

Contents

- 5 From the Editor
6 Protocol of the AEMI 2009 meeting in Bremerhaven -
Hamburg, Germany.
15 Chairman's Report 2008 - 2009
- 19 *Brian Lambkin*: Towards a Prosopography of European Migration
- 24 *Fabio Capocacci*: Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'Emigrazione Italiana
- CISEI - and the Computer Archive of Italian Emigration
- 32 *Paul-Heinz Pauseback*: Ludwig Nissen: Reconstructing the Life of a
Leading U. S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York
- 42 *Nonja Peters*: Dutch Australians at a Glance - DAAAG: Preserving Cultural
Heritage – Digitally
- 50 *Tamara Nicolic*: Multiple Identities: The Case of Istrian Emigrants in
Argentina
- 58 *Nicole de Moor and An Cliquet*: Seeking Refuge from the Environment:
Legal Protection for Environmentally-Displaced Persons
- 74 *Francesca Goglino and Carlo Stiaccini*: 'Affentheater: Italian Itinerant
Migration around Europe between Nineteenth and Twentieth Century'
- 91 *Monica Schneid*: From Catholic Emigrant Care to Migrant Advisory
Services- A Tradition of Innovation and Change: the Hamburg based
'Raphael-Werk – Helping People on the Move e.V.'
- 97 *Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade*: Migration Museums: Permanent and
Temporary Exhibitions

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AEMI

J O U R N A L



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Special Issue on

Biographies as Micro-Macro-Linkages in Migration Institutions

Editor

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions
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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'Resting feet'. Exhibition at German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven. Photo: HS

From the Editor

The eighth volume of the AEMI *Journal* is now at hand for members of the Association of European Migration Institutions, our colleagues in the International Network of Migration Institutions and others interested in the field of migration.

Nine articles are presented, eight from the 2009 annual meeting in Bremerhaven/Hamburg and one left over from the 2008 meeting in Genoa, Italy. As stated earlier, I believe the *Journal* is a fine way to document the scientific work of our member organisations that, despite great variations in size, work force and funding, all express a genuine interest for migration issues – both past and present.

Despite the many other interesting articles, and at the risk of being unjust to those not mentioned here, I will particularly emphasize Paul-Heinz Pauseback's article *Ludwig Nissen: Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U.S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York*, which takes a prosopographic approach to the life of the North Frisian emigrant and founder of the Nordsee Museum Nissenhaus in Husum, Germany, Ludwig Nissen. Pauseback's article represents a classic example of how the use of many different sources can provide a total picture a man's life and his fellow contemporaries.

The article brings to life a technical term that probably is unfamiliar to most of us. From Brian Lambkin's article *Towards a Prosopography of European Migration*, however, we learn that it means 'the figure of speech by which the 'face' of an absent or imagined person is 'created', as if present', and that it was the English historian, Lawrence Stone who in the 1970s brought the term to prominence.

Nicole de Moor's and An Cliquet's article *Seeking Refuge from the Environment: Legal Protection for Environmentally Displayed Persons* also deserves our close attention, as it sheds lights on one of the most challenging issues of today: the link between global warming, environmental degradation and human migration and the need for a international legal regime to protect those environmentally displaced since existing refugee laws do not constitute a basis for international protection. While UNHCR suggests there are approximately 24 million people around the world today who have been forced to migrate because of floods, famine and other environmental factors, Myers (2002; 2005) claimed that by 2050 the number could rise to 200 million. Future numbers are hard to predict, but it is very likely that challenges related to environmental change and migration will dominate world politics in the second millennium. That will not make our institutions less important.

Hans Storhaug,
Editor

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

*30 September - 3 Octobre, 2009
Bremerhaven - Hamburg, Germany*



Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other specialists in the field, met for a three days joint conference at the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and BallinStadt Emigration Museum in Hamburg, Germany. On the program was also a guided tour to Bremen, where this picture was taken. Photo: H.S.

Wednesday, September 30, 2009
Conference members met at 7:00 p.m.
at the German Emigration Center
for a welcome speech and reception

hosted by Jörg Schulz, Lord Mayor of
the city of Bremerhaven. After Dr.
Brian Lamkin had thanked the Lord
Mayor and Dr. Simone Eick, Director

of the German Emigration Center for their heartly welcome, the conference delegates were taken on a guided tour of the German Emigration Center.

Thursday, October 1, 2009

Dr. Simone Eick, German Emigration Center opened the morning session with a paper on 'Biographies as Micro-Macro-Linkages in Migration Institutions'. Then followed:

'Towards a Prosopography of European Migration' Brian Lambkin, National Museums Northern Ireland,

'Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924): Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U.S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York', Dr. Paul Heinz Pauseback, Nordfriisk Instituut, Germany,

'Feltrini in Dudelange', Maria Luisa Caldognetto, Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines, Luxembourg,

'Dutch Australians at a Glance (DAAAG): Preserving Dutch Australians' Cultural Heritage – Digitally', Dr. Nonja Peters, Curtin University, Australia,

'The Dunbrody and the Ros Tapestry Projects', Seán Reidy, JFK Trust / Ros Tapestry, Ireland,

'The Problem of Identities: Istrian Emigrants in Argentina', Tamara Nikolic, Ethnographic Museum of Istria, Croatia,

'Refugees in Germany: Book Presentation', Karin Heß, German Emigration Center,

'Welcome? Integration in Denmark through 500 years', Susanne Krogh Jensen, Furesø museer, Denmark

The afternoon session was onened by Carin Rouah, who presented 'Internationa-

tion Network of Migration Institutions (INMI)'. Then followed:

'Migration Museums: Permanent and Temporary Exhibitions', Maria Betriz Rocha-Trindade, CEMRI-Universidade Aberta, Portugal. The session was closed by a discussion on future collaboration between the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and the International Network of Migration Institutions (INMI).

A special 'revival' dinner to commemorate the 1954 sailing of *MS Berlin* was served at the Emigration Center.

Friday, October 2, 2009

The General Assembly 2009 of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI)

Minutes of Meeting

The General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions was called to order Friday 2 October 2009, 9.00 am. at the German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven, Germany by Chairman, Brian Lambkin.

1. Attendance Register and Apologies

Brian Lambkin conveyed apologies from Mr. Knut Djupedal, Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Mr. Wolfgang Grams, Routes to the Roots, Ms. Dasa Hribar Koprivec, Slovene Ethnographic Museum and Ms. Ruzica Cicak-Chand, Institute for Migration & Ethnic Studies, Zagreb.

Present:

- Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Basque Country, represented by Mr. Benan Oregi

- Inurrieta (Mr. Andoni Martin)
- City of Antwerpen, Red Star Line represented by Ms. Kris Geysen (Mr. Bram Beelaert)
- The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark, represented by Mr. Jens Topholm
- Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, represented by Professor Olavi Koivukangas
- The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamm, Finland, represented by Dr. Eva Meyer
- Generiques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément
- Auswanderer-Archiv Nordfriesland des Nordfriisk Instituut Bredsted, Germany represented by Dr. Paul-Heinz Pauseback
- Freundeskreis Deutches Auswanderhaus e.V. represented by Mr. Dr. Dieter Strohmeyer (Mr. Jürgen Rudloff, Ms. Gisela Rudloff, Mr. Heiner Eckhoff, Ms. Rita Grassmann, Mr. Werner Grasmann, Mr. Harald Matys, Ms. Maren Matys, Ms. Helga Meyer, Mr. Peter Friedrich Meyer, Mr. Werner Meyer, Mr. Christian Runkler, Mr. Richard Sertel, Mr. Heinz D. Slominski, Ms. Helga Strohmeyer and Mr. Karl-Heinz Wittschen)
- The German Emigration Center Bremerhaven, Germany, represented by Dr. Simone Eick (Ms. Karin Hess, Ms. Aislinn Merz and Ms. Katrin Quirin)
- Ballinstadt Emigration Museum, represented by Ms. Maja Berends
- CISEI (Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana), Genoa, Italy, represented by Mr. Fabio Cappocaccia (Ms. Francesca Goglino and Mr. Carlo Stiacinni)
- The Centre for Documentation of

- Human Migration, Dudelange, Luxembourg, represented by Ms. Maria Luisa Caldognetto (Mr. Dario Cieol)
- The Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Northern Ireland, represented by Dr. Brian Lambkin
- The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Hamar, represented by Mr. Steinar Bjerkestrand
- The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway, represented by Mr. Hans Storhaug
- The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Krakow, Poland, represented by Professor Adam Walaszek
- CEMRI - the Centre for the Study of Migrations and Intercultural Relations, Portuguese Open University, Lisbon, represented by Professor Maria-Beatriz Rocha-Trindade
- The Immigrant Institutet, Borås, Sweden represented by Mr Miguel Benito
- The Swedish American Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr Erik Gustavson (and Mr. Mathias Nielsson)
- Svenska Emigrantinstitutet, Växø, Sweden, represented by Dr. Lars Hansson

Renewed membership

- The Dunbrody and Ros Tapestry Project, Ireland, represented by Mr. Sean Reidy
- The Danish Immigration Museum, Denmark, represented by Ms. Catherine Kyø Hermansen and Ms. Susanne Krogh Jensen.

Applying for membership

The Chairman also noted that the following representatives of an institution

applying for membership were attending:

- Latvians Abroad, Museum and research Center, Riga, Latvia, represented by Ms. Maija Hinkle (Ms. Marianna Aluliciema, Mr. Ints Dzelzgalvis, Ms. Vita Ozolina and Mr. Juris Zalans)

Applying for associate membership

The Chairman finally noted that the following representative of an institution applying for associate membership were attending:

- Migration, Ethnicity, Refugees and Citizenship Research Unit, at Curtin University, Perth, Australia, represented by Dr. Nonja Peters.

The Chairman then moved that Professor Adam Walaszek be elected Presiding Officer of the General Assembly for the presentation of reports by members of the Board. The motion was agreed and Professor Walaszek took the chair.

2. Minutes of the General Assembly 4 October 2008, Genoa, CISEI (International Centre of Studies on Italian Emigration), Italy.

The Minutes of the General Assembly in Genoa, CISEI (International Centre of Studies on Italian Emigration) Saturday 4 October 2008 were approved.

3. Chairman's Report, 2008-2009

The Chairman gave his report, summarizing key points and referring to the full text at the AEMI website (www.aemi.dk/news.php?page=162). Brian Lambkin thanked Fabio Cappocaccia for a great annual meeting in Genoa 2008, and he welcomed Carine Rouah, project manager of IMMI (Internatio-

nal Network of Migration Institutions). This was an important step forward in organising a conference jointly for both members of the Association and the Network. The chairman looked forward to more future networking. Regarding this year's conference Brian Lambkin noticed that the members were in fact modelling in part the European Migration Heritage Route by moving from Bremerhaven via Bremen to Hamburg.

The chairman told the assembly that although 2009 was the first year in a 3 year term for the Board elected in Genoa, it was not too soon for potential new board members to consider running for the next election in 2011. The board had not met face-to-face since last year, but there had been a lot of communication at the internet.

The chairmn also thanked the Swedish American Centre in Karlstad for the invitation to their inauguration. He also noted, that it was good to see long time member institutions like The Dunbrody and Ros Tapestry Project Ireland, The Danish Immigration Museum and Auswanderer-Archiv Nordfriesland taking part in the conference, meeting face to face with colleagues which is very essential to obtain the basic goals of AEMI: that all migration institutions, archives, libraries, museums and study centres share plans and ideas and work together. The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Chairman's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

4. Secretary's Report, 2008-2009

The Secretary Jens Topholm noted that is a Secretary's basic function to facilitate communication to and between members. In 2008/09 AEMI has received

membership application from Latvians Abroad, Museum and research Center after their initial attendance in Turku. Just before this conference, AEG, Galician Migration Archive, Spain applied for membership. Website and members have been announced.

On behalf of AEMI Jens Topholm gave a speech and a present at the inauguration of The Swedish American Center in Karlstad, Sweden 1. April 2009.

AEMI's Secretary has furthermore communicated messages from members and researchers who want to create new contacts and to find members who know about specific topics, like emigration to Egypt, just before the meeting. This is an important role for AEMI to play.

Considering communication the AEMI website is difficult to access and there is much potential in using new technology and in more commutations between AEMI board and members.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Secretary for his presentation and moved the adoption of the Secretary's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

5. Treasurer's Report: Financial statement and accounts, 2007- 2008

AEMI's Treasurer, Eva Meyer, introduced the AEMI subscriptions paid and the accounts 2008. The relevant documents are available at the AEMI website (<http://www.aemi.dk/publications/AEMI%20Account%202008.pdf?page=168>). The Auditor, Erik Gustavson, confirmed that he was satisfied with the Accounts for 2008 and had signed them. There were no further comments and questions.

The Presiding Officer thanked the

Treasurer for her presentation and moved the adoption of Treasurer's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

6. Journal Editor's Report, 2008- 2009

The Editor of AEMI Journal, Hans Storhaug, presented the new journal 2009. Due to the editor's well recovered illness last year the papers from the Annual Conference in Turku 2007 were dominating this issue. Hans Storhaug pointed out, that the Journal basically gives evidence of what AEMI can do, and he called for papers to next year's Journal to be sent before Christmas. The AEMI journal 2009 is printed in 100 ex. They will be distributed to members, and the text will be accessible as PDF files at the AEMI website as soon as possible.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his presentation and moved the adoption of Editor's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

Brian Lambkin resumed the chair and thanked Professor Walaszek for taking the meeting through the Reports of the Board members.

7. Admission of New Members

Brian Lambkin presented Latvians Abroad, Museum and research Center, Riga, Latvia, as an institution, that in all aspects fulfilled the statutes of AEMI. Maija Hinkle, who had spoken about her institution at the conference the previous day, added that one the major coming projects was to focus on Latvian emigration to Germany.

The full membership of Latvians Abroad was adopted unanimously. Brian Lambkin presented Altreitalie Center on Italian Migrations and invi-

ted Professor Maddalena Tirabassi, who has attended several AEMI meetings previously, to speak about the work of her organisation.

The full membership of Altreitalie Center on Italian Migrations was adopted unanimously.

Jens Topholm presented AEG, Galician Migration Archives. The application for full membership was sent to AEMI by head of AEG Dr. Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, University of Santiago de Compostela. The institution was founded in 1992, and is a documentation centre that holds archival records and functions as a space of academic discussions for researchers.

The AEG has published scientific monographs and since 1995 an academic journal and regularly organizes exhibitions, public lectures, workshops and conferences dealing with Galician migration. AEG also serves as a scientific adviser of Galician and Spanish public institutions in matters related to Galician migration.

The application was supported by Benan Oregi Inurrieta, telling about meetings with the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad and the fluent contact AEG have with the Basque University.

Adam Walaszek said that he had excellent working relationship with the institution for many years.

The full membership of AEG, Galician Migration Archive was adopted unanimously.

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade proposed full membership of the Faculty of History and Geography, University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain.

Dr. Domingo L. Gonzales Lopo, his-

torian, UNESCO chairholder on Migration had sent an application 3 years ago, that somehow got lost. Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade talked with Domingo Lopo, telling him that she would be giving a lecture at the annual AEMI conference 2009, and they agreed that she should propose the Faculty of History and Geography as a full member of AEMI.

Maddalena Tirabassi, Italian National Museum of Emigration (MEI) supported the application.

The full membership of the Faculty of History and Geography, University of Santiago de Compostela, was adopted unanimously on the condition that Domingo Lopo presents a new application to AEMI.

Applying for associate membership

Dr. Nonja Peters gave a short presentation of the Migration, Ethnicity, Refugees and Citizenship Research Unit, at Curtin University, Perth, Australia.

Brain Lambkin supported the application and Fabio Capocaccia noted that many Europeans, including a large number of Italians, had gone to Australia.

The associate membership of Migration, Ethnicity, Refugees and Citizenship Research Unit was adopted unanimously.

8. Members Projects

- Hans Storhaug introduced the 'Youth and Migration Project'. Hans Storhaug especially encouraged AEMI members to take a look at the YAM website: www.yam2008.com/ and to join the project. YAM will also be presented at the AEMI website.

- Jens Topholm gave information about Digital Migration, an upcoming

project - if the funding will be raised - to digitize the entire collection of the Danish Emigration Archives and make it accessible at a multilingual, interactive website.

- Carine Rouah focused on IMMI's international aspects. There were ongoing migration projects in Morocco and other places and a growing sense of joining efforts and sharing ideas and projects.
- Maria Luisa Caldognetto gave an update on Antoinette Reuter's projects European Migration Heritage Route/Weekend and told that there were many other projects right now in Dudelange. Brian Lambkin focused on the common interest in developing projects like this.
- Kris Geysen reported that buildings are being made ready in harbour of Antwerpen to present European and American migration history in the Red Star Line project. The plan is to open the museum and research centre in 2012.
- Mathias Nielson updated on the plan launch a Migraport on a Nordic level as a stepping stone to a European Migraport.

After the presentation of members projects, Dario Cieol noticed that the English language was a problem for southern Europeans, and he suggested that AEMI consider how to deal with that problem.

Fabio Capocaccia informed that translators were quite expensive. He suggested that there could be papers in different languages with abstracts in English.

Sarah Clément suggested that at some

level there should be different languages at the new website.

Carine Rouah pointed out that one or two board members from southern Europe would make it easier to work out different solutions.

Miguel Benito suggested that AEMI could make network and workshops in different languages.

Brian Lambkin concluded that AEMI board would consider the issue of language when planning the next Annual Meeting.

9. Proposal to re-design AEMI Website

Jens Topholm proposed to make a new AEMI website. The existing website was developed in 2001. At a new AEMI website Information from members and board can be accessible on the front page. The website must be interactive, allowing members to comment on news and projects and give networks the possibility to communicate with each other in forums.

New pictures, movies and oral memories from the members can be presented at the front page every month.

It will cost around 4.500 EURO to develop a new website, including the information at AEMI's website today.

Olavi Koivukangas suggested that different companies were asked to develop a new website to reduce the expenses.

Miguel Benito noticed that one of AEMI's members should host the website.

Dario Cieol suggested that the company that made the YAM website should be given the opportunity to make an offer.

It was proposed that Jens Topholm should undertake the redesign of the AEMI website, which would require

three tenders that would be scrutinised by the Board. The proposal was agreed.

10. Appointment of Auditor for 2009- 2010

Erik Gustavson was proposed as Auditor 2009-2010 by Brian Lambkin and this was accepted unanimously. The Chairman thanked Erik for Gustavson for his work in the year past.

11. Proposed Budget, 2009- 2010

Eva Meyer introduced the budget proposed for 2010, including the estimated cost of redesigning the website and postal expenses in order to distribute AEMI Journal. The renewed budget was adopted as presented, and it will be made accessible at the AEMI website.

12. Venue and Date of Annual Meeting 2010

Chairman Brian Lambkin reminded members that at last year's meeting in Genoa there had been three expressions of interest in hosting the Annual Meeting in 2010 from Erik Gustavson (Sweden), Jens Topholm (Denmark) and Chiara Cardogna (San Marino).

Jens Topholm had since indicated that his institution would prefer to host in 2011 or 2012. San Marino was not represented in Bremerhaven and there had been no further communication so it was assumed that the offer no longer stood. Erik Gustavson confirmed that the offer of his institution to host in 2010 still stood.

Mr. Benan Oregi then expressed the interest of the Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Bilbao, in hosting in the Basque Country, Spain in 2010 or 2011. The Chairman thanked both Mr Gustavson and Mr. Oregi for their offers and invited them to make brief presentations about their

institutions. Having reminded the meeting of the Association's good fortune in once again having more than one member keen to act as host, and also the desirability of the Annual Meeting being held in different parts of Europe (moving between north and south and west and east), the Chairman then proposed a short break for members to consider the two offers.

Both Mr. Gustavson and Mr. Oregi indicated that they were both content that the matter should be decided by a vote of the members. The meeting resumed and the decision was taken in favour of the Basque Country (12 votes to 8).

The Chairman thanked both Mr. Oregi and Mr. Gustavson for their generosity and asked members to encourage as many as possible to attend the meeting next year in Spain. He then invited any other expressions of interest in hosting the Annual Meeting in subsequent years, which were made as follows:

Jens Topholm invited AEMI members to The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg Denmark in 2011 or 2012.

Erik Gustavson invited AEMI members to The Swedish –American Centre in Karlstad, Sweden in 2011.

Fabio Capoccia invited AEMI members to the National Emigration Museum in Rome, Italy in 2011.

Maija Hinkle invited AEMI members to Latvians Abroad, Museum and research Center, Riga, Latvia in 2011 or 2012.

Kris Geysen invited AEMI members to Red Star Line, Antwerpen, Belgium in 2013.

Any Other Business

There being no other business the

Chairman thanked colleagues at the German Emigration Center and the meeting concluded at 11.30 am. Lunch reception at Atlantic Hotel Sail City, Captain's Lounge ended the stay at German Emigration Museum and Bremerhaven.

Bremen and Hamburg

Departure of delegates to Bremen. Reception at the City Hall of Bremen, UNESCO World Heritage Site. Welcome by The Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, Chancellery Minister of State, Dr. Maria Böhmer. Departure of delegates to Hamburg. Arrival and hotel check-in followed by a tour through Hamburg downtown harbour, Portuguese Quarter and old Warehouse District or St.Pauli Reeperbahn (Entertainment District), Fish Market and Hamburg docks.

Saturday, October 3, 2009 Hamburg

Welcome to Hamburg Museum by Dr. Ortwin Pelc, hamburgmuseum, and Jens Nitschke, Ballinstadt Museum. A short guided tour through the museum followed.

Dr. Andrea Brinckmann opened the third conference day with a paper on 'Places of Transit – Structural Influence of Transmigration on Harbour Cities', Then followed:

'Environmental Displacement: A New Challenge for European Migration Policy', Nicole de Moor, University of Ghent, Belgium,

"Affentheater", Italian Itinerant Migration around Europe', Francesca Goglino and Carlo Stiaccini, International

Center of Italian Emigration Studies CISEI),

'From Catholic Emigrant Care to Migrant Advisory Services', Monika Schneid, Raphaels-Werk - Helping People on the Move e.V., Hamburg.

At noon delegates were transported by boat to the Ballinstadt Emigration Museum. After lunch, hosted by the museum, delegates gathered for the final session:

'MEI: Italian National Museum of Emigration', Cristina Romualdi, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Fabio Capoccia, Italy,

'Introduction to Family Research', Swantje Heuten, Routes to the Roots e.V.)

The conference in Hamburg was closed with a marvelous farewell dinner at the 'Hamburger Kaffebörse' in the old warehouse district, with speakers from the State Council Hamburg and the U.S. Consulate General Hamburg.

The Association of European Migration Institutions, Chairman's Report 2008 - 2009



Brian Lambkin, Chairman since 2002, accompanying the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration, Chancellery Minister of State, Dr. Maria Böhmer. The Minister hosted a reception at the City Hall of Bremen, UNESCO World Heritage Site. Photo: H.S.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In opening this report on the activities of the Association over the last year, may I begin by recalling our Annual Meeting which took place in Genoa, Italy, at the International Centre of Italian Emigration Studies (CISEI), where Fabio Capoccia and Silvia Martini and their colleagues are embarking on a most ambitious project with wider ramifications in Rome and Naples. 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 Fabio and Silvia and their colleagues for welcoming us so warmly to Genoa and making our visit so memorable not least. Those of us who sat in the Palazzo San Giorgio, where the modern system of accounting was developed, will no doubt have re-

called it to mind in thinking about what has been happened to the world banking system in the meantime!

This year marks a new departure in that we are joined by Carine Rouah and colleagues from the International Network of Migration Institutions (INMI). Together we thank Simone Eick and her colleagues at the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and all at the BallinStadt Emigration Museum in Hamburg for their patience, understanding and generosity in acting jointly as our hosts this year.

Apart from meeting in Bremerhaven immediately before the General Meeting, the Board has not met together face to face this year. As usual, however, 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 the prodigious work of Aislinn Merz in Bremerhaven and Maja Berends in Hamburg in co-ordinating all aspects of the very ambitious and exciting programme that we have before us.

The Board that you elected last year in Genoa for the new three-year term has Jens Topholm (Denmark) as Secretary, Eva Meyer (Åaland Islands, Finland) as Treasurer, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as Editor of the Association's *Journal*, Silvia Martini (Italy) as representative of last year's host institution, Aislinn and Maja as representatives of the this year's joint-host institutions, and myself as Chairman (Northern Ireland). I am particularly grateful to Jens and Eva for their work in the posts of secretary and treasurer that were previously combined in the person of Henning Bender from

the establishment of the Association in 1989 until his retirement last year. We appreciate the help that Henning has given in ensuring a smooth transition and again wish him well for the future. I am glad that our Editor has been restored to full health and, as you shall be hearing from him, that he now has our *Journal* back on track.

A continuing issue of concern this year has been future cooperation between AEMI and the International Network of Migration Museums of which Carine Rouah 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 was established to offer a Web interface to assist the growth of the international network of migration institutions, to support their activities, and to facilitate the interactions among them. In order to signal more clearly that the Network welcomes to membership not only museums but also libraries, archives and research centres, it has been re-named Network of International Migration Institutions. I think it is fair to say that we have a shared understanding 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, and that the 'migration museum' is a new kind of institution that should embody the idea of partnership between archives, libraries, museums and research or study centres. We hope therefore that 'migra-

tion institutions' in both our names will help to promote this inclusive approach and spirit of collaboration.

