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Association of European Migration Institutions

# AEMII

J O U R N A L



Volume 11 • 2013

*Special Issue on*

‘Shaping Europe’s Identity -  
European Internal Migration’

*Editor*

Hans Storhaug

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

*Cover picture:*

*Wawel Cathedral, home to royal coronations and resting place of many national heroes; considered to be Poland's national sanctuary. Source: Wikipedia/ Maciej Szczepańczyk.*

# 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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# From the Editor

This edition of the AEMI *Journal* presents a selection of eight papers that were delivered at the 2012 AEMI conference in Krakow, Poland. It also includes Nina Ray's paper *Standing on the Family Farm in Tysvær: How did 'Kallekodt' become 'Thompson'? - How is Tysvær pronounced?* which was given at the 2011 AEMI conference in Aalborg (and has also been published in *Global Business Languages: Volume 17, Article 14, 2012*).

The conference themes in Krakow were *Shaping Europe's identity: European internal migration* and *How lessons from the past help address contemporary migration issues*. Both themes are important since during the last decades it has become increasingly apparent that we live in an age of migration. This means that issues like integration, assimilation, segregation, multiculturalism and xenophobia that were already discussed during time of the great migration are still relevant today.

Despite the many other interesting articles, and at the risk of being unjust to those not mentioned here, I would like to draw your attention particularly to Metka Lokar's article 'Going South: *The Case of the Slovenes on the Territory of Former Yugoslavia*'. From her article we learn that no matter when or where, or for what reasons Slovenians came to Bosnia and Herzegovina, they were not only well accepted by the local population, but they also had a positive impact on the society bringing new knowledge and development to the environment.

In her article *A Comparative History of Immigration: European and Non-European Immigrants in France 1918 - 1981*, Louisa Zanoun gives us examples of how racial hatred in the small town of Aigues-Mortes has shifted from Italians in the past to Muslims nowadays. She also points to the fact that the way French society and authorities have treated foreigners and reacted to racist crimes largely depends on the economic and political context.

In his article *Go west! New Perspectives on Recent Immigration from Eastern Europe to Germany*, Dietmar Osses brings life to the 'invisible' immigrants from former Soviet Union states, Poland and the former states of Yugoslavia in Germany: how they live their lives, their attitudes towards Germans and their knowledge of German history.

'Our Association's' task of promoting public understanding of Europe's migration history and heritage is clearly as important as ever. The articles collected in this volume make a further contribution to that task, building on the achievements of previous scholars and, we hope, inspiring others to continue the good work.

Hans Storhaug,  
Editor

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

*27 - 29 September 2012  
Krakow, Poland*



*Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other migration researcher met for a three day conference at the Jagellonian University and Dom Polonii in the city of Krakow, Poland. The conference was hosted by the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagellonian University.*

## **Thursday, 27 September 2012**

Conference members met at Dom Polonii, Rynek Główny 14, for registration and a workshop on European Migration Heritage Routes chaired by Antoinette Reuter, Le Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines, Luxembourg and Sarah Clément, Génériques,

France). Welcome speeches by director Adam Walaszek, the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora and AEMI chairman Hans Storhaug marked the official opening of the annual conference.

The rest of the day was devoted to papers and discussions relating to the theme

‘Shaping Europe’s Identity: European Internal Migration’:

Patrick Fitzgerald: *Irish Internal Migration 1600-2000: A Neglected Aspect*

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade: *Portugal-Demographic Mobility and Insertion Policies Outside and Inside the Country*

Emilia García López: *Behavior Patterns of Galician Emigraton in Europe*

Alvise del Pra’: *New European Mobility: The Italian Case*

Metka Lokar: *Going South: The Case of the Slovenes on the Territory of Former Yugoslavia*

Janja Žitnik Serafin: *Slovenian Emigrant Writers in Other Parts of Europe*

Roland Łukasiewicz: *Polish Emigration in Spain: Problematic Aspects of Acculturation*

Louisa Zanoun: *A Comparative History of Immigration: European and non-European Immigrants in France, 1918 – 1981*

The first day came to a close with the workshop *Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migratory History*, chaired by Maddalena Tirabassi, Centro Altretalia, Italy. This was an invitation to all AEMI members to contribute to a new publication on European migration history.

**Friday, 28 September 2012**

Friday opened with a workshop on

*Migraport*, a project idea by Mathias Nilsson, Swedish American Center.

