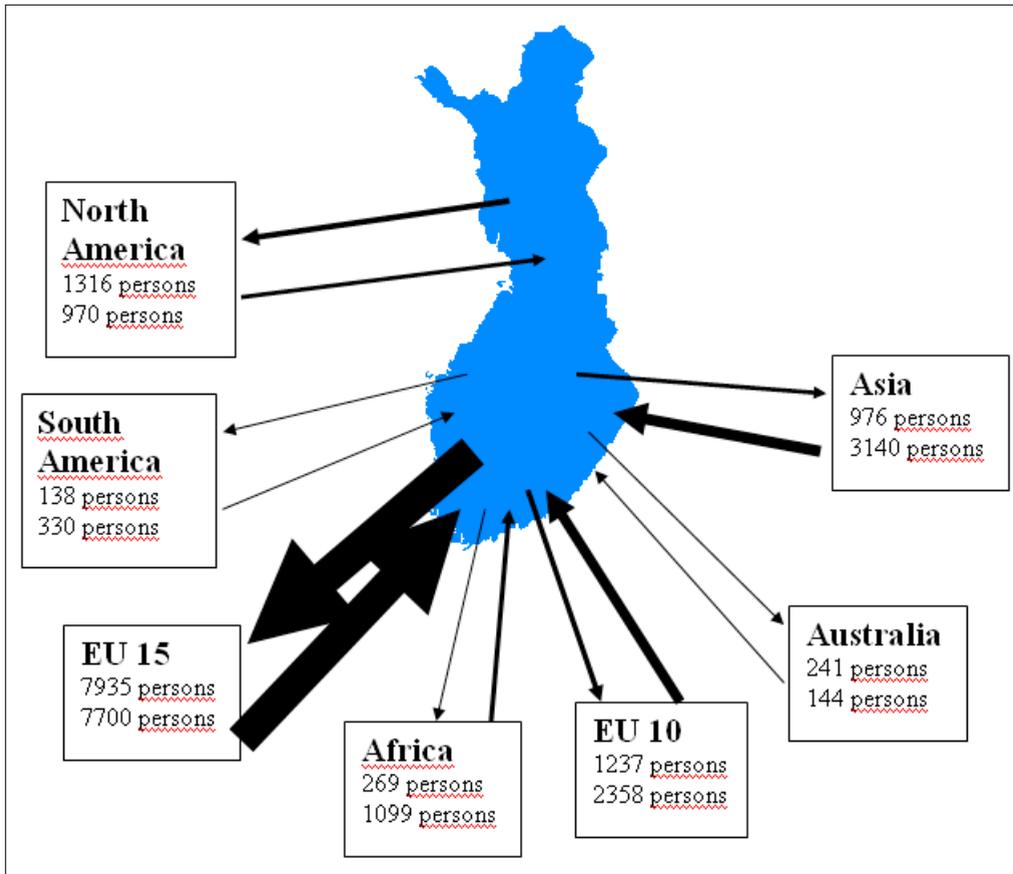


directed to and from other countries. During the years from 1993 to 2004 migration with Sweden has been rather even, that is to say that as many persons have left for Sweden as have immigrated to Finland; of course there were changes between the single years. From the point of view of Finland there have been positive migration flows from Estonia and especially from Russia. The total immigration from Russia in 1993–2004 was ten times bigger than emigration to Russia. When it comes to Estonia, the number of emigrants was only a third of the immigrants in 1993–2004.

The immigrants were unevenly distributed among the counties during the

early 1990s recession as well as during the economic upturn at the beginning of the millennium. A common feature is that the Uusimaa county has been most attractive, almost half of the immigrants who arrived during the period of study settled here. The economic expansion regions of Varsinais-Suomi and Pirkanmaa rank second in attractiveness. The immigrant share of these three counties exceeds 60 percent regardless of the study period, so Southern Finland is the main target for immigrants. Some counties have only a 1–2 percent share of the immigration, and even less. The county of Central Ostrobothnia had an immigrant share of only half a percent

Figure 3. International migration to and from Finland in 2004. Number above means migration from Finland, number underneath means immigration to Finland. (Data: Statistics Finland).



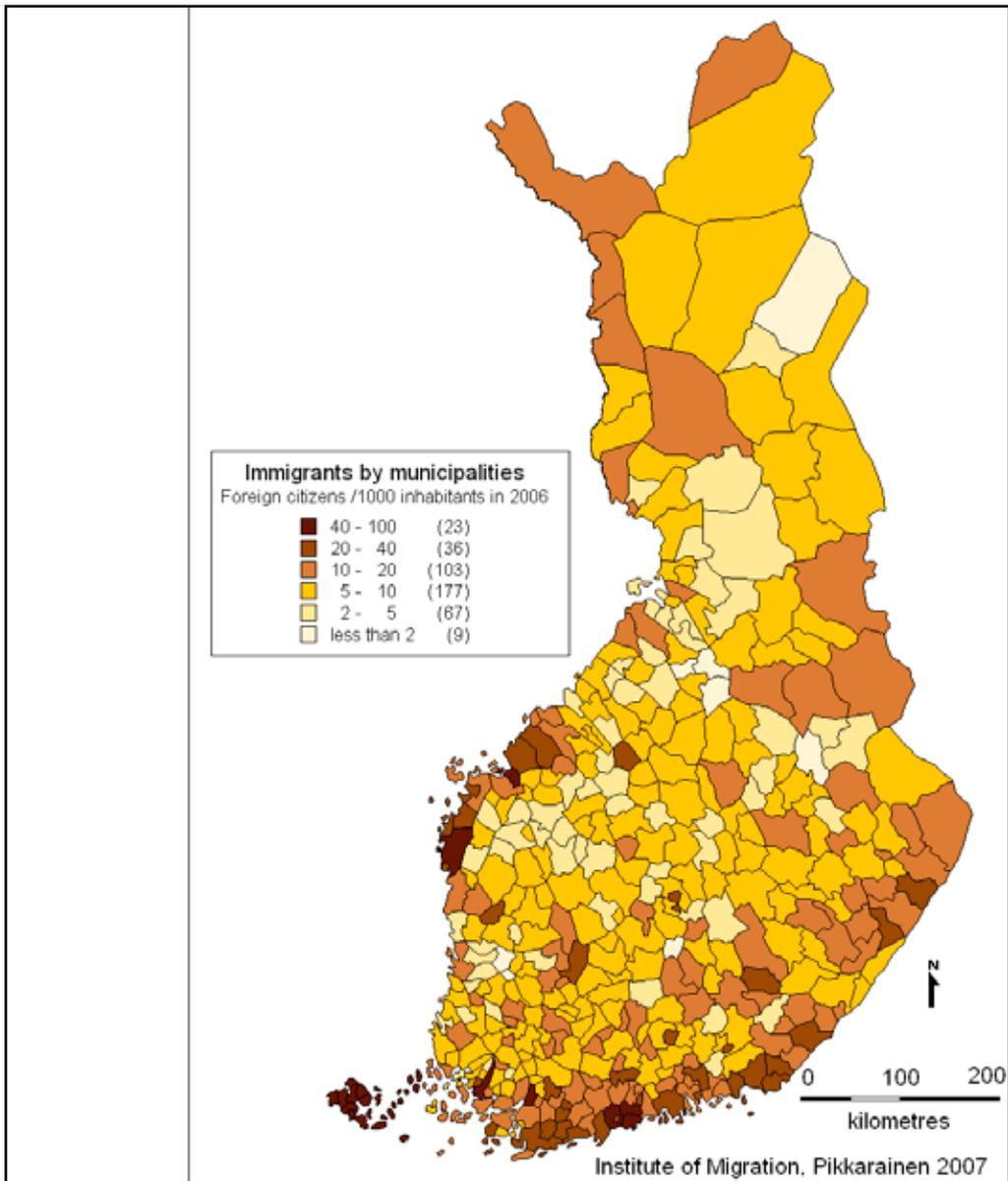
in 2002. During the last ten years there have been no major changes in the immigrants' migration behaviour. Only refugees are more randomly scattered around the country because of the official settlement policy. Foreigners mostly prefer cities, 85 percent of them lived in urban municipalities in 2006 (Figure 4).

### Immigrants in the Finnish labour market

The proportion of immigrants among all employed was 1.6 percent in the year

2000. Few immigrants come to Finland for work. According to the estimates of the Ministry of Labour, only between 5 and 10 percent of the immigrants came to work in Finland during the 1990s and 2000s. The government migration policy programme adopted in October 2006 aims at increasing work-related immigration. In the year 2002 a fourth of all the immigrants to Finland, including children and elderly, found a job within a year from the arrival. 11 percent became unemployed. Thus 36

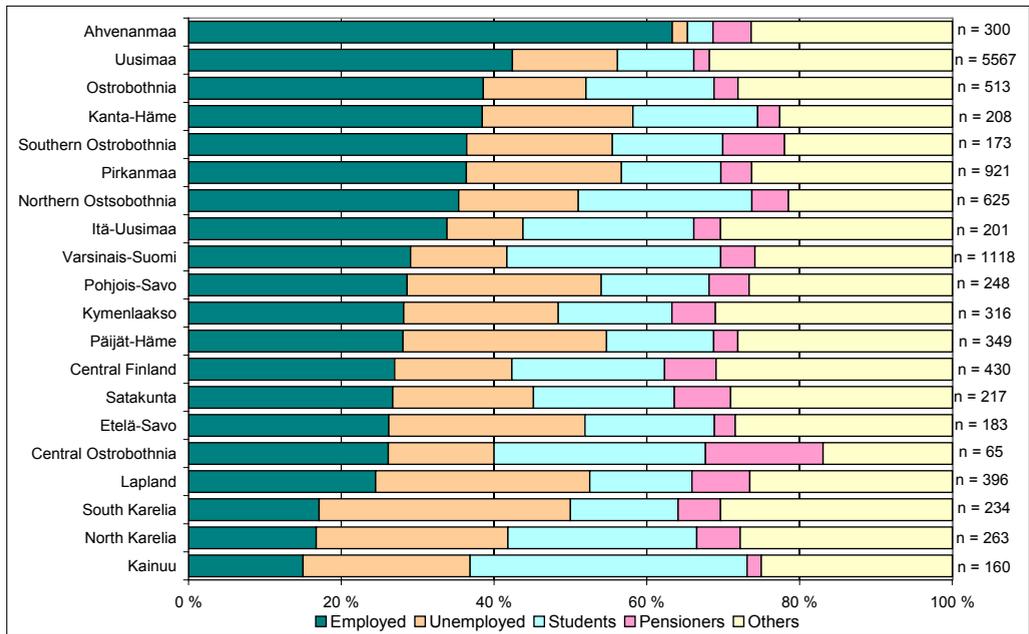
Figure 4. Immigrants by municipalities in 2006. (Data: Statistics Finland).



percent of them belonged to the labour force. The share of persons aged 20–44 is greater among foreigners than among Finnish citizens. Thus the immigrants are in a favorable working-age.

When studying main activity of those of working age, between 15 and 74 years old, the employment rate of those who had immigrated in 2002 to Finland from

Figure 5. Main activity of immigrants who moved to Finland in 2002, at the end of their year of immigration, by county of destination (Data: Statistics Finland).

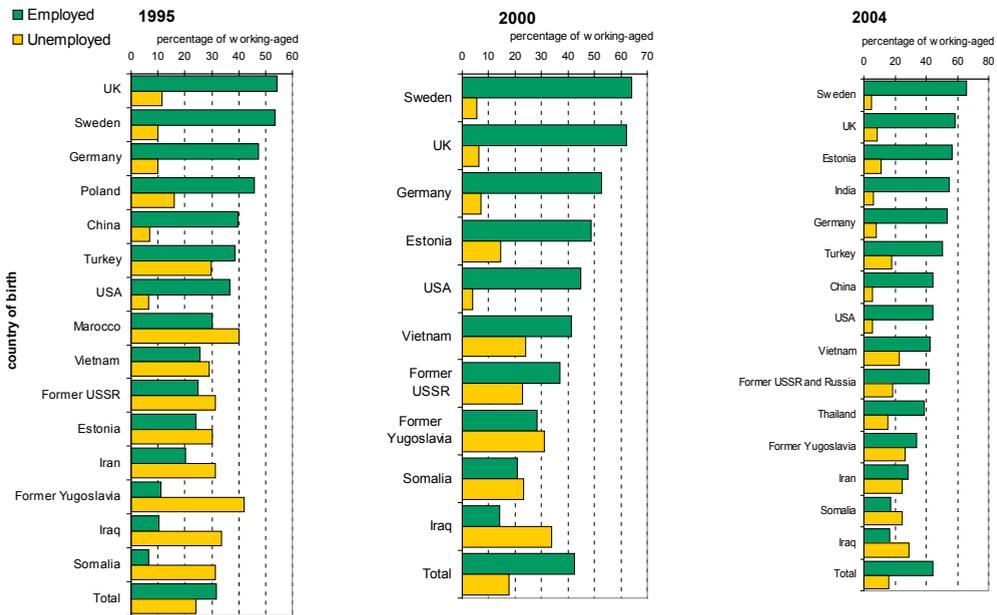


abroad was 35 percent nationwide. The best situation was in Ahvenanmaa, where two thirds of those who immigrated in 2002 had a job (Figure 5). Most of them were Swedes, so moving to a Swedish-speaking area posed no integration problems. In Uusimaa, where most of the jobs are, only 42 percent of the immigrants found employment during the year of immigration. The most difficult situation was in Kainuu, where only 15 percent succeeded in finding work. A considerable share of the immigrant population in the whole country was unemployed or outside the labourforce as labour reserve. The number of these was exceptionally high during the recession of the 1990s, but the situation has not improved to correspond to the level of the whole

population. The chances for finding a job improve after a year in Finland; of the immigrants who came to Finland in 2002 a third had found work by the end of their first year in the country, and the following year 44 percent was employed. The regionally different employment rates are due to the general employment situation in the regions. Ahvenanmaa had almost full employment at the beginning of the 2000s, while the general unemployment was high in the northern and eastern parts of Finland.

The employment rate is higher and there are less unemployed among those immigrants who were born in western countries. Immigrants from Great Britain, Sweden, Germany and Estonia show the highest employment rates. In

Figure 6. Employed and unemployed immigrants by country of birth in 1995, 2000 and 2004 (Data: Statistics Finland).



the newest data from 2004 those born in India also rank high, followed by China, Turkey, United States and Vietnam. The employment rates are lowest and unemployment most common among immigrants originating in former Yugoslavia, Iran, Somalia and Iraq (Figure 6). The immigrants with higher education show the highest employment rates.

A stratification in economic sectors can be observed for the immigrants one year after the arrival, i.e. in 2003. The most important employment sector is trade. Other important sectors are financing, insurance and real estate and business services, which include for example cleaning, and education and research sector. Those immigrants who are employed in the education and re-

search sector have been able to use their mother tongue in their work. In 2003 women have mostly been employed in the trade sector (16 percent), education and research (13 percent) and health care (12 percent). Men found work especially in trade (17 percent) and in financing, insurance and real estate and business services (15 percent).

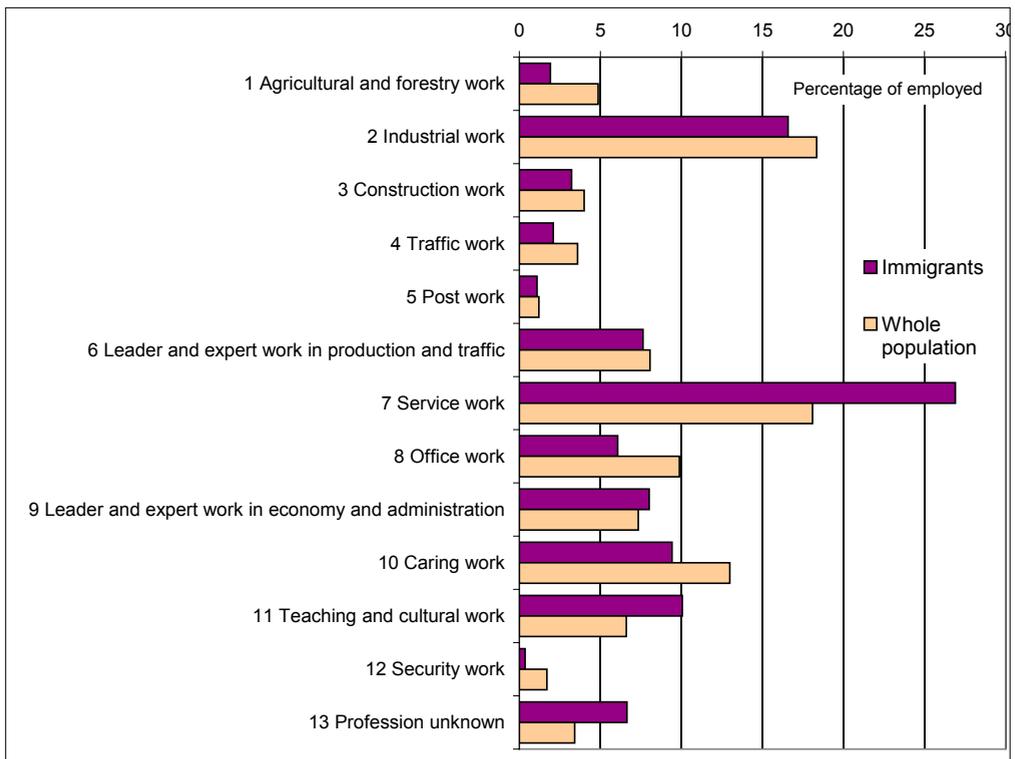
The occupations of the immigrants can be compared to the whole distribution of occupations in Finland the year 2000. The distribution differs most for service work: 27 percent of the employed immigrants worked in the service sector, while the corresponding rate for the whole country was 18 percent. Immigrants were also overrepresented in teaching and cultural work in relation to

the whole population (10 percent vs. 7 percent). The ratio of immigrants in office work was smaller (6 percent vs. 10 percent) and also in caring work (9 percent vs. 13 percent) (Figure 7). In 2004 the most common occupation among employed immigrant women was cleaning (2,530 persons, a share of 12 percent), sales work (10 percent), teaching and education (9 percent) and restaurant service (8 percent). Surprisingly, 15 percent of the occupations were unknown. In the same year the immigrant men were mostly employed in restaurant service (3,281 persons, 12 percent) followed by technical planning, supervision and research (7 percent), teaching and education (6 percent) and ground

transportation (5 percent).

When looking at immigrant stock by country of birth and employment groups exceeding 600 persons in 2004, those who were born in western countries, such as Sweden, Great Britain, Germany, the United States and Poland, employment within teaching and education was the most common employment group. Immigrants born in countries outside the EU, like Iran, Vietnam, China, India and former Yugoslavia are mainly employed in restaurant services. Of the Turkish-born as much as 60 percent (848 persons) is employed in this sector. Cleaning is the most common sector for those born in Somalia (175 persons, 24 percent of the employed So-

Figure 7. Professions of employed immigrants (n= 34 862) and whole population (n= 2 228 557) in 2000 (Data: Statistics Finland).



malis) and in Thailand (147 persons, 16 percent of the employed). Of those born in India, the second most important sector was technical planning, supervision and research (194 persons, 22 percent of the employed) and the third ranking group in technical experts and work supervision (8 percent). The technical sector is also prominent in the Chinese, British, Polish, German and American occupational distribution.

### **Surveys of the University of Oulu, Orion Pharma and expatriate Finns**

According to the survey, graduates of the University of Oulu are interested in working abroad in the future. Almost two thirds of the respondents gave a positive answer, and a little over a third a negative. Men were more interested, 76 percent of them were interested in working abroad, but only a little more than half of the women. The biggest interest was among those with technical education (75 percent). Those who were interested in working abroad said that working in a foreign country would give valuable experience, promote the career and increase professional skills. Part of the respondents also believes that the income would be higher abroad. Factors pushing away from Finland are high taxes and low wages. Of those positive to working abroad 60 percent would like to spend some years abroad and 18 percent less than a year. Ten percent of the respondents would like to alternate between work in Finland and abroad. Only less than three percent of those interested in working abroad would like to work in another country permanently. English speaking countries are the preferred choice, especially Great Britain

(21 percent) or the United States (16 percent). Germany received interest from 13 percent of the respondents. According to the respondents living abroad is not always required in international work. In such cases contacts to foreign employees become important.

The University of Oulu receives foreign students, and a survey was also conducted among them. Of the respondents among those 90 percent said that they are interested in working abroad in the future. They were most interested in Finland and the following preferred countries were Great Britain, the United States and Australia. Finland seems to be the most interesting country especially for citizens of Asian and English speaking countries.

Information was gathered about employees of foreign origin using surveys in the University of Oulu and Orion Pharma. Also they were asked to name three preferred countries to work in. Finland ranked again top, followed by the English-speaking countries Great Britain and the United States. Of those interested in working abroad, almost half would like to spend some years in a foreign country and then return home. A fifth of the respondents were interested in combining working abroad and in the home country alternating between the two a few years at a time. A common reason for moving to Finland was finding a Finnish spouse. Another motive for migrating to Finland was that the spouse from the same country had found work in Finland. The immigrant followed then at a later, more suitable occasion or after finding work here. In some cases the person has been an exchange student in e.g. the Erasmus program and liked

Finland enough to return later.

Foreign workers at the University of Oulu and Orion Pharma told about their experiences of Finland as a country to work in. The most positive remarks were related to the working environment (40 percent of the respondents). These respondents experience their job as meaningful and their work environment as good. They appreciate their colleagues, the relaxed job culture and work rhythm and also the job resources and tools. The bad experiences are mostly related to language and communication problems (28 percent of the respondents). Finnish is perceived as a difficult language to learn and Finnish people are considered non-talkative.

The survey of expatriate Finns revealed that most of them, 92 percent had no fixed period for their living abroad. Many have a foreign spouse and they do not expect him/her to integrate and find work in Finland as easily as they have in their new home country. Many respondents have initially emigrated for a certain period, but the stay has extended to years. Those who have a good job abroad are not inclined to return to Finland, especially while in working age. When asked about the most attractive countries to work in, also the expatriate Finns mostly answered Finland, followed in popularity by United Kingdom, Sweden and the United States. Most of the potential return migrants (62 percent) intend to return for work. A third considers moving to Finland for retirement and a few respondents were going to study. A part of the respondents have left Finland because they were not able to find any interesting well paid job which would suit their education.

### **Need for immigrant labour**

The changing age structure of the population strongly affects the supply of labour in the long run. The labor leaving the labour market is no problem if there is enough compensating work force entering the labor market. In aging societies complementing reproduction of the population by immigration has been considered as an option. All positions are not refilled after retirement and the creation of new jobs is dependent on the general development, production increase and demand for labour. The expert interviews revealed that the demand for labour will exceed the supply. Finland needs immigrants with different educational backgrounds; professionals as experts and less educated to fill less demanding positions. The interviewees believe that there will be more jobs in the service and business sectors, especially in the former the need for immigrant labour might be the greatest. Also in the welfare sector, in social and health care more labour will be needed. Routine work will decrease with automation.

According to the development prediction based on the Ensti-database maintained by the Finnish National Board of Education, the most rapidly decreasing sectors are agriculture (-28 percent), forestry (-20 percent) and other industry and vehicle manufacture, both with -17 percent from the year 2000 to 2015. Growth sectors will be especially health care (21 percent), manufacture of instruments and electrical products, both increasing by 19 percent, and trade increasing by 10 percent by the year 2015. In terms of labour agriculture would

employ 26,810 persons less and in the other industry sector the decrease would be next greatest with 23,610 persons. The health sector would expand fastest, with 32,910 persons and trade would score second with 30,000 persons increase.

According to the Ensti-database basic development alternative, the absolute number of jobs will grow during the period 2001–2015 fastest in technical planning, supervision and research (43,200 jobs), in health and beauty work (23,500), in social and leisure activities work (22,500) and technical work in the nursing and health care sector (21,700). The biggest job decreases will during the period 2001–2005 be in the category 'unknown; (-28,900), in agriculture and gardening (-26,400), in clerical work (-26,300) and in cleaning (-22,500). According to the Ensti-database basic development there will be 39,000 more new jobs opening than jobs disappearing from 2001 to 2015. The corresponding job surplus in the target development is 165,800, which means that in addition to replacing the 903,600 persons retiring from the labour force, 165,800 more persons will be needed. The loss in labour force will be greatest during the period 2011–2015, a number of 355,010 persons, when the corresponding number 2006–2010 is 313,530 persons.

Looking at the main occupational sectors, for instance nursing, according to the basic development alternative of the Ensti-database an additional 22,100 persons will be needed in 2010–2015 in comparison to the period 2005–2010. According to the basic development, the growth in the number of persons em-

ployed in the nursing will in the period 2000–2015 74,000 persons in total and in the target development alternative 82,700 persons. Simultaneously employment in clerical work will decrease (-45,400 persons in the basic development alternative).

The Ensti-database shows which sectors will provide most open jobs for vocationally trained; during 2001–2015 – technical sector and traffic (49 percent), the social and health sector (21 percent) and tourism, restaurants and economy (11 percent) As for jobs offered at the polytechnic level, the technical sector and traffic/ will offer most (33 percent), then administration and trade (28 percent) and the social and health sector (24 percent). For university graduates the biggest sectors will be administration and trade (26 percent), the humanistic sector and education (25 percent) and the technical sector and traffic (21 percent).

The research project has made a forecast of immigrant employment until the year 2015. According to this Finland would receive almost 60,000 working immigrants during the period 2003–2015, which would mean a total number of 103,000 employed when the immigrants already here are included. According to the forecast 17 percent would work in trade, 12 percent in financing, insurance, real estate and business and 11 percent with education and research in 2015 (Table 1).

The number of employed immigrants in 2015 will according to the trend forecast of main occupational sector be almost 78,000 persons (Table 2), which is less than in the aforementioned sector forecast. A partial reason for this is that

Table 1. Economic sectors of employed immigrants and immigrant population in 2000 and forecast to year 2015 (Data Statistics Finland; Ensti-database).

Employed	Forecast		Forecast of employed immigrants 2003-2015	2015
	2000	2002		
	34 862	43 950	59 150	102 800
Agriculture	672	900	1 300	2 100
Forestry	24	50	50	100
Forest industry	859	1 100	1 500	2 600
Manufacturing metal products	705	800	700	1 500
Manufacturing machines and equipments	586	800	1 300	2 100
Manufacturing electrotechnical products	1 965	2 600	3 900	6 400
Manufacturing vehicles	416	500	400	900
Manufacturing instruments etc. products	202	300	400	600
Other metal industry	82	100	200	300
Other industry	1 613	1 900	2 100	4 000
Construction	1 324	1 800	3 300	5 200
Trade	7 108	8 500	8 900	17 400
Traffic	2 120	2 800	4 700	7 500
Financing, insurance, real estate and business	3 513	4 700	8 000	12 700
Public sanitation and environmental care	1 953	2 400	2 800	5 100
Education and research	4 216	5 200	6 400	11 600
Public adminst., national defence and general security	803	1 000	1 200	2 200
Health care	1 263	1 800	3 700	5 500
Social care	1 792	2 100	2 100	4 200
Organizational activities	520	600	800	1 500
Cultural activities	892	1 100	1 300	2 400
Services used by households	702	800	400	1 100
Economic sector unknown	1 532	2 100	3 700	5 800

the main occupational sector forecast is a trend forecast, which is linked to the main occupational development in the whole country, while in the sector forecast the immigrant distribution according to the 2002 flow-data has been kept unchanged until 2015. In practice there are changes every year. The sector estimate is important considering the labour distribution in different sectors,

the present situation and future development, so that Finland also in the future would get at least a stable flow of immigrants to different sectors. This estimate has not been linked to the development of the Finnish employed labour force and thus it gives a more positive picture of the internationalization of the labour force. The employment situation of immigrants in Finland has improved with

*Table 2. Main occupational groups of immigrant population in different years and forecasts for the years 2005, 2010 and 2015 (Data: Statistics Finland; Ensti-database).*

<b>Employed</b>	<b>1995</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>Forecast 2005</b>	<b>Forecast 2010</b>	<b>Forecast 2015</b>
	17 326	34 862	49 167	52 700	65 650	77 850
1 Agriculture and forestry work	564	669	1 152	1 250	1 500	1 800
2 Industrial work	2 695	5 782	6 780	7 000	9 000	10 200
3 Construction work	322	1 124	2 070	2 300	2 800	3 300
4 Traffic work	322	731	1 629	1 900	2 500	3 300
5 Post work	132	382	781	900	1 100	1 400
6 Manufacture and traffic supervision and expert work	1 226	2 659	3 941	4 300	6 200	8 000
7 Service work	4 280	9 379	13 754	14 800	18 900	22 600
8 Office work	1 157	2 115	2 261	2 300	2 700	3 000
9 Economic and administrative supervision and expert work	1 536	2 794	3 675	3 900	5 200	6 600
10 Nursing	1 815	3 284	3 013	2 900	3 900	5 100
11 Education and cultural work	2 561	3 504	4 104	4 200	4 900	5 500
12 Security work	54	126	183	250	250	350
13 Occupation unknown	662	2 313	5 824	6 700	6 700	6 700

every year, and they will be increasingly employed as the baby boomers retire.

According to the occupational sector forecast, the importance of the service sector for providing jobs to immigrants is considerable, because it has a share of almost 30 percent and the number of employed will be 22,600 in 2015. Industrial work is the second most important employment sector and number three is manufacture and traffic supervision and expert work. There is a small decrease in the nursing sector in the beginning of the 2000s, and according to the trend forecast this occupational sector would employ 5,100 persons in 2015. The immigrants' employment share of the main occupation sectors would be according to the Ensti-database basic development 3.4 percent in 2015. In

the year 2000 the share of immigrants in the total population's main occupational sectors was 1.6 percent, meaning that growth until 2015 will mean a doubling of the employed immigrants in the main occupational sectors. In relation to the whole population the biggest shares of immigrants are found in the group 'occupation unknown', in postal work and service in 2015. The amount of employed immigrants would thus substantially grow from 34,862 persons in 2000 to 77,850 persons in 2015.

Forecasts on immigrants have also been conducted at regional level, because the counties are in quite different situation in attracting immigrants. All immigrants are included in this forecast, also those who are not in working age, i.e. children and elderly. In 2006

the number of persons in Finland born abroad was 187,910. If the net immigration would be doubled from the 2004–2006 average level, and keep constant until 2015, Finland would have a net amount of 156,000 new immigrants and the whole immigrant population would be almost 344,000 in 2015. If the average net immigration would be tripled, we would have around 422,000 immigrants in 2015. In the former case 42 percent of them would live in Uusimaa and there would be 143,000 persons born abroad in 2015. Varsinais-Suomi would have more than 30,000 immigrants, Pirkanmaa 26,000, Ostrobothnia almost 17,000 and Northern Ostrobothnia almost 15,000 immigrants. The smallest number would be in Central Ostrobothnia, a little over 2,700 persons. In some cases there are big regional differences in occupations, but also similarities. In some counties an increase of net immigration will not supply the demand for labour in future. Compared to the Finnish population, the age structure of the immigrants is more favorable with more persons in working age and less dependent.