While Carine Rouah and her colleagues in the Network were holding their own conference in Barcelona last year, we discussed in Genoa various possibilities for growth and collaboration over the next five to ten years and it seemed likely to us that in expanding we would need to develop some kind of 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 a global network, if we dare to contemplate such, might then be practical only every 3-5 years. We also discussed how we might best avoid the clash in conference dates in future and the happy result this year is that we share a meeting here in Germany, once again thanks to kind co-operation between colleagues in Bremerhaven and Hamburg. An important part of our business will be to chart a way ahead for the coming year, especially in respect of co-operation.

Your Chairman this year I am afraid to say has been distracted by other business from giving as much time as he would have liked to the affairs of the Association. It was with great regret that I had to decline kind invitations from Erik Gustavson at the Swedish American Center in Karlstad, to attend not one but two splendid events. I am glad nevertheless that the Board was at least represented on the first occasion by our Secretary and Treasurer. I hope that Erik might tell us more about the exciting

developments that have been taking place in his institution, which should be a great encouragement to us. I did represent the Association and speak about its work at two conferences in October last year, the first in Berlin on 'Migration in Museums – Narratives of Diversity in Europe' (23-25 Oct) and the second in Bonn where the Metropolis included a section on 'Mobility, Integration and Development in a Globalised World: Migration Museums' (27-31 Oct), to which Carine Rouah also contributed. Also, may I say that I am delighted that the other half of Ireland is once again represented in the Association by Séan Reidy, director of the Dunbrody and Ros Tapestry Projects of the JF Kennedy Trust.

As we enter our twentieth anniversary year, I believe that there is little doubt about the continuing need for an Association such as ours. We still 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. As I did last year, I would again 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 the Chairman of the Board will not normally serve more than one three-year term. Your present Board has this year and next to run before its three-year term is complete but it is not too soon start considering how best to bring on new talent while maintaining some continuity.

Whatever the future may hold, I would commend to you the work done by your Board over the last past year, especially with regard to the separation of the posts of Secretary and Treasurer after so many years when the roles were so efficiently combined by one person. Finally, I would like to thank again our colleagues in Genoa for hosting us so well last year and for our colleagues in Bremerhaven and Hamburg in combining to host us this year. May we be ambitious in our deliberations here and may they prove fruitful in the year ahead.

Brian Lambkin
Chairman

Towards a Prosopography of European Migration

Brian Lambkin

Institutions such as the archives, libraries and museums that belong to the Association of European Migration Institutions, which are concerned with meditating to the public the history of migration, are no strangers to the practice of ‘prosopography’, even though the technical term may not be familiar. If prosopography is simply defined as ‘adding value to biography by studying them collectively’, then migration institutions have been doing it for years. Central to their concern is the collection, preservation, and presentation of materials, such as emigrant letters, that enable the reconstruction and interpretation of as many individual migrant biographies as possible. It is curious therefore that the technical term is not more widely known and used. Although initially off-putting perhaps because it is not easy to pronounce (for many native English speakers at least!), ‘prosopography’ becomes more attractive when understood as deriving from a term in Greek rhetoric, *prosopopoeia*, meaning the figure of speech by which the ‘face’ of an absent or imagined person is ‘created’, as if present. So many of our migrants are ‘present’ to us only as names (and sometimes only as numbers) in our migration

statistics and, in the absence of surviving evidence, must necessarily remain ‘faceless’ to us. But are we doing as much as we might with what evidence does survive, and is still out there to be collected, to make present the faces of our migrants? If prosopography is about helping us, as it were, to ‘see’ faces, then a more highly developed prosopographic approach might have much to offer us in migration studies.

The modern discipline of prosopography can be traced back to a pioneering article by Lawrence Stone (1971). An early example of its practice was *Montaillou* (1978), the micro-history by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie of a small French village at the end of the thirteenth century. A more recent example is the work of sociologist Michael Erben (1996) in developing the concept of ‘street biography’. Briefly, it is the collective biography of groups, such as politicians, merchants, domestic servants or indeed migrants, based on individual biographies.

The aim of the prosopographic method is to understand the history of various groups, in political, economic, social, religious and cultural terms, by using a range of disciplines, including



Lawrence Stone (1919–1999) Originally focusing on the English aristocracy, Stone played an important role in promoting the use of social science methodologies (including prosopography) in history. Subsequently he was an early advocate of the move away from statistics to a revival of narrative history. Wikipedia.

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genealogy and family history, onomastics (personal and place name studies), demography (population studies) and migration studies, to isolate various series of persons having certain political or social characteristics in common and then analysing each series in order to be able to distinguish between details that are specific to individuals and constants and variables that are common to the whole group. Much of the ‘hidden’ history of individuals, including migrants, turns out to be related to their occupations and their status within the family and so by taking this systematic approach to reconstructing individual biographies we advance our understanding of the history of institutions

of all kinds, not least that of the family (Werner 1997).

To take the case of Irish migration studies, a leading example of this approach is the *Irish in Europe Project*, which has resulted in a series of fine studies (O’Connor 2001; O’Connor and Lyons 2003; 2006) and the development of a suite of biographical databases on the Irish in the French military (16,000 entries); Spanish military (15,000 entries); Louvain university (1,200 entries); and Paris university (1,500 entries; see <http://www.irishineurope.com/vre/>). For the modern period we have the monumental *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia* by David Fitzpatrick (1994) and *Irish Immigrants in the Land of Canaan: Letters and Memoirs from Colonial and Revolutionary America, 1675–1815*, by Kerby Miller and his team of Doyle, Boling and Schrier (2003; see also Gerber 2006: 19–23, 271–4). Most recently Donald Akenson’s two-volume *An Irish History of Civilization* (2005) has brilliantly extended the method of reconstructing individual biographies and presenting them on the grand scale (Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2008, 264–5).

If each new migrant narrative collected is considered as a further ‘pixel’ to be added prosopographically to the ‘big picture’ of migration, then we may appreciate how the more narratives are collected the more fine-grained the picture obtained. Ronald Wells (2004) has argued for a moral imperative to the task of recovering as many individual migrant stories as possible, not only those of the living and those who achieved fame in their day. He is particularly concerned with the stories of the forgotten ones

who died in transit, citing the injunction in the book of *Ecclesiasticus* to ‘sing the praises of famous men, our ancestors in their generations’, and not to forget them because:

... some of them left behind a name, so that others declare their praise. But of others there is no memory. They have perished as though they never existed. They have become as though they had never been born, they and their children after them (44: 1; 8-9).

The task of recovering even the names of individual migrants, let alone their migration stories, on such a scale is beyond the scope of any conceivable team of professional researchers and would require the sustained collaboration of as many as possible of those who are engaged in local and family studies (McCarthy 2007, 7-8). Of course the collection of more stories of itself would not add to our understanding. As structuration theory explains (Giddens 1984), social life is not simply the sum of all activity at the local level. By the same token, however, social activity cannot be completely explained from the global level and so we need the approach of prosopography, working up from individual migrant to the global level of the national homeland and its diaspora, through the multiple levels of family, local and regional ‘homes’ and their diasporas (Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2008, 269-70).

It is important to avoid easy national generalisations and bear regional and local variation in mind. Some countries, like Germany, were particularly

large and heterogeneous to the point of developing different ‘cultures’ of migration within them. In all the European countries, even the smallest, some regions produced relatively large numbers of migrants while others produced relatively few, with sharp contrasts often observable down at the level of neighbouring sub-regions, and even between and within local communities.

So as well as seeing the countries of western, central and northern Europe as ‘core’ and the southern and eastern countries as ‘periphery’ in the nineteenth century, we need also to be aware of both the ‘core’ and ‘periphery’ areas *within* the countries of western, central and northern Europe (Lambkin 2010a, 28). An example of this is provided by the case study of the Mellon family (Lambkin 2010b). In some respects the story of that family is typical of emigrants from Europe, but of course it is far from representing their huge diversity.

One of the practical ways in which the study of biography collectively is being facilitated is in the field of oral history. With modern audio-database management technology it is now possible to code lengthy life-course narrative interviews so that they can be searched according to key words and to track them so that they can be listened to in convenient segments, lasting one or two minutes. This greatly eases the task of assembling for comparative study a collection of extracts on a common theme from interviews from a range of migrants. An Irish example of this is the *Narratives of Migration and Return Oral History Project* (<http://nmr.qub.ac.uk/>

welcome.asp).

In this volume of the AEMI *Journal*, in the article by Paul-Heinz Pauseback, ‘Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924): Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U.S American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York’, we have an excellent example of the prosopographic approach in practice:

... this is a prosopography of Ludwig Nissen answering the question: who were his friends, his neighbors, his partners and counterparts in business, party, club and ethnic life? I think splitting up this network in individuals, trying to give them a face and to learn how they interact is the best key to open up the complex life of Ludwig Nissen. In the end a picture of him will emerge partly seen through the eyes of his contemporaries and partly in comparison with them.

Interestingly, Pauseback proposes using as a key source to access Nissen’s business and social network the guest list of the dinner held in honour of his sixty-fifth birthday in the New York Hotel Astor. It includes the names of about 500 men and women – the starting point for the construction of biographies of each, leading to exploration of relationships within their network.

As Donald Akenson reminds us, Europe’s emigrants ‘have for the most part been capable of strong and conscious decision making and were not mere passive bits of flotsam on some alleged historical tide’ (1993, 11). We need therefore to ‘grant integrity and authenticity’ to the

decisions of the millions who migrated. As well as explaining their behaviour in terms of the large-scale economic and political structures and forces that set the limits to what was and was not possible for them, we need also to understand their particular human situations in as much detail as possible. An important task for our migration archives, libraries and museums therefore remains to recover the absent ‘faces’ of as many individual migration stories as possible, and present them in such a way that facilitates their study collectively – prosopographically - in order to better understand the big picture of Europe’s, and indeed the World’s, migration story.

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Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'Emigrazione Italiana - CISEI - and the Computer Archive of Italian Emigration

Fabio Capocaccia

Why CISEI in Genoa?

A great part of the emigration movement in the 1800s went through the port of Genoa. The city was profoundly marked by this fact. It is commonly agreed that the city of Genoa represents a peculiar observatory of the Italian migration movement⁽¹⁾, not so much for the contribution in terms of numbers of emigrants (although the hinterland surrounding the city supplied at the beginning of the century a considerable share of the exodus), but rather for the relative importance of its port as the main departing point for emigrants.

In the time frame from 1830 until the beginning of the twentieth century, when emigration from southern Italy suggested duplications of departures in Naples and Palermo, more than four millions of emigrants left the Country from this port⁽²⁾. This was particularly true for south America: no other European port in that period displayed a comparable flow of ships and passengers to Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina.

Apart from peasants, craftsmen and small traders, the departures were also encouraged by adventurers, persecuted politicians (we are in the period which-



The Port of Genoa, view 1890-1900, Museum of the History of Photography Fratelli Alinari-Collezione Blatt, Firenze.



Regia Casa degli Emigranti (Royal House of Emigrants) in Genoa - the baggage inspection and check-in.
Archivio Civica biblioteca Gallino, Genova Sampierdarena.

saw the rise of national Risorgimento, the movement for Italian political unity), sailors who wanted to disembark (or, as it was said at the time, to 'desert' enlistment) to try out their fortune in the new world: among which the most famous was Giuseppe Garibaldi, whose name appears in the embarkation lists of the 1830s on route for Argentina, where he was to gain his fame as a leader. Transit became more intense during the second half of the century, when emigrant transportation became a lucrative commercial activity for navigation companies.

From 1861 to 1874 emigration, at least the part that was officially recorded as transiting through Genoa, nearly reached the amount of 200,000 units. Between 1881-1885 the annual average of emigrant embarkations in Genoa amounted to 45,000, in the following five-year period it rose to roughly 100,000 to settle around this amount until the end of the century. Emigrants who departed from Genoa from 1876 to 1901 were about two million in total (61 percent of national expatriates), from 1902 to 1925 more than 1.7 million

(34 percent of the national total), from 1926 to 1939 just above 400,000. Special structures were set up in the city for the assistance to emigrants waiting for the departure of the ship, and for passenger transport to the Port.

At the beginning of the 1900s Genoa started to gradually share departure primacy with Naples, and to a lesser extent Palermo, as in those years migratory flux mainly originated from the South of Italy. Well-established foreign passenger lines, such as the Cunard Line, the White Star Line and the Hamburg America Line, regularly operated from the port of Genoa. These lines carried a relevant quota of the traffic, even after the birth of the only great national company, Navigazione Generale Italiana, set up in 1881 after the merger between Florio and Rubattino, the main private shipowners of the time.

The city of Genoa, therefore, appeared to be, with its port, a good candidate for hosting CISEI – Centro Internazionale di Studi sull'Emigrazione Italiana whose activity is dedicated to Italian emigration. The Centre's formal constitution was preceded by three years of activity



Regia Casa degli Emigranti (Royal House of Emigrants) in Genoa - the transport service from the House to the port for departure. Archivio Civica biblioteca Gallino, Genova Sampierdarena.



Port of Genoa, departure of emigrant ship 'Nave Guglielmo'. Archivio Autorità Portuale di Genova.

carried out by the Comitato Promotore (Promoting Committee), set up in preparation for the 'Genoa 2004 – European Capital of Culture' programme.

CISEI: what and when

Emigration was the common thread that tied the calendar of events (more than twenty throughout the year) organized by CISEI Promoting Committee for the cultural programme of the year 2004, when Genoa was chosen as European Capital of Culture.

The programme of cultural events, organized for that special year, included history, literature, theatre, music, cinema and photography, which compose – and recompose – the image of the epic of our emigration: a list of the events is given in⁽³⁾, and a detailed description can be found in⁽⁴⁾.

In 2005 the publication of the collection 'Dal Porto al Mondo' starts with the printing of two volumes: *La Babele nella 'Pampa'* by Vanni Blengino and *Sull'Oceano* by Edmondo De Amicis. The collection promotes the value of the role of Genoa as a departure port

for migrants and a crossroads between Italy and the rest of the world. The collection includes tales of journeys, autobiographical texts and correspondence by emigrants. Subsequently, two more books were published: *Diario di Giuseppe Banfi e del suo viaggio in Brasile*, (Giuseppe Banfi's Diary on his voyage to Brazil), and *America Gringa* by Emilio Franzina.

The formal establishment of CISEI, International Centre of Italian Emigration Studies, took place in June 2006, in the premises of the San Giovanni di Pré complex, known as 'la Commenda dei Cavalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme' (Commenda of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem).

The building is particularly suited for hosting an Emigration activity, and for this reason it deserves a brief description⁽⁵⁾. Construction started in 1180 by the initiative of Frate Guglielmo, who belonged to the Order of the Knights of

Jerusalem, which then gave rise to the Order of the Knights of Malta, which still have a stronghold at the Com-



San Giovanni di Prè: Commenda and Church of S. Giovanni. Private Archive - Genova.

menda. It consists of two superimposed churches built in Romanesque style, which make up about half of the architectural body of the complex together with an adjacent three-storey building, Commenda, convent and hospital.

Together they had the double function of maritime station on the route to the Holy Land (in those years the third crusade led by the King of France sailed from Genoa) and hospital (hospice) for pilgrims.

The complex is preserved in its Romanesque splendor, with the severity of its black walls made of Promontory stone, the warmth of the bricks, the elegance of the columns in marble and

ceilings made of wood painted with geometrical and floral motifs, together with important fragments of the original fresco paintings.

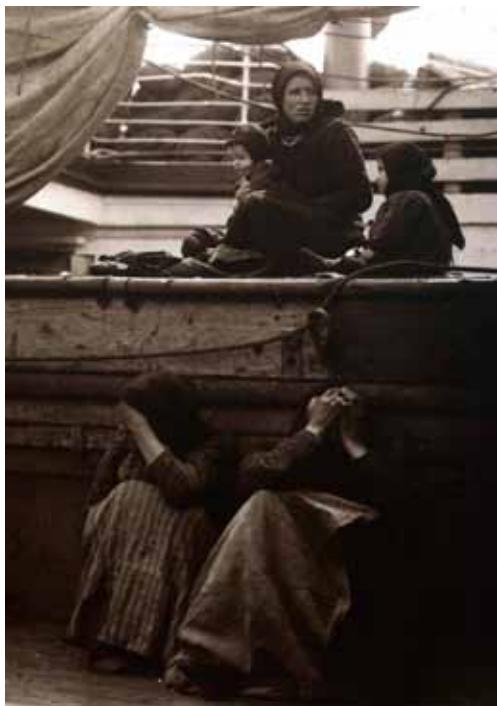
The first restructuring was carried out on the convent in 1508 and the second, in 1731, was carried out on the upper church when the orientation of the church was inverted. It was completely restored in 1992 – to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America – and is currently used as a permanent museum of the Holy Land Crusades ('Terrasanta', organized by the Institution Museo del Mare e della Navigazione). To sum up, this building has for over 800 years been a shelter for people departing for a long journey, and today hosts the research Centre dedicated to emigration.

CISEI's structure reflects the public nature of the initiative. The General Assembly is made up by representatives of the Institutions: the State Archive, the Port Authority of Genoa, the Chamber of Commerce, the Harbour Master's Office, the City Council of Genoa, Bishop's Chairs of Chiavari and Genoa, the Institution Museo del Mare e della Navigazione, the Province of Genoa, the Liguria Region, the State Archives of Liguria and the University of Genoa.

The Assembly nominates a Council, which in turn nominates the Scientific Committee, presided by Prof. Antonio Gibelli of the University of Genoa, encompassing representatives from prestigious national and foreign institutions, as well as renowned scholars.

The Archive Project

CISEI was established with the purpose of collecting, classifying and analyzing



Three women with children on deck of a ship bound for Buenos Aires, Argentina. The photo was sent by emigrants to Mauro Castagneri, 2 May, 1926.
Museum of the History of Photography Fratelli Alinari - Archivio Castagneri, Firenze, Italy.

documents, as well as promoting research and performing studies on Italian emigration, particularly referring to the sea journey. The various phases of the emigration process are taken into consideration: the motivation for leaving the country, the land voyage to the port of departure, the embarkation, the crossing, the arrival, the letters and documents sent back to the families⁽⁶⁾⁽⁷⁾.

The centre aims to be a reference point for all those who study emigration and everything connected to it, and for all those who currently need archival data regarding departures from Italian ports. Collaboration with other similar structures is therefore needed, which have significant data and an archive at their

disposal, to give life to a national archive that collects documents from public and private funds, as well as video and audio material.

To this end, CISEI has started 'Progetto Archivi' (Archive Project) in 2007, which has two main lines of action: the first focuses on monitoring local sources and the second concerns the study and partial acquisition of material regarding the landing places in the countries of destination and especially the great arrival ports for Italian emigration abroad (New York, San Paulo, Santos, Buenos Aires).

Our collaboration with North America (Ellis Island, Battery Park and Castle Garden), has become a project of increasing relevance for the future. The aim is the creation of a database, which up until now is still largely incomplete, starting with the departure data in Genoa archives (in the period from 1830 to the end of World War 1) and crossing them with the arrival data for Italian emigrants, as well as crossing data with other Italian and foreign archive sources.

Research will be developed in various phases, the first one, just completed, being the collaboration with the centre in Castle Garden, directed by Dr. Ira Glazier, a well known scholar on US immigration, who is working on data supplied by Ellis Island, the American National Archives and the Emigrant Savings Bank. CISEI will carry on working in collaboration with the American group until the final completion of the database of Italian departures.

A similar cooperation was established with Memorial do Imigrante in São Paulo do Brazil, and a collaboration



Letter written by Angelo Calosso to his mother and brother living in a village near Savona. Fondo Calosso - Archivio Ligure della scriptura popolare de Genova (Ligurian Archive of popular writing).

protocol was signed in 2008. A joint scholarship will enable arrival data in Brazil to be compared to departures in the Italian ports.

A third collaboration of this type is being opened toward Argentina, with CEMLA, a well known local organization that owns a relevant archive of arrivals from European countries.

The Computer Console

The Computer Console Project started in 2004 under the leadership of the Port Authority of Genoa, subsequently transferred to CISEI. The Console includes material from documentary archives, audio archives, cinematographic archives, as well as documents of various types, with the purpose of classifying and updating the scientific content of the local archives, and developing the proper technology for supporting the project.

The Console is ready to incorporate the results of the Archive Project that, when running at full speed, will contain

the Data-Base, as complete as possible, of the names of Italian emigrants. At the present state of development, roughly one million names have been loaded, most of them from the North American route. The Console can be consulted at CISEI, and today there are two duplicates: one at Museo del Mare e della Navigazione in Genoa, and the other one at the National Museum of Italian Emigration (MEI) in Rome.

Collaborations

CISEI has been a member of AEMI, the Association of European Migration Institutions, research centres/museums, since 2006. Being a member of AEMI is considered a success for the centre and acknowledges the international value of the studies promoted and the research programmes launched by the centre. Continued collaboration with AEMI has made CISEI the candidate for hosting the association's annual meeting on 'Migration Heritage Routes', which took place in Genoa, October 2008.

As far as the international network is concerned, the centre has always been especially interested in research centres/museums in cities that were important ports of departure for emigrants in Europe (Le Havre, Liverpool, Hamburg, Rotterdam) as well as in the large arrival ports in the world (New York, San Paulo, Santos, Buenos Aires), and aims to establish collaborations and partnerships for research projects of mutual interest.

Recently CISEI has established a strong cooperation link with the National Museum of Italian Emigration (MEI) in Rome; the President of CISEI has been appointed by decree of the Ital-

ian Ministry of Foreign Affairs as one of the permanent members of the Scientific Committee of MEI. The cooperation has been very fruitful: CISEI has helped selecting the Materials and documents exhibited in Rome, as well as performing a review of existing emigration centres active in the region to be shown in Rome. In addition to this, the CISEI computer Console has been installed in the MEI Museum in Rome, and is presently consulted by the large number of visitors (more than one million per year are expected: MEI is located in the Vittoriano Monument, dedicated to Italian Unity, very close to the Colosseo, in an ideal place for attracting visitors and tourists. CISEI, since its foundation, has established a structural relationship of collaboration with Museo del Mare e della Navigazione (Mu.MA) in Genoa, who intends to open in the near future the MEM - Museo dell'Emigrazione in Genoa, as an independent spinoff, entirely dedicated to Emigration, of the larger Museum of Sea and Navigation located in the port of Genoa near the Old Darsena.

A first module of the future Emigration Museum, dedicated to Ocean Liners, opened in 2006, was followed by a second module in 2007 – the Steamship (il Piroscafo) and by a third module ‘La Merica! da Genova a Ellis Island il viaggio per mare negli anni dell’emigrazione italiana’ (from Genoa to Ellis Island: the voyage in Italian emigration), an important exhibition⁽⁸⁾ which was inaugurated by Mu.MA on June 20, 2008. The three existing modules represent the first core of the new Museum which will be inaugurated in 2010.

The present Exhibition – and the future Museum – are focused on the theme of the voyage, ‘told’ by the documents collected at the departure points and arrival ports, the journeys described in log books, images and writings by men, women and children who left their lands and tell us of their hopes to return, starting from the first peasant emigration flow in the 19th century up until today.

This programme is part of a wider plan to re-assess Genoa’s cultural resources and highlights Genoa’s status as a maritime city and a gateway to the world. This is the reason why the theme of emigration was integrated into the wider context of sea and navigation, developing it within an existing museum that is widely recognized and renowned for its activity.

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1. Genoa as a reference observatory of Italian emigration is the outcome of a research by A. Gibelli, who together with a group of Historians from the University of Genoa (among them F. Fasce, F. Surdich e A. Molinari), promoted a campaign of document collection at a regional level, whose results were presented in a 1989 Exhibition and Catalog under the heading *La via delle Americhe. L'emigrazione ligure tra evento e racconto*, Sagep editori, Genova 1989.
2. A. Gibelli, ‘Dal porto al mondo con De Amicis’ introduction to the reprint of E. De Amicis, *Sull’oceano*, first title of the series, edited by CISEI, ‘ Dal porto al mondo’, Diabasis, Reggio Emilia 2005: 9-16.
3. Genoa-2004 programme consisted of a list of events covering life, art and culture of emigration: Opening show and concert, *Traversata* (The Crossing) Exhibition and presentation of the comic strip *One Way*, Inauguration of the first prototype of Consolle Informatica (Com-

- puter Console) Conference, *Le Rotte Difficili* (The Hard Routes) Cinema, *L'Aventura Necessaria* (The Forced Adventure) Musical Comedy, *Con Le Spalle Al Mare* (With your shoulders towards the sea), Theatre, *Partenze* (Departures) Theatre, *Lettere Da Lontano* (Letters from far away) Concert *Il Musicisti Sull'Oceano* (Musicians on the ocean) with Taraffo's guitar-harp, Concert *Coro Monte Cauriol* based on emigration songs (Monte Cauriol Choir), Photography Exhibition, *Fratelli Alinari Biennale Europea Delle Riviste Culturali* (European Biennial of Cultural Magazines), Historical Conference, *Italiani Nel Mondo* (Italians in the world) Theatrical shows, *Eden – Teatro Di Fabio*, Exhibition, *Il Viaggio Delle Parole* (The journey of words), Exhibition, *From Italy To California*.
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Ludwig Nissen: Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U. S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York.