The aim of the project is to create a single entrance to Europe’s migration history by aggregating content for Europeana using its standards and work models.

The workshop was followed by three sessions on *How Lessons from the Past Help Addressing Contemporary Migration Issues?*

Lars Olsson: *A Century of Labor Immigration: Sweden Before, During and After the Welfare State*

Drago Župarić-Iljić, Mario Bara, Dubravka Mlinarić, Swježana and Gregurović, Simona Kut: *Croatian Migration History and the Challenges of Migrations Today*

Dietmar Osses: *Go west! New perspectives on recent immigration from Eastern Europe to Germany*

Knut Djupedal: *Thoughts on Migration in Norway*

Karolina Bielenin-Lenczowska: *Migratory Experience from Below: Everyday Life of Macedonian Muslim Women in Italy*

Paul-Heinz Pauseback: *From Bootblack to a Positon of Trust and Importance in the Business World. The Biography of the New Yorker German-American Ludwig Nissen (1855 – 1924)*

Benan Oreg and Oscar Alvarez-Gila: *Mass Migration vs. Specialized Migration. Basque Immigrants to China (late 19th – early 21st centuries)*

Nonja Peters: *Generations of immigrants, employment and entrepreneurship in Australia 1890 – 2000*

Ursula Ladzinski: *Gone and forgotten? European Migration 'Down under' – A Historical Perspective*

The very last session *Museum and Archives* chaired by Janja Žitnik Serafin had the following speakers:

Dario Cieol: *La face cachée des mots – artists' reflexions on migration and democracy. A photographic exhibiton by Paulo Lobo*

Freja Gry Børsting: *More than Dusty Old Suitcases – Telling the Stories of Here and Now*

Simone Eick: *Immigration to Germany 1685 – Today: The New Wing of the German Emigration Center*

Karolina Grabowicz-Matyjas: *Museum of Emigration in Gdynia*

A dinner buffet at the restaurant Zbójcy w Pałacu, Rynek Główny 27, generously hosted by the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, closed the official AEMI conference 2012.

### **Saturday, 29 September 2012**

The morning was devoted to the AEMI business meeting.

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

#### **Minutes of Meeting**

The General Assembly 2012 was called to order Saturday 29 September 2012

at 09.30 a. m. by Chairman Hans Storhaug.

#### *1. Attendance Register and Apologies*

It was noted that the following representatives of 22 member institutions were present:

- Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément and Ms. Louisa Zanoun

- The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration (CDMH), Dudelange, Luxembourg, represented by Mr. Dario Cieol and Ms. Antoinette Reuter

- LWL Industrial Museum Hannover Colliery – Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage and Culture, Bochum, Germany, represented by Dr. Dietmar Osses

- The Center for Intercultural Studies, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, Germany, represented by Ms. Heike Sabri

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

- The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamn, Åland, represented by Ms. Eva Meyer

- The Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway, Oslo, represented by Ms. Dina Tolsby and Ms. Michelle Tisdell

- The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, represented by Mr. Hans Storhaug

- The Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Ottestad, represented by Mr. Knut Djupedal

- The Swedish American Center,

Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr. Mathias Nilsson and Mr. Erik Gustavson  
 - The Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia, represented by Ms. Janja Zitnik Serafin and Ms. Metka Lokar

- The Center of Migration Studies and Intercultural Relations, Universidade Aberta, Portugal, represented by Prof. Maria Beatriz Rocha -Trindade

- Altretalie Center on Italian Migrations, Turin, Italy represented by Prof. Maddalena Tirabassi and Alvise del Pra

- The North Frisian Emigrant Archive, represented by Dr. Paul-Heinz Pauseback.

- The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, represented by Prof. Adam Walaszek and Dr. Agnieszka Stasiewicz

- The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark, represented by Mr. Jens Topholm and Mr. Torben Tvorup Christensen

- The Danish Immigration Museum, Denmark, represented by Ms. Cathrine Kyø Hermansen, Ms. Frøja Gry Børsting and Ms. Susanne Krogh Jensen

- The Centre for Migration Studies at The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland, represented by Dr. Paddy Fitzpatrick

- The Migration, Ethnicity, Refugees and Citizenship Research Unit, Curtin University, Perth, Australia, represented by Dr. Nonja Peters and Ms. Ursula Ladzinski

- La Cité de la Mer, Cherbourg, France represented by Ms. Virginie Beaufre and Ms. Sylvie Brieau

- Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, Riga, Latvia, represented by Ms. Maja Hinkle and Mr. Ints Dzelzgalvis

- Red Star Line Museum, Antwerp, Belgium, represented by Mr. Luc Verheyen

The Chairman then moved that Professor Adam Walaszek be elected Presiding Officer of the General Assembly. The motion was agreed and Professor Walaszek took the chair.