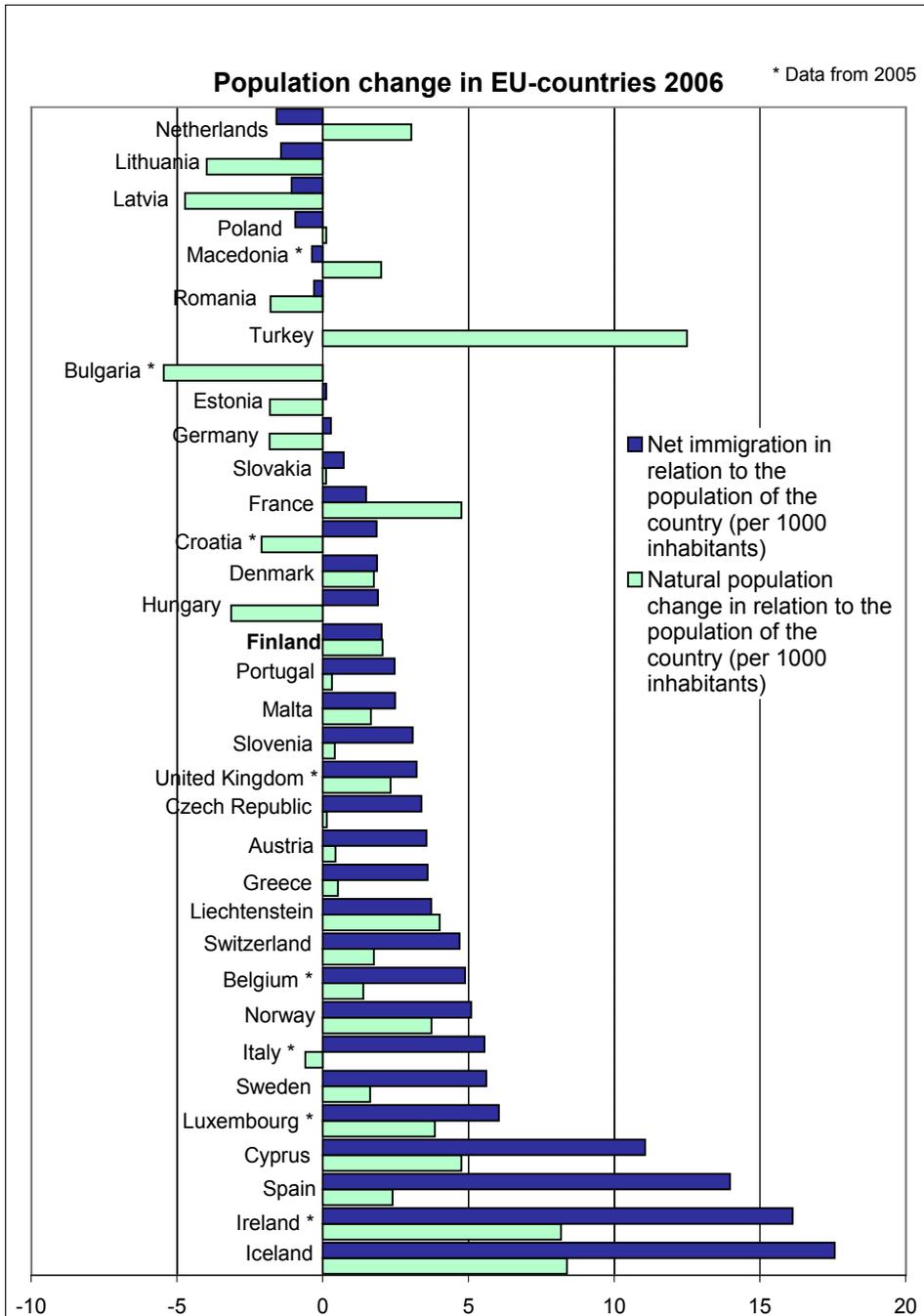
### Conclusion

Most of the immigrants in Finland come from other European countries, i.e. more than two thirds of those born abroad in 2005. The migrant flow from Asian countries to Finland has increased, which is an indicator of far-away places increasing in importance as places of origin. Africa is the third most important continent from where immigrants come to Finland. The expert interviews indicated that the migration flow from neighboring countries is

expected to increase. According to the experts immigrants will come from the Baltic countries, Russia, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Bulgaria and Romania. Opinions differ on Estonia. Some believe that the immigration from there will continue, while others think that the flow has drained. Asia is considered second. China and India are expected to provide mainly educated labour. Immigration will grow also as a consequence of family reunions. Professionals and experts are expected to immigrate from the United States, Germany, Sweden and Britain, but otherwise the immigration flows from western countries will be small. The competition with other European countries for well-educated migrants is severe. If the differences in standard of living between Finland and the neighboring countries and in Europe will decrease during the next 5–15 years, the immigration pressure will decrease. The immigration flow from third countries to the EU is much bigger than the internal migration flow. Temporary migration and short term employment is expected to increase.

Immigration from new EU-countries is not necessarily also the solution to the old EU-countries' population ageing problems, since in many new EU-countries the population is diminishing both in natural population development, when death rate is exceeding birth rate, and by net loss in international migration (Figure 8). Finland is still facing population growth by both indicators in 2006 and especially successful are countries like Iceland, Ireland, Spain and Cyprus.

Figure 8. Population change in EU-countries in 2006.



# From Immigration to Integration: the Case of Japan

*Krister Björklund*

## **Introduction**

Japan is generally perceived as a homogenous country with very few immigrants. The second statement has undoubtedly been true until the 1980s, but the conception of homogeneity can be put in doubt. The geographical isolation of Japan with a unity of land, people, culture and language has downplayed variations along class, gender, region, dialect and the like to the outside world. Emigration from and immigration to Japan has never matched that of Europe, and that is a main reason for Japan being viewed as homogenous. This has been fueled by the identity discourse of Japan, drawing upon factors such as the unity of culture and language and shared bloodline, without any significant infusion of new blood for thousands of years (see Befu 2001, 68-72).

The homogeneity of Japan is, however, a myth reinforced by the over 200 year seclusion of the Tokugawa shogunate until 1853, and it was revitalized after the Second World War.

Throughout the recent history of human migration Japan has differed from the other developed countries, in

migration structure as in degree. The colonial character of the early migration was a feature unique to Japan. Nowhere else did the state build such an apparatus to plan and steer the migration flows to its own interest. This applied to emigration as well as to immigration.

Soon after the Meiji Restoration, Japan embarked on an expansionist course and conquered Chinese territory in the Sino-Japanese war 1894-1895 and colonized Korea in 1910. Until the end of the Second World War, Japan experienced considerable colonial immigration by Taiwanese, Koreans and Chinese who voluntarily and forcibly were brought to Japan as workers. After the war repatriations, over half a million Koreans and much smaller numbers of the Taiwanese and mainland Chinese remained in Japan in permanent exile, not being granted equal rights or citizenship. (Komai 2001, Kashiwazaki 2002).

After the Second World War, when Europe was rebuilt using migrant labor, Japan closed its borders to migration and achieved spectacular economic growth by domestic labor. Towards the end of the twentieth century, when Eu-

rope and North America became the target for migrants from less developed countries, Japan cautiously opened a front door to ethnic Japanese returning from South America keeping a watchful eye on the small trickle of foreign immigrants through the side doors. With the problem of a rapidly aging population structure and falling dependency rates, Japan now faces the same dilemma as other developed countries, whether to accept large scale immigration or keep the borders closed.

### **A brief history of migration from and to Japan**

To properly understand the postwar reluctance to accept immigrants, which has led to a situation where Japan only cautiously is opening its doors to certain categories of immigrants, it is necessary to briefly recapitulate its migration history.

#### *Emigration*

The first mass emigration of Japanese overseas occurred in 1868, when 200 Japanese contract laborers were shipped to Hawaii and Guam by private brokers. During the following forty years hundreds of thousands of Japanese went to work in Hawaii, South America and North America, but also to South East Asia. Much of this emigration was, however, temporary. The migrants were no settlers, but temporary laborers planning to return home with money after a few years of work in a foreign land and the majority of them were men.

Japanese emigration never compared to the European, but Japan had become

the only non-western imperialist power after the Russo-Japanese war, and the colonial character of the emigration was uneasily looked upon. Such fears certainly played a part in limitations on Japanese immigration in the Americas and the Pacific. Australia and New Zealand, preferring European immigrants, restricted Japanese immigration right after the turn of the century. The so-called 'Gentlemen's Agreement' with the United States and Canada in 1907-08 and later the Quota Immigration Act of 1924 ended the Japanese emigration to the US and Hawaii completely (De Carvalho 2003: 4-5, Young 1999: 312-313). Japan had to look for other emigration targets.

The emigration interest turned from Spanish to Portuguese South America. Between 1908 and 1939 over 182,000 Japanese migrated to Brazil and over 20,000 to Peru. The number going to other countries of Latin America was considerably smaller. Most of the migrants hoped to return to Japan some day, but the reality proved different. More than 93 percent of the Japanese migrants to Brazil 1908-33 never returned. This was in accordance with the governmental settlement policy, the emigrants to Brazil were to be families, and they were encouraged to make Brazil their home (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 51-52, 70-74).

After the war, Japan suffered from overpopulation and took up the same emigration policy it had pursued earlier. After the Peace Treaty of 1951 that granted Japan independence, the country made special arrangements with the governments of Latin America to send immigrant settlers for agricultural de-

velopment. The first postwar emigrants went to Brazil in 1952, Paraguay in 1954, Argentina in 1955, the Dominican Republic in 1956, and Bolivia in 1957. In 1955, the number of emigrants topped 10,000 per year and kept rising. Most of the emigration during this period was for agricultural purposes, the emigrants either going to work on farms already established by earlier Japanese emigrants or going to develop new agricultural lands. Between 1950 and 1965 Brazil received nearly 50,000 Japanese immigrants. This was a new period in the Japanese communities in Latin America, because the second and third generations began to increasingly identify with the societies in which they lived and refer to themselves as Brazilian *nikkeijin*, and not purely Japanese (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 179, de Carvalho 2003:25, Diplomatic Bluebook 1985).

Japanese emigration began tapering off as the Japanese economy got back on its feet and expanded employment opportunities were available in Japan. By 1962, the number of emigrants dropped below 10,000. Simultaneously, the ties to Brazil proved beneficial to the Japanese economy; in the late 1970s more than 500 Japanese firms established themselves in Brazil, but during the serious economic decline in Latin America in the 1980s, Japanese investments were withdrawn. Overall the *nikkeijin* did not benefit from the Japanese economic growth, except those who chose to migrate to Japan (Masterson and Funada-Classen 2004: 225, Goto 2006). In the 1970s the Japanese migration to Brazil ended, and another migration era started.

There were two strands in Japanese emigration since the very beginning. Most of the emigrants were poor migrant workers, but there was also a migrating elite consisting of bureaucrats, officials, experts, traders, businesspeople and the like. This division was institutionalized in 1908 when the Japanese government established two specific passport categories, *hi-imin* and *imin*. The former was designating persons who were neither laborers nor intended to engage in manual work. In the pre-war days there was a cleavage between these two groups, often within single Japanese communities. Migrant workers were frequently looked down upon as 'savage Japanese' by the elites. Thus the overseas communities reflected the old homeland in terms of class structure and social discrimination. Their authority depended upon the activities of the imperial state. Interestingly, reflections of this have continued to the present day Machimura (2003: 148-149) claims that there still exists a disparity between the state- or corporate-sponsored elite group and the more localized and less privileged population.

The last thirty years of emigration has mainly been *hi-imin* migration. Japanese corporate development has been primarily responsible for this emigration. Instead of importing foreign labor, Japanese professionals were sent to manage Japanese factories elsewhere. The branch-plant economy of joint ventures depended on migratory flows of technical advisors, managers and executives, training and clerical staff. As the following figure shows, the number of Japanese with permanent residence abroad has been fairly constant, and the in-

crease is mainly due to the long-stay category. Working abroad for the company has become a step on the career ladder, and overseas positions are rotated, often for a period between 3 and 5 years. The situation has changed from what it was in the 1970s, when overseas assignment was a necessary evil for the employees and the returnees faced difficulties in terms of stagnated career development and family re-integration. Their status changed in the 1980's from a potential new minority group that faced discrimination to becoming a new elite group (White 1980, Goodman 2003: 177-194).

The number of Japanese in different regions of the world reflects the economic interests of Japan; the three cores of the globalizing economy, North America, Western Europe and the Pacific rim attract migrants, while Latin America has declined in importance (Table 1). Like their *imin*-predecessors the new migrants cluster to form Japa-

nese communities. The sending companies give housing provision; support the establishment of clubs and organizations, finance construction of Japanese schools (which are run by the Japanese Ministry of Education). The daily life of Japanese expatriates is connected to the homeland through the educational system, through imported consumer goods and services and through media. It is common for expatriate communities to create such 'environmental bubbles', but this applies stronger to the Japanese than to other migrant groups. The social milieus in these communities operate according to rules and expectations familiar from Japan, and the contacts to home are intensive. There is a split between the old-comer *imin* and newcomer *himin*, their contacts are rare and sometimes even in conflict, as the *hi-imin* look down upon the *imin* and their offspring as those who could not make it in Japan (Goodman et al 2003:9, Machimura 2003:151-153).

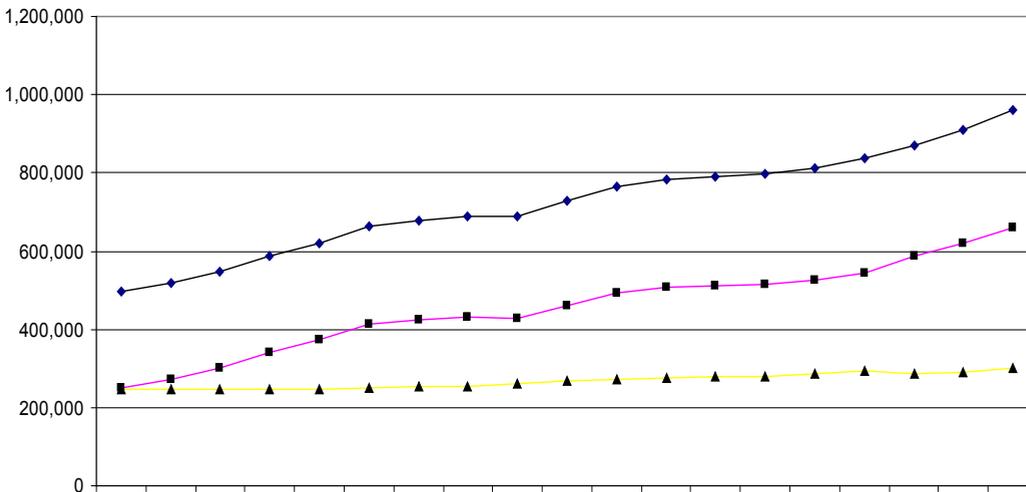


Table 1. Number of Japanese living abroad by type of stay 1986-2004.

Source: Statistics Bureau Japan 2008

Year	Total	U.S.A.	China	Brazil	U.K.
1990	620	236	8	105	44
1995	728	264	17	91	52
2000	812	298	46	75	53
2005	1,013	352	115	66	55
Percent change 2004-2005	5.3	3.6	15.9	-4.5	8.1

Table 1. Number of Japanese living abroad by country (in thousands as of October 1, 2005)  
Source: Japan in figures 2007

### Immigration

The large scale movement of people during Japan's colonial period ended in the aftermath of the Second World War. When the Allies stripped Japan of its colonies, the overseas Japanese were repatriated at a fast pace. Already by the end of 1946 over 5 million of the soldiers and civilians overseas had returned to Japan. Thousands were, however, left behind in China, Russia and South-East Asia.

Japan had during the war experienced considerable **colonial immigration** by Taiwanese, Koreans and Chinese, who were nominally given the status of Japanese. Many of them had more or less forcibly been brought to Japan as workers. The Korean population in Japan reached approximately two million in 1945. In cooperation with the Japanese government the Allies deported over a million persons to their homelands, but over half a million Koreans and much smaller numbers of the Taiwanese and mainland Chinese remained. These so-

called *Zainichi* Koreans were divested of Japanese nationality, and thus many civil rights, leaving them without any clear defined residence status. They remained in an insecure situation until the treaty between the Republic of Korea and Japan was signed in 1965, when they were designated a special status as 'Treaty Permanent Residents' (Morris-Suzuki 2006, Komai 2001: 60-64, Kashiwazaki 2007, Sellek 2001: 19, Watt 2002: 2).

During the era of the Empire, when Japanese settled overseas, there was a clear distinction between the home islands of Japan and the colonies. The former were referred to as *naichi* and the latter as *gaichi*, inside and outside territory. After the war most *gaichi* returnees reintegrated smoothly into Japanese society, but for tens of thousands the process proved difficult. The division of 'us and them' materialized in categorization. The authorities tried to place everybody in occupied Japan into an appropriate administrative category.

The returnees became *hikiagesha* (repatriates) and former colonials - such as the Koreans - remaining in Japan were categorized as *sangokujin* (third country nationals). This institutionalized the long practice of resisting outsiders. Prejudice against repatriates and racism towards Koreans and Chinese were two sides of the same coin. The repatriates were ethnic Japanese, but many of them now found themselves as strangers in their own homeland and potential threats to social stability (Watt 2002: 3-8).

The prewar trend toward a 'multi-ethnic' Japan was broken and a concept of homogenous nation was revitalized. It was cemented with legislation aimed at controlling foreigners and a system was set up requiring them to carry registration cards and present them to authorities on demand. This legal system effectively barred immigrants from Japan until the late 1970s. Immigrants were divided into two categories: 'old comers', mainly Koreans, who have resided in Japan since before 1952, and their descendants, and 'newcomers', referring primarily to foreigners who came to Japan in or after the 1980s (Komai 2001: 14-15, Kashiwazaki 2007).

The postwar period until the 1980's is generally considered to be a period almost lacking migration to Japan. The economic growth after the Second World War was spectacular and the common conception is that unlike Europe, the economic growth was accomplished without foreign workers. Kondo (2002) summarizes four reasons for this: migration from rural to urban industrial areas; automation; utilization of home working; students and elderly people as part time labor; and long working

hours. A fifth reason could be added: localizing production overseas supervised by Japanese management.

While it is safe to say that economic success did not depend on immigrant labor, like it did in Europe, a number of foreign workers did contribute to it. As Morris-Suzuki (2006: 121) writes:

Migrants did come, and some also left again. Some stayed just a few months, others for a lifetime. Most worked in Japan, and their presence demands acknowledgment for several reasons. First, the experience of migration had a formative effect on many thousands of individual lives. Second, postwar immigration and official responses to that immigration shaped Japan's migration and border control policies in ways that continue to have a profound impact to the present day. Third, although their influence on macroeconomic growth may have been very small, postwar migrants made important contributions to the destiny of particular industries and particular communities within Japan.

Morris-Suzuki acknowledges that it is impossible to provide accurate statistics of migrants who entered Japan between 1946 and the late 1970s and concludes on the basis of available data and archival sources that they numbered at least in the tens of thousands, and possibly in the hundreds of thousands (Morris-Suzuki 2006:122).

The great majority of the **illegal migrants** to Japan in the early postwar period were Koreans who came secretly on cargo vessels or fishing boats. Of those who were returned to Korea after the war a great number could not take up

their old lives there, many had brought their families to Japan with the intention of staying more or less permanently. For many of these returning to Japan seemed the best option. Many migrants came for short periods to earn money, study or rejoin relatives, some crossed back and forth between Korea and Japan many times. Most of them came to work, however, and they generally found employment in very small firms with only a few employees, often run by other Koreans. Some also succeeded to get employment in larger Japanese companies (Sellek 2001:19, Morris-Suzuki 2006). As illegal immigrants they fell between the two categories 'old comers' and 'new comers'. The treaty between Japan and Korea did not apply to them, so they lived a marginal life, sometimes for decades under the fear of being deportew.

The illegal migration to Japan has continued to the present, mainly in form of visa overstayers, whose number hit a peak of 298,646 in 1993, decreasing to 207,299 in 2005. This decrease is due to the severe punishments; employers can be fined and imprisoned for hiring illegal migrants and the migrants fined, imprisoned and expelled (Banki 2006, Higuchi 2006).

Most illegal workers in Japan come from neighboring Asian countries; China, Korea, Philippines and Thailand. Until the middle of the 1980s most of them were women who worked as bar hostesses, but later the number of male workers dramatically increased to between 50 and 80 percent of the total illegal immigrants. Of the male illegal foreign workers apprehended in 2004, around 50 percent were factory or con-

struction workers, and almost a third of the female workers were bar hostesses (Goto 2006).

In the 1970s six major categories of immigrants started to enter Japan: women from the Philippines, Thailand, Taiwan and Korea who mainly came to work in the sex industry; Indochinese refugees; spouses in international marriages; descendants of Japanese who had been left in China at the end of World War II; *nikkeijin* from Latin America; and business people from Europe and North America. We shall take a brief look at all of these groups.

The inflow of foreign **female workers in the entertainment industry** started with the lucrative sex tourism in the Philippines and Thailand in the 1970s. Japanese men were major customers, and thus a demand for Asian women was created in the domestic market of Japan. The networks which were originally managing the sex tourism from Japan were adapted to transfer the same sort of business to Japan. Far from all women who migrated to Japan worked in the sex industry in their home country. The enormous wage differences between Japan and most other Asian countries were strong incentives also for well-educated women not able to find a job matching their educational background. Other options such as working in the domestic and the service sector were not available for them in Japan because of the Japanese policy of prohibiting foreigners from taking employment in the unskilled job sectors. Providing sexual services could also produce large profits within a limited period of time, compared to other type of labor, but at the cost of social

stigmatization (Sellek 2001: 166-172). Most of these women entered the country legally as entertainers, but also as illegal migrants. In 2004 there were 137,820 persons in Japan with the status as entertainer; 100,046 of these were from Asia (Japan statistical yearbook 2006), but considering so many working illegally in Japan, it is impossible to give an accurate number of foreign women in the sex industry.

The amendment of the criteria for the status of residence 'Entertainer' in 2005 tightened the control considerably. A minimum of two years at a foreign educational institution studying performance arts, or a minimum of two years' performance experience outside Japan as an entertainer became required (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2007).

Indochinese **refugees** began arriving in Japan by boat in the 1970s after the fall of South Vietnam. Over 10,000 refugees from Indochina have been allowed to remain in Japan since then. Because Japan did not ratify the 1951 Convention or the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees until 1981-82, the vast majority of the Indochinese was not considered convention refugees. Their resettlement was organized under a different system created especially for this purpose.

Convention refugee status is granted by the Japanese government and entitles the refugee to stay and work in Japan long term. Very few have, however, been awarded this; between 1982 and 2005 only 376 of 3928 applicants were granted Convention status. Some applicants may remain in Japan after their application for refugee status has been rejected, usually for humanitarian rea-

sons. The yearly number varies, but only 381 have received this status since 1982 (JAR 2007).

The number of asylum seekers is very low in Japan. UNHCR in Japan has stopped giving mandate status to asylum seekers altogether because of the dominance of the Japanese state in these matters. In 2005 only 284 applications for asylum were made. Japan's refugee policy reflects the generally restrictive migration policy (Banki 2006).

International marriages bring many foreigners to Japan. Such began to occur in larger numbers when Japan's colonial period brought close contacts with neighboring Asian countries. The Japanese government encouraged marriages between Japanese and Korean colonial subjects as part of a wider policy to eliminate Korean racial and ethnic identities. Under this policy especially Japanese women married Korean men who worked in Japan. This pattern continued a long time after the war with international marriages being mainly between Japanese and Koreans. The majority of these Korean nationals were permanent residents in Japan who themselves or whose parents had once had Japanese nationality under the colonial period. Due to the nationality criteria these marriages were registered as international in official statistics.

During the Allied occupation of Japan, international marriages between Japanese women and men from the United States became prominent. Many of these 'war brides' migrated to the US, partly because of the hostile attitude in Japan towards them (Nakamatsu 2002: 11). The trend of Japanese women marrying foreign men continued until 1975,

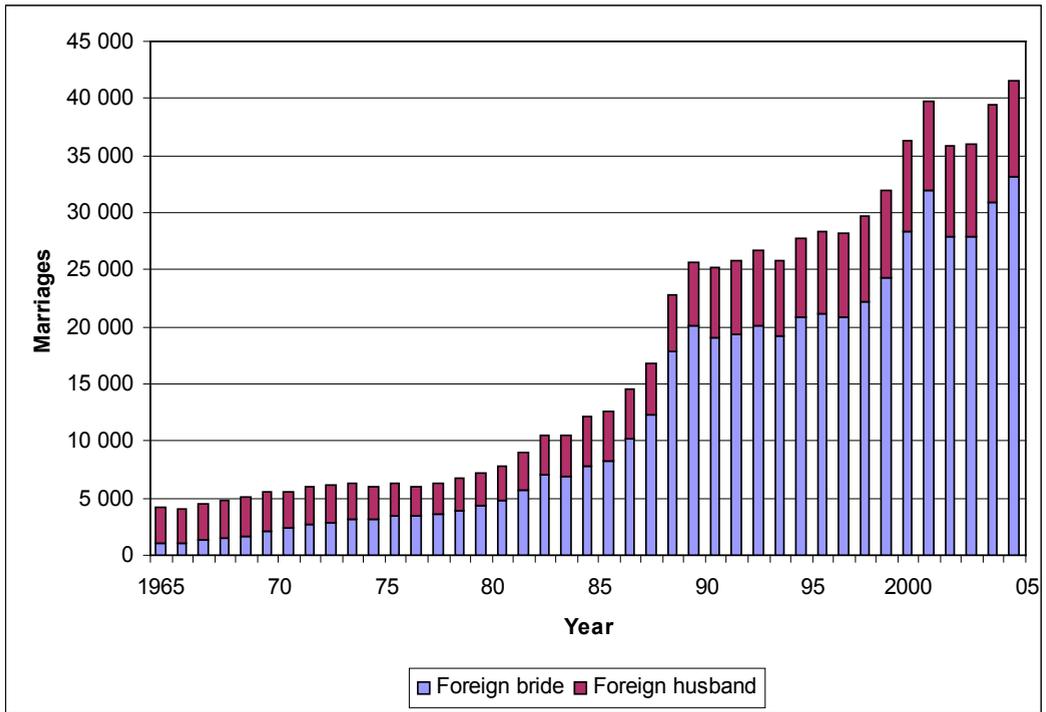


Figure 2. International marriages in Japan  
Source: Ministry of Health and Welfare 2007

when the number of Japanese men marrying non-Japanese women surpassed the number of the former.

The trend in international marriages on the one hand reflected the interaction between Japan and other Asian countries, and on the other an increasing number of Japanese men, especially in the rural areas, not finding marriage partners (Komai 2001: 72). From the beginning of the 1990s brides from China and the Philippines became more numerous than those from Korea. Inter-marriage between Japanese men and Filipino and Thai women who work in Japan reflects the growth of the entertainment industry and the establishment of the international marriage

business in Japan (Nakamatsu 2002:12). In 2005 the wives in international marriages mainly came from China(11,644) the Philippines (10,242), Korea (6,066) and Thailand (1,637).

Until 1970 citizens of the United States topped the statistics of non-Japanese grooms. In 2005 the proportion of Japanese women marrying men from the US has decreased from the 1965 level of 51 percent to 18 percent although the number of these marriages has increased (1551 in 2005). Korean grooms now top the statistics (2,087) and Chinese rank third (1,015) (Ministry of health and Welfare 2007).

The war-displaced – *zanryu fujin/koji*, the Japanese women and children who

were separated from their families and left behind in the colonies, especially Manchuria, during and after World War II, were the first immigrants officially accepted into Japan after 1945. According to incomplete statistics, more than 4,000 of the Japanese children left behind were adopted by Chinese families (China Daily 6.9.2006), but any definite number of women and children has not been possible to determine. A year after the diplomatic relations between Japan and China were normalized in 1972, they were allowed to move to Japan on state expense. Initially only those who could prove their identity and had a Japanese guarantor could move to Japan and accompanying family members had to pay for themselves. Many of the *zanryufujin/koji* had to migrate to Japan as non-Japanese. A change in policy in 1959 had reduced the number of years a person was required to be missing before considered legally dead reduced the number of non-repatriated civilians from 77,000 to 31,000 and these persons lost their citizenship (Ward 2006).

The immigration process proved difficult and in 1981 the Japanese government began to sponsor groups of *zanryufujin/koji* to visit Japan and identify their biological families and thus prove their identity. In 1989 a special sponsor scheme was introduced and the applicants were required to have a sponsor rather than a guarantor, which made their migration much easier. In 1994 a 'Law to promote the smooth reentry of Japanese Nationals left behind in China, etc. and to support their independence following reentry' was enforced to facilitate their integration.

At the end of 2006, a total of 20,248

people from the former colonies had migrated to Japan (Sien-Center 2007). They are elderly and many came with their spouses, children or grandchildren, who sometimes have spouses of their own. These come under the status as second or third generation returnees (Komai 2001, Ward 2006). Considering that a returnee on the average brings 10 or more relatives and in-laws, many of them outside the state-supported program, the aggregate number of *zanryufujin/koji* including their family members must be around 100,000, but the exact number is not known. These returnees face the same language and culture barrier as other immigrants, but are in a situation of dual diaspora being of Japanese ancestry, looking Japanese but not knowing the culture. They are also much more dependent on public assistance benefits than other immigrants and have a lower employment rate (Komai 2001: 61).

Reacting to their difficult situation in Japan, 2000 *zanryufujin/koji* resettled in Japan have filed lawsuits with 15 district courts and one high court nationwide to compensate for the state's failure to take swift action for their resettlement and adequately help them become self-reliant in Japan. Osaka district court refused compensation in July 2005, stating that there was not sufficient evidence to rule that the government had negligent in finding the orphans and that the government was not obliged to support them after returning to Japan. The Kobe District court decided differently in December 2006, and ordered the government to pay a combined 468.6 million yen in compensation to 61 of the 65 plain-

tiffs for its failure to take care of them. At the end of January 2007 the Tokyo district court rejected a similar demand from 40 war-displaced Japanese (*Asahi Shimbun* 2.12.2006; *Japan Times* 2.12.2006, 31.1.2007).

In July 2007 the government announced new support plan to settle compensation lawsuits nationwide. Under the new plan, the orphans, who currently receive only one-third of the public pension, will be able to receive the full payment and additional benefits. The average age of the 2,500 or so war orphans who have resettled in Japan is over 70, and more than 70 percent depend on welfare (*Japan Times* 11.7.2007).

Before the economic bubble burst in the beginning of the 1990s, Japanese companies experienced serious labor shortage, and the influx of low-wage labor power increased dramatically in the later half of the 1980s. These immigrants came from Latin-America (*nikkeijin*, mostly Brazilians of Japanese descent), South Korea, China, the Philippines, Iran, Pakistan and from all over the world. A great part of them worked illegally; visa overstayers and foreigners taking employment outside the scope permitted by their residency status, such as technical trainees and students. The influx of foreign students rose tremendously from former levels (Komai 2001, Kashiwazaki 2002). In 1989 the Japanese government embarked on reforming the Immigration Control Act in response to the uncontrolled development of immigration. The government reorganized new visa categories to facilitate the immigration of professional and skilled personnel; the number was en-

larged from 18 to 28. The basic principle of not accepting unskilled foreign labor was maintained and employer sanctions were introduced to discourage hiring illegal workers. A side door was, however, kept open for 'trainees and technical interns' who could stay for a maximum of three years. This became a system for rotating cheap unskilled workers (Sellek 2001; Kondo 2002; Kashiwazaki 2007).

Another major effect of the Revised Immigration Control Act, which went into force 1990, was that it allowed **second and third-generation persons of Japanese descent** (*nikkeijin*) easier access to residential visas with no employment restrictions. Under these provisions the *nikkeijin* were allowed to enter Japan on two types of visas, as spouse or descendant of Japanese and also under a new category as long term resident *teijusha* with no activity restrictions. Although these special visas were of limited duration, they could be easily renewed (Tsuda 2003: 93). The official explanation for granting residence-work status to Japanese descendants was to provide opportunities to visit relatives in Japan, but the hidden agenda was to stop illegal immigration and solve a serious labor shortage (Kondo 2002).

The *nikkeijin* population in Latin America was around 1.5 million at the turn of the millennium. Brazil hosts more people of Japanese origin than any nation outside Japan itself. Most of the Japanese population (91 percent) is concentrated in the southwest and south of the country. The states of São Paulo and Paraná have the highest number of *nikkeijin*. Some 30 percent of the Japanese Brazilians are second generation (*nisei*), 41 percent are third generation

(*sansei*) with a small but increasing population of fourth generation (*yonseï*), 62 percent of whom are of mixed descent (Tsuda 2003: 57).

The Japanese government had shown comparatively little interest in them until the enacting of the new Immigration Control Act in 1990. The sudden massive influx of these immigrants into Japan was quite unexpected. They had not kept up contact with relatives in Japan and few had visited the country. Only around 2000 such returnees lived in Japan in 1986, but in 2005 their number had risen to around 360,000. The pull factor was economic, private brokers organized the journey, job and housing. There were also strong push-factors. The Brazilian economy had deteriorated badly in the 1990s and Japanese wages were very high compared to those in Brazil. The *nikkeijin* got jobs as manual workers in the 3-K sector - *kitanai, kitsui, kiken* - dirty, difficult, dangerous, replacing temporary illegal workers and trainees (Sellek 2001; Brody 2002).

The first to come in the 1990s were single men intending to stay for a few years and return home with the money earned in Japan, which resulted in an age distribution with few elderly and children. As the *nikkeijin* established themselves in Japan, bringing families along and obtaining permanent residency the proportion of fourth generation and fifth generation has increased (Goto 2006).

The *nikkeijin* are not evenly distributed in Japan, but are concentrated in certain industrial areas. The prefectures with the largest number of Brazilian *nikkeijin* are Aichi, Shizuoka, Kanagawa, Saitama, Gunma, Chiba and Tokyo city

(Tsuda 2003: 99). In certain living districts the proportion of *nikkeijin* is very high and they have created their own local culture with Brazilian shops and bars. For example in Homi housing district in Toyota city around 40 percent of the residents are Brazilian (Goto 2006; Linger 2001: 79-86; *International Press* 3.2.2007).

They have added new chapters to Japan's ethnohistory being of Japanese lineage and looking Japanese, but having a language, culture, customs and behavior deriving from South America. Many ethnic Latin American spouses and children also accompanied them to Japan, adding to the cultural confusion. It is common to classify the second and third generation *nikkeijin* as return migrants, but where is the point of reference, their 'home'? Linger (2001:26) suggest that the situation is one of 'dual diaspora' because they shuttle between two homelands, being Japanese in Brazil and Brazilian in Japan.

The *nikkeijin* face many difficulties in Japan, especially with regard to language and culture. They stay illiterate for a long time, and they have difficulties adapting to the Japanese way of living. As they tend to stick to other *nikkeijin* and form ethnic communities, Komai (2001, 37) writes that the '*nikkeijin* society is going through a process of cleavage from Japanese society'.

Even though the returnees are admonished to become model Japanese, they are constantly reminded of their otherness. They experience a kind of double discrimination, because they are not excused as foreigners when they do mistakes, they are expected to follow Japanese customs and speak the lan-

guage because they have Japanese blood. Coming from what by the Japanese is perceived as developing countries also puts them in an inferior position (Roth 2002).