Paul-Heinz Pauseback

This article reports on an upcoming joint venture project between the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus in Husum and the North Frisian Emigrant Archive of the Nordfriisk Instituut in Bredstedt.

In North Frisia, situated in the north-west of Schleswig-Holstein, Germany, there is no parish without a notable number of emigrants and hardly any old family can be found without members overseas.

The emigration started very early in the beginning of the 17th century with North Frisians joining the Dutch East and West India Companies as whalers and sailors, soldiers and settlers.¹

The Nordfriisk Instituut in Bredstedt (founded in 1964) is the central scientific institution for the preservation and promotion of and research into the Frisian history, language and culture in



Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924)

North Frisia. The Instituut acts as an intermediary between university and the North Frisian regions, it fills the space between scientific research and the interested public – and we do that with lots of workshops, lectures and courses. We have a library, an archive and as a publishing house the Nordfriisk Instituut produces and promotes books on North Frisian topics – and on top of all this the North Frisian Emigrant Archive was established in 1994 – and that is what I am in charge of. We focus on North Frisian emigrants but I always keep in mind the emigration from the rest of Schleswig-Holstein as well and collect material representing emigrants from the whole former duchies Schleswig and Holstein – so here we have

some overlapping with our Danish friends and neighbors.

In many fields and especially in emigration research we cooperate with the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus in Husum (the former North Frisian Museum). So let me now attract your attention to the idea of a project we are just now (fall 2009) developing, called: 'Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924): Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U. S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York.' – and I may add founder of the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus in Husum. As their marriage stayed without children he and his wife Katherine bequeathed their wealth to the town of Husum, where Ludwig Nissen was born, to build a house for the public with a room for lectures, a library and an art gallery.

'My household is a historical document for my life and the lives of my contemporaries.' Ludwig Nissen wrote this in 1915 in his testament. He had just recovered from a severe illness and for the first time formulated his plans considering the donation of a museum to the town of Husum. In his view all he had lived through, the rise from the immigrant ghetto in Manhattan's 'Little Germany' followed by a constant rise to wealth and great influence power in his new home country is representative for the life's experience of his generation living in those ardent times of rapid growth and steady progress now called *Gilded Age* and *Progressive Era*, between the end of the Civil War and the entering of the USA into World War I as the new world power. In agreement with his interpretation this paper introduces Ludwig Nissen's many activities in vari-

ous fields as a worthwhile subject of historical research. In the moment we are fundraising to finance an initial period of two years to find, save and begin evaluate sources that are ready accessible and so to lay the basis for a more detailed research into the themes connected with a biography of Ludwig Nissen.

Ludwig Nissen arrived in New York in September 1872, where his older brother Fritz awaited him. Unable to speak English the sixteen years old immigrant was lucky to find a job and spend his first winter in a barbershop owned by a German-American. It was also Manhattan's *Little Germany* where he made his first experiences as a businessman with the age of twenty. He suffered some severe economic setbacks but quickly learned how to earn a living and adjusted well to his new surroundings. In January 1879 he became an American citizen and voted for the first time in 1880. The next year Ludwig Nissen met the diamond setter Fred Schilling and his partnership with this man meant the first little step of his remarkable way to the top of the diamond business. His private life was a story of success too; in December 1882 he married the girl he was in love with, Mrs. Katherine Quick, a daughter of an immigrant from Germany.

He still had hard times to endure for the competitors in his business were established and strong. But he benefitted of the unprecedented economic boom beginning with the year 1880. Money flowed to New York and the demand for luxury goods like diamonds, and pearls increased like never before. Ludwig Nissen himself was a natural born salesman and very gifted dealing with numbers



Ludwig Nissen arrived in New York in September 1872, where his older brother Fritz (left) awaited him.

and figures. He seems to have had a pleasant personality and an extraordinary ability to win the hearts of individuals even with very different views and make them agree with him and his plans. All this went along with hard work, reliability, honesty and a talent to make things go his way. Until 1890 he established Ludwig Nissen & Co as one of the leading importers of diamonds, pearls and precious stones in the USA. The next year his colleagues voted for him as treasurer and 1895 as president of the New York Jewelers' Association, being the first of foreign birth and with the age of 40 the by far youngest.

The young couple Ludwig and Katherine left the immigrant ghetto of Manhattan's *Little Germany* in 1886 and went to Brooklyn, where Ludwig Nissen gets involved in social and political life.



In December 1882 Ludwig Nissen married Katherine Quick, a daughter of an immigrant from Germany.

In 1896 and 1897 he was a member of the Civil Service Commission of Brooklyn, the third biggest city in the United States with more than half a million inhabitants already in the 1870s and a rapid growing industry. A speech at the New York State Senate in Albany as chairman of a jewelers' committee consisted also of Charles Tiffany and Joseph Fahys in 1892 established his reputation as a forcible and logical speaker. Further steps on his way to the top were his membership as a director or for some time president of the Merchants' Association, the Manufacturers' Association, the Board of Trade and Transportation or the Chamber of Commerce of New York. He also had a nationwide reputation as president of the American Jewelers' Protective Association and the National Jewelers' Board of Trade, as a



Ludwig Nissen's villa in Brooklyn. Ludwig and Katherine left the immigrant ghetto of Manhattan's Little Germany in 1886 and went to Brooklyn, where Ludwig Nissen gets involved in social and political life.

director and not the least as the long-time toastmaster of the annual banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States. As a delegate of this organization he took a prominent part in the creation of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in 1912 and was elected a member of its first board of directors. Additionally he was on the board of directors of several banks and insurance companies e.g. the National Reserve Bank of New York, the Maiden Lane Safe Deposit Company, the Equitable Life Assurance Society, or the Dime Savings Bank of Brooklyn. As well has he been treasurer of the New York Humane Society, working against cruelty to animals and vice-president of the Brooklyn Council of the Boy Scouts.

To fill this mere framework of raw

data with life means to try to connect the biography of Ludwig Nissen – a successful German-American *homo novus* and leading US-American businessman – to some of the central topics in economic, social and immigration history of the USA in general and New York's and Brooklyn's in specific. Until now little is known about his political views or economic ideas. But there are some starting points at hand such as the lecture 'Governmental Relations to Public Franchises' in 1905, or the detailed plan 'American Banking Abroad – An independent Bank', elaborated by the Committee on Banking and Currency of the National Association of Manufacturers with Ludwig Nissen as chairman and presented in New York on an international trade Conference in 1915;



Seth Low (1850-1916). Mayor of Brooklyn 1881-1885 and Mayor of New York City 1901 - 1903.

and about his speech ‘The Responsibility of Citizens in Municipal Campaigns’ in the *New York Times* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported on March 12th 1901.²

In party politics Ludwig Nissen was regarded as an independent Republican, he was a friend of Theodore Roosevelt and supported him in several campaigns. Like Roosevelt he recognized the negative sides of the rapid and uncontrolled industrialization period in the decades around 1900. He sympathized with the Progressive Movement that demanded legislative regulations and good government. For example did he support the beginning efforts to make working conditions less dangerous. ‘The fact that half a million workmen are injured annually in this country is an insult to our intelligence’, he said at the Convention of the National Association of Manu-



Despite an aggressively demanded Anglo-conformity during World War I, Ludwig Nissen maintained his moderate pro-German position.

facturers in 1910.³ In the campaign for mayor of New York 1900/01 he was heavily engaged on the side of the *Anti-Tammany* organizations fighting against corruption and for Seth Low, who later won the election.

For many years Ludwig Nissen was occupied with problems regarding the organization and extension of the rapid transit system New Yorks, e.g. as the Chairman of the Committee on Rapid Transit Facilities of the Manufacturers’ Association (1902). The task of transporting more and more workers and businessmen from the place where they lived to the place where they worked for a fee they could afford was one of the biggest challenges in this rapidly expanding metropolis. Until his old age he was interested in this subject.

A main emphasis in researching Ludwig Nissens biography will be on his self

assessment as an U.S. citizen of German origin, as a German-American. The young immigrant from *Little Germany* stayed connected with German-American social life in various clubs. At the beginning of the 20th century there lies a vast and worthwhile field of research ahead dealing with the special features and problems of an immigrant society. The road led from the cultural pluralism of a multiethnic society gradually through increasing intolerance and xenophobia to an aggressively demanded *Anglo-conformity* during World War I. In the hysterical times of hating everything German after the U. S. entered the war in 1917 – a group until then being considered as well acculturated ('our best citizens') – Ludwig Nissen maintained his moderate pro-German position. In his view Great Britain was the first to blame for the war.

His career had opened him exclusive *Anglo-American* circles to such an extent that the sixty years old Ludwig Nissen at the high tide of his influence seemed nearly untouchable. Both sides trusted him – and with reason. His scheme in these hostile days of being torn between affection for the *Old Fatherland* and loyalty to their adopted home country, of bitterness and unjust sacrifice for the German group was however clear and without compromise: *America first*. In contrast to the many German-American leaders who with slogans of Teutonic superiority had loudly led their followers into a dead-end, Ludwig Nissen was able to live up to his maxim credibly. Asked by the government he went in the selling of Liberty Bonds with all his power and authority, doing his share in the hard work of leading back the isolated

German-Americans into the American society, and fighting back against bigot 'German-bashing'. After the fighting had stopped he was among the first to organize help for the suffering people in Germany and Austria, continuing his charity work for war widows and orphans he had to stop in February 1917.

During hard times his widespread net connecting him with many friends and acquaintances served him well. It was so well knotted and to such a great deal resistant to strain because from his young days on he used to go beyond the limits of ethnic group, colleagues in his trade, or Republican Party circles. To his sixtieth anniversary in December 1920 a public testimonial dinner was given to Ludwig Nissen in recognition of the exceptional and eventful services rendered by him in the various national and local fields of business, social, philanthropic, public and patriotic endeavor. The guest's list of about 500 names showed an astonishing variety of individuals of sometimes totally different views but who were all together friendly minded and respectful towards Ludwig Nissen or as Senator Hoke Smith from Georgia puts it that evening: "this wonderful gathering of the friends and neighbors of Mr. Nissen brings to him a testimonial never surpassed in the history of any private citizen of our country".⁴

Little is known yet about the private or everyday life of Katherine and Ludwig Nissen. Doing the desirable research on this topic means to picture in its social context the way of a successful businessman into the middle class and into the economic upper class of Brooklyn and Greater New York. Memberships in clubs, societies and lodges will be

studied. From 1888 onward – two years after his removal from Manhattan – the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* mentioned Katherine and Ludwig Nissen in its news from society. One special line in Ludwig Nissen's character can here easily be seen from the beginning. On many occasions he appeared as a conférencier or a floor-director, sometimes opening a ball with his wife as the leading partners in the polonaise. A line that later made him – as mentioned before – the longtime toastmaster of the annual banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States. Aside from the collecting of paintings and other pieces of art, a great deal of travelling, and a passion for horses little more is known about the private person Ludwig Nissen and even less about his wife.

All in all we see a very interesting life connected to many decisive developments of the eventful times at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. But taking all we know about him together, the question remains: Who was this man, who was Ludwig Nissen? 'A representative Republican of Brooklyn and prominent business man of Manhattan' as it is written in *Leslie's History of the Republican Party 1900*, 'a man whose intelligent treatment of public questions and his strong character making a deep impression upon all who have come in contact with him', as it is added 1908 in the *History of German Immigration in the United States* stating that 'the public functions at which Mr. Nissen has presided, or in which he took an important part, are innumerable'.⁵ Or is it as simple as the British Secret Service wrote in 1917, 'a naturalised American citizen, of Danish origin, whose virulent

pro-German speeches and writings have become notorious', or is it the *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, that in 1922 covers the chief aspect in pointing out that his story of very great and extraordinary success is 'the true basis for character building and inspiration for the American youth'.⁶ Borough President of Brooklyn Hon. Lewis H. Pounds puts it this way: 'Well (...) Nissen is all kinds of a fellow. Sometimes you think he is the perfection of manhood and good judgement, and sometimes you wish that he was where I would not say if there were ladies present. But however that may be, you never get rid of Nissen until you give him what he comes after'.⁷ Trying to get an answer to this question, - Who was Ludwig Nissen? - is the core of our project being outlined in this paper.

Centred round the research into the biography of Ludwig Nissen my aim is it to connect his various activities with some of the main topics in economic, political, and social history of the United States in general and especially New York and Brooklyn in detail – to make Ludwig Nissen part of written history.

I now want to mention some of the goals we try to achieve by this project and therefore allow me a look into the future: In the end there could be a comprehensive and detailed biography of Ludwig Nissen embedding his life into the main streams of the history of his days, showing e.g. the young emigrant in *Little Germany*, the small diamond merchant becoming the 'Pearl King' of New York with nationwide influence in his trade as well as in financial circles, the Brooklynite citizen engaged in the quarrels of party politics of Greater New York, the acculturated German-



Frank Frugone, born 1868 in Genoa, Italy, publisher of the newspaper Bollentino della Sera and republican candidate against the Irish 'Big Tim' Sullivan.

American self-made man as a loyal U.S. American citizen nevertheless with a strong pro-German attitude during the breaking test of World War I. Together with this may go an exhibition in the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus showing emigration and immigration, success and problems of acculturation build around the life of Ludwig Nissen not only in the sense he puts it in his last will: 'My household is a historical document for my life and the life of my contemporaries', but also as an example of the chances and dangers of migration in general.

But this is some years ahead and will require funding which we do not have at present. We will start with a, let me call it, collecting and testing period of about two years, containing the con-



The Irish Timothy Daniel Sullivan (1863-1913) known as 'Dry Dollar' and 'Big Jim' was one of the first politicians to fight street gangs in New York.

struction of a database accumulating and organizing facts around the life of Ludwig Nissen. It is nothing else than doing the first and fundamental job of any historian: searching, securing and exploring sources. I begin with what we have in the library and archive of the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus and than add material we can get access to quite easily through the internet such as full text research in the New York Times, Brooklyn Daily Eagle and other newspapers. Unfortunately we do not know what happened to the correspondence of Ludwig Nissen. If it should still exists somewhere in New York, finding it would be like hitting the jackpot. So when the work here is done it will be a logical step to continue in New York and Washington.

One aspect of my work which will be of priority right from the beginning and a vital part of the project. And this is a prosopography of Ludwig Nissen answering the question: who were his friends, his neighbors, his partners and counterparts in business, party, club and ethnic life. I think splitting up this network in individuals, trying to give them a face and to learn how they interact is the best key to open up the complex life of Ludwig Nissen. In the end a picture of him will emerge partly seen through the eyes of his contemporaries and partly in comparison with them. However this will be a big task for the guest list of his 65th anniversary in the New Yorker Hotel Astor 1920 alone mentioned around 500 men and women of several nations.

Referring to the general topic of this AEMI meeting in 2009 I think here is a chance to combine some of our work in a point we are all interested in: the biographies of 'our migrants'. May I give some examples from the mentioned guest list: There was the Italian Lionello Perera,⁸ from 69 Wall Street, one of the largest and most influential private Italo-American bankers in New York; or Frank Frugone,⁹ born 1868 in Genoa, printer and publisher e.g. of the newspaper *Bollentino della Sera*, and 1904 republican candidate in the bowery for New York State Congress against the Irish Timothy *Big Tim* Sullivan; or the Swede John Aspegren, who was born in Malmö in 1876, came to the USA in 1899 and later made a fortune with cotton oil.¹⁰ During and after the U.S. engagement in World War I he has worked together with Ludwig Nissen selling Liberty and Victory Bonds, as well as

Svetozar Tonjoroff from Bulgaria, the Syrian Dr. E. J. Mussallem, and the Portuguese Carlos Augusto de Noronha e Montanha.¹¹ Another guest was James Cox Brady, whose father Anthony Nicholas Brady¹² was born in Lille, France in 1841. Starting like Ludwig Nissen as a boy in a barbershop, Anthony Nicholas Brady became a traction magnate and later the largest shareholder of the American Tobacco Company, being for some time the richest man in the USA. In 1913 he inherited to his two sons the sum of 85.000.000 Dollars. Perhaps we can use these examples as a starting point for discussion and further co-operation.

(All the pictures in this article are from the libraries and archives of the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus and the North Frisian Emigrant Archive of the Nordfriisk Instituut, except German and German-American, which is taken after Katja Wüstenbecker, *Deutsch-Amerikaner im Ersten Weltkrieg*, Marburg 2004, S. 84; and *Big Tim* Sullivan during the campaign of 1904, which is taken from 'CAMPAIGN'S "WHIRLWIND FINISH" ON THE BOWERY', in *The New York Times*, November 6. 1904.)

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Dutch Australians at a Glance - *DAAAG*: Preserving Cultural Heritage – Digitally

Nonja Peters

Presentation

The history of immigration has in recent times become a rising field for historical reflection, research and commemoration, thus diversifying the landscape of historical studies, historical exhibitions and museums.¹ The United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO 2003) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS 2004) have both noted in recent times how the museum world is experiencing noteworthy transformations due to this global recognition of the urgent need to preserve both intangible and tangible heritage resources in the face of the accelerated pace of cultural and economic globalisation; and the improbability that museums can cope with housing collections that reflect their nation's ethnic diversity.²

The Charter on the Preservation of Digital Heritage, adopted at the 32nd session of the General Conference of UNESCO on 17 October 2003, notes that UNESCO considers the disappearance of heritage in whatever form constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all nations.¹

Although in Australia, there has, over the last two decades, been a growing public interest in preserving 'cultural heritage', evidence for a working template for migrants has been slow to materialize. British imperialist/colonial history continues to be the most recognized heritage, and although since the 1980s, heritage places valued by Indigenous peoples have added to the richness of Australian heritage awareness, as yet, the 'New World' heritage of migrants goes unacknowledged.²

The Macquarie Dictionary³ defines heritage as "that which comes or belongs to one by reason of birth; an inherited lot or portion; or something reserved for one. And, while we most often consider as cultural heritage, museums, historic buildings and sites, archaeology, archives and libraries, Vasiliki Nihas, Chair of the Cultural Council of the ACT notes, for the vast majority, that our main inheritance is in reality memories, experiences, ideas, attitudes and values:

Every minute of our existence we are questioning this inheritance and shaping it by our own contribution as living story and mythmakers. In doing this we

1 http://portal.unesco.org/ci/en/ev.php?URL_ID=13367&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

2 Armstrong, (2000:129)

3 Macquarie Dictionary, p. 831.



*The Immigration Museum opened in 1998 in The Old Customs House building, Flinders Street, Melbourne.
<http://www.walkingmelbourne.com>*

make decisions, which shape and mould the inheritance of those who will come after us. The inheritance we receive and that which we leave behind is both our experience and our expression of culture, individually and collectively. Because... it represents a metaphor for the human condition of growth and discovery, [and because] the stories it evokes are powerful and can create connections across cultural boundaries.⁴

Migration in all its forms is a metaphor for the journey of the self and the collective, and an increasing necessity to preserve this cultural heritage will require partnerships between communities, the business sector, government, museums and other cultural institutions in Australia and overseas.

⁴ Vasiliki Nihas, 1991.1

Anna Malgorzewicz, Director of the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, believes to achieve this we need to explore beyond the confinement of traditional containers of Migration Heritage and develop new-shared spaces.³ Her vision for a museum comprised of 'new shared spaces' relies on a fundamental belief in story and the paramount need to make migration stories accessible: she notes:

In my mind's eye I saw people fleeing persecution on the basis of their beliefs, taking with them what was most important to their sense of identity and faith, choosing to take what would sustain and nourish them spiritually. I saw others, not fleeing but choosing to immigrate to Australia or America, with a sense of excitement, deciding on what to discard of an old life and what to take into a

new life, protected through their journey by their sacred treasures. It should be noted that the sacred can be found in the act of courage as much as in ritual objects and places.

For Malgorzewicz, the new shared spaces would comprise reflection, relevance and spirit with a focus on heritage as a web of living, changing connections that has more to do with the celebration of ancestral resilience and its wisdoms than just a depiction or replication of past history. Also that in some instances reliance on objects can limit rather than enhance forced and voluntary migration and other stories.

For Twigger-Ross and Uzzell⁵ the perspective of 'place identity' would need to be added to this mix, since for them all aspects of identity have space related implications. Their focus on continuity, distinctiveness, self-esteem and self-efficacy in the development of place identity is especially relevant to migrants and migrant communities. The relationship between community and place is indeed a very powerful one, in which each reinforces the identity of the other and in which the landscape (real or virtual) is very much an expression of communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvement. Malgorzewicz believe this philosophy needs to drive and permeate our practice as researchers, creators, curators, directors, and administrators across all areas of the arts.

My contribution to this debate is the addition of digital interactivity, which in any case has already started to revolutionise the study of all forms of history. The model I present now develops a 'digitised

new shared space' that acknowledges migrants' heritage because it appreciates that there is a story in the life or family history of every newcomer and new ethnic group that contributes a significant, active, long-term and ongoing narrative to the receiving country's evolving nationhood and politic.

The rescue and preservation of immigrants' memories and other memorabilia - accounting for their career as a migrant individual/community/country - would also add to the national story and in research terms contribute new evidence to these fields and provide countless opportunities to engage in exciting innovative collaborative research projects with internal, local, national and international partners in the digital preservation of history.

Maria Grever, academic from Erasmus University, poses the question, "How can we represent the common past of any community in a global age of fading national identities, mass migration and an internet accessible to the general public".⁶ I propose that DAAAG is a start to addressing her question.

DAAAG

Dutch Australians at a Glance (DAAAG): Acknowledging the Past, and Sustaining the Present and Future Virtual Centre and Portal (www.daaag.org) presents a multimedia website template for an interactive, accessible multi-layered, multimedia, digitised resource for the sustainable preservation of Dutch Australians' **intangible** (life stories, oral histories, documents, films, letters, diaries,

⁶ M. Grever, Fear of Plurality: 'Historical Culture and Historiographical Canonization in Western Europe', in Angelika Epple and Angelika Schaser (eds) *Gendering Historiography: Beyond National Canons*, Campus, Verlag, Frankfurt/New York: 2009.

⁵ Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996:208).

photographs and virtual exhibitions) and **tangible** (databases of important sites, artefacts and research) cultural heritage. A template that would engage with the maritime, military and migration aspects of the over 400 year cultural heritage of Dutch Australians 1606-2009. The new shared space will archive the wealth of historical, archival, personal, group and community stories associated with the Dutch presence in Australia and Dutch migration history that acknowledges this heritage via the voices and experiences of Dutch from the Netherlands and Netherlands East Indies (NEI) and their children who lived it within an Australian historical narrative context that utilises storytelling and virtual exhibitions and a home-land/host-land perspective.

'Phase One' of DAAAG - and I already have some examples in the story corner and Who's Who can be viewed as a work-in-progress at www.daaag.org, has the capacity to store and easily upload and manage profiles for the story corner of war, migration, the Whose Who which at a glance highlights Dutch Australians' contribution to Australia. The 'Virtual Exhibition Space' another features of this phase, has a 'light box' display system that allows users to be engaged with a sleek and attractive experience in the web portal comprised of digital photos and text. It also includes a facility for administrators to manage the virtual exhibitions. The Dutch community in Albany have already submitted exhibitions for this space. Three are cur-

rently on display, they include - 'Settling Down Under in the 50s' is about '*t Hart family building a house in Albany*'; '*Opoe arrives in Australia*', '*Living in the Bush*' the story of *Edith de Jager* and her family - were all part of the 'Invisible Dutch' exhibition produced by the Dutch community for display at the WA Museum Albany in September 2006; a fourth exhibition waiting to go on display '*Mo: A Snap Shot*' -was sent to me recently by the Performing Arts Collection of South Australia, Adelaide Festival Centre. Even at [spacing?]such an early phase the project has captured the interest of Australians of Dutch origin around Australia and in the Netherlands.

'Phase Two'

The focus for **'Phase Two'** of DAAAG is on its administration as a Virtual Centre and include: workflow and security; electronic Journal of the Dutch diaspora; online Office Functionality; Dutch Australian Business Directory and collaboration tools - minutes, events calendar and Blogs; Streaming Audio, Video and Podcasting; and Full Text Cataloguing and Indexing of archive documents, Bulletin Board & Blogs, an Events Broadcaster; and a 'Virtual Family Safe'. The latter is a timely groundbreaking addition that will give all Dutch Australians the opportunity to store their family history, stories, scanned documents and photographs and digitised sound recordings and films for posterity. An added utility of the DAAAG resource base is its function as an interactive conduit for research findings, workshops, confer-

ences and future collaborations national as well as international. I anticipate, that when the full compliment of resources of phase One & Two (linkages as well as new developments), have been refined, www.daaag.org will offer a template, marketing and management plan for the digital preservation of Dutch Australian's cultural heritage that can be modified for other immigrant groups.