### *2. Minutes of Annual General Assembly of AEMI 1. October 2011 at The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark*

The Minutes of the General Assembly at The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark 1. October 2011, were approved as accurate records.

### *3. Chairman's Report, 2011-2012*

Hans Storhaug handed out his first report as chairman in which he thanked former chairman Brian Lambkin for his many years of service. In his report Hans Storhaug focused on future challenges for AEMI, particularly the continuation of the AEMI Journal, the enlargement of the AEMI network, and most of all, the future funding of the association. He promised the board will explore any possibility to find money to build a stronger organisation. The Chairman thanked the new board members for their work in benefit of AEMI.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Chairman for his presentation and moved the adoption of the report. The

meeting adopted the motion.

#### *4. Secretary's Report, 2011-2012*

Secretary Sarah Clement noted that she in her first year as AEMI's secretary had communicated messages to and from AEMI members, particularly in regards to the reconstruction of the new website *www.aemi.eu*. Although not complete, the new website contains new functions like interface to social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The Secretary encouraged all members to test the new functions, and expressed a hope that it would contribute to a closer and more regular contact between members and between members and the board. The Secretary also used the opportunity to thank her colleague at Generique, Claire Tomasella, for her excellent work with the website.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Secretary for her report and moved the adoption of the report. The meeting adopted the motion.

#### *5. Treasurer's Report: Financial statement and accounts, 2011*

Treasurer Eva Meyer presented a list of AEMI subscriptions paid for the period 1996 - 2012 and the accounts 2011. She pointed at the fact that some members had not paid their subscription fees for many years. The assembly suggested that non-paying members should be removed from the list unless they made their payment before the end of the year. The Auditor Erik Gustavson confirmed that he was satisfied with the Accounts for 2011 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 the Treasurer's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

#### *6. Appointment of Auditor for 2012-2013*

Mr. Erik Gustavson was proposed as Auditor of AEMI 2012-2013. The appointment was adopted unanimously. The Chairman Hans Storhaug thanked Erik Gustavson for his work in the year past.

#### *7. Proposed Budget 2013 (Treasurer)*

Treasurer Eva Meyer proposed a budget for 2013. Within a very small budget, it is difficult to cut costs. The assembly therefore presented several ideas of how to increase the incomes: raising the annual subscription, payment of the AEMI Journals and introduction of a conference fee. With these remarks to be considered by the new board the Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Proposed Budget 2013. The meeting adopted the Budget.

#### *8. Journal Editor's Report, 2011-2012*

Hans Storhaug, Editor of the AEMI Journal, presented the tenth volume of the Journal, based on the theme of the Aalborg conference 'Migration History Matters'.

In addition to the introductory remarks by the American Ambassador to Denmark Laurie S. Fulton, the Journal counted ten articles based on papers presented at the Danish Emigration Archives. The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his presentation and moved the adoption of the Editor's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

### *9. Admission of New Members*

As a representative of the newly elected member, Ms. Virgine Beaufrere presented the La Cité de la Mer, France. The Museum of Emigration in Gdynia, Poland, represented by Ms. Karolina Grabowicz-Matyjas, also stated their wish to join AEMI, and gave a thorough presentation of their museum which is supposed to open for the turn of 1914-1915.

### *10. Members projects*

Ms. Antoinette Reuter and Ms. Sarah Clement chaired a workshop on European Migration Heritage Route, Dr. Maddalena Tirabassi chaired her workshop on Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migratory History and Mathias Nilsson presented his Migraport Project.

### *12. Review of Annual Meeting 2012*

There was general satisfaction with 2012 meeting, the program, the organization, and meeting facilities at the Center for American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagellonian University and Dom Poloni, – and the weather! The members supported the new idea of workshops and there were suggestion to upgrade member workshops and also consider the possibility of a preconference on specific topics.

### *13. Venue, Date and Agenda of Annual Meeting 2013*

Regarding the AEMI Conference 2013 Chairman Hans Storhaug reported that The Swedish American Institute, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mathias Nilsson had made an invitation to host

AEMI's Annual Meeting 2013 in Karlstad. The invitation was unanimously accepted.