**Internationalization and integration**

The total number of foreigners in Japan was over two millions in 2005, and it is increasing. Figure 3 shows how the nationality structure is changing with the ‘newcomers’ (only the biggest immigrant nationalities are shown in the figure). The number of ‘oldcomers’, especially Koreans, is declining, and the number of ‘newcomer’ Chinese rising. The largest group of newcomers, the Chinese, is a very diverse group. It con-

sists of former Japanese nationals and their families returning from China (*zanryufujin/koji*), students and trainees, spouses and children of Japanese nationals, company employees and other. In addition there is a large number of illegal Chinese migrants in Japan, mainly visa overstayers (Komai 2001: 26-27).

Immigration policy has two interrelated parts: immigration control policy and integration policy. In the Japanese context they are, however, synonymous (Kondo 2002). The three pillars of the immigration system were erected at the end of the allied occupation of Japan. These were (1) the Nationality law (1950) based on the transmission of nationality through the paternal line, (2) the Immigration control act (1951), which was drafted in close cooperation

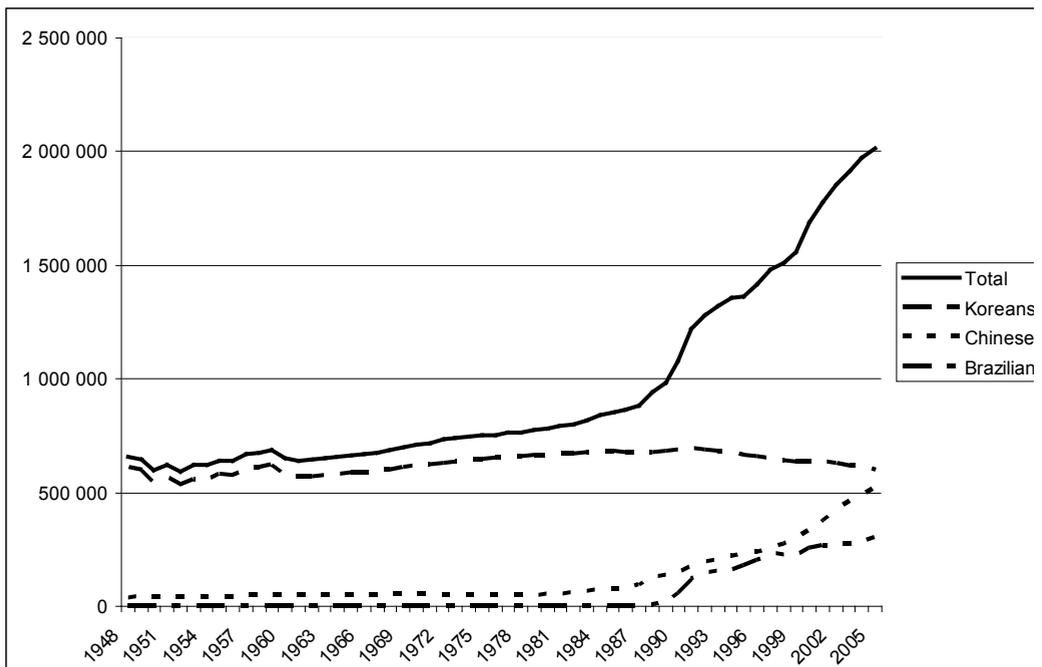


Figure 3. Foreigners in Japan  
 Source: Statistics Bureau Japan 2008, Japan Statistical Yearbook 2008

with the Supreme Command Allied Powers and modeled on the US immigration policy (3) the Alien registration law (1952) which set up the system with registering and fingerprinting foreigners (Komai 2001:14-15). The legislation also revoked the Japanese nationality of Chinese and Koreans in Japan. They lost a wide range of rights and were left without any clearly defined residence status and deprived of their right to leave and re-enter Japan (Morris-Suzuki 2006). The legislation did have a category of 'permanent residents' corresponding to the category of 'immigrants' in the US policy, on which it had been modeled, but nobody was ever accepted in that category. It was not designed to integrate newcomers; rather it was an instrument of surveillance and control thus discriminating against foreigners.

In 1982 a new Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was enforced. Japan had been reluctant to join the original International Refugee Treaty of 1951, but the arrival of Indochinese refugees in Japan and international pressure compelled the government to sign the convention relating to the status of refugees. This reform provided the legal framework for different types of status of residence and re-entry permits and equal treatment to nationals and non-nationals abolishing some discrimination of foreigners within the social security system. Rather than using the concept integration policy, the Japanese government used internationalization policy or domestic internationalization policy (*kokusaika*) (Komai 2001: 16-17; Kondo 2002; Sellek 2001: 25). This concept had emerged in the 1970s with the economic development of Japan and

increasing international trade. Prime Minister Nakasone set out to transform Japan into an 'international country' in a speech before the parliament in 1984 as a response to the American demand to open Japan for foreign exports. *Kokusaika* is, however, a complex term, which cannot be reduced to the word internationalization. It also carries a connotation to japanization of the foreign in the world and of the foreign in Japan. Because of the controversial meanings *kokusaika* carries, terms such as globalization (*gurobaruka*) and co-existence (*kyosei*) have replaced it in common use (Burgess 2004). The latter has become popular not only in government use, but also among volunteer and citizen groups. Some local governments with many resident aliens have adopted this term in their policy.

The so-called "*nikkeijin*" provision in the Revised Immigration Control Act of 1990 rested on the implicit assumption that ethnic Japanese would fill the demand for unskilled workers without disturbing the ethnic and cultural uniformity of Japan. They were expected to assimilate easily into the society regardless of nationality, the concepts of ethnicity, culture and 'blood' were used to legitimate this assumption (Goodman et al 2003). Japanese 'blood' was measured by the number of generations removed from Japan. This was reflected in that second generation Japanese descendants (*nisei*) were eligible for a 3-year long visa, whereas third generation (*sansei*) were entitled only to a 1-year visa. Fourth generation and thereafter did not qualify to enter Japan under the scheme, as a

great part of them was of mixed descent<sup>1</sup> (Takenaka 2003: 225). This legislation allowing the return of ethnic Japanese falls in fact back on *jus sanguinis* basis: to meet the need for labor keeping those with no Japanese blood outside, not letting even fourth generation *nikkeijin* with their ‘diluted blood’ in. *Nikkeijin* and *Zanryufujin/koji* in Japan get explicitly confronted with this when the native Japanese wonder why a person with a Japanese surname and a Japanese physical appearance is unable to speak Japanese and act like one. When they do learn the language, they do not get the same compliments as other non-Japanese achieving this, because they are supposed to have it somehow inherent ‘in their blood’. Instead, they even confront hostility not being able to confirm to all the implicit expectations and norms in Japan.

Since the enacting of the Immigration Control Act in 1990 many revisions have been made in the immigration legislation. In 1991 persons and their descendants who lost their Japanese citizenship in accordance with the Peace Treaty were permitted special permanent residence status (the bilateral agreement with South Korea in 1965 had ensured the status of permanent residents only for citizens of

South Korea and their children) (Kondo 2002). Further amendments were made in 1997, 2000, 2004 and 2006 tightening the control on illegal aliens in Japan, but also making improvements, such as taking measures against trafficking in persons (Immigration Bureau of Japan 2007).

Amendments have also been made in the Nationality law 1984 and 1993 changing the principle of patrilineal *jus sanguinis* to both patri- and matrilineal. The requirement of a Japanese name as requirement for naturalization was also dropped. In 1993 the Alien registration act was amended and eliminated fingerprinting as a requirement for permanent residents, and in 2000 it was abolished for all resident aliens (Ministry of Justice 2007). It did return with the amendment of the immigration policy act in 2006 in another form, fingerprints are taken when entering the country, and not as before only for resident aliens at the local immigration office.

The Immigration Control Act of 1990 also stipulated that the Minister of Justice was to establish a Basic Plan for Immigration Control to set forth immigration control guidelines and other measures. In the First Basic Plan for Immigration Control of 1992, the main objectives were the promotion of smooth exchanges of personnel and measures against illegal foreign workers. The second basic plan of immigration control announced in 2000 outlined a more open policy of foreign migration to Japan. With the country facing a population decline due to the age structure, it acknowledged the need to accept at least some immigration and stated:

1 The *nisei* and *sansei* would in principle have had the option of entering Japan as Japanese nationals if their parents would have registered them at the Japanese consulate promptly after their birth. According to the Japanese nationality law, children born to a Japanese national are automatically entitled to Japanese citizenship, regardless of their place of birth. Not being Japanese citizens, the *nikkeijin* were admitted as “co-ethnic family visitors” and “settlers” allowed to work without any restriction

*However, this does not mean short-circuited acceptance of immigrants or a huge number of foreigners, but rather acceptance of foreigners corresponding to the societal needs, through active utilization of presently available systems, smooth enough not causing friction or unease in a society (Ministry of Justice 2007).*

The plan clearly reflected uneasiness with a growing number of aliens, especially illegal foreigners and advocated strong measures to keep out the unwanted and choose the desired immigrants carefully.

Based on the five-year experience under this plan, the Japanese government announced the Third Basic Plan in 2005. The fundamental concept is similar to that of the Second Basic Plan and it also addresses the smooth settlement of long-term foreign residents.

*Japan has adopted a basic policy to openly accept foreign workers in professional or technical fields. It is therefore necessary to more openly accept foreign nationals who are welcome in Japanese society, and from the viewpoint of enhancing the international competitiveness of Japan, there is special need to welcome those foreign nationals who are vital to Japanese society such as highly-skilled workers who have world-class specialized knowledge or technical skills. In this respect, there is also a need to develop an environment where foreign nationals can live comfortably, and therefore through such measures as considering a social security system for foreign nationals and by coordinating with other administrative measures the smooth acceptance of foreign nationals will be pro-*

*moted through realization of a Japanese society where foreign nationals can live in a stable environment (Ministry of Justice 2007).*

In order to promote these goals, the government wanted to extend the possibilities of longer stay with a proper visa and clarify the conditions for the permission of permanent residency. Traditionally, the Japanese immigration policy has not been willing to allow permanent residence for foreigners. Before 1998 a 20-year continuous residence in Japan was needed before qualifying, but has since then been lowered to 10 years of continuous residence. Naturalization, in contrast, requires only five years of continuous residence<sup>2</sup>.

The development of the legislation relating to immigration reflects the ideology expressed in cultural debates. The distinctiveness and separateness of the Japanese in relation to foreigners inside and outside Japan persists in spite of the changing policy. The later generations of Japanese 'returnees' from Latin America and China have as a result fallen in between, making their situation in Japan difficult.

The doors will not open wide; the government cautiously wants professionals and highly skilled workers, preferably with some Japanese language skills. Unskilled workers are not wanted, even if there is a demand. *Nikkeijin* and short

<sup>2</sup> The spouses or children of Japanese nationals or permanent residents can after renewing the one-year spouse visa a couple of times, extend it to a three-year spouse visa (but only those from countries in favor with Japan). Then, when the first three-year spouse visa comes close to expiring it is possible to apply for permanent residency.

term workers from abroad on trainee visas are too few, and the demand will rise as the population ages.

The former head of the Tokyo Immigration Bureau Hidenori Sakanaka published an important, but little read book in 2005 *Nyuukan Senki* (Immigration battle diary). In this he argues that Japan must decide what kind of country it must become by the middle of this century. Being a big country requires roughly 20 million immigrants to keep the wheels turning and being a small country with a population of around 100 million is the consequence when most foreigners are kept out. In the latter case robots must do some of the work the immigrants would do. Sakanaka favors the big country alternative, not just for economic reasons, but Japan should become the 'Canada of Asia', a multicultural and multiethnic salad bowl.

Japan is part of a global migration system which connects particular sending countries with particular receiving countries. Migration is an outcome of interacting macro-, meso- and micro-structures. In relation to the macrostructure Japan's presence in Asia has been substantial through direct investments and export of consumer goods, but also in terms of cultural links. The influx of Asian illegal workers to Japan which gained momentum before the recession in the 1990s is connected with this macrostructure. The meso-level connections between migrants in Japan encourage to further migration, but on the micro level the obstacles set up by Japanese legislation and authority control and enforcement counteract this strongly. Thus the prewar tradition with strong state control of migration is con-

tinued, even counteracting the interests of the Japanese economy. Japanese mass media frequently voice opinions in favour of 'opening the doors', like many critics and analysts of the system, often referring to the large proportion of immigrants in Europe, North America and Australia. The problem is that Japan lacks a continuous tradition of accepting foreign labor, and adjusting to a situation with a sudden massive influx of immigrants would pose considerable problems, not least that of public opinion.

Abandoning the perceived homogeneity in favor of ethnic heterogeneity requires many changes in the Japanese immigrant legislation to eliminate the institutional discrimination that foreigners in Japan encounter today. For example compulsory education in Japan does not apply to foreign children. This means that those immigrant children who drop out of primary school have no other education choices and sometimes wind up in an uneducated underclass of youth gangs (*furyo* in Japanese. litt. spoiled goods). Foreign crime is perceived as a serious issue in Japan, and it is often exaggerated by authorities and media thus contributing to the prejudices against foreigners, both on a common and institutional level.

The current foreign population of Japan poses no threat to the society, and ethnic minorities are not targets of hatred and xenophobic violence like in many countries with large immigrant populations. Still there exists institutional discrimination to an extent that would not be possible in most western societies. This situation is gradually changing with the increasing foreign

presence in Japan. The myth of Japanese homogeneity is slowly waning. Even so, Japan need not necessarily follow the road other developed countries have taken.

The population will decrease in Japan. The declining birthrate is, however, not the main cause. The reason is that members of the post-World War II baby-boom generation who are predicted to die in the next 30 years outnumber children to be born during the same period. The population will shrink even if the birthrate increased drastically. Women who are predicted to have babies in the next 30 years constitute a smaller portion of the population.

The immediate pressing issue for Japan to address is the dependency rate; to keep the ratio of working age population to the retired population at a reasonable level. There are basically only three ways to do this: to increase fertility; to change pension benefits (lower pensions, postponed retirement age); or to increase immigration.

The government has introduced a series of policies supporting childcare during the last decade in order to increase the population fertility and reformed the pension system, but these measures are not sufficient. Immigration could be a remedy to the problem with an ageing population if it brings young active population who will work, consume and pay taxes, which will contribute to financing the social security system. Theoretically, temporary immigration would be a good solution, because it would change the population pyramid. Temporary immigrants would require little state-funded medical attention and they would leave before being eligible to

receive pension benefits. Immigrants taking up permanent residence are, however, no solution in the long run, as they are likely to conform to Japanese society with low birthrates.

Another, more seldom discussed matter relates to environmental sustainability. Japan is a mountainous nation and most of the country is uninhabitable making the population density one of the highest in the world. Japan's environmental problems are a result of excessive industrial production and waste discharge in the overpopulated country. The most voiced concern about the graying Japan relates to the economy; a small working population means lower production. One might, however, question the reasonability of continuing to pursue a higher economic growth keeping or even increasing the current population level. Would a shrinking population not be an option, taking the overpopulation, the environmental problems and Japan's low food self-sufficiency rate into account? That has rarely been given serious consideration in the debate.

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# ‘Latvians Abroad’: A Planned Latvian Emigration Museum and Research Center

*Maija Hinkle*

The twentieth century can be characterized in world history not only by the two total, devastating world wars that took place during the first half of the century, but also by the hitherto unprecedented mass migrations of peoples that accompanied these wars, migrations where millions of people swept across Europe in a few years – not only soldiers, but millions and millions of civilians – to escape the war and save one's life, to escape occupying armies, because they were forced by governing authorities or because their homes had been destroyed.

Latvians formed a small part of this mass movement of peoples throughout the century, having been both a sending and a receiving country. While it lost a significant percentage of its population during the two world wars, it became an immigrant destination during the Soviet period after World War II, only to undergo new waves of emigration in the present century, to the extent that an Integration Ministry study in 2006 estimated that almost 300,000 former Latvian inhabitants were now permanent residents outside Latvia. That

amounts to approximately 13% of the population.<sup>1</sup>

Yet in spite of the significance of migrations in recent Latvian history, there has been very little study of the mass migrations and no attempt to preserve the histories and experiences of the emigrants. Fortunately, this is slowly changing with respect to the current populations of former Latvian inhabitants living abroad. In 2006 the Latvian Ministry of Integration launched a systematic investigation of and interaction with the Latvian communities residing abroad, but so far only preliminary data have been published (see [www.integracija.gov.lv](http://www.integracija.gov.lv)).

## **Latvian demographics and history in 20th century – a short outline**

The population of Latvia during the last century has varied between 1,6 million and 2,67 million (*Table 1*), the changes most often being due to population migration and loss during a war, rather than to natural causes.

Great upheavals in Latvian history have most often been accompanied by-

Table 1 - Latvian population, 1863 - 2007<sup>1</sup>

Year	Total population of Latvia	Latvians (%)	Number of Latvians outside Latvia
1863	1,240,000		
1897	1,929,387	68%	149,000
1914	2,552,000	60%	230,000 – 260,000
1920	1,596,000	72.6%	
1935	1,950,000	75.2%	215,000 – 225,000
1943	1,803,104		
1959	2,093,000	62%	262,000
1990	2,670,000	52%	201,000 - 211,000
1992	2,657,755	52.5%	195,000 – 205,000
2006			300,000 <sup>2</sup>
2007 <sup>3</sup>	2,259,810	58.2%	

<sup>1</sup> Plakans, Andrejs, 1995, *The Latvians. A Short History*. Hoover Institution Press, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Bērziņš, Aldis, 2006, „Emigrācija skaitļos” *Kultūras Forums*, 16. – 22. sept. p. 4

<sup>3</sup> [www.indexmundi.com/latvia/demographics](http://www.indexmundi.com/latvia/demographics)

great changes in the population. One of the most devastating population losses occurred before and during World War I, when in 1914 about 760,000 people from Western Latvia were forced out of their homes to flee East, many to Russia,<sup>2</sup> which soon was gripped by civil war. According to Krasnais, there were about 300,000 Latvian inhabitants in Russia at the eve of World War I, which group then more than doubled with the influx of refugees.<sup>3</sup> Plakans estimates that by March 1917 some one million Latvians had taken residence outside the Baltic area.<sup>4</sup> Many made it back to Latvia after the war and Latvia's independence in 1918, but many more remained in Russia when it became the

Soviet Union. A number of Latvians were in leadership positions in the Communist party and were among the thousands killed in Stalin's purges in the 1930's.

The next great upheaval in population came with World War II with the mass exodus of civilians to both the East and the West, as the armies swept across Latvia several times (*see Table 2*).

Toward the end of WWII as the Soviet army was again recapturing Latvia hundreds of thousands of Latvian inhabitants fled or were forced to move West, where about 214,000 ended up on German territory.<sup>5</sup> Of those more than 100,000 stayed in Germany in DP refugee camps. After 2-5 years in camps most had emigrated to host countries including 40,000

Table 2 Latvian history highlights and population movements 1939 - 1991.

Date	Historical event	Civilian population movement
1939	Molotov-Ribbentrop Non-Agression pact – Baltic countries assigned to the USSR	Hitler urges all ethnic Germans to return to their homeland. Most Baltic Germans emigrate to Germany.
1940, June 17 – 1941, July 5	USSR occupies Latvia.	Approximately 35,000 Latvian inhabitants deported to USSR. First mass deportations June 13-14, 1941. <sup>4</sup>
1941, June 23	Germany attacks USSR; World War II starts.	Some Jews, communist sympathizers, functionaries and others flee to the USSR with retreating Soviet army.
1941, July – 1945, May	Nazi occupation of Latvia. -1941: Nazi extermination of Jews, mostly in location. -1943: Latvian Legion formed -1943: secret Latvian Central Council formed	25,000 Jews brought into Latvia by the Nazis, of which 10,000 eventually transported back to Germany. 4,000 surviving Latvian Jews transported to Germany in 1943. <sup>4</sup>
1945, May 8	World War II ends. USSR reoccupies Latvia	Approximately 200,000 (10%) of Latvia's inhabitants flee or are forced to leave for the West. <sup>5</sup> Soviet functionaries and some former Latvian inhabitants return to Latvia from the USSR with Soviet army.
1945 – 1991	Soviet occupation of Latvia	1941- 1949: approximately 200,000 of Latvian inhabitants deported to Siberia, about 1/3 eventually return. <sup>6</sup> 1945-1955: Some 535,000 workers from USSR sent into Latvia. <sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *These Names Accuse*, 1982, The Latvian National Foundation, Stockholm, p. XXX.

<sup>5</sup> Andrew Ezergailis, personal communication.

<sup>6</sup> Baltais, Mirdza Kate, 1999, "Piespiedu iesaukšana darbam Vācijā, militāram dienestam un evakuācija uz Vāciju", *The Latvian Legion: Selected Documents*. Ezergailis, Andrew, ed. Toronto: Amber Printers and Publishers, pg. 193-199. Of the 200,000 about 30,000 were soldiers, several thousand were mobilized or volunteered to work in Germany, and most of the rest were refugees. Only about 100,000 eventually reached Germany. Mirdza Baltais proposes that during the war about 217,000 Latvians had reached Germany, but only about 140,000 remained as émigrés.

<sup>7</sup> Plakans, Andrejs, *op cit.* p. 155.

<sup>8</sup> Plakans, Andrejs, *op cit.* p. 15

to the United States. There they established still active communities-in-exile, whose two main goals were to remind the world about Latvia's occupation and preserve pre-war Latvian language and culture until the day that Latvia is independent again.

My family and I were among them. Since my father was a Lutheran minister and actively engaged in the Latvian community, I grew up fully a part of two cultures, the American one and the Latvian world, which was the center of my social and cultural life. When Latvia regained its independence in 1991, some emigres returned from their homes in the West, but many were too assimilated and integrated into their host countries. However, often the connection, especially for the older generation, was still there, and many people, even though they didn't intend to move back to Latvia to live, wanted to share their experiences with their compatriots in Latvia. They wanted to tell them what they had done on behalf of Latvia during the occupation, about who they were.<sup>6</sup> Partly to help implement this desire, I agreed to collect life stories of Latvian-American emigres and eventually to 'return them to Latvia' as part of a bigger story of emigration over the last few centuries. Yet interest in the stories and experiences of emigres by Latvian inhabitants has remained tepid at best. Furthermore, what information there was was scattered and not easily available.

When in the spring of 2006 I participated in a conference on migration and oral history at the Norwegian Emigrant Museum, I realized that what we needed in Latvia was a central research center

for emigration issues, a place where we could research the various emigrations, preserve emigration artifacts and show the emigrant experience. We needed a museum and a research center modelled on that in Norway and that dealt not only with the migration during WWII, but with a much broader time frame. Fortunately, The Museum's director, Knut Djupedal has been extremely helpful and supportive of the idea and has helped us develop plans for implementation that might just be the ones that result in a successful result.

### **Current emigration from Latvia**

Around the same time the Latvian government was becoming seriously concerned about the increasing numbers of young, professional people emigrating in search of better paying jobs and a easier lifestyle abroad. In order to start addressing the problem, they first had to get some statistics about the former Latvian inhabitants now living abroad. Under the sponsorship of the Integration Ministry of Latvia and the PBLA<sup>7</sup> the Center for Economic and Opinion Research (SKDS) canvassed the embassies and various local ethnic organizations in 75 countries in 2006 to arrive at some preliminary data about emigrants from Latvia in those countries. By 2006 a total of almost 300,000 former Latvian inhabitants (about 13%) had emigrated to other countries. *Table 3* shows the number of host country inhabitants from Latvia or of Latvian descent in the countries with the greatest numbers: 69% of the Latvian inhabitants living abroad were ethnic Latvians, whereas 32% of all emigrants were Latvian citizens. In the USA about half of the latter

Table 3 – Former Latvian inhabitants now permanently settled abroad<sup>9</sup>

Country	Former Latvian inhabitants	Percent of total emigrants
USA	87,564	31%
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	37,500	13%
Russia	30,142	11%
Ireland	30,000	11%
Canada	22,615	8%
Australia	18,935	7%
Germany	9,447	3%
Brazil	10,000	4%
Ukraine	5,079	2%
Sweden	4,000	1%
Lithuania	2,955	1%

<sup>9</sup> Bšrzinš, Aldis 2006, *op.cit*

have double citizenship.<sup>8</sup> The numbers in this study are approximate and need more investigation for several reasons. In the first place, the data were obtained from various sources within a country, some of which were only giving very approximate estimations. Secondly, there was no clear definition of who should be included in the counts. It is also clear that by now the numbers have grown, because for 2007 alone *indexmundi* reported an average of 2.7 emigrants from Latvia for every 1000 inhabitants.<sup>9</sup> In informal surveys most of them do not intend to return to Latvia.

### **‘LATVIANS ABROAD’ – Museum and Research Center (LA-MRC) - initial plans**

The idea for a new history museum in Latvia is based on the premise that Latvi-

ans are not only those who reside within the territory of Latvia, but everyone who considers him/herself as Latvian or belonging to Latvian culture and that their history ought to become part of Latvian history as a whole. The impetus to establish a museum and research center was 1) the lack of systematic preservation of diaspora cultures in Latvia and abroad, 2) no other institution in Latvia or abroad intends to do it, and 3) encouragement by similar organizations, e.g., the Norwegian Emigrant Museum. The mission of LA-MRC is to research, preserve and disseminate the histories and cultures of Latvians abroad as an integral part of the history of Latvia. The goals of the museum are 1) to present interesting, engaging and educational exhibits and programs for broad range of audiences, 2) to initiate and support

a variety of emigration research projects, 3) to collect and preserve the documents, archives, relics and other material culture artifacts of Latvian communities, individuals and organizations abroad, 4) to establish a research library on Latvian emigration, 5) to help build bridges between the people of Latvia and Latvians abroad, and 6) to help build bridges between host countries and Latvia.

The focus of research and exhibitions will be the emigration history of Latvians and their life abroad during the last 200 years. The exhibitions will address the history of the emigration, motivations for leaving of the emigrants, Latvian immigrant communities, their culture, activities and organizations in each country of residence, influence of host country on immigrant communities, emigrants' contributions to the world and to Latvia, contemporary status of Latvian immigrant communities and return migration and its consequences. The first priority regarding the facility will be to develop traditional exhibition galleries, administrative offices and a collections storage facility.

The site will be outside Riga for several reasons. 1) Getting permissions to build in Riga is a multi-year process; 2) building outside Riga is considerably cheaper; 3) we want enough land to have a conference center and an open air museum, and 4) we want to bring much needed economic and cultural development to a provincial region in Latvia. The site should have some connection to emigration, should be within an hour's drive from Riga, be close to other tourist, cultural or educational sites, have a favorable museum and local government environment, be large enough

for future development, and be within our budgetary means.

When fully functional the program will consist of permanent and special exhibitions, travelling (or digital) exhibitions, open-air installations, publications for academic and general audiences, reference library, conference facilities, guided tours and school programs, public programs and special events, internship programs for youth and students, a gift shop or other commercial enterprise. Clearly the program components will be implemented over time, as money becomes available. It is possible that in the beginning we will have to concentrate on collecting materials and developing travelling and digital exhibitions.

The museum will be private, incorporated in Latvia, with a Board of Governors (Trustees), an advisory board and paid professional employees, e.g., director, assistant, curators, etc. The policies will be set by the annual full membership meeting and executed by the Board, which is elected by the membership. We hope that the start-up funding will come from international funds (EU, EEA, local embassies), Latvian ministries, Latvian cultural granting organizations abroad. Operational funding will come from grants, Latvian government agencies, museum membership dues, donations/bequests from individuals or organizations, rental fees and a commercial enterprise connected with the museum.

### **Implementation – phase one.**

Since establishing such an institution in Latvia is a very large undertaking, I started out by floating the idea in the

forums where I was already active and by canvassing key people in the exile community and Latvia. By June 2007 we had formed a working committee of 15 members from the USA, Sweden and Latvia, who had either volunteered after some of my talks or whom I had recruited. Clearly members of the emigre community were very enthusiastic about the plans.

The next step was to found the museum organization in Latvia and to get the officials and people in Latvia involved in the process, because even though the idea of the center and museum came from the emigre community, we wanted the people in Latvia to feel that it was their museum, that they were an integral part of it. Therefore, Ints Dzelzgalvis and I spent the month of June 2007 meeting with various central, local government and museum officials, recruiting potential task force members, and researching potential museum sites. Unfortunately, the major building used for the transfer of emigrants for many years even during Tsarist times was not available. We have been offered several parcels of land for free. We have also investigated two former mansions, connected with emigres, but none are in good enough condition to warrant work on it. The site search for the museum continues.

We have been quite successful in forming potential relationships with local, cultural and government officials, including some local museums and local government officials. The director of the Latvian Museum Board, Janis Garjans continues to be most helpful. The Minister of Culture has expressed her enthusiastic support for the museum, while

the staff of the Integration Ministry's Department for Special Tasks Regarding Latvians Living Abroad has advised us on funding and other matters. Our presence at the AEMI meeting in Turku, Finland 2007 was of special interest to the higher government officials and I think opened some doors for us.

Thanks to the good offices of the well-known and popular Latvian writer, diplomat and public figure Anna Žigure, we obtained the *pro bono* services of a law firm in Riga. They helped us with our by-laws and registered the museum in the official Latvian Registry under the official name of 'LATVIANS ABROAD – Museum and Research Center' (LA-MRC), *LATVIEŠI PASAULĒ – Muzejs un pētniecības centrs* (LaPa-MPC).

### Implementation – phase two

After incorporation we have concentrated on obtaining funding to 1) set up and maintain a web site and publish other information, 2) to rent an office in Riga with part time staff, 3) to continue the search for a site, 4) to organize a planning meeting, and 5) to undertake the first, digital exhibition in DVD format as an information and fundraising tool.

We have also started to organize and incorporate a support group in the USA to facilitate fundraising and to start the collection process of exhibition materials. We have obtained funding from the Latvian Integration Ministry and started designing the web site. The other grant applications, to the EEA and Latvian Foundation, Inc. (LF) are pending. We applied for funds for the office, staff and planning seminar from EEA, and to implement the digital exhibition of suit-

cases and the stories that go with them from the LF.

Several important archives and data bases have been promised for the museum, the most important being the American Latvian Association organizational data base (ALAIDD), which incorporates materials from all the Latvian-American organizations and their staff, the American Latvian Association Oral History collection and some large, private archives.

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- [www.indexmundi.com/Latvia/demographics](http://www.indexmundi.com/Latvia/demographics)
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## Notes

- 1 Bērziņš, Aldis, 2006, „Emigrācija skaitļos,” *Kultūras Forums*, sept. 16-22, p. 4.
- 2 Plakans, Andrejs, 1995, *The Latvians. A Short History*, Hoover Institute Press., p. 115.
- 3 Krasnais, Vilberts, 1980, *Latviešu Kolonijas*, Kārļa Zariņa Fonds, Melburnā.
- 4 Plakans, Andrejs, *op. cit.* p. 116.
- 5 Baltis, Mirdza Kate, 1999, “Piespiedu iesaukšana darbam Vācijā, militāram dienestam un evakuācija uz Vāciju”, *The Latvian Legion: Selected Documents*. Ezergailis, Andrew, ed. Toronto: Amber Printers and Publishers, pg. 193-199. Of the 200,000 about 30,000 were soldiers, several thousand were mobilized or volunteered to work in Germany, and most of the rest were refugees. Only about 100,000 eventually reached Germany. Mirdza Baltis proposes that during the war about 217,000 Latvians had reached Germany, but only about 140,000 remained as émigrés.
- 6 For a more thorough description see Hinkle, Maija, 2006, “Latvian-Americans in the Post-Soviet Era: Cultural Factors on Return Migration in Oral History Interviews,” *Journal of Baltic Studies*, Vol. 37, no. 1, p. 48-67.
- 7 PBLA is the acronym for the Latvian name of the World Federation of Free Latvians, an association of the various national level organizations of Latvians in the USA, Canada Australia, South America, England and Europe. They represent primarily emigres from World War II.
- 8 Bērziņš, Aldis, *op. cit.*
- 9 [www.indexmundi.com/Latvia/demographics](http://www.indexmundi.com/Latvia/demographics)

# The Study of Ethnic Entrepreneurship from a Perspective of Gender: An Analysis of the Motivations, Barriers and Impact on Immigrant Empowerment

*María Villares Varela*

## **Female entrepreneurship, women in immigrant entrepreneurship and female ethnic entrepreneurship: theoretical considerations**

The aim of this paper is to present the business strategies for female and male migrants in order to achieve social upwards mobility. In order to show this, a specific model of analysis for female immigrant entrepreneurship from the perspective of gender relations is presented, based on a comparative study of businesses run by immigrant women, immigrant men and native men and women. The hypothesis presented in this article is that the immigrant population experiences greater difficulties in terms of social insertion due to cloistering in classic labour niches. This is particularly true in the case of women (domestic service, care work, sex work, etc). This cloistering results in the limitation of their social rights due to the nature of the work they do: namely informal work, a tendency to become trapped in the submerged economy, alack of negotiation regarding working conditions. However, the means to achieving this

objective varies for female and for male immigrants, as they are forced to overcome different hurdles on the road to entrepreneurship. In addition, entrepreneurship will not only affect the social insertion of the immigrant population in the host society, but also gender relations. In order to study this question, an analysis model of the different strategies employed by immigrant men and women has been drawn up. This immigrant entrepreneurship analysis model has been developed following the study of several variables including the motivations behind the creation of the business, the difficulties encountered, sources of financing, the type of client, working and living conditions and their impact on gender relations.