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APPENDIX ONE

The General UNESCO Conference notes:

Considering that the disappearance of heritage in whatever form constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all nations,

Recalling that the Constitution of UNESCO provides that the Organization will maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge, by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science, that its 'Information for All' Programme provides a platform

for discussions and action on information policies and the safeguarding of recorded knowledge, and that its 'Memory of the World' Programme aims to ensure the preservation and universal accessibility of the world's documentary heritage,

Recognizing that such resources of information and creative expression are increasingly produced, distributed, accessed and maintained in digital form, creating a new legacy – the digital heritage,

Aware that access to this heritage will offer broadened opportunities for creation, communication and sharing of knowledge among all peoples,

Understanding that this digital heritage is at risk of being lost and that its preservation for the benefit of present and future generations is an urgent issue of worldwide concern,

Proclaims the following principles and adopts the present Charter.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'éducation, la science et la culture.

Charter on the Preservation of the Digital Heritage - *The digital heritage as a common heritage.*

Article 1 – Scope

The digital heritage consists of unique resources of human knowledge and expression. It embraces cultural, educational, scientific and administrative resources, as well as technical, legal, medical and other kinds of information created digitally, or converted into digital form from existing analogue resources. Where resources are 'born dig-

ital', there is no other format but the digital object. Digital materials include texts, databases, still and moving images, audio, graphics, software and web pages, among a wide and growing range of formats. They are frequently ephemeral, and require purposeful production, maintenance and management to be retained. Many of these resources have lasting value and significance, and therefore constitute a heritage that should be protected and preserved for current and future generations. This ever-growing heritage (Adopted: 32nd session of the General Conference of UNESCO, 17 October 2003).

Article 2 – Access to the digital heritage

The purpose of preserving the digital heritage is to ensure that it remains accessible to the public. Accordingly, access to digital heritage materials, especially those in the public domain, should be free of unreasonable restrictions. At the same time, sensitive and personal information should be protected from any form of intrusion.

Member States may wish to cooperate with relevant organizations and institutions in encouraging a legal and practical environment which will maximize accessibility of the digital heritage. A fair balance between the legitimate rights of creators and other rights holders and the interests of the public to access digital heritage materials should be reaffirmed and promoted, in accordance with international norms and agreements.

Guardian against loss of heritage

Article 3 – The threat of loss

The world's digital heritage is at risk of being lost to posterity. Contributing factors include the rapid obsolescence of the hardware and software which brings it to life, uncertainties about resources, responsibility and methods for maintenance and preservation, and the lack of supportive legislation. Attitudinal change has fallen behind technological change. Digital evolution has been too rapid and costly for governments and institutions to develop timely and informed preservation strategies. The threat to the economic, social, intellectual and cultural potential of the heritage – the building blocks of the future – has not been fully grasped.

Article 4 – Need for action

Unless the prevailing threats are addressed, the loss of the digital heritage will be rapid and inevitable. Member States will benefit by encouraging legal, economic and technical measures to safeguard the heritage. Awareness-raising and advocacy is urgent, alerting policy-makers and sensitizing the general public to both the potential of the digital media and the practicalities of preservation.

Article 5 – Digital continuity

Continuity of the digital heritage is fundamental. To preserve digital heritage, measures will need to be taken throughout the digital information life cycle, from creation to access. Long-term preservation of digital heritage begins with the design of reliable systems and procedures which will produce authentic and stable digital objects.

Measures required

Article 6 – Developing strategies and policies

Strategies and policies to preserve the digital heritage need to be developed, taking into account the level of urgency, local circumstances, available means and future projections. The cooperation of holders of copyright and related rights, and other stakeholders, in setting common standards and compatibilities, and resource sharing, will facilitate this.

Article 7 – Selecting what should be kept

As with all documentary heritage, selection principles may vary between countries, although the main criteria for deciding what digital materials to keep would be their significance and lasting cultural, scientific, evidential or other value. “Born digital” materials should clearly be given priority. Selection decisions and any subsequent reviews need to be carried out in an accountable manner, and be based on defined principles, policies, procedures and standards.

Article 8 – Protecting the digital heritage

Member States need appropriate legal and institutional frameworks to secure the protection of their digital heritage. As a key element of national preservation policy, archive legislation and legal or voluntary deposit in libraries, archives, museums and other public repositories should embrace the digital heritage. Access to legally deposited digital heritage materials, within reasonable restrictions, should be assured without causing prejudice to their normal exploitation. Legal and technical frameworks for authentic-

ity are crucial to prevent manipulation or intentional alteration of digital heritage. Both require that the content, functionality of files and documentation be maintained to the extent necessary to secure an authentic record.

Article 9 – Preserving cultural heritage

The digital heritage is inherently unlimited by time, geography, culture or format. It is culture-specific, but potentially accessible to every person in the world. Minorities may speak to majorities, the individual to a global audience. The digital heritage of all regions, countries and communities should be preserved and made accessible, so as to assure over time representation of all peoples, nations, cultures and languages.

Responsibilities

Article 10 – Roles and responsibilities

Member States may wish to designate one or more agencies to take coordinating responsibility for the preservation of the digital heritage, and to make available necessary resources. The sharing of tasks and responsibilities may be based on existing roles and expertise.

Measures should be taken to:

(a) urge hardware and software developers, creators, publishers, producers and distributors of digital materials as well as other private sector partners to cooperate with national libraries, archives, museums and other public heritage organizations in preserving the digital heritage;

(b) develop training and research, and share experience and knowledge among

the institutions and professional associations concerned;

(c) encourage universities and other research organizations, both public and private, to ensure preservation of research data.

Article 11 – Partnerships and cooperation

Preservation of the digital heritage requires sustained efforts on the part of governments, creators, publishers, relevant industries and heritage institutions. In the face of the current digital divide, it is necessary to reinforce international cooperation and solidarity to enable all countries to ensure creation, dissemination, preservation and continued accessibility of their digital heritage.

Industries, publishers and mass communication media are urged to promote and share knowledge and technical expertise. The stimulation of education and training programmes, resource-sharing arrangements, and dissemination of research results and best practices will democratize access to digital preservation techniques.

Article 12 – The role of UNESCO

UNESCO, by virtue of its mandate and functions, has the responsibility to:

(a) take the principles set forth in this Charter into account in the functioning of its programmes and promote their implementation within the United Nations system and by intergovernmental and international non-governmental organizations concerned with the preservation of the digital heritage;

(b) serve as a reference point and a forum where Member States, inter-

governmental and international non-governmental organizations, civil society and the private sector may join together in elaborating objectives, policies and projects in favour of the preservation of the digital heritage;

- (c) foster cooperation, awareness-raising and capacity-building, and propose standard ethical, legal and technical guidelines, to support the preservation of the digital heritage;
- (d) determine, on the basis of the experience gained over the next six years in implementing the present Charter and the Guidelines, whether there is a need for further standard-setting instruments for the promotion and preservation of the digital heritage.

Notes

- 1 As noted in the “Call for Conference Participation topic description for Migration in Museums: Narratives of Diversity in Europe, Berlin, October 23-25, 2008, organized by Network Migration in Europe ICOM Europe (International Council of Museums), *Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines*, Dudelange (Luxemburg) in cooperation with six Berlin based museums and support by the Berlin *Hauptstadtkulturfonds* <http://www.network-migration.org/workshop2008>; and in the *Guidelines for the Preservation of Digital Heritage*, Prepared for the National Library of Australia by the United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).
- 2 ICOMOS is an international non-governmental organization of professionals, dedicated to the conservation of the world’s historic monuments and sites.
- 3 Anna Malgorzewicz.

Multiple Identities: The Case of Istrian Emigrants in Argentina

Tamara Nicolic

Introduction

This paper deals with the question of multiple identities migrants from Istria express, seen from the view point of an ethnologist. The author presents the results of the field work conducted in Argentina in 2008 which was part of a project¹ the Ethnographic Museum of Istria started. Migrations from Istria in South America were continuous from the nineteenth throughout the twentieth century and caused by different reasons. The multiple identities are a result of the solid bond people have with the native land on one hand and full integration in Argentine society on the other. They range from national to regional and state identity, the last two creating the sense of collectiveness on different levels among Istrian emigrants.

Migrations form part of our everyday life has been the subject of much interest to ethnographers in recent years. The lack of data on the Istrian emigration² stimulated The Ethnographic Museum of Istria to research the subject and present the results to the local community, other Istrians and interested parts. Of great interest was to establish a good communication with the many Istrian

clubs and individuals in different countries. Our aim was to present the wide range of life stories, memories and attitudes referring to the experience of emigration. As part of the project a research was also conducted among Istrians in Argentina. From the very beginning we were oriented toward the Istrian community; nevertheless I was struck by the highly expressed regional identity people from Istria show. The verity of identities we find among Istrian emigrants are not just the social roles people ‘play’ in everyday life but are present on national, state and/or regional level and mostly caused by the experience of migration and the social and historical context in which these migrations took part. To understand the nature of the multiple identities Istrians in Argentina express it is important to know some historical facts.

From the thirteenth century until 1797 (Treaty of Campo Formio) Istria was dominated by the Republic of Venice. During this period the inner part of the peninsula was under the rule and influence of the Habsburg dynasty. Istria was then shortly governed by France followed by the rule of The Austro Hun-

garian Empire, Italy, and Yugoslavia and from 1991 Croatia. Great verities in the context of social life were present in a small geographical area and they came into surface mostly in the tumultuous twentieth century. Large migrations from Istria took part at the end of the nineteenth century and continued throughout the twentieth. Reasons were of different nature and will be discussed later in this paper. Considering the fact I have not been interested only in historical facts but mostly intrigued by life stories that constructed the reality of the twentieth century, the ethnographic research conducted in Argentina opened new spaces for communication and understanding. I will try to highlight some points regarding the Istrian emigration and the construction of their identity far from their native land. In my opinion totalitarian regimes present in Istria had a great role in constructing regional identity. Although nationally identified as Croats, Italians or else people found it more natural to identify on the regional level and they usually point out this part of their identity. Our aim was to explore how they express these feelings and affiliation and why regional identity is more expressed than the national.

There are three relatively distinct usages of the term *identity*. Some use *identity* to refer essentially to the culture of a people. Others use *identity* to refer to common identification with a collectivity or social category, as in social identity theory (Stryker, Burke 2000:284 in Tajfel 1982). Finally, some use the term, with reference to parts of a self composed of the meanings that persons attach to the multiple roles they typically play in highly differentiated contemporary so-

cieties. (Stryker, Burke 2000:284) Social identity is the individual's self-concept derived from perceived membership of social groups. As Social Identity Theory teaches, a person has not one, 'personal self', but rather several selves that correspond to widening circles of group membership. Different social contexts may trigger an individual to think, feel and act on basis of his personal, family or national 'level of self' (Turner et al, 1987)³. Apart from the 'level of self', an individual has multiple 'social identities' (Hogg, Vaughan, 2002)⁴. In the case of Istrian emigrants in Argentina we are talking about different levels of self identification which are not exclusively based on the national category (Croats, Italians etc.); the state (Argentinean) and regional (Istrian) identities are also highly expressed. What is also worthy saying is that a similar phenomenon is taking place in present Istria; some Istrians express belonging on the basis of regional category more than the national. Furthermore, there is not just the highly regional identity that has been expressed through time; identification within different nations among Istrians in Argentina is also present. Referring to the multicultural Istrian society here we will discuss the two major ethnicities; Croats and Italians.

As the state of Croatia was formed in the 1990s, the majority of emigrants with Slav (Croatian) background do not identify as Croats. We could stress some possibilities why do we have this situation; probably the principle reason is that until 1945 they were a minority in the urban and literal part of the Istrian society. This situation caused the imposition of Italian language and dis-

semination of ideologies through the mandatory school system. Nevertheless they never felt as Italians but they were somehow outside the national movements connected with Croats. Surely there were Croats in Istria that expressed their nationality but Istrians in Argentina usually identify on regional ground. Another possible situation is that some emigrants born under the Italian governance accepted the Italian nationality, this including them in the Italian migration movements. For the Italians living in Istria the situation is clearer; born under the government of Italy and their parents being Italians it could have been natural to identify only as Italians. What is interesting is that these people also often express affiliation to regional identity. They say they are *Istrijan* and after that Italian. It can be stated that, although it was never documented by scholars, the very little information we have about the emigration from the region of Istria, is due to the fact that a wide range of Istrians identified themselves with the Italian emigration as that time Istria was a part of Italy. Others stated they were Istrians and in this situation they were inadvertently excluded from both (Croatian and Italian) nationally determined migrations or automatically included in the emigrational movements that sprung from northern Italy. Today we have new, widely different situations thanks to globalization and the political engagement of Diasporas. Some of the Istrians identify as Argentineans, other Italians and some as Croats. The question that arouses is: Do we understand identities by the sense of membership these people really express or simply by the political and/or histori-

cal situation present when they were living Istria? It seems that some categories are imposed to people, and that identity choices change through time.

As the social identity theory states there are different levels of self-identification probably because of the highly differentiated society we are taking part in. But which are the instruments that cause this multiple identification inside the national and/or regional level? For now I can say that negotiation within group memberships in this context is widely present. This fact may give us one of the hundred possible answers.

Through the stories of five Istrians I will try to highlight the verity of identities people can express to incorporate themselves in new environments and maybe give some guidelines for further investigation.

Istrians in Argentina

Between the two World Wars a strong economic crisis led many Istrians in South America. There were earlier emigrations in Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Chile and Uruguay, but as I based this text on interviews, it is about informant's memories I am referring mostly to the period of 1920s to 1950s.

The later emigration, after the Second World War, was partly influenced by the totalitarian communistic regime, as the earlier was by the fascist one. Sometimes the reasons for leaving were love stories and adventures, but mostly it was the very poor life people in Istria had been living that compel them to leave their motherland.

Very early, in 1932⁵ a group of Istrians formed in La Plata the so called *Sociedad de Ayuda mutua Istriana*, an

association whose aim was to gather Istrians and provide mutual help as the title itself says. A traditional gathering was held each year on the Playa Lara, a beach on La Plata River, where Istrians from Berisso, La Plata and Ensenada had picnics. As an informer born in 1943 remembers, the picnics and the club's activities were held regularly till 1949. The association stopped with its activities because of the Peron governance during which all activities connected with communism were seen as a threat. The association was not at all politically engaged but as Istria was now a part of Yugoslavia such conclusions were supposed. The picnic was an occasion when stories were told and memories shared. People talked in Istrian dialect and Italian and transmitted to their children the sense of collectiveness. Today informers remember there were card games, songs and the never ending stories about Istrian villages, nature, old parents left at home, neighbours, food and language. Today just a few Istrians speak the dialect. Between the two wars the schools were Italian and Istrians learnt to speak Italian which was much helpful in the Argentine society thanks to the similarity it has with Spanish.

Thanks to the enthusiasm of few individuals in 1998 the Istrian club restarted its activities. At the very beginning they were in six, but today the club '*Raices Istrianas*' (Istrian roots) counts around 100 members although not all of them are active throughout the year. Today the club members communicate via internet or telephone, they share experiences lived in Istria as tourists but some practices remain the same. The club has annual meetings where Istrian food is

cooked and the 'old' stories are told.

Memories

C.A.A. (1912 Cerovlje, Istria)

The oldest of the informants remembers well her village, the day her fiancé sent her the invitation to come to Argentina and the travel she undertook from Trieste to Buenos Aires. He first set for Brazil for employment reasons and she waited for him in a friend's house for six months. Her mother would not let her go if this family friend has not been living in Argentina for years now. It was the year 1930 and she was eighteen.

She insisted in saying that she was born under the governance of Austria and that a few years later the governance of Italy changed their surnames but despite of this she and her husband (Istrian from Hum) never stopped talking *po našo* (in our way), that is, Istrian dialect with base in Croatian language. Her children started the school in Argentina, her husband found a good job and they soon manage to build a house. The informant never stopped dreaming about Istria. She cried at nights thinking she will soon be home again, but the Second World War started and she stayed in Berisso for 78 years. She visited her village in 1978 when Istria was a part of SFRJ. Albina and her husband stayed for three months visiting their family. Once again, in the '90s, the Italian Government paid the trip to Trieste as they were supposed to form part of the Italian migration, although the family barely spoke Italian.

Negotiation with national and/or local identities is a common phenomenon used by the emigrants themselves

probably with no specific purpose as they really feel, think and act according to their multiple identity. The problem may immerge when different policies try to use this human feature in order to manipulate people for various political reasons.

V.P. (1921 Pazin, Istria)

Eight children were born in the Drndić family in a village next to Pazin. Five of them left their family and set out for Italy, Australia and Argentina. They were all women following their husbands. My informant was one of them. She left Pazin in 1950 with two children and her husband. She first went to Italy at her sister's and when her husband having connection with the emigration in Argentina arranged the papers and tickets they went to Argentina, now at his sister's home. She pointed out few times that she 'really' spoke Italian and that she 'really' attended the Italian school so they got the *options*⁶. I can argue that this was important due to the fact they had to fulfil some conditions to get the options, and these were: Italian nationality, knowledge of Italian language, residence on the annexed territory on the date Italy entered the war, 10 June 1940 (Zupanc:2004)⁷. After more than fifty years in Argentina, the informant says she is an Argentine. She taught her daughters Italian, she visited Istria in the 70's and '80s but Argentina gave her the possibility to live in peace.

B.M. (1943 La Plata, Argentina)

When Croatia won the 3rd prize on the World championship in football in 1998, B. M. realised it was his dad's country that the Croats in Argentina were proud

of and were celebrating the success of the young country. He decided to establish the club 'Raices Istrianas' in La Plata where Croats can gather and share their experiences and thoughts. At the very beginning they were in six and then, as he stated, other Istrians that left Istria after the Second World War joined. It is not clear to whom he refers but he is probably referring to Istrians of Italian nationality that left Istria after the establishment of the government of SFRJ in Istria. Because off the different emotions these people express, they named the organization 'Raices Istrianas', not Croatian nor Italian. None of the members speaks Croatian, they love to visit Istria and other parts of Croatia, they all have different attitude toward national affiliation, toward historical facts, the bilateral relation Croatia and Italy have and finally they have just one thing in common, their parents or grandparents left Istria. Talking about what was it that after so many years attracted them toward Istria they often said it was the maturity they had and the desire to discover the native place of their ancestors.

The informant's parents met in Argentina, both from Istria, declared Italians that didn't want to naturalize in Argentina. Thanks to that B. today has the Italian passport as well as the Argentine one but he wanted the Croatian as well. The problem he faced was the high expenses of the procedure. We can see a mixture of identities from the local to the national level that can confuse but also depict the problem we are discussing in a most vivid way.

E.B. (1946 Pula, Istria)

E. was six month when her parents left

Pula. She said it was because of the pressure and fear of the communists they had to leave. At least her parents told her so. They first set in Arten, Italy. Her parents couldn't earn enough for living and in 1950 went to La Plata, Argentina where an aunt was living. They got the options, as their surname Blasković was changed in Blasco and had the Italian nationality. Her parents told her that life in Italy was difficult. For the Italians they were Slavs and for the Slavs they were Italians. The aunt from Argentina sent the 'call'⁸, the boat tickets and found her dad a job in La Plata, so it was worth a try. Today E. lives with her family in La Plata and she is an active member of 'Raices Istrianas'. One of the things about E. is interesting for this paper and in general; she once stated 'To be an Istrian means to have no identity. Istria was so many times invaded by different cultures that it is hard to know exactly which one is yours. My parents for example considered themselves Italians to the extent that the mother tongue was Italian.'

E. understands the complexity of national identification Istrians face but I think that as time goes by she enjoys her summer vacations in Pula among her relatives without much thinking if they see her as a Croat, Italian, Argentine or Istrian.

I.G. (1976 Rosario, Argentina)

I. is the forth generation of Istrians in Argentina. His grandfather came in 1926 followed by the great-grandfather. They were born in Lanišće, Čićarija, the Istrian upland.

As they arrived the surname was changed in Gherbaz but I.G. adjusted

the mistake and regained his family's original surname. I.G. adores his grandfather and talks a lot about him. He says he was always around Istrians, never entering the Croatian club. He transmitted many memories to I. G. regarding Istria and now my informant proudly speaks Croatian, holds the Croatian flag on the *Day of Immigrants* and says he feels a Croat and a nationalist. It is thru he learnt Croatian taking private classes but he surely was motivated by his grandfather.

We could be perplexed as he states his grandfather, that was his connection with Istria, didn't want to enter the Croatian club and he on the other hand declares is a real Croat.

Probably his family never accepted Italian nationality, and maybe they left Istria after it's adjoining to Italy. We can just suppose. What was already mentioned and what I find appealing is that Istrians often accentuate their regional identity. It can be that as a young man from Argentina I.G. heard about the Croatian War for independence and due to all the social turmoil we experienced in the '90s he was much more dedicated to the national identity that time highly accentuated. Another thought influenced by Fukuyama's text is that first-generation immigrants have usually not made a psychological break with the culture of their land of birth and carry traditional practices with them to their new homes. Their children, by contrast, are stuck between two cultures with which they cannot identify and find a strong appeal in the Universalist ideology offered by contemporary jihadism (Fukuyama 2006:11). Surely, we are not talking about radical nationalism but

maybe as the above mentioned text suggests radical ideologies are not deeply incorporated in specific cultures but are modern constructions. Nevertheless his emphasised identification on the national level with Croats is rare and therefore interesting for further analysis in the context of migrations from Istria.

Between national and regional identity

Throughout the text there has been no word about the meaning and differences in terminology between nationalism, ethnicity and, as the subtitle suggests, regional identity. There have been many works dealing with the subject and there are many different definitions. What I find important to highlight in this text is the importance of *the regional identity*. Due to the very complex situation many frontier regions have, the connection with the small local community seems the most natural way of identifying oneself. If we take in consideration the conquests, political pressures and impositions of different nation-states a region has been through in its history it is no wonder people really do find regional identity more appealing.

Which are the mechanisms that evoke these affiliations? Sometimes new situations people experience migrating are a trigger for highly expressed regional identities. This is due to the fact that people need help in integrating in new societies. They enter in national/regional clubs to meet people, learn the language and stay in contact with their native land even fictively. But I would suggest another possible answer. I mentioned earlier in the text that a highly expressed

regional identity is present in nowadays Istria. In my opinion the regional identity could also be a reaction to the constant imposition that one should identify on national ground. Assuredly, some people find it difficult to identify within different nations that were imposed in a region zone in a short period one after other and express affiliation to the regional community regardless their nationality.

Suitcases & Destinies - an exhibition

After the ample research among Istrian emigrants the exhibition *Suitcases and Destinies: Istria out of Istria* (author: mr.sc. Lidija Nikočević) was inaugurated. Faced with many problems that were partly mentioned in this paper we found ourselves, as ethnologists, in a favoured position. We could be the medium through which stories finally could be told. We used different media; films, photographs and audio material to communicate our ideas. Some of the material was produced by different parties, emigrants in Yugoslavia, Italy, Australia, and USA and so on. We wanted to give these people a voice and show different political rhetoric constructed in the twentieth century. Twelve personal stories were displayed along with historical material collected for exhibition purpose to illustrate the social and historical context in which these destinies were formed.

The exhibition was a trigger for all the Istrians out there that wanted to learn more about their native land, about history and other people that shared the same experience. Many of them came for the exhibition, investigated the fam-

ily lines and tried to find someone left in Istria. The Museum and its employees entered in a close relationship as we often accompanied them in search of parent houses and lost documentation. I can say it started to be an informal centre of emigrants as they continued to share experiences and material belongings with us.

A platform for experience sharing, understanding and memory collecting was started in The Ethnographic Museum of Istria and it should be continued on state and/or regional level in specialised institutions because migration and identity studies are a constant work in progress.

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Notes

- 1 The Exhibition *Suitcases and Destinies: Istria out of Istria*
- 2 According to informal statistics of the C.E.M.L.A., in the period from 1923-1950 about 3700 emigrants came from Istria specifying their native town. More research should be done to see whether they identified as Istrians, Italians, Croats or else. Surely many are the ones that were included in other migrations. I'm thankful for this information to Javier P. Grossutti.
- 3 http://www.cw.utwente.nl/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20clusters/Interpersonal%20Communication%20and%20Relations/Social_Identity_Theory.doc/
- 4 http://www.cw.utwente.nl/theorieenoverzicht/Theory%20clusters/Interpersonal%20Communication%20and%20Relations/Social_Identity_Theory.doc/
- 5 informant B.M.
- 6 Optanti (option) – a word used to determine people that asked the option to leave Yugoslavia after the capitulation of Italy. They were left to choose between the two countries.
- 7 www.geografija.hr
- 8 „The call‘ is a document relatives from Argentina were sending to the ones in Europe stating they will cover their life costs.

Seeking Refuge from the Environment: Legal Protection for Environmentally- Displaced Persons

Nicole de Moor and An Cliquet

'Climate change is today one of the main drivers of forced displacement, both directly through impact on environment – not allowing people to live any more in the areas where they were traditionally living – and as a trigger of extreme poverty and conflict'.

Antonio Guterres,
UN High Commissioner for Refugees ¹

Drowning Island States: Atlantis Myth or Reality?