The General Assembly also unanimously accepted the invitation from Ms. Maja Hinkle and Mr. Ints Dzelzgalvis, representing Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, Riga, Latvia, to host AEMI's Annual Meeting 2014 in Riga as the city is celebrating its status as European Capital of Culture that year.

### *14. Any Other Businessess*

As time was running short, there were no other businesses announced. The Chairman thanked all the AEMI colleagues and Adam Walaszek, Agnieszka Stasiwicz and Jan Lencznarowicz at the Jagellonian University in particular for this year's Annual Meeting, which was concluded at 12.30 a.m.

# The Association of European Migration Institutions, Chairman's Report 2011-2012

## *Ladies and Gentlemen:*

It is with deep respect and gratitude to our past Chairman, Brian Lambkin, I write my report to the Annual Meeting for the very first time. In his report to the Annual Meeting last year in Aalborg, where we were hosted so generously by the Danish Emigration Archives, Brian Lambkin reminded us of the origins of the Association and gave us a flashback of the main events that had taken place during his long service as Chairman. He also quoted the words of our first Chairman, Knut Djupedal, that the fundamental basis of the Association is the 'friendly communication across boundaries, the counterweight to angry communication through violence'.

In the light of the terrorist attacks that hit Oslo only two months before our meeting, these words suddenly became very important and meaningful. This horrible event was a very sad reminder of the destructive power embodied in the human mind, but it also remind us of how important it is for organisations like AEMI to enhance intercultural dialogue and public awareness of present migration.

Brian Lambkin also bequeathed to the organisation and the new board in particular the strategic aims of our organisation, which apart from the *Journal*, remain threefold:

1. Promotion of the 'European Migration Heritage Route' as Cultural Route
2. Development of a new on-line 'European Migration Heritage Resources Portal'
3. Enlargement of the network of the Association of European Migration Institutions to include at least one member institution in each European state

I believe we all agree that these are very important aims, which have been presented at earlier conferences, and so also this year. Although she has not attended the last years annual meetings, Antoinette Reuter still has kept our vision of a European Migration Heritage Route alive through her contact with the European Institute for Cultural Routes (EICR). She has reminded us that the European Migration Heritage Route was recognized by the Council of Europe in 2007, but since the requirements for the routes was changed in 2009, our

'cultural route' needs to be reorganized into a legal, non-profit association with its own statutes and budget.

In order to meet these new requirements, the Norwegian Emigration Center and partners this year have developed a new tourist program 'Genealogy and Heritage Tour' that is now being promoted on the US market for Norwegian Americans. It combines the possibility of finding Norwegian descendants and living relatives with a 3 hours sailing trip onboard Restauration, a replica of the first Norwegian emigrant ship. This one-year program was funded by Innovation Norway - the most important instrument for innovation and development of Norwegian enterprises and industry. Our hope is that we will have the same success when we apply for support for another three years, so that our Genealogy and Heritage Tour can be part of the European Migration Heritage Route. How AEMI as organization will be able to support the idea is however something that still have to be discussed.

At a request of Mathias Nilsson, Assistant Director of the Swedish American Center, I wrote a letter of support for the MigraPort Project on behalf of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI). The need to develop a common web-based database related to migration that will improve public access has been discussed at several of our annual meetings (Bilbao 2010 and Aalborg 2011). The Swedish American Center reported that it had taken the lead in developing a project called MigraPort, that would provide a common platform for Europe. The MigraPort would be a joint European migration

portal aggregating digital content from all over Europe making it available for a general public through Europe's digital library, Europeana. The application was submitted by May this year, but in September we had the message from Brussels that it did not get through the needle eye. It scored high on relevance and impact but less on implementation. However, the good feedbacks from EU are encouraging and the interest among AEMI members expressed at the 2012 Annual Conference will hopefully convince Mathias to redesign the application to meet the EU requirements.

Regarding the enlargement of our network there is still a long way to go before all European countries are represented in the Association of European Migration Institutions. However, by 2012 the organization is counting 43 regular members from 22 countries, as well as 5 associate members, one individual and one institution applying for membership. And at this year's conference, 51 participants, representing 16 countries in Europe and Australia attended. That is an impressive number of delegates, and I am very proud to represent you all. However, the board will continue to work hard to recruit new members, and I believe this might be easier as we now have redesigned our website and announced the idea of publishing a book on European Migration History.