In migration studies, the concept of incorporation into the labour market is considered to be a key factor in the interaction between immigrants and the host context, and is seen as part of a larger social system that determines the migrant's social integration (Herranz, 2000). The segmentation of the labour market in Spain, in which immigrants tend to become inserted in the most in-

formal areas and working conditions has led literature to consider self-employment for immigrants as a strategy for escaping from precarious labour conditions.

Consequently, in addition to the classic differentiation of the dual labour market (Piore, 1983), we must also consider insertion within the ethnic enclave (Wilson and Portes, 1980; Portes and Börock, 1989; Portes and Rumbaut, 1990). Self employment as a means of accessing the labour market has been identified as a refuge strategy for immigrants (Light, 2000) in order to counteract the blocking of their upward social mobility.

Whilst for immigrants in general this is seen as a business subsistence strategy (Lazaridis, 2003), in the case of women it becomes a more vital refuge strategy for certain immigrant population trajectories (Oso [dir.], 2004). Apitzsch (2003) raises the issue that Europe can no longer put forward the image of the successful business person or entrepreneur and the only other option is unemployment, and this is increasingly likely to be the case of immigrants and/or women. Female entrepreneurship and immigrant entrepreneurship appear to share several characteristics in terms of their origin, motivations, areas of activity, management models and obstacles, etc. Consequently, women and immigrants are the principal actors in the use of self-employment as a strategy for minority groups that are excluded from equal insertion on the labour market.

Along these lines we can find various studies into female entrepreneurship that refer to the fact that setting up small businesses had traditionally attracted

those groups whose access to good jobs is hindered by the discriminatory attitudes of the host society. Women have been conceptualized as the “new immigrants”, fleeing from the disadvantages of labour inequality (Loscocco, 1991). Moreover, many of the problems involved in setting up a business have been shown to be common to both women and immigrants: the lack of access to the initial capital, lack of management experience, little business training, etc.

Consequently, social exclusion and inequality form the starting point on the road to self-employment, which becomes a strategy aimed at enabling women and immigrants to overcome these obstacles, as discussed by Kupferberg (2003) (in Apitzsch, U. and Kontos, M. 2003) in that both immigrants and women are new arrivals on the economic scene and labour market, which are dominated by native males. This experience of marginality damages their self-esteem and they see self-employment as a means of repairing that damage.

Within the study of immigrant enterprise a field has gradually opened up for the analysis of women in the ethnic economy, with earlier research pointing to a kind of gender-blindness in previous research (Phizacklea, 1987; Hillman, 1999, Bhachu, 1987). It has become clear that literature on ethnic entrepreneurship has failed to deal in sufficient depth with the implications of the patriarchal system for ethnic groups, and in particular for the specific relations generated by labour-intensive self-employment. Ethnic economic businesses tend to be controlled by males and require intensive labour. Women once again tend to occupy a subordinate role and

consequently what are generally termed 'family businesses', tend to be businesses run by men who use the labour of their wives and daughters as an accessible and profitable recourse.

However, ongoing research into immigrant entrepreneurship has continued to shed light on this gender-blindness in an attempt to avoid a passive vision of women as victims in the ethnic economy (Morokvasc, 1999; Bhachu, 1987). This vision draws attention to the fact that research that highlights the exploitation and passivity of women in entrepreneurship runs the risk of failing to consider women as active individuals capable of bringing about changes within these processes of labour mobility. Along these lines Morokvasic puts forward the idea of studying women as small-scale entrepreneurs, for whom setting up a business can be seen from various perspectives: as a means of escape from the labour niches traditionally reserved for immigrants; a means to improving their living and working conditions; an occupational mobility strategy away from paid employment; a means to regularization; a means of obtaining extra income within the family unit; or a strategy aimed at achieving personal independence.

Particularly worthy of mention here is the research that has focused on studying immigrant female run ethnic entrepreneurship (Baycan, 2003; Anthias and Mehta, 2003; Oso, 2004), which addresses the complex relations between the family, gender and ethnicity and which differ among male and female entrepreneurs. Whilst men consider power relations within the family as a resource, women see entrepreneurship as being removed and separate from family relations.

This article follows the lines of studies that analyse the initiatives set up by immigrant women. This analysis of the businesses set up by immigrant women compares the strategies of male entrepreneurs in order to present a model for the analysis of female immigrant entrepreneurship using various indicators relating to the characteristics of the entrepreneurs, the businesses, the insertion labour markets and the structure of the opportunities available in order to set up a business.

The methodology used in order to carry out this study is based on quantitative (exploitation of secondary data) and qualitative techniques (in-depth interviews, discussion groups and participant observation). During the quantitative phase, various indicators were analysed in an attempt to establish a comparison between the native and immigrant population data in Spain, taking into consideration the gender variable<sup>1</sup> (Municipal Census (1996-2006), 2001 Population Census, Active Population Survey (2006, 2005); Registration with the Social Security System). The qualitative phase of the research was based on in-depth interviews, discussion groups and the participant observation of businesses owned by immigrants, mainly of Latin American origin. Semi-directed in-depth interviews with male and female native and immigrant entrepreneurs<sup>2</sup> and key informants enabled contact to be established with a total of 74 people. Data was also obtained from the analysis of the information provided by to discussion groups made up of immigrant entrepreneurs, whereby a total of 16 people were contacted<sup>3</sup>.

### The profile of Spain as a migratory context for entrepreneurs

Spain, within the migratory context of Southern Europe, presents a series of socio-demographic characteristics that determine immigrants' entrepreneurship strategies: intense foreign population arrival flows; a considerable presence of irregular immigrants; and a predominance of Latin American and North African immigrants. The foreign population has multiplied ten-fold since 1991 and eight-fold in the last decade. As a result, as of 1 January 2007, the number of foreigners in Spain totalled 4,482,568, 10 % of the total population. (*Table 1*). Thirty-three percent of that population is made up of irregular immigrants. .

A look at the main countries of origin reveals that the largest groups of

immigrants in Spain come from Morocco (12.9%), Romania (11.7%) and Ecuador (9.4%). They are followed by EU and Latin American countries: UK (7.0%), Colombia (5.8%), Germany (3.9%), Bolivia (4.4%) and Germany (3.7%), etc. The percentage of foreign women currently stands at 47%, although there is a gradual masculinisation of flows, due to the progressive regrouping of families and the entry of new migratory trends from Eastern Europe. Latin American immigration to Spain would appear to be more feminised than that from other countries. For example, women make up 51.3% of the total number of immigrants from Ecuador, whilst in the case of Colombia that figure rises to 56.5% and 56.4% in the case of Bolivia.

*Table 1. Spain 2007. Foreign population classified according to principal nationalities and percentage of women*  
Source: Author's own based on the Municipal Census 1-1-2007:

Country	Total	Vertical %	% of women
Total	4,482,568	100.0	47.0
Morocco	576,344	12.9	35.6
Romania	524,995	11.7	47.3
Ecuador	421,384	9.4	51.3
United Kingdom	314,098	7.0	49.2
Colombia	258,726	5.8	56.5
Bolivia	198,770	4.4	56.4
Germany	163,887	3.7	49.4
Argentina	139,711	3.1	49.8
Italy	134,712	3.0	40.9
Bulgaria	121,611	2.7	45.7
Other nationalities	1,628,330	36.3	--

### The incorporation of Spain's immigrant population into the labour market: a situation marked by the legal status and the issue of gender

The incorporation of the immigrant population into the labour market is far from random: indeed, it is dependent on several variables including their legal status, gender, the year of arrival, their level of education, the structure of job opportunities, etc. The qualitative research reveals that incorporation into the labour market is determined by their legal status. Possession of the necessary permits provides access to a wider range of regulated jobs, whilst irregular status limits immigrants' labour opportunities to the informal economy. Employment for irregular immigrants centres in labour niches such as domestic service, care work and sex work, all carried out by women. Consequently, men find it harder to obtain work in the informal

labour market, and such opportunities are centred mainly in the catering and construction sectors (Oso et al, 2006).

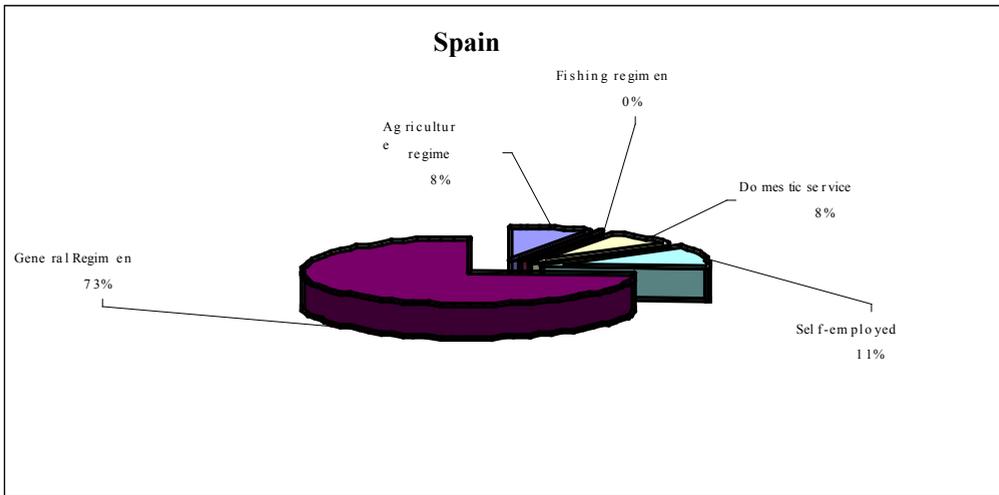
In contrast, the number of female immigrants in the formal labour market is lower. As can be seen from *Table 2*, the employment rate is higher amongst foreigners than Spaniards (65.4% compared with 52.0%). However, foreign women are worse off than men with a rate of 56.5% compared with 74.2% in the case of men. As for the unemployment rates of the foreign and native population, the figures show a higher rate amongst immigrants. The unemployment rates show that foreigners are more vulnerable than native workers, with an unemployment rate of 14.6% compared to 8.7% amongst native residents. The unemployment rate amongst foreign women is almost 4% higher than that of their male counterparts (16.7% compared with 10.8%). An analysis of

*Table 2. Spain 2008. First quarter. Employment and unemployment rates according to nationality and gender*  
Source: Author's own based on the Active Population Survey, 2008, first quarter

Population	2008 Employment rate			2008 Unemployment rate		
	Both genders	Men	Women	Both genders	Men	Women
Total population	53.6	63.9	43.8	9.6	7.9	12.0
Spaniards	52.0	62.4	42.1	8.7	7.0	11.1
Foreigners	65.4	74.2	56.5	14.6	13.0	16.7
Foreigners from EU member states	61.8	70.8	52.6	13.3	10.8	16.8
Foreigners from non-EU countries	67.0	75.8	58.3	15.2	14.0	16.8

Figure 1. Spain 2008. Affiliation to the Social Security System according to regime.

Source: Author's own based on Social Security Statistics. January 2008 at [www.seg-social.es/estadisticas](http://www.seg-social.es/estadisticas)



the affiliations foreign workers to the Spanish social security system according to types of affiliation reveals that the largest percentage – almost three quarters of the total – is classified under the general regime. (Figure 1).

This is followed by the domestic service regime, which makes up of the total number of 8 % of foreigners affiliated. The regime for self-employed workers includes 11% of the foreigners. In the case of the regime for agricultural and farming work the figures are 8% in the case of foreign workers.

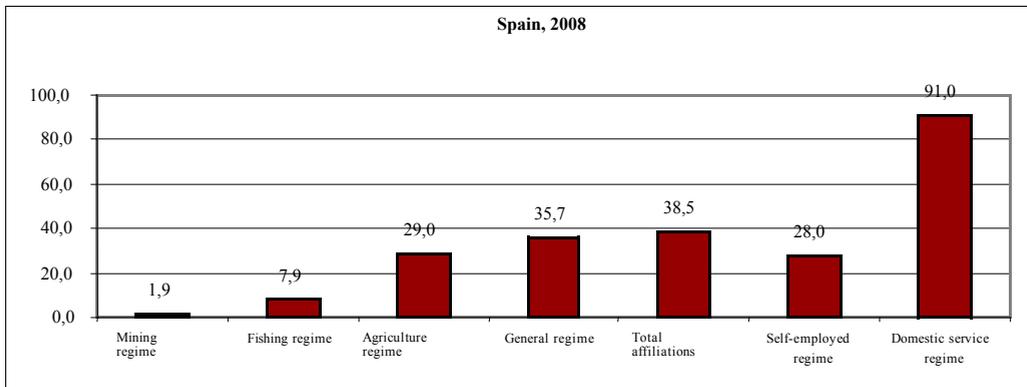
Women make up 28% of the total number of foreigners affiliated to the self-employment regime. The largest percentage of female foreigners is reflected in the domestic service regime, making up 91% of the affiliations. In the case of the general regime the figure stands at 35.7%, while females represent 28% of self-employment regime. (Figure 2).

Consequently, despite the considerable social capital of the immigrant population in Spain, reflected in their level of education, both their legal status and gender influence the incorporation of foreigners into Spain's labour market. In the informal economic, foreign women find it far easier to join the traditional labour niches, namely domestic service, care work and sex work. Yet in the formal economy, women are far more vulnerable; they suffer higher employment rates and tend to become cloistered in domestic service. Self-employment therefore represents an alternative to the rigid occupational structure that immigrants tend to find themselves entangled in, particularly foreign women.

We will now go on to consider the various entrepreneurial strategies employed by immigrants in Spain, particularly women.

Figure 2. Spain 2008. Percentage of women according to affiliation regime

Source: Author's own based on Social Security Statistics. January 2008 at [www.seg-social.es/estadisticas](http://www.seg-social.es/estadisticas)



### The motivations behind the entrepreneurial strategies of immigrants in Spain

We can distinguish two essential strategies that drive immigrant entrepreneurs to set up businesses in Spain. The first is the resistance or refuge strategy (1), designed to act as an alternative to the precarious labour market traditionally reserved for the immigrant population, in which they are unable to find a satisfactory niche. The second is the professional continuity strategy (2).

#### 1. Entrepreneurship as a refuge strategy to counteract a situation of downward labour mobility

Various international research projects have pointed to the fact that the increase in self-employment amongst the immigrant population is due to the difficulties encountered in ensuring greater equality in the labour market (Light, I., 2002; Taniguchi, 2002; Loscocco, 1991; Kupferberg, 2003). However, this motivation to set up a business

presents particular features for male and female immigrants, which can be summed up as follows: (a) a strategy to find a way out of labour niches; (b) self-employment as a means of resistance to professional over-qualification; and (c) self-employment as an employment strategy for the family unit. We will now go on to take a closer look at each of these.

(a) In some cases the situations of socio-labour exploitation, experienced in the labour niches to which immigrants are restricted, have driven them to set up a business. Entrepreneurship is therefore a strategy aimed at finding a way out of precarious employment (Oso, L. and Villares, M., 2005, 4). This strategy appears to be more common amongst female immigrants. Although male immigrant entrepreneurs have also used self-employment as a way out of labour exploitation, the cloistering (Oso, 2004) that women suffer in the domestic service and care sectors is far greater.

“[Interviewer: Y (...) y (...) on ar-

rival did you already have in mind the idea of setting up a business or did you try to find a job ...] No, no, no, no, first we tried to find a job and I worked as a (...) waiter, construction worker, painter...I did a bit of everything, but as I couldn't find a good job, well. I had to work long hours for a pittance. Then we had the idea of setting up this business." (Alfredo, Argentinean entrepreneur).

"It's easy to find a job in live-in domestic service, cleaning houses...but finding another type of job is more complicated. They're either temporary jobs or based on commission...in the end you realise that cleaning is your best bet because the work is guaranteed all year...that or setting up your own business." (Rosa, Argentinean entrepreneur).

(b) In other cases our informants resorted to self-employment as they were over-qualified for the type of job opportunities open to them. As discussed above, the level of education of the immigrant population in Spain, and specifically that of women from some Latin American countries<sup>4</sup>, is similar to that of the autochthonous population, which generates an even greater sense of downward labour mobility in Spain. The sense of a loss of status drives them to self-employment as a means of cushioning this downward mobility.

"It gives me a certain stability, and I couldn't find a job that adapted to my qualifications or my area. At the time my husband was working in a restaurant and (...) well, they told me that they had a place here in Coruña that they were thinking of selling." (Sonia,

Venezuelan entrepreneur).

(c) Self-employment as an employment strategy for the family unit. For some of our informants, entrepreneurship is seen as a strategy for the family unit, aimed at guaranteeing employment for the husband or wife as well as for their children in the future, set within the framework of a low level of job opportunities for immigrant workers. Of particular interest here are the differences in the way this strategy is perceived by male and female entrepreneurs. Some male immigrant entrepreneurs see this business strategy as a source of employment for the entire family unit, essentially for their wives and in some cases for the elder children (Josephides, 1988). In addition, they see family businesses as a "more secure" space for others to work in, particularly their wives and daughters. The following excerpts sum up the views of several of our informants:

"The business was set up in order to provide the family with a living. You know that you can always find work here but the conditions are...temporary, commission based...and that doesn't give you any type of security. And the women have to clean, or look after children and old people. So I made up my mind and said "My wife and I are going to run a bar, and we'll see how things go". And here we are. Besides, you know that if my kids are out of work, I don't want them to spend all day at home staring at the wall. They can come downstairs and lend a hand in the bar." (Antonio, Uruguayan entrepreneur).

"Look, even though it's good for my

wife to bring in another wage, whilst we don't need it I prefer the two of us to be here together. We understand each other and you're not out there being exploited...If it comes to it, then we'll both have to go out to work, but for the time being we'll carry on as we are. I prefer it like that. Working in other people's homes she had to put up with the lady of the house shouting at her. Or the husband saying something inappropriate or offensive...no. She's better off here." (Jesús, Uruguayan entrepreneur)

Various research projects have analysed the way in which ethnic entrepreneurship leads to a prolongation of the private space in which power relations are extended to the sphere of work. Consequently, in these types of businesses we often find an unequal and static distribution of tasks between male and female family members. For example, in the case of catering businesses, the women are responsible for the cooking and cleaning whilst the men serve the customers. In contrast, in the case of businesses run by women, the female workers carry out the full range of activities.

The results of the fieldwork support the hypotheses put forward in earlier research: using family members to work in the business is essentially a male initiative, and only very rarely occurs in the case of female-run businesses (Anthias and Mehta, 2003). As a result, in the case of males, the disadvantages arising from the position of class are cushioned by gender-based strategies that employ their patriarchal power.

However, there is a danger of analysing the distribution of power in fam-

ily run businesses exclusively from the perspective that wives and daughters are passive social actors. Several research projects have indicated that the hypothesis whereby women are considered as dependent on the males within the family business should be put aside; indeed, they contribute many hours of work and also play a key role in the decision making process, as well as activating ethnic and family solidarity networks in order to obtain the initial capital and to establish a client base, etc (Dallalfar, 1995, Bhachu, 1987).

Unlike male-run businesses, in the case of those that are owned exclusively by women, the husbands tend to be kept out of the business activity as far as possible. The family migratory strategy is that males should find work in paid employment. This family strategy combines the fixed wages of the male and the family business project led by the woman. In this case the objective is for the male to join the Spanish labour market whilst women activate a refuge strategy through self-employment. This does not necessarily place the women in a better position: the men try to find jobs in Spain in keeping with the profession they held in their countries of origin, whilst the women are forced to resort to self-employment as a refuge strategy. Let's look at the way our informants express this idea:

"That's how we decided it should be. As I was telling you, my husband and I are both electrical engineers. But he's going to try and have his qualifications officially recognised and I'm running the dry cleaner's. As you know, you hear

all that stuff about it being harder for women, and how companies prefer to employ men...and the length of time it takes to do those subjects...And I can't possibly go home from work, look after my daughters, make dinner, do the housework and then get down to studying. So we decided to leave it like that." (Alexa, Venezuelan entrepreneur).

"My husband applied to have his qualifications recognised. It took three years, he had to do 8 credits and in then end they gave him the equivalent of a diploma. And for the last few months he's been working in an office in La Grela. And well, maybe some time in the future I could... but for the moment the shop's doing well... and we can't afford to employ anyone and after all this hard work and effort. But I would like to work in my profession again, as an accountant." (Sara, Argentinean entrepreneur).

## *2. Entrepreneurship as professional continuity*

(a) Setting up a business as a strategy for the continuity of the profession held in the country of origin. Several of the people contacted during the course of the fieldwork have opted to open a business similar to that they ran in their country of origin. The possibility of having their qualifications officially recognised (where necessary), easy access to capital, and the lack of saturation in their particular area of activity all facilitate the entrepreneurial strategy. In this case, setting up a business constitutes an extension of their previous career.

"So my business plan is partly to create websites, develop systems and provide access to the Internet; not like a

cyber café but focusing instead on the training aspects, signing agreements with other companies, offering courses and facilities so that other companies can also provide training in new technologies or other areas (...) something else, like an English or make-up course, but offering private rooms where you can segregate the types of people. The other man who's here with me has a similar business in Caracas. So in that sense we've got some experience." (Lucia, Venezuelan entrepreneur).

(b) Setting up a business as a means of optimising the skills acquired in paid employment in Spain. Another strategy is to recycle the skills and know-how acquired during their labour trajectory in Spain in order to set up their own business. Consequently, areas of activity with which they were unfamiliar in their country of origin become a business project following the migrants' acquisition of new social capital. This nature of this business strategy differs in the case of men and women, as a result of their varying labour trajectories: the labour experience of immigrant women in Spain tends to centre on domestic service, care work, catering and the commercial sectors, whilst in the case of men it extends to the service sector, the construction industry and farming and agriculture. For this reason, the businesses that women set up in an attempt to optimise the skills and know-how they have acquired tend to be in areas that are already amply covered in Spain (food stores, hairdressers', textile shops, etc), which offer a lower degree of long-term feasibility.

"I never imagined I would end up

opening a catering business, providing meals, because I didn't know how to cook, at least in the way that Spanish people like. But since I had some experience in working in kitchens here, I said to myself "I seem to be pretty good at this" and so we decided to set up this business. I've worked in lots of different places here: first washing up, then as a kitchen assistant, then as a pastry chef in a restaurant... and I gradually learnt the Spanish style of cooking." (Lucía, Uruguayan entrepreneur).

### **Obstacles and opportunities encountered by male and female entrepreneurs when setting up a business**

The obstacles to be overcome in order to set up a business initiative vary considerably. Indeed, the chances of overcoming the difficulties involved depend on a number of specific factors: origin, gender, level of education, family situation, legal status, financial capital, social capital, etc., are all conditions that play a key role when setting up a business. As discussed on previous pages, groups such as immigrants and women share a number of similar characteristics when embarking on the road towards entrepreneurship, the result of the situations of social exclusion to which they are often exposed.

#### *1. Legal status.*

It is essential for immigrants to legalise their status prior to setting up a business. Indeed ethnic entrepreneurship does not appear to be a way of regularising the legal and administrative status of foreigners in Spain (López, 2004). The

initial application for a work permit is practically exclusive to the category of permits for paid employment<sup>5</sup>. This means that foreign workers must first be included in the category for permits for paid employment, and then apply for a permit for self-employment. In order for a foreigner to be able set up a business venture in Spain, he/she is first required to obtain the corresponding work permit. In this sense, males find it easier to obtain a work permit for self-employment than women: their tendency to become cloistered in labour niches such as domestic service slows down their capacity to obtain a work permit<sup>6</sup> and its later conversion into a permit for self-employment.

#### *2. Access to financial capital for the initial investment.*

The lack of financing to enable the immigrant population to set up a business has been the object of extensive study. Access to the capital necessary for the initial investment is one of the main impediments to setting up a business. A general characteristic of businesses run by immigrants is the 'infracapitalisation' of initiatives (Marlow, 2005). The reasons for this are attributable mainly to the difficulties experienced in accumulating personal savings; the lack of a credit history in the host country and the absence of guarantees.

Once again, the situation for women in this sphere tends to be more complex due to a number of reasons, which can be summarised as follows:

- *Difficulties in accumulating capital.* Women find it harder than men to accumulate personal savings in order to set

up a business. Women's capacity to save is lower than that of their male counterparts due to the low wages obtained in the domestic service and service sectors.

• *Family responsibilities.*

This capacity for saving is further reduced if the women have family responsibilities in the country of origin and are required to send remittances<sup>7</sup>. In this sense, lone emigrating women tend to experience greater difficulties in saving, unlike those who emigrate with their partner.

• *Lower confidence levels of financial institutions.*

There is clear proof that banks are more wary of female entrepreneurial initiatives when considering the possibility of granting loans. This is due to the nature of the initiatives that immigrant women tend to set up: immigrant businesses and particularly those of women tend to fall within saturated sectors – catering, food, textiles, etc. – with a low level of medium and long term feasibility (Greene, 2000; Marlow, 2005).

• *Lack of networks.*

As has been discussed in literature on entrepreneurship, the networks established on arrival in the host country with fellow emigrants and the native population are of considerable importance in setting up and consolidating a business. Work in the formal economy, outside the domestic service sphere, provides immigrant men with labour networks that are more heterogeneous than those of immigrant women. Several research projects have revealed that solid ethnic-family support networks not only directly facilitate the setting up of the business (capital, labour, etc.), but also act as key elements in accessing

bank loans. For instance, being able to present various pay slips when applying for a loan makes it easier to borrow the necessary capital (Chaganti, 2002)

3. *Human capital*

The education level of the foreign population resident in Spain is highly indicative of the reasons that lead immigrants to consider self-employment. Data from the 2001 census regarding the level of education of both immigrant and autochthonous residents reveal that the percentage of immigrants that have completed secondary and higher education exceeds that of the native population: 60% compared with 52%. If we consider higher education, we can see that 11% of the native population has reached this level, compared with 13% of the foreign residents. (*Figure 3.*)

The percentage of women for each of the categories shows that the percentage of immigrant women with higher education is slightly lower than that of their native counterparts (51.4% compared with 52.7%). In contrast, the percentage of immigrant women with secondary studies is higher than that of the native women: 50.7% compared with 48.3%. At the other end of the scale we can observe that the percentage of women without studies stands at 54.2% compared with 45.4% in the case of immigrant women. (*Figure 4.*)

The education level of Spain's immigrant population and its impact on labour has also been the subject of analysis in other research projects (López de Lera, D. et al, 2002; Golías, M., 2005; Oso, L. and Villares, M, 2005; Oso et al., 2006). In addition, the in-depth interviews analysed for the purpose of

Figure 3. Spain 2001. Education level of Spaniards and immigrants (percentage)

Source: Author's own based on the 2001 Population and Housing Census

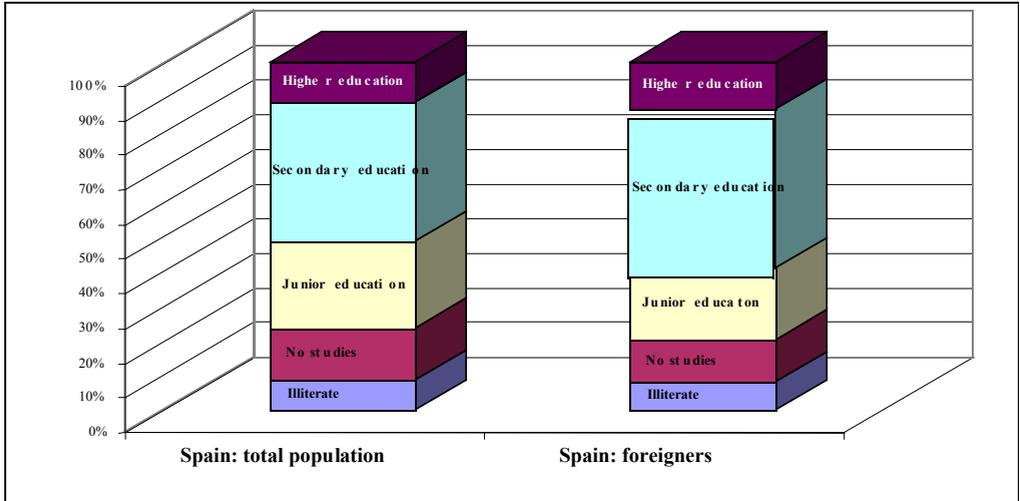
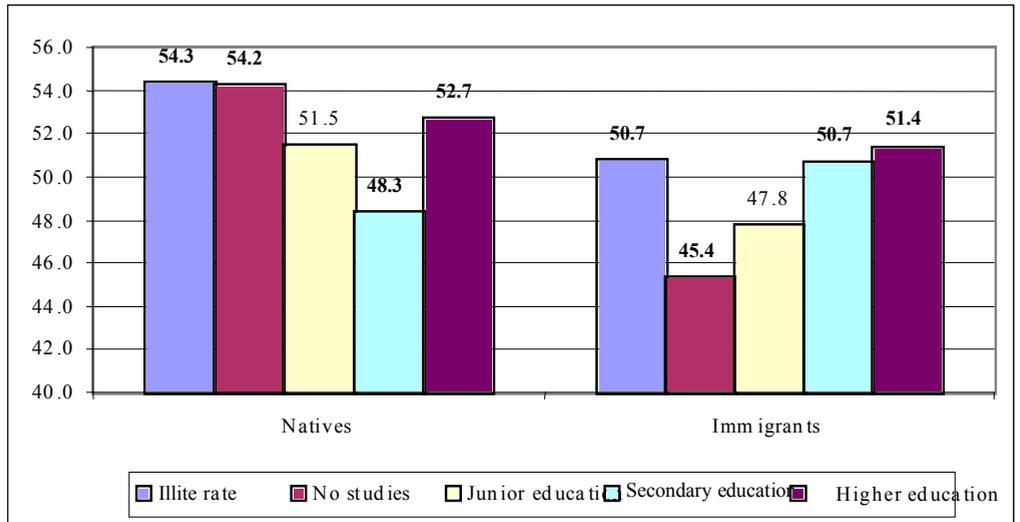


Figure 4 Spain 2001. Education level of Spaniards and immigrants; percentage of women

Source: Author's own based on the 2001 Population and Housing Census



this article also reflect migratory flows with an average-high level of education that contributed an important human capital to immigration. The reasons for migration are essentially attributable to the socio-economic crises that led to a

lack of stability on the labour market and a situation of insecurity (Oso et al., 2006). However, when the immigrants arrive in Spain, they discover that their academic qualifications and merits are of little or no use. The difficulties in-

volved in obtaining the legal recognition of their qualifications means that several of the people interviewed were forced to go through the Spanish education system, effectively repeating their education. Consequently, the difficulties involved in obtaining the official recognition of their qualifications becomes an obstacle for the socio-labour insertion of the immigrant population (Golías M., 2005). The fact that their academic qualifications are not accepted makes it extremely difficult for them to find jobs in keeping with their qualifications and professions. The recognition process is extremely long and complex and involves a vast amount of paperwork (qualifications, syllabuses, certificates for professions that require membership of professional associations and colleges, etc.). Indeed, according to our informants, the process takes an average of two years, forcing immigrants to take up other types of employment during the early years of their migratory trajectory.<sup>8</sup>

In the light of such difficulties, many informants decided not to apply for the official recognition of their qualifications, or at least postpone the process until a later stage of the migratory cycle. The need to find employment and the time needed to complete the necessary number of credits are serious obstacles in obtaining this recognition. In addition, despite the fact that the immigrants are sufficiently qualified, the job opportunities on the Spanish labour market do not correspond to their profession. The labour niches open to immigrant groups in Spain are restricted to unskilled work, as we shall see later on.

- *Management skills*

Another obstacle to business success is the lack of management skills. Scientific literature has considered the issue that certain groups, such as women and immigrants, are more vulnerable in terms of the chances of success of their businesses. Ethnic and gender segregation, the result of the low number of women in executive posts, is the main impediment to the acquisition of business management skills (Loscocco, 1991). The lack of access to these types of skills does not only depend on the entrepreneur's educational profile, but also on their experience and training in this area. The fact that immigrants rarely possess these skills is due to the difficulties they experience in accessing jobs in which they can acquire this social capital. And this situation is further aggravated in the case of women, who suffer from this dual lack of equality. However, the training profile of the Latin American immigrant population in Spain tends to cushion this barrier, particularly in the case of women. The results of the fieldwork reveal that immigrant entrepreneurs have an average-high level of education and experience in management posts in their countries of origin.

In some cases those entrepreneurs who have set up a business similar to the one they ran in their country of origin, or within the scope of their profession, enjoy a series of advantages when setting up the business. Prior knowledge of the necessary skills and know-how will naturally minimise the risks involved. Furthermore, some of the immigrants contacted have set up "recycling" strategies for their extra-professional skills. As a result, following migration, know-

how from hobbies or activities in which they have a certain experience but did not form part of their profession in the country of origin, have been converted into a business plan (Oso et al, 2006).

#### *4. Social capital: relying on family support within the business strategy*

The family situation is a key element in blocking or facilitating entrepreneurial initiatives (Oso et al, 2006). As discussed in the section dealing with the conditions required to access the necessary capital, the family situation of the immigrant entrepreneur will dictate the course the business takes. Let's take a look at the way in which the various types of immigrant family influence entrepreneurial activity:

##### *Migration of female heads of household.*

As discussed on previous pages, the fact of having dependent family members in the country of origin (children, spouse, other dependent relatives) hinders the saving strategy and delays the setting up of the company. Consequently, the existence of a transnational family is not normally associated with a rapid decision to embark on a self-employment strategy<sup>9</sup>. The entrepreneurial strategy for lone female immigrants in Spain is therefore a longer process than in the case of those women that have emigrated with their partners (Oso, 2004).