On October 17th 2009, the ministers of the Maldives held a cabinet meeting underwater. With this publicity action, they wanted to draw international attention to the fate of low-lying islands in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. Since about 80% of the Maldives lies less than a metre above sea level, the country is extremely vulnerable to any rise in sea level as a result of global warming.² As their islands would sink beneath the waves, Maldivians would have no other option but to relocate to a safer area.

Environmental displacement is not a new phenomenon. People have always used migration as a strategy to adapt to changes in their environment. People driven from their homes in the Dust

Bowl in the 1930s in the United States are early examples of 'environmental refugees'.³ However, at a time when our environment is under huge pressure, the urgency of the topic is apparent. The effects of global warming, biodiversity loss and sudden disasters are increasingly causing large-scale migration. Already in 1990, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) recognised that the 'gravest effects of climate change may be on human migration'.⁴

Sea levels are expected to rise by at least 18 to 59 cm by 2090-2099⁵, which will cause for the disappearance of low-lying island States like the Maldives in the Indian Ocean and Tuvalu and Kiribati in the South Pacific. Some island States are destined to disappear completely, leaving no internal relocation options for the inhabitants. The rising sea would also overflow heavily populated coasts and mega-deltas in South, East and South-East Asia⁶. It is estimated that sea level rise will lead to 26 million environmentally-displaced persons in Bangladesh alone.⁷

The phenomenon of global warming, together with the loss of biodiversity, will also lead to severe desertification, threatening to force millions of people



In 2005 nearly 1 million persons were displaced in the aftermath of the Katrina hurricane in New Orleans, USA. Courtesy: Jocelyn Augustino/FEMA

to leave their environment. People are furthermore displaced by sudden disasters (both natural and human-induced), such as earthquakes, floods, hurricanes and volcanic eruptions. The volcanic eruption on the Caribbean island of Montserrat in 1995 for example, forced 7000 people to evacuate⁸, and in 2005 nearly 1 million persons were displaced in the aftermath of the Katrina hurricane in New Orleans.⁹ Due to climate change and ecosystem degradation, regions particularly vulnerable to natural disasters will face an increase in the occurrence and severity of those disasters.¹⁰

Although industrialised countries are most responsible for global warming, the developing countries will suffer the most. Their inhabitants are more vulnerable, because they live in fragile ecosystems, and do not have the technological and financial means to adapt to a severely degrading environment.¹¹



The volcanic eruption on the Caribbean island of Montserrat in 1995 for example, forced 7000 people to evacuate. Courtesy: astrosurf.com

Bangladesh for example will not have the capacity to fight against the water like the Netherlands does. Where people are more vulnerable, they have less adaptive capacity, and in some cases they will therefore have no other option but to leave their environment. A substantial number of environmentally-displaced persons is even expected to cross international borders. Therefore, the time has come to discuss how to protect persons fleeing their country for ecological reasons. Environmental displacement is not a myth, nor a future threat, but it is already happening. According to a recent study, more than 20 million people have been displaced by climate-related sudden disasters, such as floods and hurricanes, in 2008 alone¹². In Africa, about 10 million people were displaced over the last two decades, primarily because of environmental degradation and desertification.¹³

This article will discuss the problem of environmental displacement from a legal perspective, as there is a need for the development of detailed and durable rights-based solutions to environmental displacement.¹⁴ As the normative protection gap is most problematic for environmentally-displaced persons outside their country of origin, the focus of this article will be on cross-border displacement.

Environmental displacement and refugee protection

During the past decennia, most studies on environmentally-induced population movements used the popular term 'environmental refugees'¹⁵. However, this term is strongly disputed, and can even be regarded as a 'legal misnomer'¹⁶. After all, the international refugee definition, established in the 1951 Refugee Convention, does not include people fleeing environmental disruptions. The Refugee Convention defines a refugee as any person who 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country'¹⁷. As environmental 'refugees' do not flee from persecution, they do not fit within the international definition of a refugee, and are therefore not protected by the Refugee Convention. Furthermore, the term 'refugee' is limited to persons crossing international borders, while most people fleeing environmental degradation currently stay within the borders of their own coun-

try¹⁸. Therefore, it is better to use the term 'environmentally-displaced person' instead of 'environmental refugee'.

Being recognised as a refugee implies that one is entitled to international protection. In particular the right of *non-refoulement*, contained in Article 33 of the 1951 Refugee Convention, is one of the greatest benefits for refugees¹⁹. They have the right not to be sent back to territories where their life or freedom is at risk. Just like conventional refugees, environmentally-displaced persons often face life-threatening circumstances if they would be forced to return home. Some authors have therefore argued for an expansion of the 1951 refugee definition in order to include 'environmental refugees'. They argue that environmentally-displaced persons are, just as conventional refugees, forcibly displaced persons who are unable to return, and should therefore be entitled to equal international protection. However, such an expansion of the Refugee Convention is not a realistic option. A definition which has survived without adjustments for almost 60 years is not likely to be modified. There is considerable resistance to the expansion of the international refugee regime to environmentally-displaced persons. Various reports predict that environmentally-displaced persons will outnumber traditional 'refugees' in the future. At the end of 2008, there were about 15,2 million refugees worldwide²⁰, while the most commonly quoted figure for environmentally-displaced persons is that of 200 million displaced persons by the year 2050. It is not realistic to bring this large group of environmentally-displaced persons under the same protection regime as refugees, as this would render

the whole international refugee regime overloaded, and thus ineffective²¹. Furthermore, re-opening negotiations on the Convention could even undermine refugee protection, due to the reluctance of host countries to accept additional refugees²². Besides, environmentally-displaced persons have other needs for protection than refugees persecuted by their government²³. While the bond of refugees with their government is severed, governments of countries affected by environmental degradation could co-operate with the international community in order to find durable solutions for their inhabitants.

However, as environmentally-induced population movements are increasing, national assistance will often be insufficient. States can be unable or unwilling to offer sufficient protection in the form of emergency relief and/or relocation assistance. Therefore, we need to study how to protect environmentally-displaced persons through other international protection mechanisms than the refugee regime.

Regional approach: Welcome in Europe?

One of the possible approaches is to look into regional law in order to protect environmentally-displaced persons. Even though south-north migration will only count for a relatively small part of environmentally-induced population movements, it must not restrain Europe from developing a comprehensive strategy to deal with this issue. Moreover, regional protection regimes could be of great importance for environmentally-displaced persons, as they could form an incen-

tive to broaden international protection mechanisms.²⁴

Qualification Directive

Since many forcibly displaced persons seeking protection in Europe have needs which the 1951 Refugee Convention does not address, Europe needed to develop legal protection mechanisms, complementary to the international refugee regime²⁵. In 2004, the European Union (EU) adopted the Qualification Directive, establishing the regime of subsidiary protection.²⁶ The Qualification Directive defines a refugee in consistence with the 1951 Refugee Convention, and attributes subsidiary protection to those displaced persons who do not fit within the Refugee Convention, but are nonetheless in need of international protection. According to Article 2(e), a person not qualifying for refugee status may be entitled to subsidiary protection if

‘substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if returned to his or her country of origin, or in the case of a stateless person, to his or her country of former habitual residence, would face a real risk of suffering serious harm as defined in Article 15, and to whom Article 17(1) and (2) do not apply, and is unable, or, owing to such risk, unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country’.

During the drafting process, the scope of the Qualification Directive was heavily discussed. In particular the meaning of ‘serious harm’ was subject to a huge

divergence of views. The Commission proposed to include a ‘human rights paragraph’, granting subsidiary protection to persons displaced as a result of serious human rights violations.²⁷ Serious harm would then exist of a ‘violation of a human right, sufficiently severe to engage the Member State’s international obligations’²⁸. This would allow for a broad interpretation of the Qualification Directive, taking into account developments in the case law of the European Court of Human Rights²⁹. As victims of environmental disasters often face violations of their human rights, namely when their government is unable or unwilling to provide protection, such a human rights provision could be interpreted so as to include environmental displacement³⁰. Nonetheless, although the European Parliament argued that environmentally-displaced persons ‘equally need protection’³¹, the Member States did not support the inclusion of environmental disasters in the Qualification Directive. What is more, none of the proposed human rights-provisions were retained in the Directive. Instead, it was decided to limit the scope of the Directive to a mere political compromise, based on already existing policies of complementary protection in the Member States³².

According to Article 15 of the Directive, ‘serious harm’ is limited to:

- (a) ‘death penalty or execution; or
- (b) torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment of an applicant in the country of origin; or
- (c) serious and individual threat to a civilian’s life or person by reason of indiscriminate violence in situations of international or internal armed conflict.’

As environmental destruction is not included in this exhaustive enumeration, it becomes difficult to argue that environmentally-displaced persons are entitled to subsidiary protection. Only those persons facing a real risk of serious harm as defined in Article 15 are eligible for subsidiary protection. Nevertheless, Jane McAdam argues that Article 15 (b), namely ‘inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment’ could open some room for broadening the scope of the Qualification Directive in the future³³. Some authors have for example proposed to interpret ‘inhuman or degrading treatment’ so as to include the forced return of environmentally-displaced persons to regions which can no longer sustain human life.

Whether or not such a broad interpretation of the eligibility criteria will be accepted in the future as providing protection for environmentally-displaced persons, will largely depend on the case law of the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice (ECJ) (*see further below*). Although the drafters of the Qualification Directive abandoned the original human rights-based approach, the current Article 15 (a) and (b) are still based on the European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR), with the right to life (Article 2 ECHR) and the prohibition of torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Article 3 ECHR)³⁴. In a recent judgment of 17 February 2009, the ECJ has referred to Article 3 of the ECHR for the interpretation of ‘inhuman or degrading treatment’ in Article 15(b) of the Qualification Directive³⁵.

Apart from interpreting the Qualification Directive more broadly, the

ongoing amendment process of the Directive opens the possibility to amend Article 15 in order to explicitly include environmentally-displaced persons. National legislation and practice could then serve as a model for a new sub-paragraph in Article 15. In particular the Finnish and Swedish legislation have introduced residence permits for persons who are unable to return because of an environmental disaster.³⁶ The Finnish Aliens Act grants a residence permit to persons who ‘cannot return ... because of an armed conflict or environmental disaster’³⁷. In Sweden, the Aliens Act protects persons ‘unable to return to the country of origin because of an environmental disaster’³⁸. Up till now, this legislation has not yet been applied. While most countries have no explicit recognition of environmentally-displaced persons in their legislation, some do offer them protection in practice. In Denmark, the policy of ‘survival criteria’ gives humanitarian asylum to people coming ‘from areas where there was a lack of food and who would be in a particularly vulnerable position upon return’³⁹.

However, for the time being, nor a wide interpretation of the Qualification Directive, nor an amendment in order to include environmentally-displaced persons is a realistic option, as it was clearly not the intention of the drafters, and is currently not widely accepted⁴⁰. Besides, the Qualification Directive would only be of interest to a limited number of environmentally-displaced persons, due to requirements as to the ‘actors of serious harm’ and an ‘internal flight alternative’.⁴¹

Human Rights Approach

As environmentally-displaced persons arriving in Europe currently do not fit within the Qualification Directive, we need a different legal basis to protect them against a forced return to their destructed region of origin. The question rises whether environmentally-displaced persons could find relief in human rights law, more in particular in the principle of *non-refoulement*. This principle is not only one of the greatest benefits of the 1951 Refugee Convention, it is also a cornerstone of human rights law, where it acts as an absolute and general ban on returning persons to places where they risk certain human rights violations⁴². The Qualification Directive confirms the commitment of the EU Member States to this principle ‘in accordance with their international obligations’⁴³. The principle of *non-refoulement* has found expression in various human rights treaties, adopted by European Member States, including the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the 1950 Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR).

The European Court of Human Rights has ruled that the prohibition on torture and inhuman or degrading treatment of Article 3 ECHR implies a duty not to return a person to a place where he risks being subjected to the prohibited treatment. According to the Court in the *Soering*-case,

‘the decision by a Contracting State to extradite a fugitive may give rise to an issue under Article 3 (art. 3), and hence engage the responsibility of that State under

the Convention, where substantial grounds have been shown for believing that the person concerned, if extradited, faces a real risk of being subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment in the requesting country.⁴⁴

This view was consistently confirmed in a number of other cases, where the Court ruled that the reasoning of the *Soering*-case applies to expulsion of rejected asylum seekers⁴⁵. Clearly, the principle of *non-refoulement* is a fundamental component of the prohibition of torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. In this context, the principle is generally even considered to be part of customary international law.⁴⁶ This means that displaced persons falling outside the scope of the 1951 Refugee Convention could perhaps rely on human rights provisions containing a *non-refoulement* prohibition.

Whether or not *non-refoulement* provisions could protect environmentally-displaced persons against a forced return to their destructed region of origin, will for a large part depend on the assessment made by the European Court of Human Rights. There is no doubt that, in certain cases of severe environmental disruption, the victims cannot return to their region of origin, either temporarily or permanently. The most infamous example are the 'sinking' island States in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. However, also in case of sudden disasters, the principle of *non-refoulement* could imply a temporary ban on forced returns to the destructed region of origin. Up till now,

the European Court of Human Rights has not explicitly dealt with environmental displacement. Nonetheless, the case law of the Court is relevant for environmentally-displaced persons, as the Court has already ruled on cases dealing with disaster prevention and the right to life (Article 2), and on a progressive interpretation of 'inhuman and degrading treatment' (Article 3)⁴⁷.

As for Article 3 ECHR, some authors have argued that sending environmentally-displaced persons back to a region where they can no longer survive, amounts to an inhuman or degrading treatment⁴⁸. It is up to the Court to decide whether such a progressive development of Article 3 is acceptable. According to the Court, Article 3 can be applied in new contexts which might arise in the future, irrespective of the responsibility of the public authorities⁴⁹. In 1997, the Court found that returning a HIV-infected person would amount to 'inhuman treatment', due to a lack of sufficient medical treatment, social network, a home or any prospect of income in the country or origin⁵⁰. Severe environmental disruptions caused by natural disasters or climate change could result in a similar situation, where vital infrastructure is destroyed and provision of basic services such as clean water, food and electricity is hindered⁵¹. It remains to be seen whether the European Court of Human Rights will accept such an interpretation in the future.

As regards Article 2 ECHR, the judgment of the Court in the *Budayeva*-case decided on a violation of the right to life on account of the State's failure to act adequately in preventing a mudslide⁵². Although there is no *non-refoulement*

component attached to Article 2 ECHR, State practice and jurisprudence could develop in this direction in the future. After all, just as Article 3 ECHR, Article 2 provides a basis for granting subsidiary protection in Article 15 of the Qualification Directive.

It remains to be seen whether or not Article 2 and 3 ECHR will be applied by the European Court of Human Rights for the protection of environmentally-displaced persons arriving in Europe. At a minimum, human rights law should provide them with basic *non-refoulement* protection. Kolmannskog and Myrstad even go a step further, arguing that on the basis of the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, there is 'a strong argument that Article 15(a) and (b) of the Qualification Directive are applicable and subsidiary protection should be granted in certain cases of extreme natural disaster or degradation on the basis of the ban on torture, inhuman or degrading treatment or the right to life'⁵³. Although I consider this argument to be praiseworthy, both from an intellectual and a moral point of view, it is unlikely, based on current case law and State practice, that it would be accepted, nor by the Member States, nor by the European courts, in the near future.

Although the principle of *non-refoulement* has, up till now, not been accepted by any Court in cases of environmental displacement, in practice, considerations based on the principle of *non-refoulement* have been applied in case of natural disasters. For example, in the aftermath of the 2004 Tsunami, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) called for the suspension of returns to

the affected regions, which was widely respected⁵⁴. Further research is necessary to examine whether State practice and *opinio iuris* could lead to a generally accepted practice, or even a binding norm, of not returning environmentally-displaced persons in the most severe cases of environmental disruption.

However, although such a *non-refoulement* practice seems to be advantageous for environmentally-displaced persons, we must not forget that the principle of *non-refoulement* does not provide the applicants with a legal residence status. While the Qualification Directive obliges States to grant a legal status to persons eligible for protection, there is no comparable status attached to the recognition of protection under customary or conventional expressions of *non-refoulement*⁵⁵. The principle of *non-refoulement* does not clarify whether persons which cannot be returned, are entitled to legal residency, leaving these individuals often in an illegal residence status⁵⁶.

In our opinion, the principle of *non-refoulement* could act as a possible basis for the elaboration of a regional asylum regime for environmentally-displaced persons. Through a bottom-up development of law, generally accepted *non-refoulement* practices could lead to a 'soft law' instrument (comparable to the IDP-principles) or even to customary international law⁵⁷. However, an explicit legal regime, based on a binding convention, would better ensure that persons which cannot be returned are granted a legal status, and not mere protection against return.

Ways forward

Prevention and Protection

In order to deal properly with the human impacts of environmental degradation, we need to focus our attention both on the prevention of forced environmental displacement and on the protection of environmentally-displaced persons. Firstly, we could prevent people from being *forced* to leave their traditional habitat by preventing environmental degradation from happening. We need to push for the most ambitious targets for climate change mitigation and biodiversity protection. Aside from that, populations inevitably affected by climate change will have to adapt to changing circumstances, for example by constructing dikes and developing sustainable agricultural techniques. As the need to migrate or to flee is very much dependent on the vulnerability of the population, developed countries must help the population of developing countries to reduce their vulnerability, so that they can cope better with the effects of global warming. Europe must therefore strengthen its adaptation assistance, both financially and technically⁵⁸. Furthermore, reducing vulnerability can be achieved by enhancing the socio-economic development of a certain area.

All of these measures, however, will unfortunately not be sufficient, or simple come too late. For certain populations, there will be no other option but to leave their environment in order to survive. It is therefore necessary to discuss how to protect people which are forcibly displaced for environmental reasons. Aside from providing humanitarian assistance, such as food and shelter, we need to provide durable solutions

for environmentally-displaced persons. Research is needed to analyse how they can be legally protected, either on the basis of existing law, either by developing new protection regimes.

Pre-emptive migration as an adaptation strategy

Since migration requires financial means and/or social connections in the destination country, the most vulnerable people will not be able to migrate⁵⁹. Therefore, research must not only focus on those who are able to migrate, or to flee, but also on those who are compelled to stay behind in a degrading or destructed environment. Furthermore, most environmentally-displaced persons currently relocate within their own country, or move to neighbouring countries. They are displaced in already overpopulated and environmentally-fragile regions, adding even more burden on the scarcely available resources.

In order to mitigate the pressure on those vulnerable places of origin or destination, the international community must also focus on pre-emptive migration. Facilitating migration for persons affected by environmental degradation is both a way to prevent *forced* displacement and the suffering it generates, and a way to relieve pressure on vulnerable regions. If migration due to climate change is managed effectively, humanitarian crises could be minimized, and conflicts could be avoided. In this sense, human mobility can be seen as an adaptation strategy, rather than a failure to adapt to a changing environment.

One way of facilitating migration for environmentally-affected persons, is to

enhance legal migration for this specific group. Whether we like it or not, we are living in an era of human mobility, where people increasingly cross international borders in pursuit of a better life. There is now a growing understanding about the benefits such mobility could bring. According to the UN Human Development Report, international migration can contribute greatly to human welfare and development⁶⁰. Pre-emptive environmental migration could therefore lead to a WIN – WIN – WIN – situation. Firstly, host countries will benefit from additional labour forces to fill gaps in labour demand. Secondly, countries of origin are relieved from some of the population pressure on the environment, and can benefit from remittances. Environmental diasporas can contribute to development and adaptation measures by transferring remittances and know-how to their country of origin. Finally, the affected persons would be voluntary migrants instead of forcibly displaced persons, turning their decision to migrate into a choice rather than a compulsion.

Pre-emptive environmental migration is already taking place, both internally and across borders. For example the Pacific Island State Tuvalu, which is threatened by the rising ocean, has already begun to make relocation arrangements for the entire population. Since the people of Tuvalu realise they will lose their fight against the rising water, Tuvaluan officials have approached neighbouring countries to request assistance for the large-scale evacuation of the population.⁶¹ Since 2003 New Zealand has a special immigration program to accept immigrants from Tuvalu and other

threatened Pacific islands. Under this Pacific Access Category program, New Zealand has issued quota of people that can migrate to the country each year. The program is run by ballot. Whoever is drawn from the ballot after registering for it, can apply for residence. The current quota allow up to 75 citizens of Tuvalu, 75 citizens of Kiribati and 250 citizens of Tonga to be granted residence in New Zealand each year.⁶² Important to note is that this migration scheme is classed as a labour program instead of a resettlement scheme.⁶³ One of the criteria is for example to be aged between 18 and 45. Although the quota only represent a small fraction of the number of people that will ultimately need to migrate, the Pacific Access Category program ‘offers opportunities for ‘would be’ environmentally displaced persons’⁶⁴.

As discussed above, the European Union needs to develop a comprehensive strategy towards environmental displacement. Where people do not have sufficient resources to flee from an uninhabitable environment, the EU could enable them to migrate by providing legal migration schemes for people coming from the most affected regions. As mentioned before, immigration channels for environmentally-affected people must be developed in cooperation with the countries of origin⁶⁵. A concrete illustration of a migration agreement between a third country and a European Member State, is the Colombian Temporary and Circular Labour Migration Scheme (TCLM). Through this innovative model of temporary and circular labour migration, Colombians facing recurring natural disasters, are offered a livelihood alternative through tempo-

rary work abroad, while affected zones can recuperate. Recognising the potential for both development and adaptation, the program wants to support migrants 'in maximizing the impact of remittances on the recovery of the affected area through public and private co-funding and international cooperation'⁶⁶. This way, the program contributes 'to sustainable development as it enables local populations to increase their resilience to environmental challenges and offers them an alternative to permanent migration, whether to urban slums or abroad'⁶⁷.

Pre-emptive migration must be looked into as one of the solutions for the problem of environmental displacement. We do not have to choose between granting humanitarian asylum to environmentally-displaced persons and organising pre-emptive migration for the affected populations. Both permanent and temporary labour migration could provide relief in case of respectively permanent and temporary environmental disruptions. Further research is necessary in order to investigate the feasibility of facilitating pre-emptive environmental migration, both from a legal and practical perspective, and on how to take measures to optimize migrant's contributions to development and adaptation.

Conclusion

The link between environmental degradation and human displacement has been widely discussed. Due to the effects of global warming, the issue is now more than ever urgent. To tackle the problem of environmental displacement, our approach must be multi-lev-

elled and multidisciplinary. Lawyers can contribute to this research by developing protection mechanisms for forcibly displaced persons, both inside their country of origin and in destination countries, and by working out pre-emptive migration programs for affected populations.

Both the international and the European legal regime currently lack the necessary mechanisms to protect environmentally-displaced persons. Through the elaboration of a European protection regime for environmentally-displaced persons, the European Union could serve as an example for other host regions. It is arguable that environmentally-displaced persons arriving in Europe could, under certain circumstances, rely on *non-refoulement* principles in order to protect them against a forced return. However, such an argumentation is currently not widely accepted, and it remains questionable whether it is practically relevant for environmentally-displaced persons. Therefore, the possibility and feasibility of both the adaptation of existing protection regimes and of the elaboration of a new regime specifically dealing with environmental displacement is worth further discussion.

Since the poorest, the most vulnerable people, are not the ones most likely to leave their destroyed environment, Europe must also develop external approaches to help environmentally-affected populations. Such pro-active strategies can include aid for adaptation measures, humanitarian assistance and socio-economic development, in order to prevent forced displacement where possible. However, for the population of regions which can no longer sustain human life, migration to safer regions

could be the only viable adaptation strategy. Through the elaboration of resettlement schemes or pre-emptive migration programs for vulnerable groups, Europe could help to enable the most vulnerable persons to leave their environment.

Environmental displacement cannot be tackled unilaterally. We must be sufficiently ambitious, and we must work together, involving the countries of origin, in order to provide durable solutions. It is going to take combined efforts to prepare for and mitigate climate effects. Complementary to the fight against climate change and biodiversity loss, the time has come to address the issue of unavoidable environmental displacement. We have to ensure that environmentally-displaced persons no longer fall through the cracks of international protection regimes.

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'Affentheater: Italian Itinerant Migration around Europe between Nineteenth and Twentieth Century'ⁱ

Francesca Goglino and Carlo Stiaccini



Theatre of the Apes of the Taddei family. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

From farmer to *commedianti*.

From Mount Pelpi to the world.

The phenomenon of 'itinerant migration' started taking place on the mountain range dividing Emilia Romagna from Liguria during the modern age, and it blossomed specifically on the territories of Alta Val di Taro between the provinces of Parma and Genoa. From these areas, young and old men, and

in some cases entire families, left their homes to start ambulant jobs of different natures - initially these people did it inside the borders of Italy, later they emigrated to Europe and to other continents - from that of the ambulant artisan to *colportage*¹ and in some cases they were becoming real beggars.

The work of *commedianti* was originated in the area among the municipality of Bardi, Bedonia and Compiano

and more specifically in the burg around Mount Pelpi. Their work consisted in training exotic and ordinary animals - dogs, goats, horses, parrots, monkeys, camels and bears - in order to guide them during street performances. This is the reason because one of the many names used to label the wanderers coming from this area was '*pelpini*', a name with which the ambulant artists from Val di Taro probably wanted to reclaim their common geographical origin.