These initiatives were introduced by vice-chair Maddalena Tirabassi and secretary Sarah Clement, and thoroughly discussed during the boards only physical meeting this year, taking place in Krakow 18 - 21 April. The meeting was generously hosted by Professor Adam

Walaszek and Dr. Agnieszka Stasiewicz Bieńkowska at the Institute for American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagellonian University, and included both discussions on the up-coming conference as well as walking tours and bar-crawls in the city center and the Jewish quarter. The following months, right up till the opening of the conference, there has been frequent e-mail communication between the board members.

Maddalena Tirabassi, director of the Centro Altreitalia, Turin, Italy, has circulated a call for contributions to a book entitled *Making Europe Bottom Up: European migratory history (1800-2010)*. A bottom up perspective at European population might 'help showing a trait of Europe that has been vastly ignored and which we believe should not be underestimated anymore in search for a European unity: that is internal migrations have created (or may create) an European culture and citizenship'.

The research objectives presented by Maddalena Tirabassi, are:

- To write a history of European migrations from the different countries' perspectives
- To see how different European countries manage contemporary migrations analysing the passage from country of emigration to country of immigration
- To examine the new mobility phenomenon, difficult to quantify in a post Schengen era
- To analyse Europe's internal migrations to show how Europeans have intermingled over time through migrations

Writing this book is no doubt the most ambitious plan the Association of European Migration Institutions has ever presented. Many representatives of the organisation have already signed up as contributors, and we will apply to the EU Commission for support. It is hard to predict the outcome of this plan, but the board will do anything to see it materialize.

The board has for many years been aware of the necessity to remake our website. We have therefore given it the highest priority, and spent half of our budget to make it a reality. Thanks to the hard work and creativity of Sarah Clement and Claire Tomasella, at Generique in Paris, the board can now present our new website with a remodeled logo. I do hope you are all pleased with the result. Personally I find it very attractive with important new functions like interface to social media as Facebook and Twitter. Hopefully that will contribute to a closer and more regular contact, not only between members, but also between members and the board. It is all up to you!

Before I end my report, I also want to mention that I attended the Danish Emigration Archive's 80 th Anniversary 3 July, extending greetings from AEMI. The event took place at Sohngaardsholm Slot in Aalborg, the home of the founder of the Danish Emigration Archives Max Henius, and was a demonstration of Danish hospitality. The event also gave me the opportunity to speak to the American Ambassador to Denmark, Laurie S. Fulton, convincing her to submit the remarks she made at the dinner party during the 2011 AEMI Annual meeting.

At last, I am happy to tell you that I, as chairman of AEMI, have been invited by Virgine Beaufriere, Head of Cultural Department of La Cité de la Mer, Cherbourg, France to speak at the *Titanic and Emigration Meeting* 8-10 November. There will be many speakers including AEMI members Pardu, Chief of the Museum Services Division, Ellis Island Immigration Museum and Aizlinn Merz, associate director of the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven. La Cite de la Mer has applied for AEMI membership, and we are happy to welcome them onboard.

Hans Storhaug  
*Chairman*

29 September 2012

# Portugal's Demographic Mobility and Insertion Policies Outside and Inside the Country

*Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade*

## **Introductory Remarks**

Migrations constitute today a social phenomenon *par excellence*: attracting the interest of politicians and economists, enticing investigators looking to comprehend its characteristics, and is the subject of many reports in the media. In the field of social sciences they are perceived under several disciplinary perspectives and more than ever, faculty members are using this same reality to illustrate mobility processes, ways of organizing, social insertion and rejection in spaces where the dynamic of its action is visible and significant.

The growing mobility established worldwide reveals how much technological advances and digital means have allowed the growing number of migratory fluxes to head on to considerable distances, installing themselves in the spaces sought by the elements who integrate them and continue to maintain ties with the respective origins. As such, the distances shorten, populations confront each other and the interaction can be either non-existent or intensified, creating difficulties or improving the

quality of relationships and giving place to new forms of social organization.

When a migration process occurs, two countries are necessarily involved – the country of origin and the country of destination - the migrant being the central figure in this scenario. The motivation for the departure, the way the journey is made, the determined route and the possible tactics of insertion in the place chosen to settle are many and diverse. The framework granted by the intervening policies in this domain creates constraints of various natures throughout migrants' daily life, becoming much more interesting to evaluate the legal measures that conform behaviours on this ground and the conditions created by the civil society they are in.