One of the strategies used by female immigrant heads of household to counteract the impediments to setting up a business is the search for support from a husband or partner (either of their own ethnicity or Spanish), who has the sufficient capital or is in paid employment

(Oso and Villares, 2006). However, this does not appear to benefit the role positioning for these women, who become dependent on a male in order to set up their business.

##### *Family migration.*

As discussed earlier, there are certain entrepreneurial strategies in which production and reproduction within the family-business unit is the central axis for the project. In this case the success of the business depends on the efforts of both spouses and occasionally on the informal work of their children.

Furthermore, the fact that the whole family unit has migrated together will benefit the entrepreneurial activity, even if it fails to provide flexible and cheap (or even free) labour. The fact that the spouse and/or children may be in paid employment will make it easier to obtain the necessary capital and will cushion the financial risks involved.

5. The 'dual responsibility' for female entrepreneurs. The situation in the countries of origin of our female entrepreneurs gives us an insight into gender relations in Spain. Although the women interviewed did not appear to perceive any inequality in terms of decision making within the family, we did however observe certain differentiating factors in the way they represent the situation in their countries. Prior to their arrival in Spain, many of our interviewees employed domestic workers or used the female solidarity networks for reproductive tasks.

The task of looking after the children was left to the grandmothers, allowing them more time in which to achieve their career goals, as well as to establish

more fluid personal relations and enjoy their leisure time, etc. In Spain however, most of our interviewees do not entrust the domestic work and care of their children to a paid employee. Could we therefore perhaps speak of the disempowerment of these women? In their countries of origin our informants were able to organise their time and establish a balance between productive and reproductive work, delegating the latter to external female labour and family solidarity networks, whilst in their migratory project they are forced to overcome new hurdles. Reconciling their family and working lives appeared to be simpler task in their countries of origin than in Spain.

### **Conclusions: towards the creation of a model for the analysis of the strategies of female immigrant entrepreneurship**

As discussed earlier, for Spain's immigrant population, and women in particular, immigrant entrepreneurship appears to be a means of enhancing social citizenship. Insertion in the labour market through self-employment seems to represent a way out of the labour niches in which most of the immigrant population is inserted. Labour mobility in Spain is slower for women than for men, due to their tendency to become cloistered in domestic service. In this sense, self-employment does indeed represent an important access route to social citizenship for immigrant women. However, this may have a negative impact in terms of controlling power in gender relations, as involvement in family businesses occasionally implies the spread of patriarchal power to the field

of work.

The entrepreneurial strategies for the immigrant population in Spain show a series of specific characteristics that are dependent on a number of variables, including gender. Legal status, financial, human and social capital, the position in the migratory cycle, and the occupational trajectory in the country of origin and in Spain all impact on the setting up of initiatives. Spain has become characterised within the migratory context of Southern Europe as a country with large numbers of Latin American female immigrants, a fairly large number of whom are in an irregular situation.

Despite the considerable social capital of Spain's immigrant population, reflected in their level of education and training, both legal status and gender condition the incorporation of foreigners into the Spanish labour market. Foreign women find it relatively easy to join the traditional labour niches in the informal economy: domestic service, care work and sex work. Yet in the formal economy, they suffer from a high degree of cloistering in these same labour niches. As a result, self-employment is seen as an alternative to the occupational structure to which immigrants are restricted, particularly foreign women.

Consequently, the motivations which lead the immigrant population in Spain to set up their own businesses vary according to gender. In this paper two major strategies and their particular features have been analysed: in the first place, entrepreneurship as a resistance or refuge strategy (as a way out of labour niches; as a way of counteracting professional over-qualification; and as an employment strategy for the family

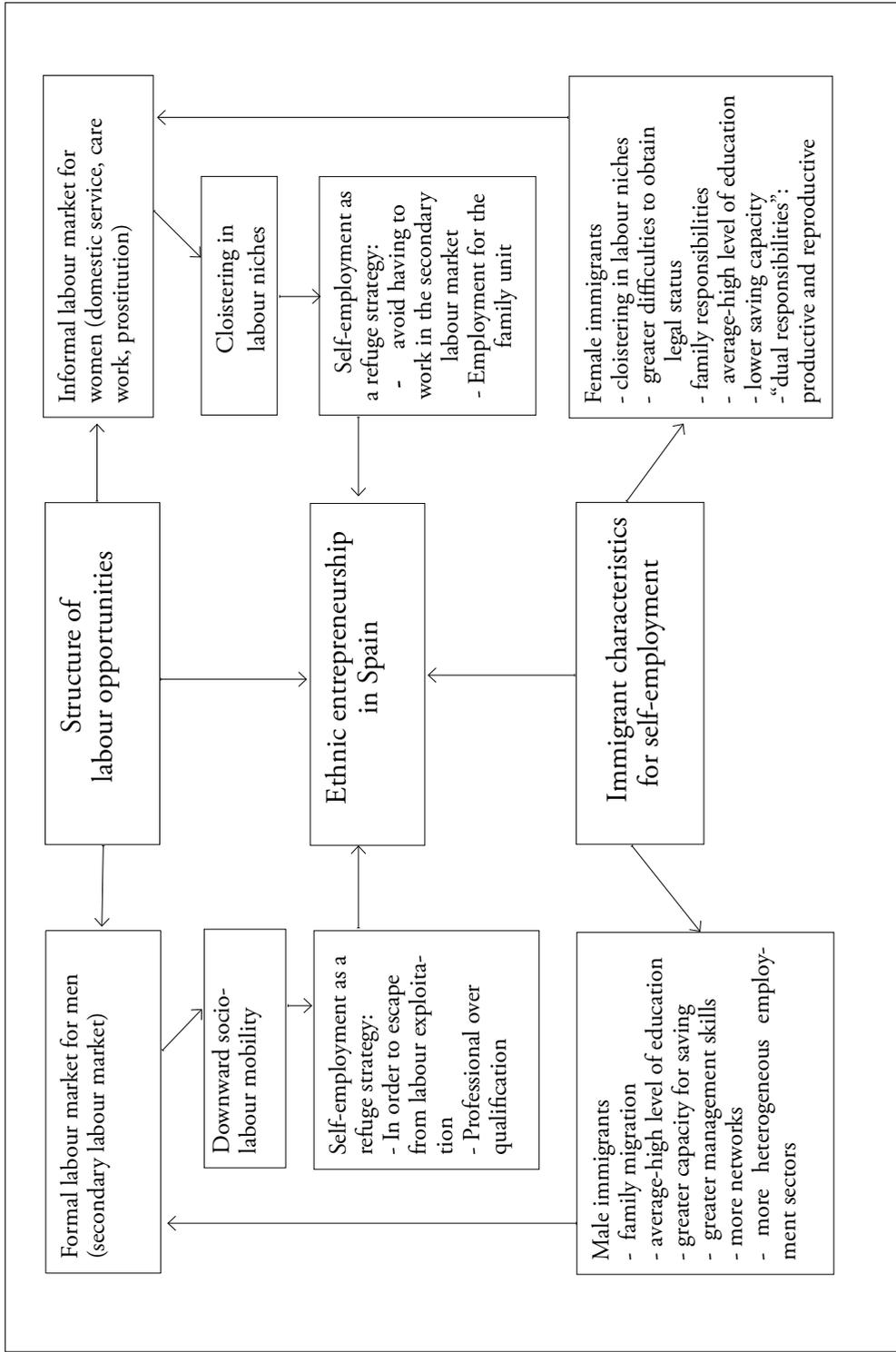
unit); and secondly entrepreneurship as a strategy for the professional continuity of the occupation carried out either in the country of origin or in Spain.

In addition, an analysis has been made of the various obstacles and opportunities involved in setting up a business based on variables such as the legal status, access to capital for the initial investment, management skills, experience in the particular area of activity, the family situation and the 'dual responsibility' for immigrant women. Taking all these elements into consideration it can be seen that the gender variable has a major impact on immigrants' entrepreneurial trajectory.

As has been shown, generally speaking female immigrant entrepreneurs experience greater difficulties in setting up a business: greater cloistering in traditional labour niches; larger numbers of immigrants in an irregular legal situation which will delay the setting up of their business; lower capacity for saving up the initial capital required due to low wages and family responsibilities; less access to business training; dual productive and reproductive responsibilities, etc. In addition, when these women work in a family-run business they may also suffer the effects of the extension of the patriarchal power exerted by their husbands and fathers from the private to the productive sphere. In contrast, when they take sole responsibility for the business they try to distance their family strategy from the private sphere as far as possible.

The following chart (*Figure 5*) summarises the various concepts put forward. (*See next page*).

Figure 5. Maria Villares Varela's model for the analysis of the strategies of female immigrant entrepreneurship



## Notes

- 1 Some of the data used for exploitation based on representative samples (e.g. the Active Population Survey) did not allow for a breakdown according to autonomous regions, gender and the variable to be analysed, as representative data is not obtained for the analysis of the data corresponding to foreigners or persons holding dual nationality.
- 2 The immigrant entrepreneurs interviewed were mainly from the following countries: Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Brazil and Cuba.
- 3 Both the in-depth interviews and the discussion groups were carried out as part of the research work for my doctoral thesis and within the framework of three research projects directed by Laura Oso Casas (University of A Coruña): 'Ethnic entrepreneurship as a strategy for the social integration of immigrants. Second generation and gender relations'. (2004-2007) (SEJ 2004-07750- Spanish Ministry of Education and Science); 'Migrant groups and the process of entrepreneurship in Galicia – part of the EQUAL CONVIVE MÁIS project' (2005-2007); and 'Ethnic entrepreneurship as a strategy for the social mobility of immigrant women' (2003), Spanish Institute for Women. The interviews were set up and supervised by the author, the director of the research project Laura Oso Casas and researcher Montserrat Golías Pérez (University of A Coruña), whom I wish to thank for their generosity in allowing me to use the information they obtained from the interviews held with the entrepreneurs.
- 4 See Oso et al., 2006; Oso and Villares, 2005, for a discussion of the differences between the entrepreneurial strategies of Argentinean, Venezuelan and Dominican women.
- 5 The possibility of obtaining a permit for self-employment does exist, provided that guarantees can be provided for a minimum investment of almost 300,000 euros and the creation of at least 5 jobs. This business initiative profile does not appear to correspond with that of the immigrant-run businesses studied during the course of research carried out into this issue (López, I. 2004: 'Aspectos jurídicos'; en Oso, L. (dir.) (2004): *El empresariado étnico como una estrategia de movilidad social para las mujeres inmigrantes*.

The granting of these permits is dependent on compliance with the following requirements (article 58):

- The status of the immigrant must not be irregular.

- The immigrant must not have a record of having committed any crimes in Spain or in any former country of residence of crimes contemplated by Spanish law.
  - Fulfilment of the requirements of legislation in effect affecting Spanish nationals for the planned activity.
  - To be in possession of the corresponding professional qualification for the activity to be carried out, as well as the necessary qualification for those professions requiring validation and/or membership of an official college or association.
  - Proof that the estimated investment is sufficient in order to set up the project.
  - Provision that the activity shall generate sufficient financial resources from the first year onwards in order to guarantee the interested party's needs in terms of accommodation and food, once the expenditure necessary for the upkeep of the business/activity has been deducted.
- 6 Regularisation obtained through job offers is more frequent in the case of employment linked to the general regime rather than for workers affiliated to the domestic service regime.
  - 7 See the research project discussing Dominican female entrepreneurs in Spain acting as the heads of transnational households by Oso, (2004), which reveals their low capacity to save the capital necessary for setting up a business due to their cloistering in domestic service and the remittances they send to support their dependent family members.
  - 8 Occasionally partial recognition or a lower qualification than that obtained in the country of origin are granted. Alternatively, in order to validate the qualification, immigrants are required to take a number of credits corresponding similar courses in Spain. Agreements have been signed with a number of countries in order to provide immediate recognition of certain qualifications, providing some immigrants with an important qualitative advantage that enables them to exercise their profession in the host country.
  - 9 The case of Dominican women in Madrid is a clear example of this situation. The transnational family determines the low capacity for saving of these women, who earn low wages in domestic service and are obliged to send remittances to their children and spouses. (Oso, 2004)

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# Immigration in Europe: Good or Bad?

*Olavi Koivukangas*

## **Introduction**

Migration is a complex issue due to the extremely varied character of migration flows. People migrate for different reasons, stay for different periods and fulfil different roles. Migration, especially immigration, is a rising issue on the policy agenda in most European countries. In the new millennium the European migration debate is about the need for replacement migration given rapidly ageing and declining populations, about the need for (highly) skilled workers, about clandestine migration and the abuse of asylum, and about how to fight the trafficking of migrants. There is every indication that Europe's importance as a region of destination will increase, as European countries recruit migrants to fill the labour and skill shortages that are predicted to rise in the coming decades. (IOM 2005; Salt 2005a; Salt 2005b; Muus 2001:31; Boswell 2005).

## **Brief history**

For more than 200 years Europe was the prime source region of world migration. In the first half of the twentieth century

Europe was a land of emigration with flows operating mainly in the direction of America. This trend was broken in the second part of the century. Europe gradually became the destination for international migrants. Also a massive increase in European inward migration started in the 1990's and continued into the new millennium (Krieger 2005:5; Wanner 2002:3). As a result the number of European countries with a positive balance has grown over the last decades. In many cases, the size of net migration determines whether a country still has population growth or is it entering a stage of population decline (Munz et al. 2006:14).

In the two decades that followed the end of the World War II, migration flows occurred mostly within Europe itself, in particular workers from Southern Europe, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, all countries with stagnating economies and high unemployment rates, moved North. The same can be said of migrants from former Yugoslavia, Turkey and Africa. Several North-western European countries faced the

labour shortages due to reconstruction of post-war Europe and rapid economic growth. Many of these 'temporary' European migrants returned home later (Garson 2003:46; Muus 2001:33; Wanner 2002:2). The oil price increase in 1973 caused economic crisis. Many countries adopted more restrictive policies on labour migration and began limiting numbers of admissions. The main effect was to replace labour migration with a family-based form. At the same time, asylum-related migration took on new importance. Migration flows began to become more diverse (Wanner 2002:3).

The 1980's was characterised by the diversification of host and sending countries. Southern European traditional sending countries started to show positive net migration figures, partly due to the return of former labour migrants, but partly due to an increase in migration from non-European destinations. After the collapse of the former USSR, in the early 1990's, East-West migration and especially the movement of ethnic minorities increased. The late 1990's was characterised by renewed interest in employment-related migration and by an increase in the proportion of women among migrants (Garson 2003:48; Muus 2001:33; Wanner 2002:4).

### **Present situation**

Recorded migration in Europe is now relatively stable, with the exception of the incorporation of large numbers of amnestied former illegal migrants in some countries. Western Europe is now a global player in terms of numbers of migrants received each year, and international migration is becoming a more

important component of population change. European countries have developed their own distinctive migration fields, and there is a large degree of stability in migration patterns and trends in national level. Mediterranean states in the EU have become ones of net immigration, and some Eastern European states now receive large numbers of labour and family migrants. North-western European countries have become the dominant receivers of asylum seekers, while Southern European countries receive relatively more clandestine migrants. Countries of Central and Eastern Europe have become the unintended end stations of migrants on their way to Western Europe, a type often labelled as transit-migration. (Muus 2001:38)

### **Stocks**

The total stock of foreign national population living in the EU-25 countries in 2005 stood around 24 million people. Foreign citizens thus constitute some 5,2 % of the aggregate population of the EU-25, compared with about 9 % who are foreign-born, which means around 40,5 million foreign born. These figures provide an estimate range of relative and absolute numbers. The greater part of foreign population stock is resident in Western Europe, and the numbers have been rising. Most Central and Eastern European countries have also experienced some permanent immigration, but flows have been modest and stocks of foreign population remain relatively small (Munz et al. 2006:66; Salt 2005a).

Today, all countries of Western Europe (EU-15, Norway, Switzerland) and a majority of new EU member States (EU-10) have a positive migration bal-

*Table 1: Foreign nationals and foreign-born in some European countries in 2005 (million)*  
*Source: Munz et al. 2006*

Country	Population	Foreign	Foreign-born
EU-25	460,0	23,8	40,5
Germany	82,5	6,7	10,1
France	60,6	3,3	6,5
UK	60,0	2,9	5,4
Italy	58,5	2,4	2,5
Spain	43,0	2,0	4,8
Netherlands	16,3	0,7	1,7
Sweden	9,0	0,5	1,1
Austria	8,2	0,8	1,2

ance. Sooner or later, this will also be the case in most remaining countries of Europe. The foreign-born population of Western Europe is spread unevenly. In absolute terms, Germany has by far the largest foreign-born population (10,1 million), the UK (5,4 million), Spain (4,8 million, and Italy (2,5 million) (Munz et al. 2006:14, 15, 62, 66).

Relative to population size, two Europe's smallest countries, Luxemburg (37,4 %) and Lichtenstein (33,9%), have the largest stock of immigrants followed by Switzerland (22,4%). In the majority of West European countries, the foreign population accounts for 7–15 % of the total population, while in the new EU Member states in Cen-

tral Europe (excluding the Baltic States, Cyprus and Slovenia) the share of foreign-born population is still below 5 % (Munz et al. 2006:15).

Some patterns could be found according to the share of foreign population of the total population.

- Very high percentage countries: Luxemburg 37,4 %, Lichtenstein 33,9 %, Switzerland 22,9 %
- High percentage countries (10–15 %): Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Croatia, Estonia, Latvia
- Medium percentage (7–9 %): Denmark, Greece, Portugal, Slovenia, the UK, Iceland, Norway

- Low percentage (3–6 %): Czech Republic, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Macedonia FYR
- Very low percentage: Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey (Munz et al. 2006:66)

There is an increasing diversification of the origin of migrants, but there has not been comparable diversification of destinations (IOM:386).

The following foreign-born non-European populations are typical in these countries:

- Moroccans in Belgium
- Iraqis in Denmark
- North Americans and Nigerians in Ireland
- Pakistani in Norway
- Surinamese, Moroccans and Indonesian in the Netherlands
- Angolans and Mosambiqueans in Portugal
- Iraqis in Sweden
- Moroccans and Algerians in France
- Albanians and Moroccans in Italy
- Indians in the UK
- In Germany most non-German people are Europeans (OECD 2006:263-286)

## Flows

In 2005, EU-25 countries had an overall net migration rate of +3,7 per 1,000 inhabitants and net gain from international migration of 1,7 million people. This accounts for almost 85 % of Europe's total population growth. In many cases, the size of net migration determines whether a country still has population growth because of immigration, and in some countries recent population decline would have been much

larger without the positive migration balance (Munz et al. 2006:14,62).

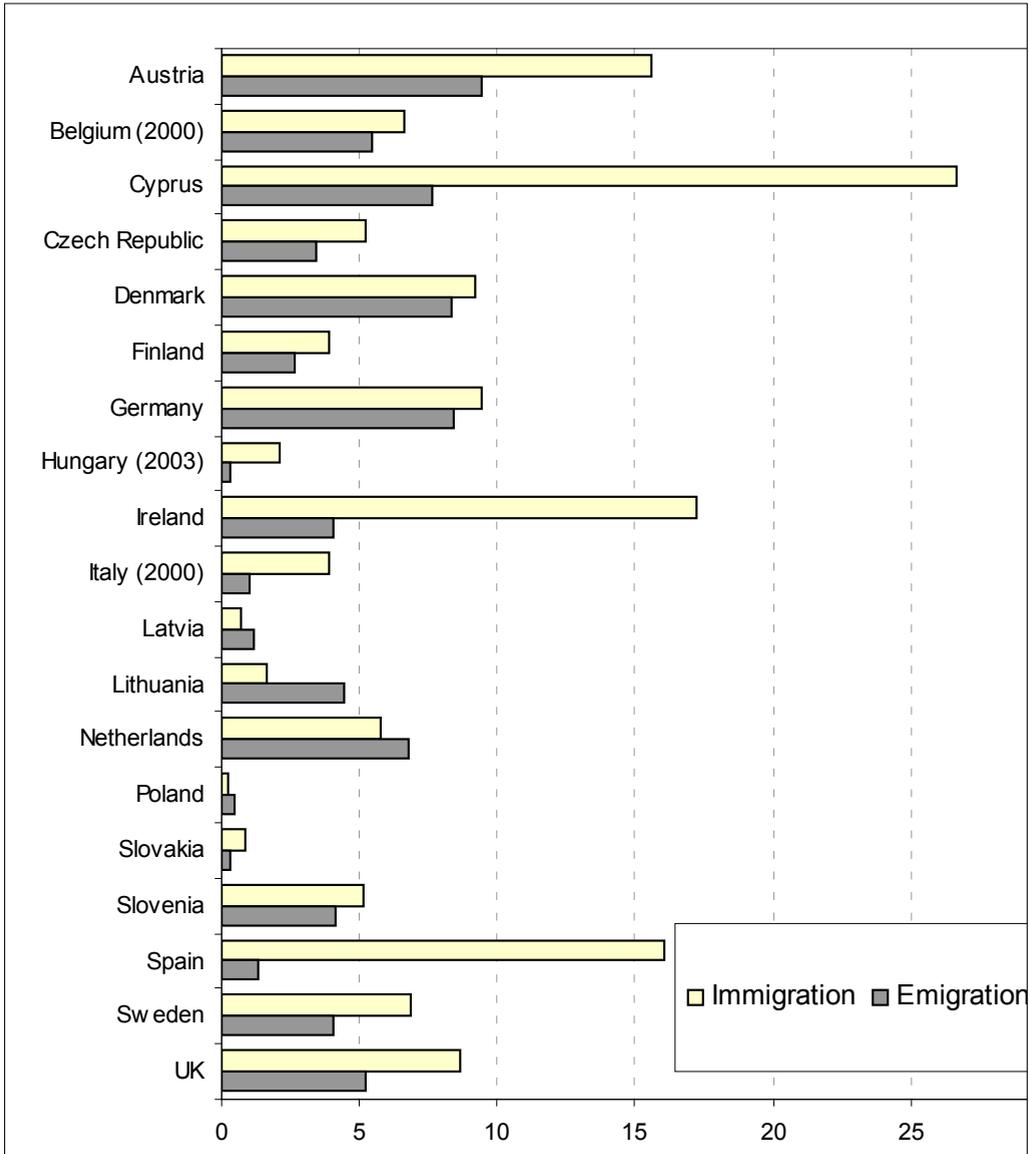
In 2005, relative to population sizes Cyprus (Greek part only) had the largest positive migration balance (+27,2 per 1000 inhabitants) followed by Spain (+15,0) and Ireland (+11,4). On the other hand, Lithuania (−3,0), the Netherlands (−1,8) and Bulgaria (−1,8) had a negative migration balance. In absolute numbers for 2005, net migration was largest in Spain (+652 000) and Italy (+338 000), largely as a result of regularisation, and the UK (+196 000). Among the new Member States, the Czech Republic had the largest net migration gain (+36 000) (Munz et al. 2006:14,62).

According to OECD statistics, in 2004 the total inflow to the EU-25 countries and Norway and Switzerland was 2,8 million. The largest inflow was to Spain (645,800), following Germany (602,200), and the UK (494 100). Inflows in Central-East Europe were much lower, Russia being the main recipient. The Czech Republic's inflow has risen rapidly from 5,900 in 1995 to 50,800 in 2004. (OECD 2006:233 & Salt 2005a)

Most migration in Europe occurs within Europe. In 2003, almost 60 per cent of the immigrants in Europe came from Europe itself. Asians account for 20 percent, and Africans and Americans each about 12 per cent. (IOM 2005:408)

In 2004, inflows of foreign population to Austria consisted mostly of European nationalities. In Austria Germans were the biggest group (13,300), followed by Serbian and Montenegro (10,800). In Belgium Moroccans (8,000) were biggest non-European group. In Czech Republic biggest non-European group was

Figure 1. Immigration and emigration (1 000) in selected EU countries in 2004  
 Source: Population Statistics 2006.



from Viet Nam (4,500). In Denmark the biggest group was Chinese (1,300). In France Algerians (26,600) and Moroccans (21,700) formed an obvious majority. In Germany biggest groups were European. The biggest non-European group were from Unites States (15,300).

In Italy inflows from Albania (29,600) and Morocco (24,600) were biggest after Romanians (62,300). In Portugal, inflow was biggest from Brazil (2,500) and Cape Verde (1,800). In Spain, biggest inflow was from Romania (89,500), followed by Morocco (58,800), the UK

(44,300), Bolivia (35,300), and Argentina (23,200). In Sweden Iraqis (2,800) formed biggest non-European inflow. In the UK, biggest inflows of foreign nationalities were from Australia (33,500), China (18,500), India (16,000), South Africa (13,100), and United States (13,100). It is typical for the UK that biggest inflows are non-European nationalities (OECD 2006:235-248).

The composition of current migration flows is based on nationality linked to four factors: historic ties, formed for example, during the colonial era; geographic proximity; the language factor, which plays a key role in Anglo-Saxon migration; and immigration policy. (Wanner 2002:11).

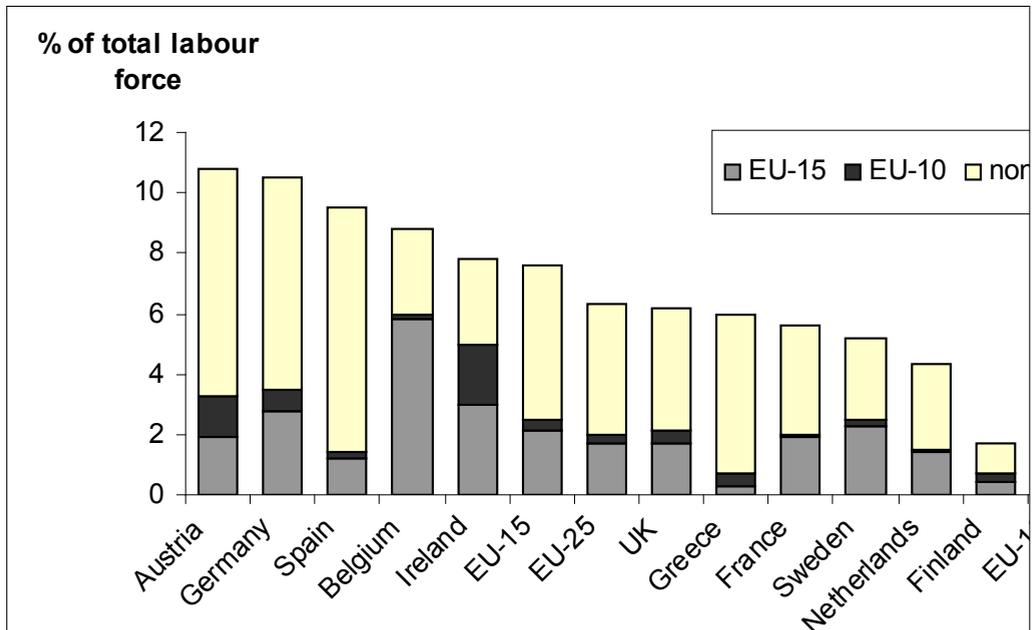
**Main types of immigration**

It is estimated that in 2004, 40% of total inflow to European Economic Area (in-

cluding EU-25 countries) and to Switzerland was labour migration, 30% was migration related to family reunion and remaining 30% was accounted for by asylum seekers and refugees. But there are strong variations between different countries, especially between Northern and Southern EU Member States. Scandinavian countries, Germany and the Netherlands have a high percentage of total inward migration related to family unification and a smaller percentage related to the provision of asylum. All of these countries have a low proportion of labour migration (below 10 %), while in Southern European countries, Italy, Spain and Portugal, the proportion of labour migration is between 40 and 60 % (Krieger 2005: 5, 6).

While absolute numbers of family-related and protection-seeking migration have remained roughly the same since

Figure 2. Resident working age foreign population by nationality in 2005 - row percentages. Source: Commission of the European Communities Brussels, 8.2.2006 COM(2006) 48 final.



1990, the number of labour immigrants and their share of total flows has increased substantially. (Boswell 2005: 3)

### **Family reunion and family formation**

Family migrants are usually divided into two categories: family formation and family reunion. Today family moves are diverse, ranging from asylum seekers to highly skilled corporate staff. Family formation includes those who go abroad to join fiancé or spouse, with the intention of settling in the country of destination of the prime mover. Family reunion is accepted as a fundamental human right. It usually occurs following a prime move for employment reasons by a married male or nowadays also women. Statistics are lacking (Salt 2005b: 4, 20).

### **Labour migration**

Labour flows have fluctuated, peaking in early 1990s, becoming relatively stable, but showing increases in several countries recently. Many governments in Europe have adopted policies to attract skilled migrants. Germany, Italy and UK have attracted most labour immigrants. According to OECD's statistics, in 2004, labour migrants' inflows to Germany and the UK are 380,3 and 89,5 thousands, and, in 2002, to Italy 139,1 thousands (Salt 2005b: 11 & OECD 2006: 303).

Labour migrants could be divided into highly skilled, lower skilled, permanent and temporary labour migrants. These groups are not homogenous. When expertise in the form of highly skilled workers is not available locally, employers frequently import it from abroad. Lower skilled migrants work in sectors

of easy entry, for example agriculture, construction and hospitality (hotels and catering). Permanent migrants are more likely to move as a family, whereas the typical temporary migrants tend to be young and single (Salt 2005b: 11, 16, 17).

A minor labour migration flow consists of highly skilled personnel, both from within and outside the EU. The numbers of high-skilled migrants from non-EU countries have increased in a number of European countries. New types of immigrants become more visible such as ICT experts from countries like India and South Africa (Muus 2001: 36—37).

### **Asylum seekers**

Asylum-related migration accounted for the bulk of migration flows observed in the 1990s (Wanner 2002: 15). Individuals from problem areas all over the world started to apply for asylum in Europe (Muus 2001: 34). This group is characterised by its unpredictability. In 2003 there were 61,100 asylum applications in UK, 51,400 in France, 50,500 in Germany, 32,300 in Austria and 31,400 in Sweden. More often than not asylum seekers come singly but many then engage in family reunion. There is enormous diversity within asylum-seekers. They come to Europe variety of reasons, they originate in different countries, they have diverse educational backgrounds and skills, some come alone and others with family members, and there are increasing numbers of unaccompanied minors claiming asylum (Salt 2005b: 32—33).

In the twenty-first century there has been an upward trend in inflows of asy-

lum seekers. In 2003 the trend changed, and inflow of asylum seekers reached the lowest total since 1997. Explanation of these patterns is complex and the decline reflects a changing situation within Europe and globally. Four interconnected factors appear to be very important for explaining the patterns of destination for asylum seekers: existing communities of compatriots; colonial bonds; knowledge of language; and, increasingly important, smugglers and traffickers. Chain migration seems to be important (Salt 2005a: 25).

### **Illegal migration**

No one knows the size of the illegal population stock across Europe or in individual countries. There is no hard evidence that the scale of unrecorded and illegal migrations is increasing. The main direction of movement is towards Western Europe. According to Salt (2005a), there are three main origin regions. The largest is former Soviet Union, the main groups being those with Russian citizenship. Russia itself is also a destination country of illegal immigration. According to some estimates, there are 10 million illegal immigrants in Russia, mostly from former Soviet Union states in East and South. The second largest origin region is the Middle East, Central Asia, China and the Indian sub-continent and the smallest is the CEE region itself (Salt 2005a: 35).

It is estimated that in EU-25 are between 6 to 8 million undocumented migrants (Krieger 2005: 6). According to IOM, there are between 15 to 30 million undocumented migrants in entire Europe (TS 7.1.2007). There are almost a million illegal migrants in both,

Spain and Germany. Every year over 400 thousands illegal immigrants come to Europe, and many of them arrive first in Southern Europe (TS 21.8.2006). They usually work in sectors, which are not attractive to nationals, and they have positive effect on the economies of member states. A vicious circle seems to develop between increasingly stricter entry controls and the need for potential (forced) immigrants to turn to the services of traffickers or smugglers (Muus 2001: 42).