Orsanti or *scimmianti*² (other names used to label habitants from this area) started getting so specialized in this kind of art that subsequently they reached the most remote regions of Europe to come back home just every three or four years. Some of them managed to organize companies of several men and arrived to own real circuses. Some of these *commedianti* raised considerable amount of money and generation after generation they kept reinvesting their profits in this singular job, that in the eyes of many still looked like nothing but an alternative to poverty.

That of the animal trainer is nothing but an aspect of the wider phenomenon of ambulant jobs of which we already have many examples during the modern age. This ambulant phenomenon invested many other municipalities on the Apennine range going from Genoa to Tuscany.

The case of *orsanti* has found just a small place in the great number of studies generically dealing with the phenomenon of wanderers on a national scale³; it has been mainly debated by non-academic researchers like local history experts, geographers and simple amateur historians. The main works covering

this subject, as a matter of fact, comes out from the studies of Marco Porcella, a local history researcher and expert in migration from Liguria during the modern age⁴: examining different kind of sources - materials coming both from public and private archives - he has analyzed deeply this topic in a book titled *Con arte e con inganno. L'emigrazione girovaga nell'Appenino ligure-emiliano*⁵, and in other books dealing more generically with the migratory issue⁶.

It is important to notice how, inside the monumental work of synthesis *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana* - a text in which, as underlined by the same curators and editors, 'the declared intent was to synthesize the whole phenomenon of Italian migration abroad with a rigorous and accessible language but with an authentically divulgative spirit' - an essay written by Porcella was included, covering emigration during the first half of nineteenth century, in which he also speaks about animal trainers⁷.

Among the most recent studies, a text must be mentioned written by Giuliano Mortali and Corrado Truffelli, who are respectively a 'researcher and a local memories collector' and a lecturer of economic-geography, authors of other works dedicated to other aspects of migrations related to their territories. This book covers the history of migration of Val di Taro and Val di Ceno. It starts with the emigrations of these Apenninic populations from the modern age, and then tackles about the seasonal, then wandering and finally permanent emigration of the nineteenth century. They also wrote about the intense phenomenon of depopulation that touched these areas during the twentieth century.



The company of the Agazzi family. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

Every chapter examines the different aspects - economic, social or cultural - that characterized these movements that could have happened on a small, medium or long lapse of time. They have used different kind of sources: from oral to written memories, from materials found in public archives to that found in private ones⁸.

It may be helpful to read the work by Marco Ascari, that consists in a research largely based on the documents deposited in the State Archive of Parma, above all on those contained in the '*Dipartimento Affari Esteri*' fund that contains the memories of the diplomatic relations between the different offices and organs of the State⁹.

Earlier to these works is the book of John Zucchi '*The Little Slaves of the Harp*', published in Montreal in 1992, that dealing with the activity of the am-

bulant musicians during the nineteenth century, putting the accent on the numerous aspects of exploitation of 'child labour'. This text is quite useful since it faces the adversities encountered by thousands of minors around Europe and America (above all ambulant musicians, but also itinerant sellers of plaster figurines, chimney sweepers, animal expositors...), and offers a good panoramic view of the socio-economical conditions of Val di Taro during the nineteenth century. Beside that, it represents an interesting attempt to reconstruct the origins of emigration in that area and those of the work of animal expositors¹⁰.

That of wanderers is an ancient 'long-period phenomenon' and was not often that geographically restricted; as a matter of fact we encounter exhibitors of animals, buskers, sellers of ink, sellers of images made out of chalk, and sim-

ple beggars scattered all over Europe. For what concerns European capitals, researchers locate this phenomenon around the sixteenth century. With the outbreak of the First World War and with the consequential frontier restrictions, a sensible decrease in temporary migrations occurs. Some documents show that the activities of *commendanti* didn't stop also during and right after the end of the First World War with a 'ray of action' drastically reduced: since they couldn't cross the borders, habitants from Val di Taro have kept proposing their exhibitions just in Italy.

That of wanderers can be labeled as a 'mass phenomenon' *ante litteram* on a local scale, as a matter of fact it concerned entire villages and communities: official statistics say that from a fifth to a third of the whole population has been directly invested by this process. For example in Fontanabonardi - a small municipality next to Bedonia, one of the villages with the biggest density of *commendanti* - among the 84 families reported in the 1768 census, the request for 71 passports, 52 of which have been given to companies or single animal exhibitors, has been recorded. We are still speaking about mountain communities and, as shown later, they were far from being so 'isolated' or so 'sedentary' as conventionally asserted by a big portion of our recent historiography.

Where did these people learn these professions and above all how to train exotic animals like bears, camels, monkeys and parrots? Many hypotheses have been made: according to some theories, during their many peregrinations, local shepherds have met artists who taught them how to do it¹¹. According to other

hypotheses some paths followed by people from the Parmesan mountains brought them to north-east reaching Russia, later they passed from Turkey and north Africa, then they came back to Europe through Spain and France and finally they returned back to Italy; this exchange of information, through which they have learnt this profession, probably happened when they touched the major capitals.

What is behind the origin of this migratory phenomenon? There are many hypotheses regarding its cause, for some geographers the basic reason of this migration has to be found in the environmental causes linked to territory, as a matter of fact a series of landslides have been recorded on Mount Pelpi around the end of the fourteenth century and this natural disaster probably forced people to move in order to get a better living. These authors have found a justification to their thesis in the data stored in the State Archives of Parma. According to this theory the farther we move from the epicenter of the landslide, the less we find people asking for a passport to cross the borders of the then Ducato di Parma. Realistically speaking, this is just one of the many possible theories that, if considered alone, could bring forth a too deterministic point of view. More realistically this is probably one of the causes being strictly linked to other explanations.

To address the migration of these population simply to the need for subsistence would be oversimplified or, even worse, wrong. Without any doubt poverty is the main cause of migration, but beyond this conclusion it doesn't necessarily implies that low income and



The company of Antonio Bernabò in Germany. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

migratory index follow a parallel path, and it does not signify that the socially marginalizing activities like the wandering ones are quite characteristic of the most miserable communities: in the migration choices, several non-economic factors that can be defined as 'cultural' have a considerable weight, of which we still don't know that much¹². Analyzing some documents contained in the Communal Archive of Bardi, and confronting them with the migration data from the same period, we can also agree on the fact that the choice to migrate didn't automatically coincide with a miserable life condition. Besides that, we just need to think that in the same Valley di Taro only five commons out of eleven (Bardi, Bedonia, Compiano, Comolo) had been interested by the *commedia* phenomenon and not exactly for the fact that they were the poorest¹³.

Animal trainers could have been labeled *orsanti, scimmianti* etc. according to their specialization. We encounter an incredible array of trained animals: from white mice to squirrels, from goats to stags, from dogs to monkeys, from camels to bears. Quite often these animals had been bought abroad (as monkeys that were coming from Spain) and subsequently trained in Val di Taro by locals, in this way many habitants of the area turned in professional trainers: once the animal was trained, the habitants sold it to a company. The training phase, above all that of bears, started when animals were still really young, it didn't take less than a month and required a praxis as ingenious as cruel.

Considering the high price of animals, quite often buying and selling was filtered by mediators, as the famous Rossi from Compiano, who - at the beginning

of nineteenth century – monopolized the animal trade between Africa and Parmesan Apennine¹⁵. Those who didn't want to adopt this method could choose to buy the animal together with other wandering artists to successively divide the income in four parts¹⁵.

The transport and the exhibition of beasts like bears could represent a strong effort: it was not so rare to see *orsanti* associating in companies, that's an embryonic form of equestrian circus. Even though companies of many sorts were created, their basic profile required the presence of some specific elements: a titular role, addressed to take care of the bear; a *scimmante* that had to take care of at least four monkeys; a tambour player, necessary to get the attention of the audience; a younger boy (a boy or a servant) that had to take care of the begging at the end of the show. Often this kind of company was also equipped with a wagon hauled from a horse. In the quite common case in which we also had a camel or dogs, some other members (in charge of these additional animals) would have joined the company. Half of the proceeds had to go to the partners, half of it had to cover the expenses. Often in autumn, the company took a break from touring and recovering animals in a stall. While waiting for the spring, two members of the company went back home while the others remained there with the animals.

The trajectories followed by the companies coming from Val di Taro, were preventively planned and not casual. The pre-established destinations were quite often the same, for example, from the lecture of the '*carnet*' (a sort of 'travel register/permit register') belonged to

the Dallara family we can assume that in forty years (between the seventies of nineteenth century and 1914) the company of Bernardo Dallara crossed mainly a couple of regions of the Germanic empire (Bavaria and Baden-Wurtenberg) and five of the Austro-Hungarian empire (south and north Austria, Carinzia, Stiria, Slovenia), touching just shortly Italy, Swiss, Croatia and Bosnia Erzegovina¹⁶. We can presume that wanderers were traveling very fast and that they were not stopping in every town that appears in the stamps on the documents, but they were probably headed directly in those towns where they were sure they would have gained a good amount of money. Probably, then, these companies knew quite well the territories they crossed - reinforced by their customary route. The towns where they used to do shows were quite often small and not that populated: no big town and no metropolis was included in their itineraries. That had to do with the fact these spectacles, for their nature, were more suitable for big and dusty squares of small country villages, much more than to crowded urban streets: big animals could create problems, wagon could have hampered the traffic flow and, perhaps, it is not properly wrong to imagine that the urban audience was more disenchanted and was probably wishing to see more articulated, mundane and 'modern' shows. For what concerns the criteria of the migration we have two tendencies. One 'pioneer' was testing a new area and according to his indications his relatives, friends and countrymen decided if they had to follow his itinerary: it let us know as the news concerning the journey and the habits of wanderers were known by



The company of Antonio Bernabò in Fulda, Germany. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

their countrymen. Once decided which were the best routes, generation after generation the families tended to follow the trajectories of their forerunners.

Usually wives, especially if old or in need of taking care of small kids or family fields, remained back home. Many *commedianti*, mostly during nineteenth century, resulted being born abroad: it probably means their mothers were pregnant women that crossed the border following their husbands since young women doing ambulant works ‘by themselves’ were accused of malpractice. The strong patriarchal tradition diffused in these areas and also the laws, quite often has kept women far from emancipation by denying the possibility to see the recognition of certain rights or more simply of some needs. Wives, according to the laws, couldn’t obtain the

necessary documents to expatriate without the agreement of their husbands, that in many cases were unavoidable: in these cases they were forced to ask for an allowance to the authority, obviously male, that was substituting the chief of the family, a praxis that often was not bringing forth a positive response. Anyhow, it all must be said without forgetting that frequently, when the ‘husbands and the fathers’ were abroad the respective ‘wives and daughters’ had to take care of the farming activities at the village of where they came from and managed to do it quite well.

Governments from the *ancien régime* on, adopted liberal politics for what regards wandering migrations, that while respecting national and international laws. Ducati di Parma and Piacenza in particular never opposed firmly to the

emigration of his ambulant people, being unable to take care of the needs of his 'mountain people'; as a matter of fact they were afraid that - lacking the primary resources in the place of origin - these people would have fled down to the valleys and into the towns of the ducal territory causing problems of public order. What we said is shown by the many expatriation permits recorded at the end of eighteenth century and released to every wandering artist with the hope that the other States would have been as permissive as those from which he was coming from. That's why in the squares of the capital, beside parmesan people we had people coming from Piemonte, Veneto, Liguria, Swiss, Germany and India: the animal trainers could also come from abroad, but in these registers we can see that *commadianti* from Val di Taro that where exposing dogs, steer, monkeys, bears and other wild animals were the majority of them¹⁷.

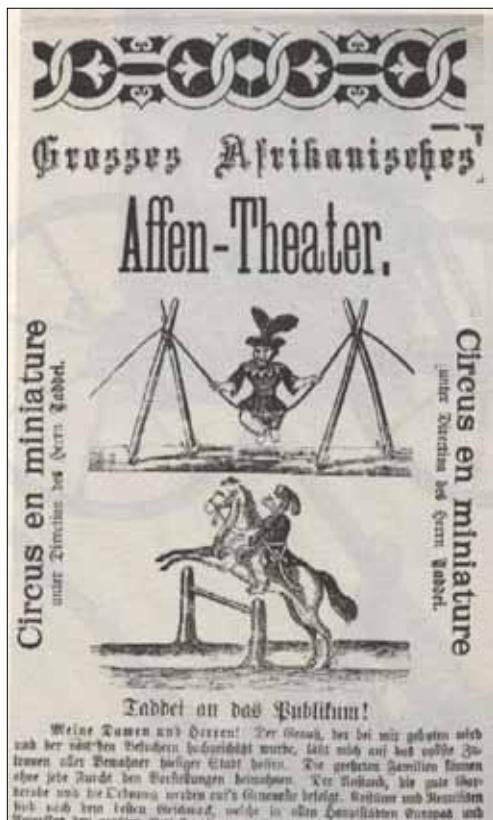
With the annexation of France in 1801, the population from Val di Taro, used for centuries to a good amount of autonomy, was then forced to relate more frequently with government authorities: the temporary migratory activity had to face the conscription duty imposed by the new emperor with the law of 13th august 1802¹⁸. From the general census based on the 'Stati d'anime' (a 'family registry', it was essentially an annual census conducted by parish priests) of the churches started by the French imperial government around 1805 - first census of this kind ever done in these areas - resulted that a considerable portion of the male population was draft dodging because they were absent from their domicile: in the Apennine department

alone this fluctuant mass was estimated around 4-5000 people. Prefects were charged to discover the reason of a desertion of these proportions and the reports they compiled between 1810 and 1813 constituted the first recognition on a large scale of temporary migrations in these areas. From this moment was introduced the requirement to have a modern passport, released from the police: for a long time it has become the only instrument of migration control and for its own nature it has become, almost immediately, a 'pertinence of the police'¹⁹.

II. Ambulant artists' writing.

To reconstruct the history of these people the few researchers that studied this subject have used both literary sources and public archives. We can find some signifying comparisons by checking notarial deed, but also documents coming from the police and judicial archives. Other interesting information can be obtained when we have the luck to analyze the correspondence of wanderers with their homes.

Thanks to some literary resources we can find a world that had already attracted the interest of the public opinion at the beginning of nineteenth century. That's happened for several reasons: first of all for the fact in these valleys there was a good number of polyglots that attracted the curiosity of many people crossing these areas; it had also been noticed how this particular migratory form caused the migration of whole communities; it attracted the interest of the public opinion (not just in Italy, but also in the other countries where the wan-



Flyer written in German by the Taddei Family,
Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University
of Genoa.

derers were headed) in a really negative way, the exploitation of 'child labour' perpetrated by these wanderers.

Public archives are full of interesting documents that can be useful for our research work, above all in the case wanderers had problems with the justice system. Among the documents saved in the State Archive of Parma we can read the memories of consuls coming from the embassies all over Europe, they reported the presence of compatriots involved in ambulant-jobs performing in the streets and in the squares of the main European capital cities. Of great importance are also the municipal archives where letters



Flyer written in Bulgarian by the Bernabò Family,
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can be found sent by wanderers to authorities: one of which, written by Giovanni Filiberti on the twelfth of January 1898 and (saved in the historical archive of the town hall of Bedonia) can be classified under the typology of those 'letters to the authorities' to obtain permits for the collection; this is another of those activities that, besides being judged negatively, was transferring money to the place from where those artists come from. Church archives represented another good source of information for this specific study.

For our research, we used this kind of sources, confronting them with some interesting documents found in the private archives of those families involved in ambulant-jobs. Here we have found posters, photos, passports, diaries and

private letters. This helped us to reconstruct the life and the adventures of families like Dallara, Taddei, Belli...etc.

The analysis of documents concerning the families working as '*commedianti*' (a good example of it could be the accidentally found documents belonged to wanderers) helped us to paint a more vivid picture of some of the families that for at least three generations have been involved physically and economically in this particular occupation. The investigation on written materials to reconstruct the singular life of many protagonists helped us to consider the phenomenon from an unusual and privileged perspective. Private documents and letters of these families contributed in defining, and in some cases in re-defining, the aspects of a rural society composed by farmers and small land-owners that developed an intense and at the same time unusual the practice of writing²⁰.

One of these families, as we have seen, is the Dallara family from Fontanabonardi. They owned a company of wandering artists that included three persons, a camel, a goat, four monkeys and a bear. The reconstruction of the trajectory followed by this family (but this can also be said for many other families from the same area) shows how these people were not following a random path: every family was following the same route.

Bernardo Dallara, born October 24, 1854 in Fontanabonardi, has left us three notebooks beside many documents related to his family. Owner of several farms, Bernardo has been owner and prime-mover of a small company of wandering artists until the beginning of World War I. Several times this particu-



Show permit for wandering artists issued to Bernardo Dallara in Switzerland in 1887. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

lar job had forced him to stay away from Bedonia and from Italy for a while. We can draw a map of the wanderings of his company by the analysis of many documents and in particular the entrance and residence permits they got while crossing different countries. We have found hundreds requests for transit and show permits; following these itineraries we can see that Germany and the Austro-Hungarian area were the favorite countries of this company. It is hard to see a company of artists following two times the same itinerary twice, on the contrary it may happen to see them visiting the main European cities during the same periods in which these towns



Passport for travelling within the Italian borders issued to Bernardo Dallara in 1918. Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare – University of Genoa.

were organizing the most important trade-fairs and events. Often during the aforementioned happenings this people were receiving some news concerning their families: at the same time this was a good occasion to buy and sell animals or the company itself.

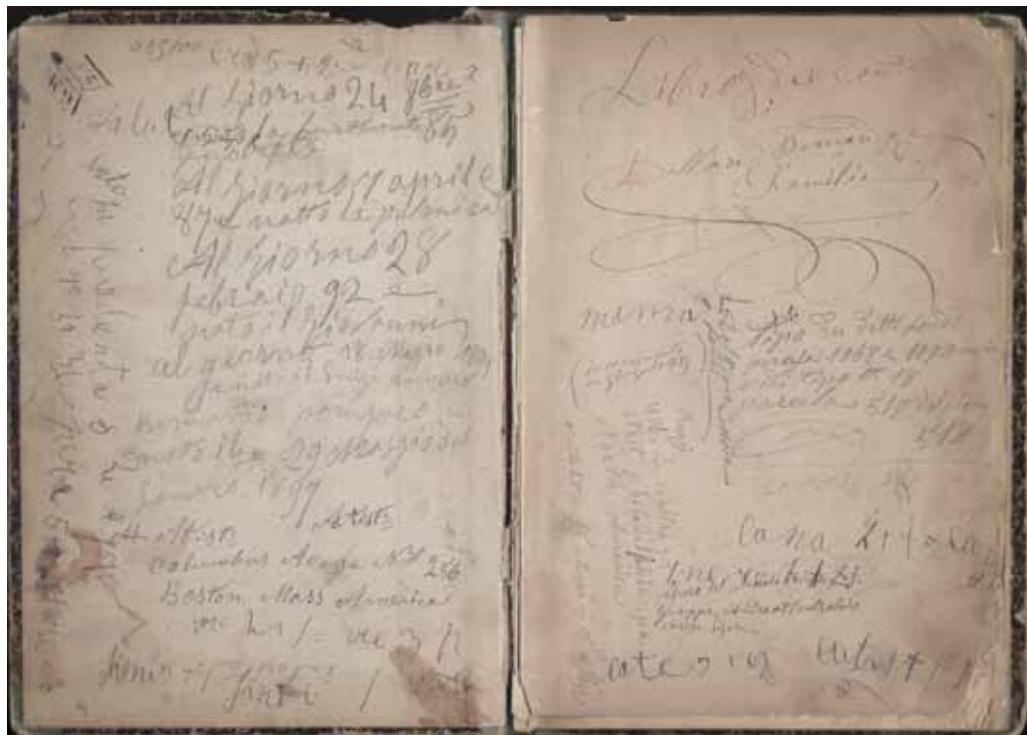
Bernardo Dallara used to face these long tours with a couple of helpers that were working for him: for several years they have been Antonio Roffi and Luigi Agazzi. Among animals they were carrying, there was a bear, a camel, a deer, a domesticated goat, four monkeys and a horse. Mittel-European countries like Germany the Austro-Hungarian empire remained Dallara's favorite places to tour. On the other hand, other companies of *orsanti* from Bedonia during their tours were crossing Russia and the main middle-eastern and north-african towns. Some of them even went to America but

without carrying animals with them, it was due to the fact that entering in the United States with animals was really expensive for them, both for the cost of the journey and for the quarantine imposed by the severe rules of the States. Wandering artists with a few exceptions preferred to move around Europe by foot, this kind of strategy was also useful for the fact in this way they could have continued to do shows and so they could have earned a living while moving.

The aforesaid notebooks owned by the Dallara family, have been presumably written between 1862 and 1935. Chronological extremes are referred to dates reported by the authors themselves inside the pages of the notebooks, but it is possible they have been corrected by interventions after 1935.

The one with more pages presents some characteristics common to many family notebooks. As reported by the author himself on the first page («Account book of Dallara Bernardo and family. (started in June 1889)»), the text originated from the need to take care of family finances, but it shows immediately that the notebook is much more than a simple account book. The first and the last but also other pages of the notebook have been written and rewritten many times for a lot of different reasons. The initial writing is nothing but the framework of a personal diary, a plural and trans-generational diary where the Dallara family is both the sender and the recipient, both the context and the channel of this writing. These characteristics can also be found in the family books²¹.

Bernardo Dallara, is the principal author of the writing, but not the only



Extract from the Dallara family's account book, Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

one: it looks like he meticulously noted every detail concerning his own business. Unfortunately these notebooks are not undamaged, all of them lacking some pages and none of them really completed or concluded. They represent a sort of collective memory (the family history of several different generations), but also the occasion for a deep and personal reflection: in some words they have become a personal locus dilated.

Judging from the pages left, it appears that the author was used to write regularly, if not daily. Pages follow one after the other alternating different subjects and the different paging choices help the reader - and also the author - to see the change of topic. To read sequentially

these notebooks is almost impossible, part of this uneasiness has to do with the fact the handwriting is not easily decipherable and also paging sometimes changes all of a sudden. The confused cross-reference to other pages prevent the author to write linearly: this proofs that many different reasons brought the author to write.

The notebook somehow appears to be an impersonal text, but at the same time here and there it is probably meant to update the reader. The need to communicate and to have a concrete memory aid emerges from a writing that formally is far from being correct or fluent, but simultaneously expresses everything it has to communicate. Dallara's pri-

mary need is to remember dates, facts, names or administration figures but at the same time his words want to give detailed information to any reader, that most of the time is a member of his family. As underlined many times by historian Daniel Fabre, Bernardo Dallara, in this case was forced to write for financial reasons, shares the same kind of urgency of many other writers without writing skills: he was writing 'to remember' the past and the present²².

We don't know exactly if Dallara was bringing this notebook with him during his many peregrinations with his company. From many details we can guess he was leaving his notebook back home so that his wife or his relatives could have

checked it whenever they needed and so that they could update the financial situation of the company owned by their family. These notebooks somehow were the concrete substitute of Bernardo Dallara himself for what concerned his role of financial administrator of the family business. The notebooks had a multiple role: that of an account book, but also that of a family book where reports of births, deaths and other important family facts can be found.

Also information related to trade: Bernardo was making a deal with a sharecropper, and this alone could turn it also into a sort of 'farmer's notebook'. Some pages in fact report the transcription of a contract of sharecropping stipulated

Medice	
Pietrafitta Kg 4	Miente
Seme	

I comuni si spargono fra-
ma delle semina, me-
lata a grano, quando la
terra è già preparata

1	2	3	4
Miente	Pietrafitta	Seme	Bacco
Kg. 7	Kg. 10	Kg. 2	Kg. 2

N.B. da seme ogni che comincia
da Nord

Extracts from the Dallara family's notebook, Archivio Ligure della Scrittura Popolare, University of Genoa.

by Dallara himself: the text apparently looks quite simple, maybe the result of the work of many hands and it betrays a strong oral essence, but it is useful to testify the relationship of the landlord with his sharecropper. Judging from what he has written, Bernardo Dallara was probably quite used to draw up a farmer's notebook.

This example introduces many facets related to the use of writing for those classes normally not used to this kind of exercise. That underlines again how complex is the problem of production in different social classes and how remote were the attempts to write chronicles, reports, memories coming from popular classes. Officially Dallara was registered as an ambulant artist and like many of his colleagues he was known to have a modest cultural upbringing. At least that is what emerged from many of official population censuses, that tells us about a world full of illiterate and poor people. Dallara belongs to that 'grey area' in which we can include small owners, ambulant artists with scarce writing skills but that were used to write on a daily basis as fully testified by the notebooks. Even more astonishing is the fact that he could speak at least three different languages and he was having an intense epistolary exchange with the other members of his family. This is not a marginal aspect of the text: it is the author himself who defines the nature of his relationship with family, friends and employees.

The family notebook had gradually become a collection of information, a real unintentional portrait of the late '800 rural society and consequentially it also became a recollection of informa-

tion about daily life and thus easy to be checked regularly: a source of information that could be easily consulted, safe from getting lost. Most of the information was written on the same page, but probably in different periods. From this analysis we get the image of a life full of encounters, events and above all we get the picture of thick web of relations, an entrepreneur's world where writing becomes an indispensable work tool.

From what emerges from the account book, he had four sharecroppers working for him, several bank accounts open in the banks of Bedonia and a flourishing company of ambulant artists: a considerable amount of money that Dallara never hesitated to lend to his acquaintances, friends and relatives, applying interest rates that he calls '*frutto*'. '*Fruits*' that increase consistently the amount of money that, for example, in the Parmesan Cooperative Bank by April 12th, 1898, amounted to 19000 liras. During the same years he sold houses and started with the construction of '*fabbriche*'²³, he had a strong net of links with many of the habitants of Fontanabonardi, of many close centers and obviously with Bedonia. A private writing useful to remind to the sharecropper his duties and to the landlord his rights. A written agreement between two partners that evidently didn't have the same contractual weight. Dallara imposes clearly his conditions to sharecroppers, through writings that with the passing of time become more and more synthetic. Through the years his writings tended to resemble a scheme and to leave the shape of an oral agreement, here Dallara reported data and numbers referred by the tenant farmers.

We can also read about *orsanti* and the relation that linked Dallara to the owners of other wandering artists's companies. If with the tenant farmers Dallara showed openly his dominant position, with his colleagues of other companies the relation was characterized by a mutual respect. Unfortunately many of these pages got irremediably lost, some have been erased by the author himself, some other pages have been torn from the notebooks later. From the pages left we can however rebuild the events linked to this difficult work. Dallara was probably used to trade animals and the equipment for the exhibition with other companies and was doing it on a regular basis. Some writings report an intense correspondence that anticipated of by several weeks the meeting of different companies in some of the most important European capitals.

Another interesting conclusion is that Dallara was alternating text written to be read by somebody else to notes and text that were probably addressed to himself, administrative data mixed with some other current events of the time that were hardly comprehensible for somebody who had not lived those occurrences. All of these texts are open to many interpretations since they show us a beautiful but complex world in which the members of the Dallara family have been able to move. Writing here becomes a magnifying lens on the subjective history of many men and women who lived through these complex and controversial times; their history testifies how the experience of these wandering people was much more than mere art of surviving.

Notes

- ¹ *From peasants to commedianti. From Mount Pelpi to the world* is written by Francesca Goglino; *Ambulant artists' writing* is by Carlo Staccini. English translations by Andrea Ferraris.
- ² *Colportage* is the work of 'colporteur', French alteration of Old French 'comporteur', from 'comporter' that means 'to conduct, to peddle', influenced through folk etymology by 'porter à col', to carry on one's neck.
- ³ These terms that derived from the Italian words 'orso' (bear) and 'scimmia' (monkey).
- ⁴ The work of Piero Camporesi, published for the first time in 1973, has been pioneeristic in this field: Piero Camporesi (cured by), *Il libro dei vagabondi. Lo 'Speculum cerretanorum' di Teseo Pini, 'Il vagabondo' di Rafaële Frianoro e altri testi di furfanteria*, Milano: Garzanti, 2003.
- ⁵ On this subject: Marco Porcella, *La fatica e la Merica*, Genova: Sagep editrice, 1986 e Marco Porcella, *Maggiolungo*, Genova: Sagep editrice, 1996.
- ⁶ Marco Porcella, *Con arte e con inganno. L'emigrazione girovaga nell'Appennino ligure emiliano*, Genova: Sagep editrice, 1998.
- ⁷ 'Premesse dell'emigrazione di massa in età prestatistica (1800-1850)', in: Piero Bevilacqua, Andreina De Clementi, Emilio Franzina (cured by), *Storia dell'emigrazione italiana. I: Partenze*, Roma: Donzelli editore, 2001, pages 17-44; 'Da girovagi a emigranti. Lettere da Filadelfia 1826-1831', in: Piero Conti, Giuliana Franchini, Antonio Gibelli, *Storie di gente comune nell'Archivio Ligure di Scrittura Popolare*, Università degli Studi di Genova, Acqui Terme (Alessandria): Editrice Impressioni Grafiche, 2002, pages 15-47; 'Da birbanti a emigranti. Itinerari della povertà contadina', in: Antonio Gibelli, *La Via delle Americhe*, Genova: Sagep Editrice, 1989, pages 37-42.
- ⁸ BEVILACQUA, DE CLEMENTI, FRANZINA 2001, pages 17-44.
- ⁹ Giuliano Mortali, Corrado Truffelli, *Per procacciarsi il vitto. L'emigrazione delle valli del Taro e del Ceno dall'ancien régime al Regno d'Italia*, Reggio Emilia: Edizioni Diabasis, 2005.
- ¹⁰ Marco Ascari, *L'Emigrazione girovaga parmense a metà Ottocento (merciai, orsanti,*

- organettisti), Noceto (Parma): Millenium Editrice, 2006.
- 10 John E. Zucchi, *The Little Slaves of the Harp. Italian Child Street Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Paris*, London and New York, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- 11 We're speaking about 'skomorokhi', ambulant cantors coming from Russia. See ZUCCHI 1992.
- 12 On this subject see PORCELLA 1998, page 19, and also the essay of Giovanni Pizzorusso 'I movimenti migratori in Italia in antico regime', in: BEVILACQUA, DE CLEMENTI, FRANZINA 2001.
- 13 Communal Archive of Bardi, Relazione sulla produzione agricola del 1806; Relazione sull'annata agricola del 1808, e MAIC, Statistica del Regno d'Italia. Popolazione, Censimento di Parma, Torino, 1862-1864.
- 14 Rossi appears in London around 1833. See: Raniero Paulucci di Calboli, *I girovaghi in Inghilterra ed i suonatori ambulanti*, Città di Castello: S. Lapi Tipografo, 1893, page 34.
- 15 On this subjects see also: C. McFarlane, 'Ballo degli orsi, Bear-Dancing, at Rome' in: *Popular Customs, Sports of Italy*, London: Charles Knight & Co, 1846, pages 163-176.
- 16 Quaderni, 1874-1914, Dallara Fund, Archivio Ligure di Scrittura Popolare, Università degli Studi di Genova - Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia - Dipartimento di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea.
- 17 State of Parma Archive, *Periodo borbonico. Rubriche, Registri e Copialettere, Estrazione, ed Introduzione di generi, e Licenze pei ciarlatani*, Registri 1788-1795, n. 254-257-261-265. The surnames we find inside these lists would have became well known among animal exposers and animal trainers during the next century: Barberi, Belli, Bernabò, Berni, Bertani, Biasotti, Calestini, Cappellini, Caramatti, Corte, Leporati, Moglia, Rossi, Zamboni.
- 18 See: Carlo Zaghi, *L'Italia di Napoleone*, Torino: Utet, 1989.
- 19 See: Luigi Bulferretti, Claudio Costantini, *Industria e commercio in Liguria nell'età del Risorgimento (1700-1861)*, Milano: Banca Commerciale Italiana, 1965, page 265.
- 20 On these subjects: Carlo Stiaccini 'Orsanti. I quaderni di famiglia dell'Appennino ligure-emiliano', in: Antonio Castillo Gómez e Verónica Sierra Blas, *El legado de Mnemosyne. Las escrituras del yo a través del tiempo*, Gijón (Asturias): Ediciones Trea, S.L., 2007.
- 21 For an exhaustive definition of these 'family books' see: Raul Mordenti (cured by): *I libri di famiglia in Italia. Geografia e storia*, Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2001, page 15.
- 22 For a definition, Daniel Fabre: 'Nove terreni di scrittura', in Daniel Fabre (cured by): *Per iscritto. Antropologia delle scritture quotidiane*, Lecce: Argo, 1998, page 58 .
- 23 This construction probably was some sort of steer farmhouse used as animal retirement or a warehouse for the maintenance of cheese.

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From Catholic Emigrant Care to Migrant Advisory Services

A Tradition of Innovation and Change:
the Hamburg based ‘Raphaels-Werk – Helping People on the Move e.V.’

Monica Schneid

Introduction

Emigration has been important throughout the history of Germany. Many citizens settled around the world and Germany profited from continuous immigration as well. While in the seventeenth century the first emigrants from German territories left their homeland because of religious persecution, settlers in the nineteenth century sought for a better economic future especially in the United States of America. In the 1890s annually 250,000 people left the German Reich.

Scrupulous agents betrayed them already in the European harbour cities, not to mention after arrival in the New World, and many emigrants died during the dangerous ship journey. Experiencing the untenable situation of many emigrants, the Christian Churches in Germany founded emigrant support organizations, as early as 1871 the Catholic St. Raphael’s Society for the Protection of Emigrants and only two years later the Lutheran Emigration Mission.

Furthermore, the German Reichstag passed the Emigrant Protection Act in 1897, which in its version of 1975 is valid

until today. Since then emigrant advisory services need to be licensed by the German authorities. In addition, the Emigrant Protection Act prohibits advertising and promoting emigration and guarantees impartial information to emigrants.

After the Second World War again thousands of Germans moved to the USA, Canada, Australia and South America. In 1954 107,381 German citizens left their home country. These numbers were not reached again until 2006, when Germany counted 155,000 German citizens de-registering and leaving for abroad. However, migration patterns and hence policy and services of the emigrant support organizations have changed in the last century - and keep changing and adjusting to new challenges.

Today, many people do not move to an overseas country but to other states in the European Union or the European Economic Area. Labour mobility in the European Union is politically supported. Moreover, expatriates leave the country only for a limited time span or follow job offers or personal links abroad more than once in a lifetime.

Raphaels-Werk's founder Peter Paul Cahensly was born in 1838, the son of a Limburg businessman. In his foot-loose and fancy free days he followed the wind, and during his eight years in Le Havre and on board ships observed the fate of his countrymen who emigrated through this large French port. What were Cahensly's attributes, other than a keen sense of observation? He loved his church and his fellowmen. He was well-to-do and had therefore a certain amount of influence. He had a talent for organization, and he had a good friend, namely the Pallotine Father Lambert Rethmann. (The Pallotines have, in succession to Cahensly, provided our General Secretaries up until about 30 years ago.)

After returning and taking over family business in 1868, Cahensly honed his persuasive skills at the Catholic Conventions in Bamberg, Mainz and Trier. As a result, The 'St. Raphael's Society for the Protection of Catholic Emigrants' was founded on September 13, 1871 at the Catholic Convention in Mainz and constituted according to Canon Law. The Society's task was to: '*attend to the religious and moral needs of emigrants, and as far as possible also to their material needs*'.

Its delegates, in the olden days called trustworthy helpers *Vertrauensleute*, who were clergymen, remunerated by the St. Raphael's Society, immediately started their mission in the port cities Hamburg and Bremen, and in all major cities of Western and Northern Europe. Their man task was to provide emigrants as early as possible with comprehensive information on the immigration countries

in all matters of interest and the costs of such endeavour; further, to provide practical assistance by a broad range of services. In the years to follow, branch offices were opened in major harbour cities like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Montreal, Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires and Cape Town to welcome new immigrants.

Cahensly was mainly interested in four problems posed by emigration movements:

- safe, clean and reasonable housing,
- safe and reasonable transport,
- individual counselling and guidance,
- pastoral care.

The effects of Peter Paul Cahensly's initiative were manifold:

Hostels for emigrants were founded, which were designed to protect migrants from being cheated even before they began their journey. Senior citizens of Hamburg still remember the *Überseeheim* (overseas hostel), the former *Auswandererhallen* (emigrant hostels), and chapel on the Veddel river, and the 'Raphael's-Heim' (Raphael's hostel) on Grosse Allee, founded in 1926 by St. Raphael's Society and run by sisters. (The *Überseeheim* was managed by HAPAG. Similar hostels existed in Bremen, the headquarters of North German Lloyd.)

In New York the 'Leo House for German Catholic Emigrants' was founded in 1887 by the U.S. branch of the St. Raphael's Society as a hostel for newly immigrants, run by the Sisters of St. Agnes. - Leo House today is a friendly, peaceful and charmingly antique hotel.

Through the activities of the St. Raphael's Society and others, over the years

even the cheapest emigrant passage became somewhat civilized. Counselling of emigrants began with guidance by trustworthy helpers (*Vertrauensleute*, mainly clergymen) at home and abroad. This twofold approach was particularly important for Cahensly. His work was under constant pressure from the current political situation. Shortly after its founding, the organization was affected by the so-called *Kulturkampf* initiated by Bismarck, and was not even secure from the 'Iron Chancellor's' social laws. This 'fatherless' institution was kept under observation. In Hamburg the observation by the Police is documented in state archives. And the Prussian courts in 1883 prohibited from publishing the organization's list of *Vertrauensleute* for the public.

By 1890, St. Raphael's organizations, through Cahensly's initiative, were set up in Belgium, Austria, and Italy – these the countries with the highest number of Catholic emigrants to America. Thus began the international development of Raphaels-Werk. In the years to follow, branches were founded in the U.S., Spain, Slovenia, Croatia, Poland, Ukraine, Czech Republic, being main places of origin of emigrants who embarked in Hamburg, Bremen, Bremerhaven, Le Havre, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Liverpool.

The work of St. Raphael's Society and the Lutheran Emigration Mission of Hamburg contributed to making specific arrangements for emigration in the city of Hamburg and later on a national level. This was a regulation by law: The Emigrant Protection Law was first passed in 1897. Of course there were set-backs and misunderstandings, because at that

time, the desire of the European immigrants to the United States for respect for their national identity collided with the mainly Irish-American episcopate's insistence on complete integration.

St. Raphael's Society's staff and helpers frequently arranged mass celebrations for emigrants in port cities in Europe and in the New World, as well as on board of ships. Pastoral care was considered of utmost need to people in such circumstances who were considered going through a liminal phase of life and highly vulnerable. In 1892, the U.S. bishops and some senators of Irish origin accused the St. Raphael's Society of 'Cahenslyism', because it promoted pastoral care in German language, the mother tongue of many immigrants. By 1910 this issue was resolved.

In the period of the *German Reich*, the Secretary General of St. Raphael's Society was able to gain increasing public respect. He was a member of the Prussian Landtag, from 1885 for 20 years, interrupted in the late 90s of the nineteenth century by a period of membership of the German Reichstag, a position which he used for intensive lobbying for more comprehensive regulations on emigrant protection at the national political level. The significance of his friendship and cooperation with Prelate Lorenz Werthmann, who founded the German Caritas Association, is still felt today. Raphaels-Werk today is a specialized social service organization of the German Caritas Association.

From 1871 until 1914, Raphael's Society's helpers had monitored money transfers of a total amount exceeding 21 million Reichsmark (currency of the German Reich). These were emigrants'

savings being changed and transferred.

The beginning of World War I lead to a sudden interruption of the emigrant care. Since its first days, the St. Raphael's Society had assisted already hundreds of thousand of people. Cahensly, who died in 1923, lived long enough to see the managing office moved in 1919 from his house in Limburg to Freiburg and in 1921 from Freiburg to Hamburg, where it has been for nearly 90 years now. The years between the two world wars brought new waves of emigration. At first these were caused by shortages and inflation caused by the lost war. More and more single women emigrated to the New World, seeking work, mainly in households, or marrying overseas. In the course of these years, the St. Raphael's Society initiated and arranged to establish colonies for German emigrants in Canada and South America.

During the *Third Reich*, emigration was virtually impossible. However, an exodus of those who were despised for racial or philosophical reasons did take place. In 1931 Father Max Joseph Grösser became Secretary General. He was imprisoned because of his association and connection to the resistance figure Msgr. Lichtenberg, and died in 1940. Raphaels-Werk staff helped Catholic Jews to emigrate. It was an extremely difficult accomplishment in the face of many obstacles and chicanery for Raphaels-Werk in Hamburg to offer aid to Jews and Christians of Jewish background. On June 25, 1941 came the dissolution and proscription of Raphaels-Werk in Hamburg. At the same time, the local office in Prague was closed and its director sent to a concentration camp in Ravensbrück where she died in 1943.

The period after World War II began with a restless generation emigrating. In 1949, the Occupying Allied Forces officially lifted their ban on emigration from Germany. The United States and other overseas countries immediately started immigration and resettlement programs for Germans and displaced persons - *Vertriebene*. Again, also single women sought work and marriage overseas. Already in 1945, Raphaels-Werk slowly began to re-establish its operations in Hamburg and started assisting emigrants as well as resettlers. In 1947, St. Raphael's Society was officially re-founded. Beside impartial information and counselling, the main office in Hamburg was in charge of making arrangements for the necessary sponsorships or assurances of relationship and loans for passage tickets.

In the course of the 50s, St. Raphael's Society has been charged by the German Bishops' Conference to '*offer counselling to all those who intend to move either temporarily or permanently to a foreign country*'. What form this counselling takes depends on the situation in which those concerned find themselves, and not on their nationality, religion or legal status. Today, the organization's mandate covers emigrants and job migrants, bi-national couples and families, and refugees who want to resettle in a third country or return to their home country.

A new Emigrant Protection Law was passed by the Bundestag (Federal German Parliament) in 1975 which has three main provisions:

- Advertising emigration is prohibited.
- Commercial emigrant advisory services / immigration agents require a li-

cense by the authorities.

- Emigrant advisory services run by the charitable organizations German Red Cross, Diakonie and Raphaels-Werk are state-approved and operate under the supervision of the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs.

Councillors of above mentioned Emigrant Advisory Services provide prospective emigrants and temporary migrants with information that is appropriate, comprehensive, understandable, authoritative and relevant. They promote informed decision making and encourage clients to prepare in advance in order to facilitate their integration. In 1975, the Raphaels hostel for emigrants and unaccompanied lady travellers was closed – less and less emigrants needed a place to stay as they arrived in the city just on time before their departure. On its premises a private hotel opened its doors, the St. Raphael Hotel. In 1977, the organization was renamed to 'Raphaels-Werk – Helping People on the Move' - *Raphaels-Werk – Dienst am Menschen unterwegs*.

During 138 years since its founding the world has seen great and many changes. Even today Raphaels-Werk actively helps many people; its mission has been repeatedly confirmed by the German Bishops. One field of today's activities is the cooperation with EURopean Employment Services (EURES), a special program and large network of advisers by which the European Commission supports the mobility of European workers. The goal is that no one should fail in a foreign country, because those who give up and become resigned to their situation are often at a disadvan-

tage on their return. It is not unusual for the returning emigrant to experience his home country or town as having become foreign to him. Or they return to Germany with a partner from abroad whose integration here is difficult for various reasons. In these cases, Raphaels-Werk also offers counselling.

In the 80s and 90s, a large part of Raphaels-Werk's work was determined by counselling and assisting emigrating refugees from Iran, Afghanistan, Poland, and Bosnia. The United States, and Canada and Australia as well, established large resettlement programs and welcomed tens of thousands refugees who had sought refuge in Germany. For example, several thousand refugees from Bosnia came to city of Hamburg and stayed here for five and more years with very limited to no residence perspectives. Raphaels-Werk and its Lutheran partners assisted those seeking resettlement with paperwork. On the political level they negotiated with the German authorities for temporary stay options until departure and with the overseas governments for higher visa quotas and special consideration of vulnerable groups beside those with close family links. Raphaels-Werk also arranged for pre-departure orientation classes (five day courses) for those resettling in the United States. Issues like housing, schooling, health care, social welfare and social services, labour market and recruitment, job search and interview, language skills, etc. were discussed with to-be immigrants.

In the course of the 90s, Raphaels-Werk took a lead in building up migrant and refugee services in countries of Central and Eastern Europe: Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Romania. These

counselling centres were established in close cooperation with the local Caritas organizations. (Transnational cooperation)

The presence of an organization like Raphaels-Werk in Hamburg, the 'Gateway to the World', takes on a special meaning. Many of the hopeful people who emigrated by sea via Hamburg did not leave their homeland of their own free will but because they had lost everything in war or had been driven out, or because they saw no perspective for themselves in post-war Germany. Raphaels-Werk has always been present for these people and lobbied on their behalf from its earliest days. It respected their decision, and guided them through their emigration and counselled and supported them. This was and is made possible to a great degree by its worldwide contacts. As a church organization, Raphaels-Werk uses the international church network which only a world religion uniting people all over the world can offer.

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Migration Museums: Permanent and Temporary Exhibitions

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

Migrations and Museums

When human mobilities reach a minimum duration or time continuity, they are designated migrations. They can be subject of many forms of characterization: according to its geographical nature, as internal or international migrations; regarding duration, distinguished between permanent and temporary; concerning the correspondent process's legal support, as legal or illegal migrations. Another set of variables concern the motivation that dictated the expatriation, thus distinguishing economic and political migration, scientific and intellectual, entrepreneurial, etc. (Rocha-Trindade, 1995, pp.31-40). These different forms of human mobility can also be seen from the country of origin's point of view — and therefore be speaking of *ex-migration* or, on the contrary, from the receptor space's perspective, where a situation of *in-migration* would be found.

In any case, context or point of view, issues regarding human mobility involve complex descriptions of change on a material, emotional, political, judicial, social, economic and, inevitably, cultural level, making its study and comprehension a task that embraces almost all of

the Social Studies disciplines: Sociology, Demographics, Human Geography, Economy, History, Political Science, etc.

On the other hand, issues related with migrations diversely affect the different nations of the world, being quite relevant to countries that continuously give up their citizens to the exterior world, as well as for the countries that regularly receive people coming from other national spaces. The relevance of these subjects is presently duplicated in many cases, as it happens in Portugal today, where the two overlap: emigration and immigration. To finalize this brief portrait of what migrations are, in few and broad glimpses that necessarily omit all detail issues, let us concentrate on the other half of the present title, still drawn in a schematic and succinct form.

Whatever may have been the past role of museums (symbols of wealth, power or wisdom; motivated by individual enjoyment, public service, educational function, etc.), museums now-a-days tend to be a combination of leisure spaces dedicated to the visiting public and environments where reflection and adequate investigation serve that particular audience. If we adopt this concept

of museum (which is substantially growing farther from the one that obliges to the classic functions of gathering, classifying, preserving and exhibiting the objects that constitute their archive), we are driven to begin defining the subject of the museum and its respective target jointly; and only then study and put to practice the means and techniques to better serve the chosen target segment.

The consequence of adopting this indissoluble connection between the subject of the museum and its destined population-target of visitors, can assume drastic proportions, of which only one is expressed: — As interesting or as important the subject of a given museum may be, if its visitor numbers decline or continuously tend to extinguish, the museum must close its doors.

The dimension of the subject varies according to the dimension of resources allocated or available for a certain museum initiative, and also, to the broadness it may want to assume in terms of a local, regional, national or international structure regarding its visitor universe; as well as time frames, as a historic museum, limited to a specific epoch or simply referent to present times. Applying this set of thoughts to the specific case of migration museums, the subject can focus on emigration, immigration or both sides of mobility. When situated in countries predominantly originating migration, the tendency will be to have emigration and their communities abroad as a subject. This subject matter may consider a specific historic period and a certain preferential destination.

Immigration will constitute a preferable theme for essentially receiving countries, where each of its components

will match one of the nationalities that constitute that particular migratory flow and the characteristics of the corresponding country of origin¹. In a more synthetic manner: emigration museums subdivide their themes by the various destination countries while immigration museums focus on the different countries they came from.

The Relation between the Museum Theme and Target Population

Further analyzing this relation, note that it is not adequate to characterize it in broad generic terms, such as indicating, for instance, a goal subject that includes 'all aspects related to Portuguese emigration'; as well as, the audience target as 'all the people interested in emigration'. In fact, in what concerns the first aspect, the approach to the issues can be translated through artifacts, official or private documents, narratives, still or animated illustrations, audio recordings, amongst others. The selection of one or other medium, or the combination of many others, defines not only the nature and character of a given museum, but also the different segments of target audiences that may effectively be interested.

Regarding those segments, there are various types of approaches that require different treatment. The spontaneous visitor, who by impulse, decides to enter a museum; the premeditated visitor, who comes due to prior interest; and the programmed and collective visitor who comes within a touristic trajectory, a scientific initiative, a school field trip or other cultural purpose. The captivation of visitors depends on the geographic context in which the museum is located: a big capital is clearly more favorable

than a small inner town. Nonetheless, new communication technologies allow, even without presence, accessing museums virtually from a distant region or country.

To achieve this bond between a chosen theme in the museum and the potentially interested target population, it becomes necessary to adopt differentiated selective marketing techniques, addressed to representative elements of each of those segments: tourism and travel agents for the undifferentiated national or foreign visitor; universities and research centers for the scholars and scientists and schools for teachers and students of all ages. Besides media and outdoors advertising, leaflets, foldouts and other written documentation, it is obviously imperative that, nowadays, museums dispose of websites, preferably in different languages and easily shown by any search engine, with adequately chosen key words.

Migration Museums Specific Target Audience

Immigration Museums

Generally located in receiving countries, they are typically dedicated to one or more national communities rooted in that country and try to keep alive not only the consciousness of that common ethnic and cultural background, as well as to let know its descendants the more common characteristics of their ancestral land. The descendants constitute one of the main target audiences to contemplate; as well as the relatives or countrymen from whom they were separated and with whom they wish to share the experience of the expatriate community's ways of life. The greater

part of society, where now immigrants are included, can also be considered a potential target-audience, intended for letting know and sharing the more relevant traces of the considered groups natal countries' scenery and culture.