### **Foreign students**

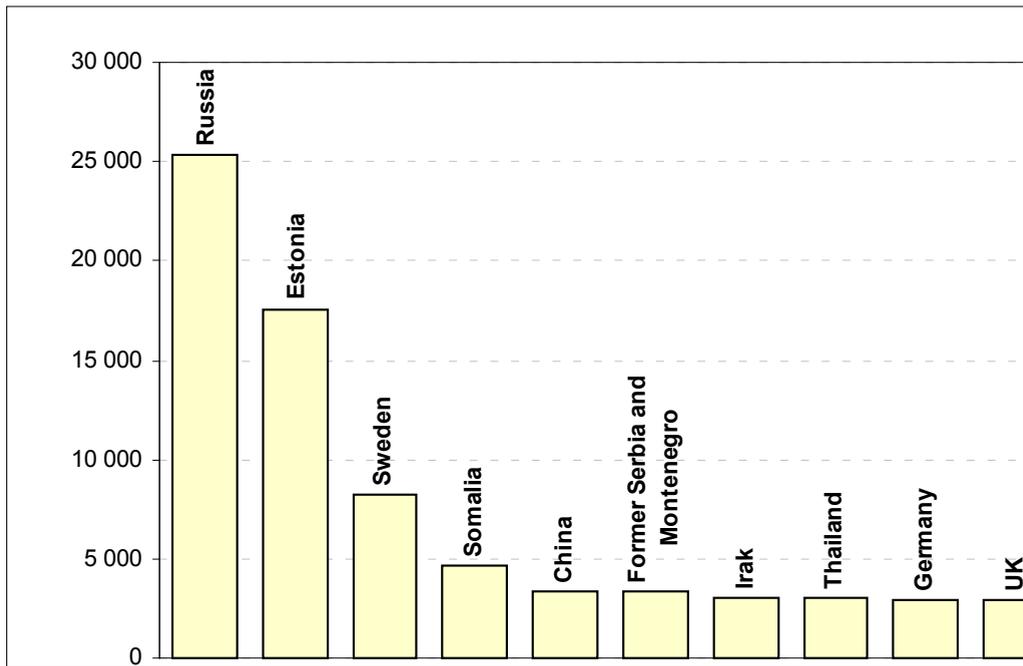
An increasing number of students are taking the opportunity to study abroad. Their motives are, for example, improvement of language skills and acquiring new cultural experiences. Statistics are lacking, but the UK, Germany and France are major destinations in Europe. A trend in recent years has been for governments to make it easier for graduating foreign students to enter the labour market (Salt 2005b: 27—30).

### **Finland**

As other countries in Europe, also Finland is becoming a country of immigration. Compared to other EU member states, the share of foreign nationals in Finland is still low, around 2 % of total population of Finland. Foreign born constitute 3,5 % of the population of Finland. In absolute numbers this means 122,000 foreign nationals and 190,000 foreign-born living constantly in Finland (Statistics Finland, Population-database).

Most immigrants have come to Finland as refugees, so the unemployment rate of foreign people is quite high,

Figure 3. Foreign nationals in Finland in 2006: 10 biggest groups. Source: Statistics Finland



over 25 %. Not until recently have policymakers started to pay attention to work-related immigration, and new immigration policy of government emphasized that (HS 12.11.2006).

In 2006, 22,500 persons immigrated to Finland. Inflows of foreign nationals to Finland consisted mostly of European nationalities. About 11,600 migrants came from EU-countries and 4,300 from other European countries. About 3,500 came from Asia; 1,300 from Africa, and 1,100 from Northern America. In 2006, net migration gain of Finland was 10,300. (Statistics Finland, Population-database).

### Demography and aging

Immigration has a positive influence on population and labour force growth. It can help to maintain total population and the

labour force constant. It could be a solution to shortages of labour and skills. But the level of net immigration needed to keep the old-age dependency ratio constant would exceed the sustainable levels (Münz et al. 2006).

The United Nations Population Division has suggested that Europe might need replacement migration to cope with these potential problems (demographic ageing, shortages of working age populations, dependency ratios, payment of pensions, and possible shortages of both skilled and less-skilled labour etc) ranging from around a million to 13 million new migrants per year between 2000 and 2050 (Salt 2005a: 6).

Most policy makers and researches identify the lack of absorption capacity of such huge quantities of new migrants in most European host societies (not sustainable) (Krieger 2005: 4).

## Labour markets

According to the HWWI (Hamburg Institute of International Economics) Policy Report the impact of immigration on wages and employment is on average negative, but very small. Compared to US, the immigration impact on wages and employment was found to be more negative in EU countries, but this negative effect is not evenly distributed among EU Member States. There is a slightly positive effect (Greece, Italy, Spain and the UK) where immigrants apparently acted as complements rather than competitors to native workers. For example, high-skilled immigrants filled in vacancies that went unmet by the native labour supply and thus increased productivity, while low-skilled took jobs avoided by natives and jobs in sectors that are traditionally affected by strong seasonal fluctuations. There are negative effects for example in Belgium, where unemployment rates are high among certain foreign-born groups (Münz et al. 2006).

## Balance of payments and international competitiveness

Immigration has a small but positive impact on trade relations between migrant sending and migrant receiving countries. In particular seasonal and temporary workers remit a significant part of their income to their relatives back home. These flows represent a drain on the balance of payments, although, they might support EU exports of goods and services too (Münz et al. 2006).

## Growth

The influence of migration on growth was found to be positive in the case of

immigrants endowed with financial or human capital. The impact of immigration on growth strongly depends on the labour market performances of the migrants. Brain waste (high skilled migrants being employed in low skilled jobs) is typical in several European countries. One problem is labour market discrimination against non-European immigrants (Münz et al. 2006).

## Diasporas

The word diaspora is commonly defined as a self-identified ethnic group, with a specific place of origin, which has been globally dispersed through voluntary or forced migration.

*Good sides:* 1) Global remittances far surpassed the sum of foreign aid. Besides official global remittances there are unofficial remittance flows, too, for example, money and goods sent through family and friends. It seems that diasporas support economic development and reduce poverty. 2) The transfer of knowledge and experience gained abroad by people living in diasporas should be tapped. That means to facilitate brain circulation as a corrective to brain drain. Some migrant-sending countries have developed special financial policies through expatriate-only incentives (for example, special bonds and tax exceptions for saving and investment) to reach-out and engage members of national diasporas. 3) New kinds of transnational ethnic entrepreneurship and migrants' roles in facilitating international trade are being recognized. Members of diasporas create supermarkets and breweries selling to migrants abroad, law firms and travel agencies specializing in migration overseas or 'diaspora tourism' to homeland, films and TV programs distributed for

consumption in homeland and companies specializing in the export of traditional foods and medicines. In these ways diasporas are at present considered to be good things, at least economically.

*Bad sides:* These include security concerns and the threat of terrorism. The 'failure of integration' is evident from alarming socio-economic indicators showing that specific migrant-origin minorities are characterized by low educational attainment, high unemployment, poor housing quality, overcrowding and residential segregation, poor health, and lack of socio-economic mobility. Such groups are living in 'parallel societies' marked by linguistic separateness, their own discrete neighbourhoods, schools, places of worship, associations and spaces of leisure. Some people argue that multicultural policies and ethnic minorities' persistent homeland orientations are responsible for the poor conditions surrounding by immigrants and their descendents. There are advocates and critics of policies like 'community cohesion' (promoting core national values) and mandatory immigrant integration. In-migrant-receiving countries diasporas tend to be viewed with some concerns by many policy-makers, practitioners and the wider public.

*In conclusion:* Mixed views. It is oversimplistic to think of diasporas as a monolithic type of social formation, to see transnational ties as of one kind, and to believe that diasporic identifications imprint specific values and kinds of behaviour (diversity within diaspora) (Vertovec 2006: 5—8).

### Why Europe needs immigration ?

- demographic ageing;
- shortages of working age popula-

- tions;
- dependency ratios;
- payment of pensions;
- possible shortages of both skilled and less-skilled labour
- problems of demand-supply mismatch create labour shortages etc (Boswell 2005: 5,6)

Shortage of working age population is already a current issue in Denmark for example. They have introduced a green-card-system, which gives everybody an opportunity to move to Denmark.

Several recent studies have shown, however, that immigration alone will not be sufficient to modify the demographic structure of those European countries most affected by population decline (Garson 2003: 45).

### What should we do ?

According to HWWI Policy Report, maximising benefits and minimising costs of immigration means for example a flexible and market oriented admission system. The EU ought to try attract more high skilled migrants. Non-economic migrants should have speedy access to the labour market, recognition of degrees and qualifications, integration of migrants, integration of children with migrant background (second generation), language proficiency and education etc (Münz et al. 2006: 9—11).

European countries should develop different ways to give immigrants special assistance, such as language training and other educational measures, designed to provide assistance and to help integration (Salt 2005b).

According to the European Commission's Common Migration Policy im-

migration will continue and should be properly regulated in order to maximize its positive effects on the Union, on the migrants themselves and on the countries of origins. Migration of all types should be taken into account, humanitarian, family reunion and economic, to deal with the impact on sending and receiving countries as a whole (Salt 2005a: 39).

Most European countries have changed from a sending to a receiving area of migration. This raises, among others, the following issues: admission policy, challenges of how to deal with asylum seekers and illegal migrants and development of effective integration policy. Europe needs to identify future skill needs and to develop a targeted immigration policy. Europe has to consider increasing worldwide competition for highly qualified people and how to better activate migrants to participate in paid employment (Krieger 2005: 3).

Cooperation between European countries is needed. Collaboration efforts in migration management and control, burden-sharing, and harmonisation of policies on asylum, immigration and integration. (Boswell 2005: 11).

## **Future**

According to ILO, the long-term pressure of inward migration into the developed countries will remain a major challenge over the years to come because of the following factors: the differences in GDP per capita has widened, income equalities in national level have increased and the number of people living on less than one dollar per day is very high and has increased (sub-Saharan Africa, Northern Africa and Eastern Europe) (Krieger 2005: 10).

Two factors provide some clues as to how migration is likely to develop in the future: firstly, the availability of potential immigrants in countries which act as sources of labour; and secondly, 'demand' in the host countries, which is heavily dependent on demographic and economic trends in these countries (Wanner 2002: 23).

In the years to come migration will be a vital issue not only for Europe but for the whole world.

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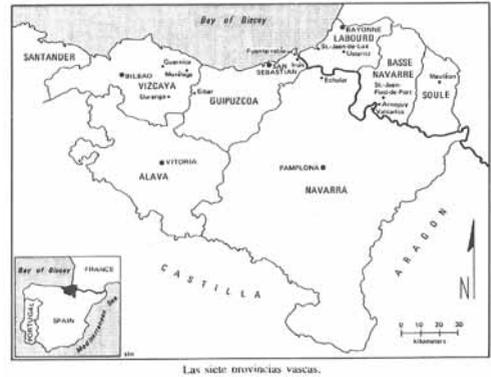
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# The Basque Diaspora: One Step Forward

*Benan Oregi and Joseba Arregui*

*I know others that have envied our heritage, I've heard 'I wish I were Basque'. I think because we have a comraderie, or closeness that is envied in this scattered world.*

(Woman, 58 years old, resident in the US, second generation).  
Oiarzabal, 2005



## The Basques

Basque people call themselves *Euskaldunak*, those who speak the Basque language, and their land is known as *Euskal Herria*, a name which could have derived from the Basque Word for 'sun'.

The Basque Country, 20.664 km<sup>2</sup> in extent, is divided into seven territories, four of them on the southern side, within Spain, and three of them, on the northern side of the Pyrenées, within France. The Basques have never formed a unified nation-state incorporating all seven of their provinces. Historically, they have constituted a loose confederation united in defence of the Basque culture, language, customs, and *fueros*

the Basque system of common law. The Spanish-French border was established in 1512, and has been maintained since then, dividing the Basque Country between Spain and France.

Still the imposition of the border did not bring the end to their unique system: 'when the Basques entered into the consolidating French and Spanish states, each province did so with the agreement that it would maintain control over its traditional cultural and political organization. The Basques understood that they had binding legal contracts that regulated common interests with the crown. At the heart of these agreements was the all-important issue of preserv-

ing the *fueros* (Arregi and Crull, 1996: NET)'.

Actually, the end came with the instauration of liberal Republics in both France and Spain: 'the *fuero* system endured more or less untouched for centuries, until the French revolution of 1789 and the end of the second Spanish Carlist War in 1876. As both France and Spain attempted to forge unitary states within their territorial boundaries (a goal that remains incomplete today in both countries), they abolished the *fueros*. Abolition provoked limited resistance in France, but in Spain it engendered the Basque nationalist movement (Arregi and Crull, 1996:NET)'. These crucial events lie at the heart of the history of Basques abroad. The initiatives targeting Basques in the world developed by the Basque Government in Spain offer an interesting case of para-diplomacy performed by a sub-state actor using the possibilities offered by modern technology to retain Basque culture and reinforce Basque identity worldwide.

### **The Basque language and culture: ancient roots in a modern world**

The Basque language, one of the oldest still spoken, remains a mystery. Most philologists and anthropologists maintain that the Basques have occupied the same territories for at least 5,000 years, and, as American author Mark Kurlansky (1999), following José Miguel de Barandiarán, puts it, are thought to be descendants of the Cro-Magnons, who lived in the area 40,000 years ago, with the oldest remains dating to the Low Palaeolithic. Around 600,000 speakers use one of the nine different dialects

and sub-dialects of *Euskara* (Luis Lucien Bonaparte, 1869). Nowadays, a standardized language has been created since 1968 based mostly on one of the literary dialects, and is being used in the mass media, education and so on. During the last years, the decline of the last centuries in the percentage of speakers has turned into a slow increase, due to the support of the Basque Autonomous Government and its affirmative action policy that has enabled its introduction in education.

### **Basque emigration: the first wave**

Pierre Lhande stated in 1910 that 'to be an authentic Basque, three conditions were requested: To have an unpronounceable name, to speak the language of the sons of Aitor, and to have an uncle in America'. Basque whalers and cod fishermen were well known to be among the best fishermen and seamen in Europe. They sailed to Greenland, Iceland, to Finnmark, on the northernmost tip of Norway. Eventually the Basques arrived in New Found Land and established the first European industry devoted to the processing of whale products.

Place-names in the Newfoundland area and Canada, such as RED BAY or Isle-aux-Basques, *Portutxoa*, Placentia Bay, as well as several gravestones do give proof of the arrival of the Basque sailors by the sixteenth century. Many Basques took part in this Age of Discovery that turned European enterprises into global achievements. Among these Basques of global relevance we would like to mention Juan Sebastian de Elcano, one of the first man who circumnavigated the

globe, Ignacio de Loiola, founder of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), and Francis Xavier (Xabier), one of the most prominent Europeans in Asia.

In the south of the American continent, the conquest of indigenous lands attracted many Basques. Basque sailors, missionaries, merchants and mercenaries began to spread and settle in the newly established Spanish colonies during the next centuries: the percentage of Basques among the governors of Peru, the founders of new cities and settlements in the Rio de la Plata area, or even in first positions of the Mexican territories and beyond, is spectacular. During this colonial era, soldiers, merchants and missionaries from the seven territories established themselves mostly in Peru, Mexico, Cuba, Chile and Venezuela. The first Basque institution founded in Mexico was *La Hermandad de Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu* (1671), religious brotherhood hosted by the Franciscans (also Basques); fifty years later, the *Real Compañía Guipuzcoana de Caracas* was established in Venezuela, with a totally different goal: to keep a Basque monopoly in the commerce of products such as tobacco or cacao.

### **Second wave: wars and crises**

Among the factors compelling Basque emigration in the nineteenth century the following are of foremost importance. Firstly, the primogeniture inheritance system in rural Basque Country; the tortuous topography did not permit the Basque farmers to divide their land among their siblings, and such was the law of *mayorazgo*: the oldest would inherit the farmhouse. For the rest, they

were pushed to join religious orders or leave the place looking for a better future in far away lands. Secondly, the loss of the *fueros*, or the rights that the Basque people had kept for centuries. Since the Middle Ages every King of Castilla had had to swear under the holy tree of Gernika that he would be respectful with those rights, while the Basques would swear their loyalty in exchange. The defeat in the two Carlist Wars (1837 and 1876) brought the end of the system and the loss of this unique political system that the Basque people had kept for ages. Since then, Basque young men had to serve for years in the Spanish army, and that change made thousands leave their villages and then jump ship in ports around the world.

This as well as the five revolutions that took place in Europe in the late 1800s (industrial – liberal – agricultural – demographic – transportation) and the personality of the Basque young men, as has been noticed by authors like Moya (1998), made thousands escape from poverty and lack of freedom and depart towards a better life. Between 1880 and 1910 thousands of Basque citizens (most of them young men) left the Basque mountains and embarked for America, the Rio de la Plata being their preferred destination. This massive and sudden movement of people brought about depopulation, affecting especially rural areas. Some small villages lost entire generations of young males, due to the ‘chain migration’ effect. The ‘American Dream’ resulted in such a fever among young adults that even the local authorities tried to stop the phenomenon. In 1883, the Provincial Council of Alava published the arti-

cles that the local journalist José Colá y Goiti had been writing with the purpose of deterring youngsters from falling into the hands of recruitment agents that used propaganda about the conditions of life and opportunities in places such as Uruguay. Colá wrote about the horrible conditions of travel, the low salaries, the lack of security in those countries, or even the compulsory military service in places like Uruguay, where twenty different wars or revolutions took place in a period of fifty two years. For the women he warned about the possibility of becoming a mistress or a prostitute if they happened to emigrate.

Despite these efforts to deter it, emigration to America continued and got even stronger. During those years, Basque ethnic associations were founded in Argentina, Uruguay, Cuba, Mexico, Chile, and some others since the 1870s on. Their main goals were to offer mutual support, the maintenance of culture and the celebration of their festivities. Not only did they serve as landing platforms for those who arrived, but also as *homes away from home* for those who were staying longer, or never went back to their homelands.

Due to their successful integration in the hosting societies Basques earned leadership roles in the new republics, for example, at the end of the XIX century, Errazuri was the President of Chile, Uriburu was the President of Argentina, and Idiarte Borda was in charge of the government in Uruguay. All three of them were of Basque descent. Between 1853 and 1943, ten out of the twenty two Presidents of Argentina were of Basque origin. Douglass and Bilbao refer to this period as 'the old Basque

emigration'. But let us now focus on the newer emigration.

### **The Third Wave: the Franco Regime and beyond**

During the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) thousands of Basques were violently forced to leave their country and flee to exile as political refugees. Again, the countries of destination for many of them were located in America: Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela received them with open arms. In the case of Argentina, and thanks to the lobby work of the Committee organized by the Argentinean Basque colony, their President, Roberto Ortiz Lizardi, born of a Basque father and a Basque mother himself, passed a regulation on January the 20<sup>th</sup>, 1940, due to this successful mediation. This extraordinary measure:

permitted the entrance to Argentina of Basques without any distinction of origin and place of residence, the Committee Pro-Basque Immigration being allowed to participate in the legalization process of all Basque passengers.

The arrival of these political refugees supposed a revival of the Basque institutions that they found in the host countries. The former social aid and cultural nature of these associations were reinforced and homeland politics entered into their agenda. A new wave of fortune seekers left the Basque country during the fifties and the sixties, looking for better opportunities, but this time they preferred new destinations like the West of the United States of America, and, for a few hundred, Australia. These last wave of fortune seekers found new employment working as shepherders in the US and sugar cane-cutters in Australia.

Regarding homeland politics, there is a clear distinction between on the one hand Basques who headed towards countries that hosted refugees such as Chile, Mexico, Uruguay and Argentina, who being intellectuals, professionals,... were much more active ideologically and politically and, on the other hand, those who emigrated in more recent years due to economic reasons (most from rural areas of the Basque Country and the vast majority towards English speaking countries). This more recent typology tends to join with other people of Basque origin who celebrate their culture and speak the language, but they avoid politics.

### **The Basque Autonomous Government and the Diaspora**

The Basque Autonomous Government was established in Euskadi after the Statute of Gernika was approved in 1979. The Statute of 1979 provided for the transfer of a wide range of powers to the Autonomous Basque Community, which encompasses the three Basque provinces of Araba, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa. Under the Estatuto de Gernika, the Basques have created an autonomous parliamentary government to enact laws regarding powers transferred from the central government to the autonomous region. Powers transferred thus far include control of the public education system, the Basque police force, industrial planning, public health services, and welfare/social security programs. In addition, the Autonomous Basque Community, has developed a unique foreign action initiative that has relations with the Basques Abroad as one of its core areas. The Directorate of Relations with

Basques Abroad is placed within the Basque Presidency, at the highest level of the Basque political structure.

This same year Basque institutions started to contact Basques abroad. In fact, only three years later, in 1982, a Basque World Congress was organized and several representatives of the Diaspora were invited to attend. It was in 1994 when the Basque Parliament passed a Law (Law number 8/1994) to regulate the relations with the Basque communities abroad. The Law was approved thanks to the vote of all political parties represented in the Parliament, 'because every single Basque family had a connection with the emigration'. Law 8 established an official register of Basque associations abroad and also a series of rights that corresponded to: 1) members of those associations, 2) Basque-born emigrants who kept their Spanish citizenship and 3) those who had been exiled during the Civil War. Two official institutions were created to help establish new Basque Clubs around the world and serve as stimulus for those associations that had been founded one hundred of years ago but were still alive: The Advisory Board for Relations with Basques Abroad; and the World Congress of Basque Communities, to be held once every four years.

The time had come for Basques who lived abroad to have an institutional reference in the homeland that would help them achieve their purposes. After thirteen years since Law 8 was passed we can argue without hesitation that the relation between Basques abroad and their homeland has improved dramatically, thanks not only to all the programs that are on-going, but also to all the multi-

directional links that are being created. Nowadays, the field of migration studies attracts public attention and is an area of increasing interest for citizens, politicians, academics, and so on. Celebrations of Basque heritage and pride in Argentina (with the annual Basque National Week) and the United States (with Jaialdi Festival every five years) are gathering crowds of more than 30,000 people, showing their *pride to be Basque*.

Law 8 has been developed into several regulations that contain the legal framework for a handful of possibilities of funding for cultural programs, aid for those who are in high need in Latin America (especially after the economic depression of 2001 in some of those countries), exchange programs, visits to the Basque Country, seminars, conferences, and also institutional contacts, in which Basque emigrants often play a first hand role as facilitators. And, of course, there is a Four year institutional plan that is approved by the Basque institutions since they receive the conclusions of each of the Congresses. As William Douglass puts it: 'it is fair to say that Euskadi is among the most proactive territories on the planet with respect to maintaining ties with its emigrants and their descendants (ibid, 2000:162)'.

### Numbers of Basques Abroad

In August 2007, there were 5 federations and 162 associations of Basques officially registered with the Basque Government, representing 21 countries (many of them in America, some in Europe and 3 in Australia). Members come from any of the seven territories, without dis-

tinction. Argentina is the country with the highest number of clubs (near 90), and the second is United States (35). In both countries, their federations (FEVA and NABO) play a key role. The total of members is of about 25,000. But these are the Basque activists abroad. The census of voters in the homeland elections contain near 38,000 people who live outside the borders and maintain the right to vote. They do not correspond with the former, since this second group comes from nearly 60 countries in all the five continents. Only one out of four of them voted in the last elections. There is still a third figure, corresponding to the descendants of Basques. During the First Congress in 1995, some rough estimates were presented by Iñaki Aguirre, Secretary General of Foreign Action of the Basque Government. In Argentina alone, 10% of the total population is of this origin, i.e. 3.5 million. In Uruguay, they are 14% of the total population, 420,000 (according to other reports, 25%, 750,000), all over the country. In the United States there are about 50,000 families living mostly on the West coast and the Midwest (in the last US census, 2000, 57,000 people declared themselves of Basque ethnic origin). Venezuela has roughly between 8,000 and 10,000 Basques. Mexico has an estimated 5,000 families in the Federal District. In Chile Basques make up about 20% of the Chilean population, some 260,000 people. 'On the whole, we can soundly estimate', the report concludes, 'that the total population of Basque descent is about 4.5 million'.

### **Emigration today: changing trends**

During the last meeting of the Advisory Board, two phenomena were studied. The first was a new kind of emigration, short term, of hundreds of young Basque people that leave for other countries, mostly Europe and places like China, Malaysia or elsewhere in Asia. This is thanks to their high education and the opportunities offered by globalization. Globalization enables the freedom of movement for workers, the relocation of companies and breaks the borders within the European Union. The second of those phenomena was the return movement that we are observing from the countries that were receiving emigrants. The generally high standards in the homeland and the economic crisis that affects Latin America has reversed the cycle. So, from being a country of emigrants, we have become a country of immigrants.

As a result, the Basque homeland society is undergoing a sociological shift in thinking about migration. Out of the 4.4 Million immigrants in Spain in 2007, only 98,108 were settled in Euskadi, although this numbers are growing yearly. Colombia, Bolivia, Romania, Morocco, Portugal, Ecuador, Brazil, Argentina, China and Algeria are the ten most important countries of origin of those immigrants. Regarding emigration, out of the 71,005 people who moved in the Basque Country (including Navarre) to a different Basque historical territories, or even Spain, only 1,406 of them chose as their final destination to settle abroad - the United Kingdom and France being the two main destinations (INE, National Institute of Statistics).

### **Technodiaspora: a new opportunity in the making**

New technologies allow the establishment of ethnic communities through the Internet. This will not necessarily replace the traditional ones, but it does create new opportunities that will take us to a new scenario still difficult to imagine. The public and the private sectors, scholars, universities and all kinds of interest groups are fast becoming new actors in relations with Basques abroad. Numerous new initiatives are building new bridges for those who live far away; globalization has opened new opportunities and it is now easier to find your personal roots. All this is making it more and more feasible to rediscover the cultural origin for thousands of connected Basques.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) make it possible to ask for public funding, to request any kind of information, to search for the meaning of a last name, to look for relatives and to participate in interest groups or to chat every night with other people of the same ethnic origin. It also enables the opportunity of sending an e-mail to the Basque President, using the computer. All these factors enable a new real time relationship among Basques no matter where they live. Indeed, ICTs break the 'space-time' barrier that has for many centuries limited the relation between Basques in the homeland and abroad.

Regarding the potential of ICT and how they can help minority cultures in general, and more precisely, the oldest language in Europe, the following has to be mentioned: BOGA a computer program is being used by thousands of

students that try to learn the basics of our complicated language not only in the Basque clubs abroad but also in 21 Universities of Europe, America and Australia. As for the Basque Diaspora members, they are becoming aware of the importance of being connected. As a result, many Basque clubs and federations have their own web pages. The Basque Government offers information about their programs through their main page [www.euskadi.net](http://www.euskadi.net), and is sending a weekly bulletin to more than 10,000 e-mail addresses. In addition, they send a paper magazine they send every two months to more than 36,000 homes abroad. Virtual communities have been established by the Society of Basque Studies-Eusko Ikaskuntza ([www.euskosare.org](http://www.euskosare.org)). One can find what is now going on in any of the Basque communities through private pages such as [www.euskalkultura.com](http://www.euskalkultura.com), is able to get the way to learn the basics of the Basque language through [www.habe.org](http://www.habe.org) or can even see how to dance an intricate step of a Basque ancient dance through [www.dantzana.com](http://www.dantzana.com). As well as this, Basque studies are on the increase in the world academic map, as well. For example, the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, in Reno (USA) offers an on-line course in English about Basque emigration studies, and various kinds of top level publications are being distributed to the most important universities internationally.

### **Gathering history to launch the future**

During his opening speech at the Second World Congress of Basque Communities that took place in 1999, Professor

William Douglass, former Director of the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada in Reno, urged the Basque authorities that were following his words in the audience, to rescue the history of the Basque emigrants:

...We are only at the beginning when we look at the enormous potential of tracing the history of specific Basque colonies in specific periods of time and how they became associated, without forgetting the importance of biographies built from archives and passed down orally... Intellectually this work is urgent, because sources are lost over time... It is the substance necessary for the creation and maintenance of a tradition that... may serve as a basis for the future of the different Basque identities scattered around the Diaspora (William A. Douglass, 1999).

This acted a wake up call for the Directorate for Relations with Basques Abroad. Four years later, during the opening of the 2003 in Vitoria, the Basque Government introduced a new Collection of publications under the name *Urazandi (From Overseas)*. Since then, twenty volumes have been edited up to compiling the history of the most important Basque Clubs all over the World, written by academics and top researchers from those countries. Personal memories of emigrants are being collected in the *Euskaldunak Munduan* series, of which eight issues have been produced. The purpose of this collection is to offer a space for private life stories. In fact, there are thousands of families with a lot to tell about emigration, and some of their members are starting to read their family letters and put together the history of those who had had to emigrate.

Furthermore, an annual award was created in 1999 under the name "Andrés de Irujo" <sup>(1)</sup>

In the last eight years, researches from Uruguay, Argentina, Chile and both sides of the Basque Country have been distinguished with the award. Last July, 2007, the Fourth World Congress of Basque Communities was held in Bilbao. Regarding the compilation of this chapter of our history, a new step forward was presented: the birth of *Digital Urazandi*. *Digital Urazandi* (2007) is a new series based on the digitalization of the written production of the Basque Diasporas during the twentieth century. The first volume, *Hemeroteca de la Diáspora Vasca*, comprised of 9 DVDs, contains the digitalization of 134 different magazines published by the Basques abroad during the last 100 years, most of them in America. It gathers a total of 180,000 pages that can be consulted conveniently by researchers.

If the first *Digital Urazandi* focuses on what the Basques abroad published, the second one wants to gather what has been published about Basques in the local printed media. This second phase of the project will target articles or references about the Basques (even publicity) that have been published in local newspapers in those cities where important Basque Communities were settled. An agreement was signed in 2006 between the Basque Government and the Federation of Basque Institutions of Argentina (FEVA) on the one hand, and three universities of Argentina on the other. Students and Basque youngsters will be trained to record millions of references. For the near future, it is foreseen that *Digital Urazandi* will also cover another series focused on oral histories.

## Conclusions

For more than 800 years Basques have been going abroad. This collective experience is a treasure of high value in our contemporary transnational and knowledge driven world. The experience of the Basques abroad has made us rethink the nature of Euskadi has political, economic, social and cultural reality far beyond the original 7 territories of Euskal Herria, opening new possibilities. In the light of this, we consider Euskadi as a transnational and deterritorialized reality that encompasses Basques in 21 different countries world wide. In planning the future we are moving towards a 7 (original territories) + 1 (generic for Basques in the world) scenario. The experience gathered by previous generations abroad is not only a question of saving the past, It is also and foremost about preparing ourselves for today and the future. Recovering the experience and knowledge of Basques abroad is also fundamental in order to 1) generate empathy to new immigrants in the Basque homeland and 2) train new generations in 'integrating without losing identity'. If done so, new generations of Basques will be better prepared for living and working in an internationalized and multicultural world. We are living a transition era, in which the history of Basque migration is being constructed but, at the same time, we are also preparing for the future, imagining the myriad of opportunities that await in Diaspora collaboration.

## Notes

<sup>(1)</sup> Andrés de Irujo founded together with Ixaka Lopez Mendizabal a publishing house in Buenos Aires, Ekin, which during the Francoist regime, became the most important printing service for the Basque culture (hundreds of books, magazines, and so on that could not be published in the homeland were produced from their exile in Argentina).

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*Aurrera goaz*. 3<sup>rd</sup> World Congress of Basque Communities. Central Publishing House of the Basque Government, 2003

*Zubigintzan*, 4<sup>th</sup> World Congress of Basque Communities. Central Publishing House of the Basque Government, 2007

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The basque country in figures at:

[http://www.lehendakaritza.ejgv.euskadi.net/r48-467/en/contenidos/informacion/euskadi\\_en\\_cifras/en\\_8835/euskadi\\_en\\_cifras.html](http://www.lehendakaritza.ejgv.euskadi.net/r48-467/en/contenidos/informacion/euskadi_en_cifras/en_8835/euskadi_en_cifras.html)

Information about the basque language:

[www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-734/en/](http://www.euskara.euskadi.net/r59-734/en/)

Information about programs for the basque communities abroad:

<http://www.euskadi.net/euskaldunak>

# The Council of Europe Cultural Routes' Award to the European Route of Migration Heritage

*Hans Storhaug*

*"During the past two centuries most European states shifted from being countries of emigration to countries of immigration. Migrants carry with them their own heritage, the 'heritage memory'. This can be material heritage such as objects, and immaterial heritage such as languages, literature, music, and traditions. The cultural route of Migration promotes heritage as a source of intercultural understanding between peoples of diverse national identities.*

*The countries that participate in this pan-European project are Ireland, England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France, Germany, the Czech Republic, Poland, Croatia, Slovenia, Italy, Portugal and San Marino.*

*I am pleased to present the Council of Europe Cultural Routes award to the Association of European Migration Institutions and the European Route of Migration Heritage".*

Robert Palmer, 5 Octobre 2007

With these words, Robert Palmer, Director of Culture, Cultural and Natural Heritage of the Council of Europe, presented the Council of Europe awards to the European Route of Migration Heritage. Antoinette Reuter and Hans Storhaug, received the certificate on behalf of AEMI and other migration networks also present. The award represented a breakthrough for AEMIs year-long work to make migration heritage a

European Cultural Route. That we have got as far as we have with this project, is largely thanks to the initiative and hard work of Antoinette and her colleagues in Luxembourg in working closely with the European Institute of Cultural Routes.

In the presence of seventeen ambassadors of Europe, Hans Storhaug gave a short speech thanking the Council of Europe for the award, and informing them that migration will have a strong



*Representatives of the Council of Europe's European Route of Migration Heritage. From left: Zeina Habet, European Institute of Cultural Routes, Antoinette Reuter, Documentation Centre for Human Migration, Luxembourg, Ljerka Galic, Croatian Heritage Foundation, Croatia, Rainer Ohliger, Germany, Adam Walaszek, Polonia Research Institute, Jagiellonian University, Poland and Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigration Center, Norway. Photo: Dietrich Hackenberg.*

focus next year as Youth and Migration is on the programme when the city of Stavanger is celebrating its status as European Capital of Culture in 2008.

The ceremony took place at the European Institute of Cultural Routes, Luxembourg, 5 October 2007, and coincided with the Council of Europe Ambassadorial Visit to Luxembourg and the 20<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Cultural Routes Programme of the Council of Europe. The two day programme also included the inauguration of the Cultural Routes Exhibition including a display of the Phoenician Route with the paintings of David Orlor.