While maintaining all the migration museums' characteristics, amongst immigration museums' functions, the social role carried out concerning intercultural politics, envisioning a better knowledge amongst coexisting groups in any given society is of uttermost importance.

Emigration Museums

Typically founded and promoted in countries of origin of a given group of migrants, designed for local or national communities, aim to generate understanding about the phenomenon and the migratory flows originating from that common starting point, the different countries to where they direct themselves and the main communities constituted in each country.

Their main addresses are expatriated countrymen groups contacted through possible communication with existing migrant associations. Definitely returned emigrants are to be considered privileged users of such museums, as well as those traveling back home that in many cases assume an annual vacation periodicity. This special treatment can have subtle subjacent political or economic motivations that can catalyze valuable bilateral relations, such as a stimulus to international tourism, commercial trade and services intensification.

Migration Museums Functions

Without distinguishing the various

types of migration museums and having in mind the different target audiences enounced, the following museum spaces' functions can be numbered:

- Exhibiting objects that represent or exemplify aspects of material, spiritual or affective everyday life in the context of migration, throughout the distinct steps of the migratory path;
- Presenting symbolic icons related to beliefs, values or representations of emotional nature, exteriorized in special occasions such as parties and celebrations;
- Exemplification of the natural landscape or man introduced changes, such as constructed or edified patrimony, through physical presence or media treatment (photography, film, optic registration digital platforms);
- Access to official as well as private documentation concerning the migratory process or migrant life. This is the referred documental role that implies a strong relation with exterior archives;
- Individual data treatment to clarify issues such as places of origin and establishing genealogies;
- Finally, the gathering and possibility to create and have access to interactive materials of diverse natures with scientific and scholastic interest. Aspect that has been adequately contemplated.

In fact, it would be unrealistic to require that a given museum should, on its own, secure the role of in-depth archive as well as the role of centralizing investigation centre of research on the documental archives. In that sense, the promotion of a collaborative network between archives, universities, research or documentation centres becomes in-

dispensable, for it may enable all investigation that will contribute to the museum's own activity. In short: a museum cannot identify its functions relying solely on one archive, for there are others to develop and articulate with.

To finalize, I would like to propose a metaphor, in which the Museu de Emigração e das Comunidades (Emigration and Communities Museum), of Fafe, represented conceptually as a building with many entrances. In this metaphor, each door corresponds to one of the museums functions, each dedicated to a given segment of the target populations it aims to grasp.

One door gives access to Portuguese community users spread all over the world, via Internet. The second door corresponds to a physical entrance for the occasional visitor that leads to paths, different spaces and objects. The third door has an in-depth pedagogical role and serves schools and students, so that they may acquire a better understanding of what migrations are. A fourth door would open to scientists and scholars and would equally interact with national and international networks that integrate such users. And so, we could continue to enounce other access portals, detaining specialized functions. A growing number of doorways would necessarily mean a higher number of visitors and a better service provided by this museum/space.

Exhibitions

We commence this subject evoking the thoughts of the distinguished museologist George Henri Rivière (1989:265) who considered constituting the exhibition in each museum the quintessential

mean of communication, pointing it as a tool for its particular language and also considering it to be one of the essential roles it is associated with. Exhibiting demands having two elements in account: the material to be selected and exhibited and the target audience; therefore it is essential to carefully idealize and conceive the show so that when production takes the project onward, the communication process is conveniently considered.

'Exhibiting is communicating with the audience(s). It is putting on a show (Nabais e Carvalho, 1993, p.137)' and the times we go through, so embedded in the growing development of information technologies and the progress obtained, regarding increasingly clearer and faster processes and means of communication allow museums an acknowledged advance in their educational responsibility.

Subjacent to the various cultural patrimony exhibiting modalities of a given museum are the propositions that command the organization of each and every one of the exhibitions that it may carry out, so the layout, form and volume of the objects that integrate each presentation, their nature, motives behind choices and the initiative itself, have to be taken into careful consideration as well as the context in which the show may occur.

In relation to an exhibition's time frame, it is common to utilize a mode of classification that individually characterizes the types of show to be presented, in relation to its duration and character. In this sense, it can be considered that:

- The permanent or semi-permanent, long duration exhibition, that allows

maintaining a set of elements that are part of its patrimony for a considerable amount of time;

- The temporary exhibition is characterized by a short duration period, generally two to three months, and usually evokes a precise moment in time. It may be related to the celebration of a historic or social event and, thus illustrate, for example, the lifework of a certain public figure associated to arts or literature. It may contain elements interconnected to an event of politic nature or an important national or local episode that may have occurred, which is meant to be emphasised;

- The itinerant exhibition is characterized as a temporary exhibition, already referred to as of short duration. Nonetheless, its possible geographic mobility will enhance its target audience that will now belong to various points of a national or international geography.

The museums' whole archive does not have to be presented in an exhaustive manner, through an exclusive exhibition device. It may rely on one or articulate between the various forms of exhibiting according to the target audience it aims to contemplate. Migration museums regularly dispose of vital documental archives, of pieces and images that permit illustrating the contemplated phenomenon generally or to relate it to the circumscribed space where the considered emigration originates and the diverse poles that integrate the territorial dispersion of its global group.

A historical path with a diachronic nature approach, a theme conduct that confers a synchronic and diverse presentation or any other form that a curator's

creative mind can find to attract and educate the visiting public are pathways to take in the creation and organization of any exhibition.

Portugal - Museum and Portuguese Emigration Exhibitions

Emigration and Communities Museum

Portugal fought for the creation of the Emigration and Communities Museum, based in Fafe (inland Minho/ north of Portugal), which was conceived as a web museum based on a information platform built to facilitate research and to diffuse knowledge to interested public from any part of the world. Its organization is based on a descriptive, analytical and interactive nature network (Rocha-Trindade e Monteiro, 2007:148-154; Monteiro e Rocha-Trindade, 207:437-448).

The significance of the very diversified collection (objects, paintings, images and various documentation) originated the association of an already existing traditional museum, installed in an independent building. The opening occurred very recently, on September 21st, 2009.

Distant Land, Nearby Land - Exhibition

The Presidency of the Republic recognized the importance of Portuguese emigration and it took the initiative to organize an exhibition evoking this reality. The exhibition took place in 2007, on June 10th, the Portuguese National Day, known as *Dia Portugal, Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas*² (the Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities Day).

Being in all aspects a meritorious ini-

tiative that previewed very interesting work to be developed, the collaboration was agreed to immediately and the corresponding conception and preparation work began right then. The location chosen for the exhibition was the magnificent former Bank of Portugal headquarters, in Setúbal, south of Lisbon; and the name chosen (after a brainstorming session that arose a set of proposals for the name) was inspired by a Cape-Verdian oral tradition expression: *Terra Longe, Terra Perto* (meaning 'Distant Land, Nearby Land'). There is no doubt about the symbolism contained in this expression, in which the inherent poetry does not take from the clarity of its semantic content.

Conceived as an itinerant temporary exhibit, the format was defined as the presentation of a rich and eclectic set of objects, directly related to the Portuguese migration context (coming from the continent as well as the Madeira and Azores Atlantic Archipelagos) and with the establishment of the respective communities in various regions of the Globe. Amongst the exhibition, we could find relevant newspapers, official and personal documents, photographs, transportation and travel agency ads; jewels, emigrants devotion and daily life objects; memorabilia and votive pieces, house models, master's paintings allusive to the theme, artistic pieces and furniture.

It was considered indispensable to create a logical thread to lead the visitors throughout the exhibition and so, brief illustrative and descriptive wall texts were placed in strategic points of the pathway.

We were trusted to create some of these

texts, which we thought should obey a series of relatively obvious requisites: they would have to short and incisive so that they would not create pauses and interfere in the visitors flow throughout the exhibition space. The content should be simple and easily comprehensible, given the a priori undifferentiated character of the public's cultural profile; and, naturally, the texts should be able to contribute to a better understanding of the many sides of the Portuguese migration phenomenon, in different times and in the diversity of spaces, despite its complexity. In fact, generating awareness towards this phenomenon, that is often ignored by the Portuguese, despite the almost 5 million countrymen that now reside in many foreign countries (see table attached) and that, on an individual level or within a collective initiative wish to exteriorize their double appurtenance to the adopting country and their ancestors' home land.

From the set of texts we wrote, here presented, the majority was integrated in the exhibition and they were complemented with others done by different authors. As will be verified, they do not recur to a rigid, sophisticated or scientific speech: they aim to summarise some of the most marking traits of the Portuguese Diaspora. This initiative was marked by a deserving success amongst the visiting public, leading it to be taken, with the exact same format and content, but under a different title 'Portuguese Diaspora Traits' *Traços da Diáspora Portuguesa* to Lisbon, where it was presented in the Alcântara dock⁵; and, later, moved to Fafe, where it was shown in the city's cultural centre, installed in a *Mansão de 'Brasileiro* (a so-

called 'Brazilian' mansion). In this last stop, the exhibit retook its initial title preceded by a new expression – 'Portuguese Emigration Traits – Distant Land, Nearby Land' - *Traços da Diáspora Portuguesa Terra Longe, Terra Perto*.

In synthesis, the exhibition evoked one of the most structuring social phenomena in Portuguese society, positioning the story's leading roles in the centre of the narrative. On noting the most important emigration moments since the end of the 1800's until the 1980's, the intention to articulate the artistic expression (in the crafts, painting and sculpture fields) with the emigrants and their original and implantation communities' cultural, living and affective manifestations, becomes clear.

After going through this initial space, itinerary and migratory experience followed. Beginning with starting point conditions and destination choice, followed by legal or clandestine travel conditions, factoring in what was taken in their luggage and in their memory; what was sought after and what was found, highlighting the professional activities that are taken, the language that enables creating social networks in the new space of insertion. And then, the two 'homelands' they begin to belong to, the forms of material and affective connection between those still in the country they left and those who left and a set of ways found to articulate between 'here' an 'there'.

Visualizing the 'Stone and Lime Dreams' that materializes one of the main projects, that throughout time has been a constant in the set of ambitions developed by migrants, the return project that they took with them when

they left can be better understood as well as the way it was first imagined and the changes it undergoes as time passes by. New ways of returning overlap the definite return, many of them cyclic and regular. The transcription of some of the texts, intends to allow the reader to have access to the information that was given to visitors.

Wall texts in the Exhibition

- Departures, Pathways and Destinations
- Associative Spaces
- Festivities, Festivals and Celebrations
- Summing Homelands
- Stone and Lime Dreams
- The Imagined Return

This set of titles³ did not intend to enclose the contents of Portuguese migration: each one evoked one of the many stages of migratory paths, in and outside the country, illustration de diversity of existence in the distinct origin and destination spaces, throughout the different times they articulated themselves in. They also took on the role of creating a visiting rhythm and some pauses in the exhibition's pathway, dividing it in easily identifiable parts, each being a descriptive approximation to the generic nature of the pieces presented.

Finally, each text was created to constitute an introductory description of each group visited, contextualizing it without forgetting the pedagogical intention the exhibit assumed. In its genesis, the symbolic primacy over real proceeding was always present.

Partidas, Percursos E Destinos (Departures, Pathways and Destinations)

In search of new horizons of hope, the Portuguese traded their country for other regions, other opportunities, other lives...

Throughout time, they left for all corners of the world: America, Africa and Europe; to well known and more remote countries. Brazil, the United States and France received more than every other destination. They imagined their comeback when a better life was obtained; money was made and saved, more freedom was gained. Some achieved it while others did not. When time came to leave, they felt uneasy, doubtful and said sorrowful goodbyes. Even for those who emigrated in the light of day, legally protected by their passport, with promises of work, officially escorted through the trip and with an assured meeting at arrival, there were still reasons to fear everything that could go wrong.

To those that made the jump, illegally, against law and regulation, in the hands of guides, hidden in ship holds, in trucks' false floors, by train or by foot, through mountains and valleys, the dangers were far greater as was the anguish complicated by the uncertainties of what may lie ahead when arriving a strange land – unknown people who spoke different languages, employment without any similarity to usual occupations, different landscapes and hostile-climates. And even so, they left, despite all the impediments and difficulties. They subjected themselves to hard work in coffee plantations, rubber exploration and city trade in Brazil; in road building, fishing and livestock industry in North

America; in oil exploration in Bermudas and Venezuela; in civil construction, in plants and domestic services in Europe. They worked and survived; many saved up what enabled them to create a new future. Some came back for good; others are part of the 5 million Portuguese living abroad – the equivalent of half of Portugal's residing population. It is not because they are born in a country and live in another, that they have to make an alternative choice: many ended up considering themselves as citizens with two homelands, dividing their time and residencies; their affections; their loyalties...

Espaços Associativos (Associative Spaces)

The immigrant in foreign land tends to combat his isolation and emotional fatigue caused by life in a new environment and the difficulties in creating a social relation with the welcoming society, searching meeting and conviviality opportunities with the countrymen who share their migrant condition. This intention is more difficult when the residing community is disperse in terms of living areas or when they don't find their countrymen frequently in the environments where they carry out their professional activity. Even in case of residency dispersion, which can occur in a big city, when there was no area or neighbourhood with a significant concentration of Portuguese, it is in general possible to trace specific locations where occasional meetings are more likely to happen, such as markets, churches, bars and coffee shops, sports events and other leisure spots. To complement these opportu-

nities, there are many others related to event celebrations that have a natural liaison to the Portuguese community: National Day (June 10th), traditional religious celebrations, high State dignitaries' visits or highly popular public figures, particularly in the artistic or sports field.

The repetition of such encounters, on an individual or family level, can broaden to groups of people and lead to more organized forms of informal association, translated in a greater level of constancy and stability. For immigrated national communities with a certain period of permanence in foreign land, it is frequent to find those forms of organized social networking assuming an instituted associative character, properly registered in a public domain, endowed with statutes, direction, action programmes and a roll of permanent associates. This was frequently the immigrant associative organization mechanism, translated through the existence of thousands of corresponding structures spread out all over the world, with variable dimension according to the time and location of the implantation. In many cases they constitute powerful organizations, with thousands of associates and a great fields of action diversity, from education to health and form mutual help to plain and simple leisure fruition.

The immigrants' associations have always been a prevailing tool for identity maintenance and reinforcement of the Portuguese communities abroad and the appropriate vehicle to overcome the isolation that may be felt.

Festas, Festivais E Celebrações (Festivities, Festivals And Celebrations)

The festivity occasions promote an evasion from daily life norm and routine. The concept of celebration is associated with dates worthy of special remembrance, either religious or profane. Finally, the idea of festival is related to a broad scope of events (frequently international events) of a thematic or multi-faceted character.

In the migrations context, the festivities that have place in receiving countries as well as the ones held in Portugal that count on emigrants' participation, tend to assume similar forms, although adapted to the correspondent cultural environments. The Divine Holy Spirit Festivities are held at the same time of the year in the Azores and in America or Brazil, with characteristics that enrich the original formulations. The same happens with the National Portuguese Day, invariant by definition as well as the Marianas festivities, associated with the Lady of Fátima cult, that keep the original dates wherever they are celebrated. Related to this religious devotion, the emigrants pilgrimage to Fátima is held annually on August 13th. Exceptions occur, for good reason, in the annual festivities for saints of various Portuguese villages and towns. Wanting to make sure they could count on their emigrants' presence, festivities were moved to the month of August, where visits to the homeland are more likely to happen.

There are other types of festivities held in receiving countries that somewhat take place because of the emigrated Portuguese communities: as happens with the Cabrilho Festival celebrated

in San Diego, California, in homage to the Portuguese navigator. Another example, existing for many years now, is the Emigrant Festival, held in Fermen-telos (Águeda) in the Aveiro district, that counts with a wide participation of emigrated Portuguese communities among which the rooted in Venezuela, with cultural manifestations of migrant provenance. Almost all these types of festivities present their own themes and intentions as well as some additional appeals: the opportunity to meet and greet, to have access to meals, fun and leisure spaces, shows and, in some cases, to participate in community banquets. Weather it be in Portugal or abroad, festivities and celebrations involving the Portuguese and their communities are always a powerful factor of identity agglutination and reinforcement of bonds that connect emigrants to their origins.

Somam-se as Pátrias (Summing Homelands)

Migrations constitute one of the most powerful cultural change factors, the more effective the longer the period of permanence in any of the countries enclosed by the respective mobility cycles. However, the variety of origins of emigrants, as well as the difference between the foreign countries where they will now live, deny the possibility to reduce all cases of international migration to one unique pattern.

The Portuguese that now reside outside national territory, took their ways of life and thought to their new countries, although these vary according to the regions and places of origin. Progressive integration in welcoming countries introduces cultural alterations that become

quite visible, not only on a family and professional level, but also in broader conviviality social spaces. Within time, the integration process leads to adopting many cultural traits of the receiving society. Unless there is a strong reason or a serious prejudice that may lead the emigrant to reject one of those contributions, he will tend to share his sense of partisanship between the two countries: the one where he was born and the one that took him onto its arms, where he lived part of his life and began considering a second homeland.

It is very frequent for the Portuguese who went through the emigration experience to conscientiously translate the emotional partition between the two cultures, through the traits that characterize each one of them. In the countries to where they emigrated, they have, in their homes, decorative elements that evoke Portugal; when concentrated in very precise areas of a city, they impose a very personal visual imprint that allows an easy recognition of what a 'Portuguese neighbourhood' is; maintain the same dates and religious festivities celebrated in Portugal; practise Portuguese traditional cooking when it is called for by the occasion; maintain their religion and, for the greater part, the mother tongue. When in Portugal, whether visiting or coming back, they integrate festivity commissions, narrate their experiences abroad, apply words and sentences used in the foreign country and adopt evocative symbols of the land they have started to feel as their own. The national flags of their birth homes and the country that welcomed them, held in their residencies abroad, are also seen in Portugal in many houses in our villages

and towns, are the most clear and delicate public affirmation of love of both homelands.

Sonhos De Pedra E Cal (Stone And Lime Dreams)

In many international migration processes, whatever the countries of origin or destination may be, it is frequent to have the expectation of returning to the land once left. Whether this intention is effective or not, the construction of a new house in the natal land, much more comfortable and beautiful than the one lived in previously, constitutes a dream many wish to fulfil. It is not in any way just a residence: if possible, it should mirror all the magic that imagination conceived and be the expression of success aimed to achieve. It should visibly justify all the efforts and sacrifices consented and show the largest difference possible in relation to all other existing houses.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the so-called 'Brazilian houses' started to be built in the North of Portugal. Rich and palace-like, designed by good architects, built with noble materials and painted with bright colours, these houses had portentous gardens where imperial palm trees stood out, in an attempt to mirror the success achieves by those returning to the country, coming from Brazil, with considerable savings. At the turn of the nineteenth to the twentieth century, in the Azores Archipelagos, a new type of architecture called *baleeira*⁴ starts to be spotted. Imported from New England by Azorian emigrants, these wood-panelled wall homes, can be seen in the Pico and Faial islands.

After the 1960's, the so-called 'emigrant houses' are built all over the country. Ample, comfortable and well-built homes reflect, in many cases, personal recreations of styles coming from various parts of Europe. These houses usually stand out from the much more simple and rustic ones surrounding them, for that is the main concern when they are projected and built. In Portugal, hundreds or even thousands of villages that had become very poor and degraded, regained youth and now offer a new modern, more urban landscape. The emigrants' dream found one of its expressions in new constructions that today, as it happened before, are present throughout the entire country. Now, just as before, the feeling of strangeness that this peculiar, sometimes bold or even unusual taste brought initially is now naturally diluted with the passing of time.

O Regresso Imaginado (The Imagined Return)

The part of our (Portuguese) personality, where sensibility resides and where emotions are kept, naturally rejects the idea of definite departure or irreversible separation. Maybe that is why the word **saudade** is part of our language's vocabulary. It emphasizes that diffuse feeling of connection to the past and love for the places and people left behind. In that sense, it is unusual that emigration to foreign lands appears, since it's beginning, represented as a definite goodbye. Contrarily, people part with the idea of coming back one day, sooner or later, when goals are achieved, projects are executed, hopes are met. Coming back to

the country, to the land, to the family and friends, to the neighbours or simply known ones. Coming back with a smile, full pockets, ends met and carried through dreams. Coming back to reencounter everything that, for some time, was very, very far away.

In the time of prolonged and dangerous transatlantic travelling, of difficult and uncertain communications, of blackouts and visits, the decision to return became, with time, harder and harder to make. In many cases, returning became more of a permanent dream than a real future project. Even nowadays, with much closer emigration destinations and with news that are at phone call or quick visit distance, returning is not a given fact. Once more, trading the certain for the uncertain, starting all over again, facing who knows what again, operating a new interruption in already established relations, friendships and routines. And hesitation arises... The elder have less enthusiasm, stability is more comfortable than a new shift in life. The young dissuade them. They were already born abroad and the parents' homeland means little or nothing to them. And more time is taken... The moment to decide, to go or not to go back, the moment is continuously postponed and becomes mythic, a tinge, to the point of becoming an imagined return...

The path through the exhibition ends, but that does not happen to emigration in space nor in the times after *A Country of never ending Migration - Um país de Migrações Sem Fim* (Aguiar, 1980). The Portuguese will continue to emigrate, or better yet, mobility does not cease.

There are departures without perma-

nence and travelling that is a mere temporal displacement. For the 5 million Portuguese and luso-descendants rooted abroad and spread out all over the world the emigration experience proceeds. There always were those who return out of bad luck and lack of success or those who return precisely for having obtained great success.

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Attachment I

PORTUGUESES RESIDENTS ABROAD, 2007

<u>EUROPE</u>	<i>Total</i>	<u>AFRICA</u>	<i>Total</i>
<i>EU countries</i>	1 580 298		376 696
AUSTRIA	2 000	ALGERIA	116
BELGIUM	35 000	ANGOLA	45 000
CZECH, REP.	160	BOTSWANA	120
DENMARK	752	CAPE-VERDE	8 834
FINLAND	290	CONGO, REP (BRAZZAVILLE)	162
FRANCE	791 388	CONGO, REP. DEM. (ex-ZAIRE)	762
GERMANY	115 606	GUINEA-BISSAU	1 827
GREECE	494	KENYA	663
IRELAND	1 798	MALAWY	308
ITALY	4 210	MOROCCO	459
LUXEMBURG	70 000	NAMIBIA	1 502
NETHERLANDS	17 927	SOUTH AFRICA	300 000
POLAND	316	S. TOME AND PRINCIPE	943
ROMANIA	155	SWAZILAND	1 104
SPAIN	82 700	TUNISIA	139
SWEDEN	3 000	ZIMBABWE	1 200
UNITED KINGDOM & CHANN. ISL.	250 000	OTHER	536
MONACO	700		
NORWAY	1 038	<u>ASIA</u>	156 611
SWIZERLND	189 015	CHINA	230
OTHER	178	EAST-TIMOR	400
		HONG-KONG S.A.R.	10 000
<u>AMERICA</u>	2 839 521	INDIA	4 399
ARGENTINA	13 147	ISRAEL	389
BERMUDA	11 000	JAPAN	416
BRAZIL	700 000	MACAU S.A.R.	140 000
CANADA	357 690	PHILIPPINES	112
CHILE	575	THAILAND	120
COLOMBIA	280	OTHER	545
DOMINICAN, REP.	153		
DUTCH ANTILLES	3022	<u>OCEANIA</u>	15 730
ECUADOR	269	AUSTRALIA	15 440
MEXICO	513	NEW ZEALAND	290
PANAMA	250		
PERU	156		
URUGUAY	3 000		
USA	1 349 161		
VENEZUELA	400 000		
OTHER	305		
		<i>TOTAL</i>	4 968 856

Source: Direcção Geral dos Assuntos Culturais e Comunidades Portuguesas,
Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2007

Notes

- ¹ The *Memorial do Imigrante* in São Paulo (Brazil) and the *Musée National de l'Histoire de l'Immigration* recently created in Paris (France) constitute very expressive examples of this type of museums. These countries, as immigration receivers pay great attention to the referred institutions' social role.
- ² The Portuguese migration phenomenon generated a political interest after the revolution of April 25th 1974. Between various alterations to the legislation and due to the importance of existing social practices the national day title was modified. June 10th, Day of Portugal, then became Dia de Portugal, de Camões e das Comunidades Portuguesas, a change made by the Third Republic in 1978. The association of the country's name to Camões (a distinguished classical poet who celebrated the history of Portugal in the epic *Os Lusíadas*) and to the Portuguese communities reveals the importance assumed by the Portuguese living abroad.
- ³ Only the wall texts written by the present author are indicated and transcribed.
- ⁴ Given the importance of tuna fishing (forbidden today) practised by the Azoreans who emigrated to the U.S.A. and the economic success achieved by many, this name was given to the houses they built in the country of origin. 'Baleeira', a Portuguese adjective derived of the word 'whale'. The association between the word 'baleeiro' to the word house defines the establishment of an architectural style of great interest.
- ⁵ The Gare Marítima de Alcântara (maritime platform of Alcântara) evokes a time when many saw their relatives depart. Its interior is decorated with three large scale tile panels allusive to emigration conceived by distinguished Portuguese artist Almada Negreiros (1893-1970).