Saturday 6 October was dedicated to a seminar on how the cultural routes can be used as a political tool for increased visibility of the Council of Europe's values, and as instrument for intercultural dialogue and democratic security. The official programme was closed by the launching of the European Week of Migration Heritage and opening of the 'ReTour de Babel' exhibition in Dudelange. Antoinette Reuter, Documentation Centre for Human Migration in Luxembourg, had been in charge of the exhibition that was part of the European Capital of Culture programme of 2007.



AEMI  
JOURNAL



Volume 7 • 2009

*Special Issue on*

Migration Heritage Routes:  
Documentation, Research and Communication

*Editor*

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions  
[www.aemi.dk](http://www.aemi.dk)

# Protocol of the Annual Meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions

*2 - 4 October, 2008  
Genoa, Italy*



*Conference delegates and members of the Association of European Migrations Institutions assembled for registration and the 2008 Annual meeting at the conference room at Palazzo San Giorgio, Genoa, Italy.  
Photo: Hans Storhaug*

## **Thursday 02.10 2008**

### **09.00 Registration**

Conference delegates assembled for registration at 9.00 a.m. the conference room at Palazzo San Giorgio. Fabio

Capocaccia, president of CISEI, Silvia Martini conference chairman, and representatives from Port Authority of Genoa, the City of Genoa, the Province of Genoa, the Liguria Region and the Chamber of Commerce welcomed the

Board of AEMI and conference delegates.

The programme for the rest of the day and for the rest of the meeting was as follows:

Session 1: 10.00 -13.00

*The studies on archival sources: The experience in Genoa*

Chair: Matteo Sanfilippo, Associate Professor (Modern History) Tuscia University, Scientific Committee CISEI

'Genoa: the Door to the Americas,' Antonio Gibelli, University of Genoa, Chairman Scientific Committee CISEI

'A Documentary Heritage: the Study of the Nautical Logbooks,' Carlo Stiaccini, Department of Modern and Contemporary History, University of Genoa

'A project of a database of the emigrants leaving from the port of Genoa', Adele Maiello, University of Genoa, Scientific Committee CISEI

'Maritime Public Health Sources, Genoa 1830s-1850', Francesca Carminati, CISEI, and Giulia Grandi, Department of Economic and Financial Sciences of the University of Genoa

'Sources for Migration History from the Genoa State Archive' Alfonso Assini, State Archive, Genoa, Scientific Committee, CISEI

'Ansaldo & Co. Business Records as a Source for Migration History', Ferdinando Fasce, University of Genoa, Scientific Committee CISEI

'The Historiography on Ligurian Migration: A Critical Re-Appraisal', Francesco Surdich, University of Genoa, Scientific Committee CISEI

13.00 Lunch and visit to the

Museum of Sea and Navigation and to the Exhibition "La Merica!"  
Session 2: 14.30 - 16.00

*Studies on Archival Sources for the Construction of the Database: the European Experience*

Chair: AEMI

'Illustrating Migration: the contributions of museums, libraries and archives' Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies Ulster, Northern Ireland

'EmiWeb: Migraport and European Digital Frontiers', Kristin Mikalsen, Norwegian Emigrant Museum and Mathias Nilsson, Emigrant Registret Kinship Centre

Session 3: 16.30 - 19.00

*'Museums and Study Centres: a Fruitful Cooperation'*

Chair: Fabio Capocaccia, President, CISEI

Emilio Franzina, University of Verona, Scientific Committee CISEI

'Exhibitions, Museums and the Altretalie Centre on Italian Migrations', Maddalena Tirabassi, Altretalie Centre, Pierangelo Campodonico, Director Muma of Genoa

Dinner at Palazzo San Giorgio

## **Friday October 3, 2008**

Session 4: 9.30-12.00

*Continuation of the session 'Studies on Archival Sources for the Construction of the Database: the European Experience'*

Chair: AEMI

'Memoirs of a lost past: the testimony of an Italian emigrant in Luxembourg across anti-fascism, resistance, deportation and ...oblivion', Maria Luisa Caldognetto, Centre of Records on

## Human Migration

'Archives, monuments, migration heritage: Early Modern Tyrolean migrations to the Mosel region (F, D, L)', Antoinette Reuter, Documentation Centre on Human Migration, Luxembourg,

'Photographic Archives of the San Marino Emigration Museum', Chiara Cardogna, San Marino Emigration Museum

'International Network of Migration Institutions. Promoting the Public understanding of Migration', Marta Severo, UNESCO

## Discussion

### Session 5:

*Studies on Archival Sources for the Construction of the Database: Experiences Across the Atlantic*

*Regione Liguria Building*

*Emigration to the United States through Ellis Island*

Chair: Adele Maiello, Scientific Committee, CISEI.

Participants in videoconference from the US: Ira Glazier, Director Centre for Immigration Research, Temple University, Balch Institute, Philadelphia and Diane Pardue, National Park Services, Executive Officer.

### Session 6:

*'Emigration to Brazil and to Argentina: the Documentary Heritage of Memorial do Imigrante and the experience of Portal Gringo.'*

Chair and Discussant: Fulvia Zega, Roma Tre University.

Participants: Adriana Cristina Crolla, Director of the Centro de Estudios

## Comparados Santa Fè

Participants in videoconference from Sao Paulo:

Federico Croci, Scientific Committee CISEI and Visiting Professor at the University of Sao Paulo

Soraya Moura, Memorial do Imigrante's Project Coordinator

Adele Maiello, University of Genoa, Scientific Committee CISEI.

Cocktail and dinner party onboard during the boat tour of the port.

## Saturday October 4, 2008

### General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI)

#### Minutes of Meeting

The General Assembly 2008 of the Association of European Migration Institutions was convened at Palazzo San Giorgio, Genoa, Italy and called to order at 09.00 am on Saturday 4 October 2008 by Chairman, Brian Lambkin.

#### 1. Attendance Register and Apologies

Brian Lambkin made apologies for editor of the AEMI Journal, Hans Storhaug, The Norwegian Emigration Centre, Stavanger, Norway and Secretary/Treasurer Henning Bender, The Danish Emigration Archives for not being able to attend the general assembly.

#### Present

The Chairman also noted that the following representatives of 15 member institutions were present:

- The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration, Luxembourg, repre-

sented by Ms Antoinette Reuter

- CISEI (Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana), Genoa, Italy, represented by Dr Silvia Martini

- The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark, represented by Mr Jens Topholm

- Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, represented by Professor Olavi Koivukangas

- The German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven, Germany, represented by Mr Steffen Wiegmann

- The Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Northern Ireland, represented by Dr Brian Lambkin

- The Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway, represented by Ms Dina Tolsby

- The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, represented by Mr Steinar Bjerkestrand

- The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Krakow, Poland, represented by Professor Adam Walaszek

- The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamn, Finland, represented by Dr Eva Meyer

- The Kinship Centre, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr Erik Gustavson

- Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Basque Country, represented by Mr Joseba I. Arregi Orue

- Institute for Migration & Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, represented by Professor Ruzica Cicak-Chand

- Ballinstadt, Das Auswandermuseum Hamburg, represented by Mr Jorge Birkner

- Museo dell Emigrante Centro Studi sull Emigrazione, San Marino, represented by Dr Chiara Cardogna

Applying for membership:

Torsten Feys, Red Star Line Project, Antwerp, Belgium

The Chairman then moved that Professor Adam Walaszek be elected presiding officer of the business meeting. The motion was agreed and Professor Walaszek took the chair.

## *2. Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 27 September 2007, Turku, Finland*

The Minutes of the General Assembly 2006, held in Turku Finland, 27 September 2007 and accessible at AEMI's website, were approved.

## *3. Chairman's Report, 2007- 2008*

The Chairman gave his report. Brian Lambkin thanked the board for efficient work, and he focused on the headlines in his report, referring to the full text that is accessible at the AEMI website.

The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Chairman's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

## *4. Treasurer's Report: Financial statement and accounts 2007- 2008*

Jens Topholm presented on behalf of Treasurer, Henning Bender, the Financial Statement and Accounts for 2007-2008, as posted previously on the AEMI website.

The Association's Auditor, Dr Eva Meyer, confirmed that she was satisfied with the Accounts for 2007 and had signed them.

The Presiding Officer thanked for presentation and moved the adoption of Treasurers and Accounts report. The meeting adopted the motion.

*5. Journal Editor's Report, 2007- 2008*

Brian Lambkin reported on behalf of Editor of the Association's Journal, Hans Storhaug, that next volume 6 (2008) would contain reports of the Annual Meeting in Turku and it would be released by Christmas. Volume 7 (2009) was planned to contain the papers given at this conference in Genoa.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his continuing efforts on behalf of the Association.

*6. Election of Officers, 2008- 2011*

The Chairman thanked former Secretary and Treasurer Henning Bender for his long time services to the Association from the founding meetings to the situation today with a strong cross European association. He was looking forward to see Henning at next year's annual meeting.

The Chairman then proposed dividing the Secretary and Treasurer post and reported that the Board had received the following nominations for the election of officers 2008:

Treasurer: Eva Meyer (The Aaland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamn, Finland), Secretary: Jens Topholm (The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark), Journal Editor: Hans Storhaug (The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway.)

The chairman called for comments from the audience. Professor Olavi Koivukangas took the floor and talked about the basic thoughts dominating the foundation of the Association and original ideas about the changing of leadership and countries represented in the board. Generally he argued for three terms in a row as the upper limit. Olavi

Koivukangas had proposed Eva Meyer as Secretary and Treasurer, but he accepted the proposal with Eva Meyer as Treasurer and Jens Topholm as Secretary.

The Chairman pointed out that Eva Meyer as Auditor knew about the job as Treasurer and that Jens Topholm could continue and develop the website. Brian Lambkin also agreed to be nominated for a last term as Chairman of the association.

The Presiding Officer then asked the audiences if they agreed on the nomination of new board members and the nominated if they would accept the election. Eva Meyer, Jens Topholm, and Brian Lampkin on behalf of Hans Storhaug agreed to that.

As representative of the host institution organizing the General Assembly this year was nominated Silvia Martini (Genoa) and as representatives of the institutions hosting next years General Assembly were nominated Steffen Wiegmann (Bremerhaven) and Jorge Birkner (Hamburg)

The election was unanimously confirmed by the ordinary members preceding.

*7. Proposed Budget 2009*

Eva Meyer proposed keeping the expenses in 2009 to a minimum and proposed a budget accordingly:

Transport from 2008	6.249 €
Fee.....	5.200 €
Board.....	-2.000 €
Admin.....	-1.000 €
AEMI-Journal.....	-3.000 €
Webpage	-1.000 €
Transport to 2010.....	4.449 €

The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the proposed budget and the meeting accepted the motion.

#### *8. Appointment of Auditor for 2008-2009*

The Presiding Officer asked Erik Gustavson (The Kinship Centre, Karlstad, Sweden), if he would be willing to serve as Auditor for the coming year. He confirmed that. The Presiding Officer then asked the audiences asked if they agreed on that nomination.

The election was unanimously confirmed by the 15 ordinary members preceding.

#### *9. Venue of Annual Meeting 2009*

Over the last 7 years the meeting has moved between north and south and east and west (Norway 2002, Portugal 2003, Sweden 2004, France 2005, Croatia 2006, Finland 2007 and Italy 2008).

For the Annual meeting 2009 a joint invitation from German Emigration Centre, Bremerhaven and from Ballinstadt, Das Auswandermuseum Hamburg was presented respectively by Steffen Wiegmann and Jorge Birkner. It was proposed to combine the Annual Meeting and to focus on the impact of two major city ports, genealogy and migration, research and biographies.

The Chairman noted that other expressions of interest in hosting future meetings were made by Erik Gustavson (Sweden), Jens Topholm (Denmark) and Chiara Cardogna (San Marino).

The Presiding Officer then suggested that the Annual Meeting 2009 would take place in Bremerhaven and Hamburg from the September 30. – October

4, and that decision was unanimously confirmed by the 15 ordinary members preceding.

#### *10. Admission of New Members*

The Presiding Officer asked the Chairman to speak to the admission of new members.

The Chairman then called upon Torsten Feys. He presented the Red Star Line Project, Antwerp <http://www.visitantwerpen.be/redstarlinememorial/home.html> and proposed its admission to membership. This was agreed by acclaim.

#### *11. Members Projects*

##### **European Migration Heritage Route**

Antoinette Reuter talked about the project, and noted that it had not been possible to get financial support from EU. Maybe AEMI was not strong enough and should get in contract with other partners. She argued that it is necessary to have a strong formal status to gain financial support from EU. Antoinette Reuter also mentioned the 'Migration Heritage Week' which will take place from the 5 to the 12 October. The idea of the week is to highlight at the same moment at various places the importance of migration heritage (archives, collections of artefacts, sites, traditions ...) and to underline the necessity to get means to preserve this heritage.

##### **Youth and Migration, Norway**

Brian Lambkin gave a short introduction to the YAM project and thoughts on how to connect this project with the EU e-ContentPlus Programme.

### **Migra Portal, Sweden and Norway**

Erik Gustavson introduced the Migra Portal project. The basic idea is to create a search portal to existing private and public European databases on migration. All AEMI members were invited to participate. Erik Gustavsson proposed to create a working group to prepare a two days meeting as soon as possible to elaborate a project description focusing on the eContentPlus Programme. He assured that Sweden and Norway were ready to organize the project, financed by equal contributions between the participating institutions and EU. Jens Topholm strongly supported the idea and talked favourably of creating a search database based on international standards.

### **European Migration Centres Network, Italy**

Fabio Capocaccia introduced a project with the objective to create a concrete network between organizations working in the field of migration, that is AEMI members and other institutions/organizations. Ligurian Region could be leading partner with the operative support of CISEI and other Institutions. The project was designed to the INTERREG IVC 2007-2013 Programme financed from 75% to 85% of the budget by European Union. Fabio Capocaccia also mentioned the possibility of integrating the Migra Port project.

Kristin Mikalsen remarked that Migra Port was a different kind of project that could not be a part of a network programme. She also noted that some of the objectives were already part of AEMIs activities.

### *11. Any Other Business*

Being no other business, the Chairman thanked Professor Walaszek for acting as Presiding Officer and the General Assembly concluded at noon, 12.00.

Closing of the Conference, Chairman Brian Lambkin thanked Fabio Capocaccia and Silvia Martini and their colleagues at CISEI for hosting an excellent conference in beautiful locations. He also thanked for the generous hospitality of Genoa. Presentations were made to Fabio and Silvia as tokens of the warm appreciation expressed by all present.

Brian Lambkin concluded by looking forward to next years meeting in Bremerhaven and Hamburg, thanking the two institutions for offering their cooperation.

At 12.30 pm the participants were transferred to the International Fair for lunch and closing the conference by visiting the International Boat Show, the most important boat show in the world.

### *Participants*

Arregui Joseba, Spain  
 Belkeddar Farouk, France  
 Birkner Jorge, Germany  
 Bjerkestrand Steiner, Norway  
 Capocaccia Fabio, Italy  
 Cardogna Chiara, San Marino  
 Carminati Francesca, Italy  
 Feys Torsten, Belgium  
 Ružica Ćicak-Chand, Croatia  
 Grandi Giulia, Italy  
 Gustavson Erik, Sweden  
 Horner Benjamin, France  
 Jotti Laura, Italy  
 Koivukangas Olavi, Finland

Lambkin Brian, Northern Ireland  
Martini Silvia, Italy  
Mayer Eva, Finland  
Mikalsen Kristin, Norway  
Moura Soraya, Brasil (in videoconference)  
Nilsson Mathias, Sweden  
Pardue Diana, USA (in videoconference)  
Reuter Antoinette, Luxembourg  
Stiaccini Carlo, Italy  
Tolfsby Dina, Norway  
Topholm Jens, Denmark  
Walaszec Adam, Poland  
Wiegmann Steffen, Germany

*As external guests:*

Caldognetto Maria Luisa, Italy  
Campodonico Pierangelo, Italy  
Crolla Adriana, Argentina  
Glazier Ira, USA  
Lombardi Luigi, Italy  
Severo Marta, Italy  
Tirabassi Maddalena, Italy  
Zega Fulvia, Italy  
Scientific Committee CISEI  
Representatives of the Town Institutions

# Association of European Migration Association Chairman's Report 2007 - 2008



Ladies and Gentlemen:

In opening this report on the events of the past year I would like to begin by recalling our Annual Meeting last year which took place in Turku, Finland, at the Institute of Migration whose Director, Professor Olavi Koivukangas, is a founding member of the Association. As ever, we rely on our Annual Meeting as our main means of renewing old friendships and making new ones, for reviewing progress, and for charting our direction for the coming year. We again thank Olavi and his colleagues for welcoming us so warmly back to Finland, having hosted the Association there previously in 1993.

We also thank Silvia Martini and Fabio Capocaccia and their colleagues at the International Centre of Italian Emigration Studies (CISEI) for welcoming us this year to Genoa in Italy. I would also like to express my appreciation of the understanding and patience shown by Simone Eick and her colleagues in Bremerhaven, who were also very keen

to host this year's Annual Meeting.

As usual, there has been frequent communication between members of the Board, mainly by email, especially in preparation for the Annual Meeting. In this regard I would like

to pay tribute in particular to Silvia and Fabio for their generosity in hosting not only a visit by Henning Bender on behalf of the Association in October 2007, as agreed at our meeting in Turku, but also a meeting of the Board in Genoa in April 2008 – both indications of the commitment of CISEI in bringing AEMI to their new institution.

For this third and final year of its term of office, your Board has been Henning Bender (Denmark) as general secretary and treasurer, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the Association's *Journal*, Olavi Koivukangas (Finland) as representative of last year's host institution, Silvia Martini as representative of the this year's host institution, and myself as chairman (Northern Ireland).

Some of you may not be aware that Hans was quite seriously ill recently. This means I am afraid that he is not able to be with us in Genoa and that there has been some delay to the production of the next volume of our Journal, as will be explained in his report. However, his health is now improving and I am glad to say that he has indicated his willingness to continue serving as Editor. I am sure you will want to join me in wishing him a speedy recovery. We also thank Hans for representing the Association at the ceremony in Luxembourg on 6 October 2007, just after our meeting in Turku, at which the charter was presented for the European Migration Heritage Route, within the programme of the European Institute for Cultural Routes.

I have also to report that Henning Bender has indicated his intention to resign as Secretary and Treasurer, in which post he has served faithfully since the establishment of the Association in 1989.

This year Henning retired as Director of the Danish Emigration Archives in Aalborg Denmark. I regret that has not proved possible to persuade him to attend this year's meeting to give his final report in person and receive the richly deserved thanks. In modest Danish fashion, having served for such a long time, he was anxious that his successor in the Emigration Archives in Aalborg, Jens Topholm, should be able to attend with a view to sustaining their institution's commitment to the development of the Association. I hope that members will join with me in both welcoming Jens and in expressing our heartfelt thanks for the work that Henning has done over the years, not least in managing our website and ensuring, in the nicest possible way, that we all, or very nearly all, pay our annual subscriptions on time. We may look forward to the continuing company of Henning as an individual member and I hope that he



*Retired Director of the Danish Emigration Archives and former Secretary and Treasurer of AEMI, Henning Bender, and AEMI President Brian Lambkin. Photo: Hans Storhaug*



*AEMI board members visiting CISEI in Genoa in April 2008: From left: Henning Bender, Olavi Koivukangas, Fabio Capocaccia, Carine Rouah and Brian Lambkin. Photo: Hans Storhaug*

will be able to join us next year, after a well deserved break as he and Birgit settle into their new home on the island of Bornholm.

As I have mentioned, the Board held one face-to-face meeting this year on 21 April in Genoa, thanks to the hospitality of CISEI. This meeting was particularly valuable because we were able to bring Carine Rouah from Rome to meet with us and continue the very important discussion that we had begun in Turku in 2007 about possible cooperation between AEMI and the newly-formed International Network of Migration Museums of which Carine is the volunteer Project Manager. As an initiative of UNESCO, originating in a conference held in Rome in October 2006, the International Network of Migration Museums aims to offer a Web interface to assist the growth of the international network of migration institutions, to support the activities of migration museums and to facilitate the interactions among them. The main concern of the Board at our meeting in Genoa was to clarify the relationship between membership of AEMI and membership of the International Network of Migration Museums. Some but not all AEMI members are already members of this new Network. The question to be clarified was whether all AEMI members were eligible for membership of the Network. This is an important issue because AEMI includes, as its name is intended to indicate, various types of migration institutions as members: museums, libraries, archives, heritage centres and research institutions or study centres, whereas the name of International Network of Migration Museums suggests that it has an exclusive

focus on migration museums, as distinct from other types of migration institution. Carine Rouah explained that so far as membership of the Network was concerned it was intended that the term 'museum' should be interpreted inclusively rather than exclusively. Institutions which are not strictly speaking museums are already members. All members of AEMI would therefore be welcome to join the International Network of Migration Museums.

We found ourselves in agreement that the special nature of migration museums is such that they depend for their success on developing archive and library collections of migration records (especially passenger lists, letters, photographs, oral histories, published autobiographies and biographies) as well as museum collections of migration-related objects. The migration museum is a new kind of institution that should embody the idea of partnership between museums, libraries, archives and research or study centres. Your Board argued that it would be unfortunate if the name of International Network of Migration Museums were to give the impression that museums were being privileged to the detriment of libraries, archives, heritage centres and research and study centres which share the objectives of this Network. A powerful way of signalling that this Network is concerned to include all relevant institutions, we suggested, would be simply for it to change its name. I am pleased to report that the Network is in the process of changing its name to the International Network of Migration Institutions, with the explanatory strap line – 'promoting the public understanding of migration', see: (<http://www.migrationmuseums>).

org/web/index.php?page=home). Members may recall how I wrote after that meeting urging all AEMI members that, given this clarification, we should all consider joining the International Network of Migration Institutions.

In Genoa we also discussed with Carine how this network might grow over the next five to ten years and it seemed likely that in expanding it would need to develop a regional structure. Institutions in different regions (such as North and South America and Australasia where there are already important groupings) may find it more practical to come together for face-to-face meetings annually - as AEMI does at present in Europe. A meeting of the global network may then be practical only every 3-5 years.

Finally, we discussed how we might mitigate the clash in dates of the AEMI Annual Conference in Genoa and the International Conference organized by Museo de Historia de la Inmigración de Cataluña that will gather members of the International Network of Migration Museums in October 2008 in Barcelona, Spain, and how best to promote European Migration Heritage Week 2008. Unfortunately it has not proved practicable to arrange a video link-up for the programmes of our two conferences but I trust that there will have been some communication between Genoa and Barcelona during these days to our mutual benefit.

What we have managed to agree in principle is that instead of having two separate conferences next year, the International Network will co-operate with AEMI in its Annual Meeting in 2009. It remains to be determined by

our Annual Meeting where exactly our meeting will take place. As last year in Turku we are in the happy position of having received firm offers from two member institutions to host our next meeting in 2008, both in Germany: the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and BallinStadt in Hamburg. I have been involved in discussions with both institutions to see if it may be practicable to combine in some way in the organisation of the programme so that we may have an opportunity to visit the splendid new facilities of both.

In closing, I would also like to draw particular attention to three other developments during the year, each of which I believe indicates the value of our Association to its members and the wider community.

The first concerns Antoinette Reuter and the meeting in Brussels on 16 May which she kindly invited me to attend in order to discuss the development of the European Migration Heritage Route. I look forward to Antoinette, who remains the main driving force behind this project, reporting on how the discussion has progressed since, but here I would just like to point out an example, coming out of that meeting, of how the Association grows. Present at the meeting was Luc Verheyen, representing the Red Star Line project in Antwerp, which has ambitious plans for opening a new migration museum there in three or four years time. Subsequently, Luc sent his colleague Torsten Feys on a fact-finding mission to various other AEMI institutions, including our own in Northern Ireland, and I am glad to say that Torsten will be with us in Genoa on behalf of his institution with a view

to joining the Association.

The second development was initially less happy. Members will recall the urgent appeal to the scientific community and general public made in July by colleagues in the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies in Zagreb, Croatia, who kindly hosted our Annual Meeting in 2006. This concerned the manner of the appointment of their new Director and I believe it is a case that illustrates the importance of the Association. Were our own institutions to be faced with a similar situation, to whom could we turn? The fact that the Institute now intends to send our old friend Ruzica Cicak-Chand to attend our meeting in Genoa as its representative I take to be a good sign that things there are on the mend. I am sure you will want to join me in wishing all our colleagues in Zagreb well for the future.

The third development was altogether a happy one. I was delighted to be contacted in August by another old friend of the Association Jürgen Rudloff in Bremerhaven. As a result of his long-time dedication to the initiative of building an international emigration museum in Bremerhaven, he has been awarded a medal by the Federal President, Horst Köhler. This was presented to him at a ceremony on 5 September, hosted by the Chief Magistrate of the senate of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen. Again I am sure that you will want to join me in congratulating Jürgen on his richly deserved award and wish him well in his continuing good work, promoting the public understanding of migration.

The signs generally are that there is a growing interest in the work of institutions such as ours and their relevance

to the whole question of social integration. A number of major conferences bear witness to this. These include the symposium on Intercultural Dialogue in March 2007 at the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris, which hosted our Annual Meeting in 2005. We congratulate colleagues on their successful opening on 10 October 2007. The launch of the splendid Youth and Migration website, which many members will recall having seen demonstrated by Hans Storhaug in previous years in its pilot stage of development, was launched in Norway on 25 September as part of a youth conference that brought together in a 'World Village' over sixty young people from nine different countries, within the Stavanger 2008 programme as European Capital of Culture along with Liverpool. I have already referred to the conference on 'Museums, Migration and Interculturality' taking place in Barcelona at the same time as our own in Genoa. Coming up later in October we have major conferences in Berlin and Bonn that are both addressing the issue of migration museums. No doubt there are other things happening that members will be keen to share information about.

So as we approach our twentieth anniversary next year, there is little doubt about the continuing need for an Association such as ours. As this Board concludes its term of office, and as I conclude my second term as Chairman, we need to think carefully in electing a new Board for the next three-year term. In almost twenty years, from the Scandinavian nucleus of our founder institutions, we have grown from a small organization to the medium-sized organization

that we are today, spanning most but not yet all of Europe. By reaching out to new institutions, as here in Genoa, and by engaging with new initiatives such as the International Migration Museums Network, we have the potential to grow into a large organization. Our association continues to welcome small, medium and large-sized institutions but the onus in expanding the Association must necessarily fall on the larger institutions, which have the resources better able to support the kind of work involved. In electing your new Board I would ask that you bear this consideration in mind. The situation regarding nominations for the new Board is at the time of writing is as follows. Following the resignation of Henning Bender, we have two nominations for the previously combined posts of Secretary and Treasurer: Eva Meyer (Aaland Islands Emigrant Institute) and Jens Topholm (Danish Emigration Archives). Hans Storhaug has indicated his willingness to continue serving as Editor of the Association's Journal and I have been asked to consider serving a

final, third term. However nominations may still be made from the floor at our Annual Meeting on Saturday 4 October and I would urge members to consider that a sign that that our Association will have made the shift from a medium-size organisation to a large one will be when the general expectation is that Board members will serve no more than one three-year term.

Be that as it may, I would commend to you the hard work done by of your outgoing Board over the last three years on behalf of the Association and in particular that done by Henning Bender as Secretary and Treasurer since that first formal meeting of the Association in Aalborg, Denmark in 1989. Finally, I would like to thank again Olavi Koivukangas and his colleagues for hosting the Annual Meeting in Finland in 2007. And we also thank Silvia Martini and Fabio Capocaccia and their colleagues for undertaking the task of preparing to host us as a new institution in 2009. May our deliberations in Genoa prove fruitful in the year ahead.

Brian Lambkin  
*Chairman*

# Intercultural Education for Multicultural Society

*Milan Mesic*

## Introduction

This paper presents some basic arguments in favor of intercultural dialogue through education. It offers some elementary answers to several major questions:

1. What kind of worldview and education has dominated the world till the emergence of interculturalism and multiculturalism?

2. What kind of societies and the world – in terms of their cultural composition – young people are going to live and to cope with?

3. Can multicultural societies be taken as an advantage for further development of social justice and new open-minded multi-perspective education?

4. What is intercultural or multicultural education about; what it means and aims at?

5. What kind of changes in educational system are necessary in order to implement successfully intercultural education?

6. Is intercultural and multicultural education just a Western/European model of education that should be imposed on non-European societies?

## Long time dominance of monoculturalism

From ancient Greek philosophy, through Medieval Christianity and liberalism, till our days western thought and worldview have been dominated by moral monism or monocultural understanding of human beings and their societies (B. Parekh 2006). A bit simplified moral monism assumes that only one way of life is truly human, and all others are more or less defective in moral human sense. In other words monoculturalists have believed that one or some cultures (their own) are superior to others, and therefore the latter can rightly be suppressed or even destroyed.

When Western European great powers conquered and colonized large parts of other continents, they needed ideological justification for their rule. Social science (in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century), heavily relied on biology, readily responded to the spirit of the time and produced the concepts of hierarchy of races and cultures, with the Western European white race and culture(s) on the top and the black race and the African cultures at the bottom of the ostensible

evolutionary cultural pyramid. Thinking of themselves as a superior race and culture Europeans rationalized and legitimized their imperialism as a historical mission of civilizing the backward races and cultures. This latest version of moral monism later became known as Eurocentrism – ethnocentrism on the European scale.

Finally, with the rise and consolidation of the nation-state as the model of modern society, cultural homogenization within a state, i.e. (forcible) assimilation of minority and deprived cultures, became an ideal standard of a national constitution. The assimilationist concept of public education has played an important, if not a key role, in its establishment and maintenance of a monolithic national culture. It was assumed that ethnic and immigrant groups had to forsake their original cultures in order to fully participate in the nation-state.

### **Emergence of interculturalism or multiculturalism**

Above we pointed out the dominant social and educational context in which has recently emerged a new vision of society, culture and education – interculturalism or multiculturalism. Both versions of basically similar ideas have been developed through critique of Eurocentrism (and every ethnocentrism in general) and (forcible) assimilation on the one hand and affirmation of cultural diversities on the other. No wonder that many non-European thinkers (in the sense of their cultural origins) have taken an active and prominent part in development of the new (intercultural or multicultural) concepts of society,

culture and education.

Leaving aside their predecessors (starting from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and gaining ground at the time of German romanticism in the form of cultural pluralism and cultural relativism), the initial contemporary ideas of interculturalism or multiculturalism appeared in the 1970s, as a response to ethnic revival and diversity movements which appeared both in the United States and Europe. Since then very different concepts of society, culture and education have been developed either under the umbrella term interculturalism or multiculturalism. The first notion is used in the continental Europe and deals primarily with education, and the latter in the United States, Canada, Australia and Great Britain, and it theorizes not only about education but about society as a whole.

Theoreticians of interculturalism often claim to have elaborated more advanced and sophisticated concepts of education corresponding to contemporary culturally diverse societies than theoreticians of multiculturalism. It is said that the term multicultural describes the culturally diverse nature of human society, including not only ethnic or national cultures, but also linguistic, religious and socio-economic diversity (UNESCO Guidelines on Intercultural Education, 2006:17). Interculturality, it is said, is unlike multiculturalism dynamic concept and refers to evolving relations between cultural groups. In that sense, it has been defined as “the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect” (UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of

Cultural Expressions, Article 5, 2005).

It is legitimate to adopt the above meanings of the terms interculturality and multiculturalism for the scientific terms as the matter of convention within an academic community or a broader public. However, for the sake of academic correctness, we should have in mind that the term multiculturalism has almost exclusively been used in Anglo-Saxon literature to cover very different concepts of both multicultural and intercultural models of societies and education, including definitely similar ideas on intercultural dialogue to those prescribed as interculturalism. For instance, one of its theoreticians defines multiculturalism as “the state of a society or the world containing many cultures that interact in some significant ways with each other” (A. Gutmann 1994). Even more, the most theoretically elaborated concepts relating to intercultural dialogue and mutual respect have been published as books under the title containing the term multiculturalism. Being aware that multiculturalism is often reduced to and understood as a pure multicultural society, where different cultures more or less tolerate each other, but do not go into mutual understandings and productive dialogue, some outstanding multiculturalists point out that they advocate transformative or critical multiculturalism in opposition to conservative, liberal, or corporative multiculturalism.

In short, both (critical) interculturalists and multiculturalists generally are in agreement that multiculturalism is a factual condition of most contemporary societies today. The question is how to deal with it. Therefore, we are going here to use both terms (intercultural-

ism/intercultural education and multiculturalism/multicultural education) interchangeably (as synonyma) when talking about the new concepts of education and social justice, relying on the concepts of both schools of thought – European (interculturalism) and Anglo-American (multiculturalism).

Obviously any concept of interculturalism (multiculturalism) depends greatly on the notion of culture employed. There are many different definitions of culture. In the schools still prevails a traditional anthropological understanding of culture as static and unchanging entity. One of the consequences of such perceptions and descriptions is the perpetuation of stereotypes about different ethnic, cultural, religious, and racial groups. There is growing scientific evidence, however, cultures are dynamic, complex, and changing. Most social scientists today view culture as consisting primarily of the symbolic, ideational, and intangible aspects of human societies. Even when they view artifacts and material objects as being a part of culture, most social scientists regard culture as the way people interpret, use, and perceive such artifacts and material objects. It is the values, symbols, interpretations, and perspectives that distinguish one people from another in modernized societies and not artifacts, material objects, and other tangible aspects of human societies. Both the Japanese and Americans produce and use the automobile, but the meaning and the symbol of the automobile in these societies may differ considerably. However, most scholars in cultural studies still omit to pay proper attention to variations within the national culture – to sub-cultures within

it, which is important for intercultural education in a broader sense as well (J. Banks).

Generally speaking, liberal and communitarian scholars share an institutional view of culture, whereas postmodernists see it in a relational perspective. According to the first position, we can also say to narrow (or anthropologically thick), notion a culture “provides its members with meaningful ways of life across the full range of human activities, including social, educational, religious, recreational, and economic life, encompassing both public and private spheres. These cultures tend to be territorially concentrated and based on shared language” (W. Kymlicka). Cultural diversity from such a perspective relates first of all to national minorities (as territorially concentrated and self-contained communities), indigenous peoples and conditionally new immigrant groups.

For a postmodern relational thinker a group exists and is defined as a specific group only in social and interactive relations to others. Group identity is not a set of objective facts, but the product of experienced meanings. The broad (relational) conception of interculturalism, in contrast to a narrow one, takes into account groups that do not form a societal (institutional) culture. The members of the latter are supposed to share some characteristics that define them as different from members of majority culture(s) with respect to values, lifestyles, and interests. Considered in this view, interculturalism not only concerns the relations between members of diverse societal cultures but also the relations between the subcultures in

a given societal culture. More specifically, it pertains also to differences such as sex, disability, age, social class, sexual orientations and popular cultures. The identity of these groups is considered significant with regard to the construction of their autonomy, preferences, choices, and conception of the good life.

Multiculturalism is sometimes erroneously equated with cultural relativism. Cultural relativists maintain that since everyone is entitled to his or her culture, no one has right to judge, criticize or press for changing other cultures or some of their practices. They suggest that all cultures deserve equal respect. Multiculturalism also recognizes an equal right of each community of people to its culture. Such a stance does not, however, entail any moral restrictions on our judgments and critique of certain practices and beliefs. Our respect for a culture should be based on our assessment of its content and way of life it facilitates to its members.

We should also differentiate multiculturalism from cultural pluralism. It might be said that multiculturalism takes a middle position between assimilation and cultural pluralism. The intercultural theorists think that cultural pluralists exaggerate in giving too much prominence to ethnic group in the socialization of the individual, while on the other hand assimilationists greatly understate the role of cultural and ethnic groups (at least in Western societies) in the lives of individuals. Multicultural theorists argue that even though ethnic groups have some unique cultural characteristics, all groups in society share many cultural characteristics and values. Therefore, they see neither separatism

(as pluralists do) nor total integration (as assimilationists do) as ideal societal goals, but rather envision an open society, in which individuals from diverse cultural, ethnic, language, and social-class groups have equal opportunities to function and participate. One of the major challenges to diverse democratic nation-states is to provide opportunities for different groups to maintain aspects of their community cultures while building a nation in which these groups are structurally included and to which they feel allegiance. Their essential goal is to maintain a delicate balance of diversity and unity. Culturally diverse nation-states can protect the right of minorities and enable diverse groups to participate only when they are unified around a set of democratic values such as justice and equality (J.A. Banks).

### **Multiculturalism of contemporary societies and the reasons for interculturalism**

Although culture and society are interconnected in the sense that there is neither a society without a culture nor a culture which is not associated with some society, the two are to be distinguished both analytically and practically. A society may embrace two or more cultures, not mentioning sub-cultures, and vice versa a culture may be shared by two or more societies (states). A member of a society can identify himself or herself with two or more cultures, and a member of a culture can belong to two societies (states) either formally (through dual citizenship) or informally (through his or her ethnic, national or cultural double or even multiple identification and loyalty.

We should keep in mind that belonging to a culture varies in different groups and from one individual to another. It is not homogeneous in nature. Some members might share all beliefs of their culture and follow all of its (traditional) practices and other only some of them. Internal heterogeneity and tensions from one side and external influences from the other help to explain why no culture is ever free of contestation and change

Culture and religion influence each other in a great deal. Because both culture and religion are concerned with meaning and significance of human activities and relations, the two tend to be closely connected. Indeed, there is hardly a culture in whose creation, constitution and continuation religion has not played an important part. In different cultures religion plays different roles. Although no culture can be exclusively based on religion, for a religion can never cover all areas of human life and anticipate all situations in real life, it can be shaped by it in different ways and degrees. No religion, in turn can be culture-free.

The great majority of contemporary societies are multicultural in a narrow sense of cultural diversity (containing different ethnic, national, religious or race communities) and practically all of them in a broad sense (including sub-cultural differences). Therefore the relevant question is not whether they want to be multicultural or not (since it is a fact regardless whether it is being recognized or not) but how to respond to their multiculturalism. In addition, owing to the complex (economic, political and cultural) processes of globalization and

the changing nature of modern technology (which is not value free), no society today can insulate itself against external (multicultural) influences. Capital, technology, ideas and people move easily across territorial boundaries bringing in new forms of thought and life.

Since cultural diversity characterizes almost all societies albeit in different degrees, they must either find ways of coming to terms with and even profiting from it, or suppress or marginalize it by somehow homogenizing themselves. The latter involves forcible assimilation of cultural minorities, various political restrictions, control of the media, bans of foreign literature and even technology, and limited contacts with outside world. The only acceptable choice open to a democratic society today is to manage and build on the creative potential of its diversity, welcome and make it central to its self-understanding (Parekh).

Contemporary multicultural societies are not historically unique. Many premodern societies also included several cultural or religious communities. Yet, they distinguish themselves from their predecessors in several important aspects. First in premodern societies minority communities generally accepted their subordinate status. Second, today there is a growing awareness that a group of people can be oppressed and humiliated not only economically and politically, but culturally as well. Third, contemporary multicultural societies have become more and more interconnected politically, economically and culturally through the processes of globalization. Furthermore, many social critics believe that the nation-state's project, based on exclusive national cul-

ture and cultural unification for its stability and cohesion is no longer viable today (Parekh).

There is much to be said for multiculturalism or cultural diversity of a society from an intercultural (multicultural) perspective. First, cultural diversity increases the available range of options and expands freedom of choice. Second, because human beings are culturally embedded, they have a right to their culture. Third, cultural diversity creates a rich, varied and aesthetically pleasing and stimulating world. Fourth, it encourages a healthy competition between different systems of ideas and ways of life. Although these arguments in favor of cultural diversity are convincing, they remain, however, largely instrumental in character and do not appreciate intrinsic value of other cultures but only those aspects of them which can be useful for members of a majority culture (B. Parekh).

A true intercultural approach should reveal a primarily intrinsic value of each culture and cultural diversity in a society and in the world. It is instructive here to note the emergence of politics of recognition in the environmental movement, to better understand the perspective shift in viewing society and social justice. Radical environmentalists abandoned an anthropocentric orientation that views non-human life forms as existing solely as a means to human ends, and embraced a biocentric perspective that affirms the inherent value of all forms of life. "Furthermore, just as multiculturalists might criticize the positing of the achievements of one group, such as white European and American males, as the norm of fully developed human-

ity, so some environmentalists criticize an anthropocentric outlook that posits human beings as the final end of the creation process and as inherently superior to all other beings. In both cases there is an attack on hierarchical modes of thought that tend to diminish or deny the value of other beings" (S. Rockefeller).

Since human capacities and values conflict, every culture realizes a limited range of them and neglects, marginalizes and suppresses others. However rich it might be, no culture embodies all that is valuable in human life and develops the full range of human possibilities. Different cultures thus correct and complement each other to new forms of human fulfillment. The value of other cultures is independent of whether or not they are options for us. Indeed they are often valuable precisely because they are not. Although a native people's way of life is not an option for us, it serves important cultural purposes (sensitivity towards harmony with nature) (Parekh).

Cultural diversity is also an important constituent and condition of human freedom. Unless human beings are able to step out of their culture, they remain imprisoned within it and tend to absolutize it, imagining it to be the only natural or self-evident way to understand and organize human life. Since cultural diversity fosters such vital preconditions of human freedom as self-knowledge, self-transcendence and self-criticism, it is an objective good.

When we are used to seeing difference between cultures, we appreciate that our own culture is a product of different influences, contains different strands of thought, and is open to different inter-

pretations. It also encourages an internal dialogue within the culture.

A culture or a religion that considers itself the best and suppresses others or fears of contacts with others tends to take a unified and homogenous view of itself and suppresses its internal differences. Different artistic, literary, musical, moral and other traditions interrogate, challenge and probe each other. Cultural diversity, in short, creates a climate in which different cultures can engage in a mutually beneficial dialogue (Parekh).

From a true intercultural standpoint it would not be proper to contend that only the culturally open way of life is the best. Interculturalism should not be exclusive as monoculturalism has been. A culturally homogenous society has its strengths. It facilitates a sense of community and solidarity, makes interpersonal communication easier, sustains a thick culture, and easily mobilizes its members' loyalties. However, it also has a tendency to become closed, intolerant, averse to change, and oppressive, and to discourage differences and dissent. It is narrowly based and lacks the conditions necessary for the development of such great intellectual and moral virtues as intellectual openness, critical self-consciousness, and recognition of differences. We could argue that a culturally diverse society can reproduce most of the desirable qualities of homogenous society, but the reverse is not the case. There is no obvious reason why a culturally plural society should not develop a sense of community, solidarity, common loyalties and a broad moral and political consensus. By contrast, a culturally homogeneous society cannot provide

the creative tensions of an intercultural dialogue. Although a culturally diverse society is not better in all aspects, it is likely to achieve a better balance of the qualities desirable in a good society (Parekh).

We may summarize by saying that four major factors make today intercultural education a necessity: 1) ethnic pluralism is a growing societal reality influencing the lives of young people whether they want it or not; 2) in one way or another, all of us acquire more or less favorable or unfavorable views, through formal schooling and outside of it, on different cultures and religions, and in general on 'others'; 3) membership in cultural and sub-cultural diverse communities and groups even in democratic contemporary societies limits social opportunities for these individuals; 4) the world's greatest problems do not result from people being unable to read and write, but from culturally (racially, religiously, ethically) diverse peoples being unable to get along and work together to solve the world's problems.

### **The reasons for intercultural dialogue through intercultural education**

Intercultural (multicultural) education began to develop in the 1970s as a constituent and actually most important element of interculturalism (multiculturalism), in both theoretical and reform movement terms. This new concept of education designed for (post) modern multicultural societies means different things to different people and in particular to different theoreticians and practitioners. A wide range of con-

cepts has emerged to describe the educational programs and practices related to ethnic, language, cultural and sub-cultural diversities. They reflect many different and sometimes conflicting goals, approaches and educational strategies. Yet, it seems that there is a growing body of concepts which enjoy more or less consent among advocates of intercultural education.

The term intercultural education covers at least three things: a concept, an educational reform, and a process. In all these aspects it has developed in the Western states gradually through stages and still is far from its ideals, and no one should realistically expect that the introduction of intercultural education into other countries can simply jump over some of them and start with the most elaborated ideas. However, it does not mean that those who would like to embark on intercultural education should not be informed about the latest concepts and let themselves aware in advance of the problems to be faced with.

Monoculturalism in education was almost unchallenged ideological common sense until the second half of 1960s. The idea of intercultural education has started with the critique of the existing model of education, primarily for its Eurocentric and ethnocentric content and ethos. Eurocentrism is probably best epitomized by literary critic Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) in his famed saying about European cultural achievements – "the best that has been said and thought in the world". Needless to say that multiculturalist/interculturalist critique of Eurocentrism is addressed not to Europeans as individuals but rather to European oppressive cultural he-

gemony. Nor does it imply a suggestion that non-European peoples and their cultures are somehow 'better' than Europeans ones. And since Eurocentrism is a historical and social construction and not a genetic inheritance, Europeans can be (and many of them are) anti-Eurocentric, just as non-Europeans can be Eurocentric.

The traditional school system has also been under attack for its gender and sexual prejudices and insensitivities towards exceptional pupils and students (whether they are physically or mentally disabled or gifted and talented). The latter critical agenda has also integrated into discourse of multiculturalism, in particular in the United States.

In a sense, everything in education relates to culture – to its acquisition, its transmission, and its (re)invention. The proponents of intercultural (multicultural) education argue that traditional, in that sense monocultural, education is favorable for white middle-class pupils. They have a better chance to succeed through schooling than those who belong to minority cultural groups. In other words it is responsible for poor learning achievements of some groups of minority pupils and students, because it does not provide for them the positive role-models from their ethnic and cultural background.

Interculturalists claim that monocultural education is unlikely to awaken students' intellectual curiosity about other cultures. It tends to breed arrogance, insensitivity and racism. Individuals with cultural and ethnic blinders are unable to get a real understanding of their own culture. Such people who know, participate in, and see the world from only their

unique cultural and ethnic perspectives are denied important parts of the human experience and are culturally and ethnically encapsulated. We can get a full view of our own culture and behavior only by viewing them from the perspectives of other (different) cultures.

If the major aim of education, as humanization and not only socialization, is to develop worthwhile human capacities such as - self-criticism, self-reflection, open-mindedness, independent judgment based on arguments, respect for others and sensitivity to differences - the educational system should be multi-perspectival.

### **Major characteristics and goals of intercultural education**

Generally speaking, a major goal of intercultural education is to provide for really equal opportunities in learning to all pupils and students regardless of their racial, national, ethnic, social class, gender, physical or other (cultural) characteristics. This means that cultural and other differences among pupils and students should be taken into account in development of corresponding curricula as well as in teaching practices and school environment as a whole. This requires deep changes in the ways educational programs are conceptualized, organized and thought. They should help pupils and students gain greater self-understanding by viewing themselves from the perspectives of other cultures. Of course, educational equality, like liberty and social justice, is an ideal toward which human beings pursue but never fully attain.

Intercultural education assumes that ethnic, cultural, language and other di-

versities are positive elements in a society because they enrich a nation and increases the ways in which its citizens can perceive and solve personal and public problems. At the same time cultural diversities in a society provide individuals with more opportunities to experience other cultures and, thus, to become more fulfilled as human beings. Properly understood and freed from polemical exaggerations of its advocates and detractors, multicultural education is an education in freedom, both in the sense of freedom *from* ethnocentric prejudices and biases and freedom *to* explore and learn from other cultures and perspectives (Parekh).

The first move in intercultural educational reform usually is directed to changes in curriculum. The intercultural curriculum should reflect the cultures of various ethnic, cultural, religious, and language groups, the national culture, and the global community. Students need to study all of these cultures in order to become effective participants and decision-makers in a democratic multicultural nation and in the world. An intercultural curriculum can not, understandably, include into its content all the cultural wealth of the world, probably not even everything important for both a majority and minority cultures in a society. Such an attempt would result in superficial trivialization of historical events and great people. Therefore, it is necessary to make a selection, but it should be well balanced in terms of representative examples for different cultures.

There is another important dimension of the reform which is often overlooked, namely, the content and conceptual

changes must not be reduced to humanities and social sciences but all subject areas of education, including science and mathematics. No single discipline can adequately explain all components of the life-styles, cultural experiences, and social problems of ethnic groups.

It is not enough, however, to broaden the curriculum and include different religions, cultures, texts beliefs and their representatives. One should also bring them into a fruitful dialogue. If current social, political or cultural events and processes are quite differently seen by individuals and groups directly or indirectly involved in or concerned with them, what we may expect regarding interwoven history of our own and other nations. Each historical or relevant event has not one but several overlapping histories and is amenable to different narratives, all of them more or less partial and biased. Since events and institutions are multifaceted, so it is the truth about them, and a balanced judgment on them can only be formed in a conversation between different perspectives. One of the central aims of intercultural curriculum should be to equip the student to participate in such a dialogue. Intercultural education is, namely, a way of viewing reality and a way of thinking and not just content about various ethnic, racial, and cultural groups.

The reconstruction of the curriculum (with the inclusion of content concerning ethnic, religious and language minorities, women and other deprived groups) is important but not a sufficient step in the development of a model of intercultural education. There is a growing agreement among most scholars and researchers in intercultural (multicul-

tural) education that, for it to be implemented successfully, the whole school climate and environment, with its goals, norms and culture, is to be reformed. The reform should pertain, not only to the curriculum, but as well as to the teaching materials, teaching and learning styles, the attitudes, perceptions, training of teachers, behaviors of teachers and administrators, and the interaction between school and society.

School rules and regulations should enhance cross-cultural harmony and understanding among students, staff, and teachers. In the past, school harmony was often sought through efforts to 'treat everyone the same'. Experience in multiethnic settings, however, indicates that the same treatment for everyone is unfair to many students. Instead of insisting on one ideal model of behavior, school policies should recognize and accommodate individual and cultural group differences. This does not mean that some students should obey school rules and others should not; it means that cultural and ethnic groups' behaviors should be honored as long as they are not inconsistent with major school and societal goals (for instance, minority students should be excused if they do not attend the class on their religious days).

As schools embark on educational programs that reflect cultural diversity, they should demonstrate a commitment to:

1. recognize and respect ethnic and cultural diversity
2. promote societal cohesiveness based on the shared participation of ethnically and cultural diverse peoples;
3. maximize equality of opportunity for all individuals and groups;

4. facilitate constructive societal change that enhances human dignity and democratic ideals (J. Banks).

The final report of the 1992 International Conference on Education in Geneva, Switzerland, pointed out that the aims of Intercultural Education are:

- the reduction of all forms of exclusion;
- the furthering of integration and school achievement;
- the promotion of respect for cultural diversity;
- the promotion of understanding the cultures of others; and
- the promotion of international understanding (*Guidelines on Intercultural Education*).

The UNESCO *Guidelines on Intercultural Education* (2006) summarizes recommendations and suggestions from various international documents relating to intercultural education into three basic principles:

1. Intercultural education respects the cultural identity of the learner through the provision of culturally appropriate and responsive quality education for all.

2. Intercultural education provides every learner with the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in society.

3. Intercultural education provides all learners with cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations.

Intercultural education aims to provide for the kind of knowledge, attitudes,

and skills needed by today's young people to function within different cultures in their own society. However, because we live in a highly interdependent global society, the school should also help students develop the attitudes, competencies and sensibilities needed to be able to feel at home in culturally diverse contemporary world and be open to the great achievements of humankind. Because of their interrelationships and shared goals educators should try to relate multicultural and global education more effectively. Students who can relate positively to and function within a variety of cultures in their own nation are also more likely to orientate themselves successfully in cultures in other nations than are individuals who view domestic ethnic cultures as exotic and strange. At the same time, during the process of education the school should not alienate students from their cultural and ethnic attachments but should help them to clarify their cultural and ethnic identities and make them aware of other cultures and ways of life. In short, young people should through intercultural education develop a delicate balance of cultural, national, and global indentifications.

Intercultural dialogue has long been a principle supported by the Council of Europe, the UNESCO and the European Union and its institutions. The year 2008 has been designated "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" by the European Parliament and the Member States of the European Union. It aims to draw the attention of people in Europe to the importance of dialogue within diversity and between diverse cultures.

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# The International Network of Migration Institutions: Promoting the Public Understanding of Migration.

*Marta Severo*

The International Network of Migration Institutions is a project born through the collaboration between the UNESCO and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). The project was born in 2006 under the name of “International Network of Migration Museums”. Recently, because of the many new partnerships that we are activating, such as the one with the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI), we decided to change our name into “International Network of Migration Institutions. Promoting the public understanding of migration”.

The Network was founded after an Expert Meeting on Migration Museums organised in Rome in October 2006 by UNESCO and IOM. The goal of the meeting was exchanging information on this new type of museums emerging all around the world. The participants were thirty experts including the directors of fifteen migration museums or related cultural institutions, coming from thir-

teen different countries. At the end of the meeting, the participants identified the need for creating an international network of cultural institutions concerned with migration with shared principles and values, in order to facilitate the collaboration through knowledge exchanges and joint projects.

## **The Migration Museums’ phenomenon**

Before presenting the Network, it is important to consider the specificity of migration museums as identified through the expert meeting. It is this specificity that makes our project urgent and worthwhile. What clearly emerged from the meeting was a common need to fight fears and discriminations through actions such as: impacting on image, perceptions and behaviours; developing integration policies based on multiculturalism; facilitating intercultural exchange; challenging stereotypes through individual stories; strengthening mi-

grants' self-esteem especially in second and third generations. Memory has been recognized as a pre-requisite for all these actions, for memory is the foundation of migrants' identity and the basis of cultural exchange with host society. In particular, the role and power of individual stories has been underlined. Individual stories allow building migrants cultural identity, deconstructing stereotypes and developing empathy between migrants and host society. Memory is a bridge between the past, the present and the future of migration.

Migration museums are new institutions emerging to provide physical venues where migrant memories can be expressed and preserved. Migration museums are a worldwide phenomenon. United States, Australia, Canada, and more recently several European countries have been creating such venues to facilitate transmission between generations as well as encounters between migrants and host populations. These institutions fulfil the duty to remember especially through three main initiatives. First, these museums acknowledge the contributions made by migrants to host societies as well as the diversity and wealth of their origin culture. Second, they foster a sense of belonging, enabling communities to feel as an integral part of the nation. Third, they develop empathy by building awareness of the events that induced individuals to leave their countries.

Migration museums not only offer a venue for conservation, archives and exhibitions, but also a lively meeting place, working with communities and schools, giving the floor to second and third generations, organizing forums,

debates and social activities, and offering space and opportunities to young artists.

### **The challenges of the Network**

In carrying out their activities, all migration museums face similar challenges such as: fostering both social cohesion and cultural diversity; reaching larger audiences; addressing sensitive issues; working on new concepts; collaborating with communities; cooperating with other countries and in particular with countries of origin. To cope with these challenges, the International Network of Migration Museums was born on the initiative of UNESCO (in particular the Migration and Multicultural Policies Section within the Division of Social Sciences). Now the Network has 28 members: 18 national institutions from Europe, 7 from other countries and 3 international partners. For each country, the Network tries to identify a representative institution to serve as focal point for other actors in the same country. Our Network aims at four macro-goals:

1. To organize joint activities
2. To extend the Network to countries of origin
3. To build awareness of migration museums
4. To facilitate sharing of practices

### **1. Organize joint activities**

The Network organizes joint activities in order to facilitate the exchange of resources and collections, such as:

- *Travelling exhibitions*. This activity proved to be very successful. The members have exchanged several exhibitions

(such as “Portraits d’Ellis Island, 1905-1920. Augustus Frederick Sherman”). Available exhibitions are also promoted through the website.

- *Forums*. In particular, in the context of the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue (2008), members of the Network promoted forums in Barcelona, Fafe and Paris.

- *Scientific activities*. The Network coordinates international calls for contributions, publications and training on common challenges.

## 2. Extend the Network to countries of origin

The partners work to extend the Network, promoting the creation of migration institutions in the country of origin, especially in Northern and sub-Saharan Africa. In particular we are contributing to the development of a migration museum project in Rabat, Morocco. The Network also tries to collaborate with local experts to develop linkages and joint projects, e.g. exhibitions or researches, between host societies or existing migration museums and countries of origin.

## 3. Build awareness of migration museums

The Network aims at building awareness around the mission of these new museums and at contributing to attract a wider audience. In order to reach this goal, our project gives further visibility to migration museums:

- by promoting them on the media;
- by building on existing communication tools such as institutions’ websites, newsletters, printed materials as well as IOM and UNESCO websites

and journals;

- by building an *ad hoc* website as a platform for advocacy, information and discussion;

- by authoring publications such as several articles in international reviews and a special Issue of MUSEUM International (May 2007) now translated in English, French and Spanish;

- by presenting the network in international meetings and conferences;

- by participating in international events, such as the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, international days of the UN system (e.g. World Day for Cultural Diversity and International Migrants’ Day), national partners’ events (e.g. inauguration of the French Cité Nationale de l’Histoire de l’Immigration in 2007, the ten years of the Australian Immigration Museum in 2008, and the international conference planned with DOMiT, Germany, in the European Capital of Culture in 2010).

## 4. Facilitate sharing of practices

The Network is meant to identify common challenges and good practices and to spread them among the members. It also disseminates projects, publications, news and events that are relevant at international level through its website and newsletter. The Network participates, through its representatives, in events organized by migration museums for networking and coordination purposes. It also works to mobilize resources that will enable members to implement shared activities.

### **The role of the Internet: [www.migrationmuseums.org](http://www.migrationmuseums.org)**

One of the principal outputs of the

International Network of Migration Institutions is its web portal: [www.migrationmuseums.org](http://www.migrationmuseums.org). This site has been created to offer an online interface to the Network, to support the activities of migration museums and to facilitate the interaction among them. The portal has been developed after a careful recognition of the best practices already existing in the websites of the member institutions. According to our review, the websites of migration museums fulfil two main missions. On the one hand, they gather testimonies, photos, and other documents essential to preserve and diffuse the memory of migrations (e.g. Museu da Emigração e das Comunidades, AltreItalia, Domit etc.). On the other hand, websites have become a meeting point where migrants can share their experience with the community (e.g. Moving Here, Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, 19 Princelet Street). To accomplish these missions, websites employ several different types of tools, such as virtual spaces (virtual exhibitions or museums); catalogues of resources (list of links, publications or others); archives; learning tools (for children and adults); tools for “telling your story” and genealogy tools.

The migration museums web portal intends to gather the best online practices and profit from the experiences of the members. In the long run, this initiative is meant to foster the emergence of a web community around migration themes. Initially and at a first level, such community will be addressed to professionals and will try to build a continuous dialogue and to favour the exchange of experiences, best practices and learned lessons. Later and at a second level, the

web community shall open to a wider audience including the general public and, above all, the migrants. It will promote the role of migration museums, encourage visitors to contribute to the museums' activities thorough online interactive tools and facilitate the sharing of migrant experiences all over the world.

Today the web portal provides the following sections: a presentation of the Network and its activities; a presentation page for each museum; a news section presenting the reports and events signalled by the museums; a catalogue of resources indicated by experts. The long term objective is to create a unique database of news, resources and best practices provided by museums and experts. In this way, the web portal aims to become a global repository of information. Currently, we are also envisaging to add more advanced interactive tools such as a wiki and e-learning instruments. This project, however, is just at the beginning and needs inputs not only from the members of the Network but also from external actors that can help providing resources and best practices or simply letting us know their needs.

### **Future trends: from migration museums to migration institutions**

To conclude this paper, let's consider the future trends that await our Network. Recently, new actors have been born (such as the *Cité Nationale de l'Histoire de l'Immigration*) and the mandate of migration institutions is increasingly widening. The migration institutions phenomenon is becoming more and more complex and new partnerships are emerging among universities and gov-

ernments, communities and associations, museums and the private sector.

Considering all that, we decided to wider the scope of our project from *migration museums* to *migration institutions* and to activate partnerships with other networking initiatives, such as the European Association of Migration Institutions. In tying new relationships, our Network does not wish to duplicate the efforts of its partners, but to facilitate the sharing of resources and experiences among them. The mission of

the International Network of Migration Institutions is to serve as a facilitator, strengthening the relationships among migrations initiatives. Our aim is not to become another node in the net, but to expand and reinforce the circulation of people, knowledge and communication among the existing actors. Our way to promote the public understanding of migration is being at the service of the growing international movement of migration institutions and associations.

# Permanent Study Centre on Emigration – Museum of the Emigrant: The Memory Archive and the Migrants' Jobs

*Noemi Ugolini and Chiara Cardogna*

Chairman of the AEMI,  
Members of the AEMI,

Good morning. We would like to express our gratitude for your kind invitation to take part in the Annual Conference and for your warm welcome.

We are here today to present the *Memory Archive*, a networked system dedicated to the research and management of data and documentation on San Marino emigration. This project, still in progress, allows San Marino citizens resident abroad to cooperate in research, providing documents, which can be forwarded by filling in the formv for the description of photographs, letters, work permits etc. The Chairmen of the 25 San Marino Communities Abroad can access the system using a password, which was given them after signing a privacy statement regarding all data entered in the Archive.

The *Memory Archive* is also aimed at promoting social cohesion, in recovering historical memory not only on migration but also on families and family lines for genealogical research. The inter-

est shown by San Marino residents, but also and particularly by non-residents, highlights this strong feeling of belonging. This Archive, which is the jewel of our Study Centre, is also used by schools to conduct researches and recollect the historical line of entire generations who left from their country in seek for work and luck in the world. It has been used by many young people, visiting our Study Centre, to conduct research into past and present memory of their own families. Teachers have confirmed that knowledge about distant relatives emigrated abroad facilitates social cohesion in classes with pupils from immigrants' families.

This computerised archive is divided into 8 thematic databases, which are constantly updated. The first 5 databases contain expatriation documents, reflecting more than 100 years of emigration. The last 2 contain respectively photographs and letters.

Let us now take a look at the Archive.

## Database 1: Passports (1923-1962)



The archive contains about 12,000 entries (plus renewals) with photographs obtained from passports issued to San Marino citizens (Law on passport issue n. 23 of 13 August 1923, which replaced all other expatriation documents). The passports are preserved at the Museum of the Emigrant and represent an invaluable documentary heritage not only for the photographs contained, but also for other personal documents found inside the passports. Each passport shows photograph, personal data, social condition, destination, places of destination, profession and accompanying family members' names. This is the only database containing photographs.

## Database 2: Emigration permits (1865-1923)

The Emigration Permits Database contains more than 16,000 entries obtained from the emigration permits issued to

San Marino citizens who emigrated to Italy from 1865 to 1923. Each permit shows personal details, social condition and destination.

The emigration permit was a kind of identity document allowing San Marino citizens to emigrate to Italy. In winter, when in San Marino there was a lack of jobs and agriculture was temporarily unproductive, peasants, craftsmen and costermongers used to leave San Marino for Italy. They would leave in autumn and come back in spring, as shown by document issue dates.

## Database 3: Register of expatriation records 1 (1835-1843) and 2 (1856-1860)

The archive contains more than 1,500 entries from 1835 to 1843 and from 1856 to 1861. Such data have been obtained from expatriation records on migration movements of San Marino population to Italy, showing personal details, social condition and destination.

## Database 4: STUBS (1868-1923)

It contains about 6,000 entries obtained from the stubs of the expatriation records (documents necessary to emigrate to European and non European countries from 1868 to 1923). They contain personal details, social condition and destination, and accompanying family members' names.

## Database 5: Renewal of stubs (1868-1923)

It contains almost 2,000 detailed entries obtained from the requests for renewal of the expatriation documents. Stubs expired after one year. They show tem-

porary migration movements, places of destination, profession and accompanying family members' names.

### Database 6: Repatriations (1960-1980)

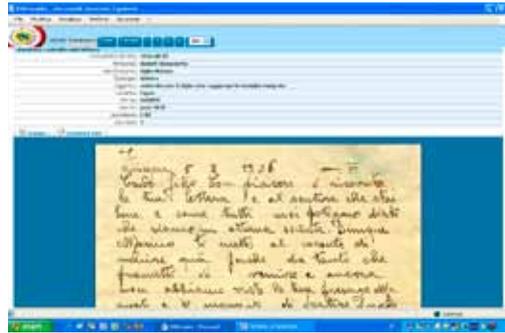
The archive contains about 5,000 entries of citizens repatriated to San Marino between 1960 and 1985. Each entry shows personal details, repatriation year, country of departure.

### Database 7: Iconographies

It contains about 2,000 photographs from late 1800 till mid 1900. The photographs are catalogued into macro-categories (study, ceremony, travel, community, work, monuments, leisure time, school, other purposes). For each photograph place, date, type and donor are specified.

### Database 8: Letters

It contains about 200 letters from 1913 to 1960 catalogued according to the following parameters: date, sender, receiver, type (letter, postcard, telegram), subject, place.



### Conclusion

Drawing to the conclusion, we would like to present a project. Our objective is to conduct together a networked research project. You may consult the project at [www.museoemigrante.sm](http://www.museoemigrante.sm) under the section "On-line Projects". This project enables all AEMI members to take part in it uploading their own researches, sharing projects and documents. The topic is *Migrants' Jobs* and the purpose is to create a comprehensive map of emigrants' jobs.

The other idea is to collect, with your cooperation, a large number of documents to be published. This publication would certainly enhance the AEMI activities.

Taking part in the project is easy and free. Just register and start contributing to the project, uploading and sharing any type of documents related to this topic. The material uploaded in the box will be available only to AEMI members.

The research might be updated giving details of jobs taken up today by immigrants in European countries. If the research is successfully carried out, it might become a useful instrument to

increase social cohesion. It would help to understand that the main reason for emigration today as well as in the past is the need for work and income, and that throughout history emigrants have always had to take up the humblest jobs in the hosting country.

*(To access the reserved research section, visit the website of the Museum of the Emigrant at [www.museoemigrante.sm](http://www.museoemigrante.sm) enter with the password and complete registration with your personal details. The main page*

*of the box already contains a few job sections entered by us. You may choose to add new material to these sections or create new sections for other jobs. In this case access the box control panel and follow the indications.*

You are kindly invited to visit the box and send your comments and/or suggestions.

You may also email the material or mail a digital copy. We will upload it in the e-box. Thanks for your attention.