Recognizing the importance of all the phases in the migratory route<sup>1</sup>, which unsurprisingly includes a set of stages that succeed and articulate and find themselves intimately related among them, different forms should be taken into consideration, as they depend on multiple circumstances.

The legal framework, the current pol-

icy practices and the social space involving each migrant throughout his path generate a particular attentiveness to the examination of a successful or unsuccessful migratory process and create diverse conditions in the way conduct is developed, considering the goals they set for themselves. All these circumstances assume different aspects, and the analysis of each given situation should be carried out incorporating the country of origin and the receiving country.

Not all measures are the State's responsibility; civil society has its own share: specific organizations promoted by local power, churches, social solidarity institutions and other non-governmental organisms. In addition to all this, leisure and solidarity centres created by migrants' initiative should develop an important role, mobilizing the interests of each national, regional and local group<sup>2</sup>.

The country of origin can simply turn its back to the situation, as it had been incapable of fulfilling the ambitions of its people when time came to create the conditions necessary to maintain them in its territory, distancing and ignoring the existing issues and therefore not confronting them. Nonetheless, it may try to maintain a relationship, established at a distance, envisioning keeping alive the sense of national belonging, fed by ties of an emotional nature.

On the contrary, the destination country has to face up to a new situation, having to cope with those arriving in its territory and facing a new reality that requires special attention and suitable measures that become part of the policy that will now have to be devised.

The term integration will here be used

in its widest sense, looking to translate the search for a situation where all will be treated equally and will have the same opportunities, regardless of their culture, religion or nationality.

We deliberately overlook the details that refer to the classic distinctions between assimilationists, insertion and integration policies as such distinctions almost lose relevance given the present migration situation in large contingents and from various provenances.

Integration on its own can be considered, as we all know, as a destroyer of diversity and pluralism, but it may also be valued if we undertake the democratic ideal by which societies should be reigned. Consider, for example, integration in Anglo-Saxon countries through the acknowledgment of ethnic identities and the opposing French situation where they are eliminated. This stems in the complex articulation between particularisms and universalisms, where racism holds the immigrant in a circle where his identity is a presence for his individuality, and inversely, his individuality is a threat to his identity (Fernandes, 1999).

The reality of many European countries that were traditionally and still are considered emigration countries is changing as they are now receiving immigrants and therefore becoming migrations countries, integrating both sides of the phenomenon. They currently concentrate attention on actions led by the State and civil society aimed at those who left and those who arrive in the country. Considering the successive levels in the journey towards the integration of individuals, groups and communities that may reside abroad,

as immigrants, it becomes much more interesting to consider the way they perceive and live these situations and which regulating policies are found underlying the new order of things.

Portugal embodies this paradigm and is chosen as a 'case study' as it illustrates the above described matters, and that will now be explained. What is considered is a migration country, a phenomenon of structural character<sup>3</sup> that personifies its history and was always present; it has maintained the permanent geographic and social mobility of those who continuously head abroad, fact that is linked to the significant number of all, who, for various reasons, have come searching for it and wish to become established there. Two aspects of the migratory phenomenon are taken into account: one is the continuous departure of emigrants and the other the arrival and the establishment of immigrants, (see Appendixes I and II).

Times and spaces where these movements have occurred confer different characteristics to each of the considered situations. It is necessary to know the contexts in which they are produced, so as to understand the motivations, the characteristics and the outcomes of each case.

The inclusion of the country in world geography in which the broad maritime frontier that outlines the continent and opens up into the immense ocean surrounding its entire western and southern coast is then joined by the two archipelagos (Madeira and Azores), thrusting its singular maritime vocation, an urge that has been affirmed throughout its History. This aptitude is first translated into the expansion and the discovery of new

worlds and new lands; subsequently, into the exploration of the territory, contact with other people and the progressive attempts of settling developed, in many cases, a permanent character and became definite. Lastly, note that the presence in new territories, whether it be imposed by the State or voluntary, by the people's will, allowed the central political power to impose itself and to create a wide-ranging empire<sup>4</sup>.

A retrospective look, accompanied by a broad approach, reminds us that after discovering successive territories, the route taken in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Portuguese towards the Orient<sup>5</sup> was decisive for the Portuguese economy and its importance was assured and maintained for centuries. This fate was later replaced by the new places brought by the crossing of the Atlantic (the discovery of Brazil in 1500 deserves highlighting here) and they constitute a decisive fact for the prioritization given to this trajectory leading to South America, which allowed the establishment that took place and the development it gave rise to.

In 1963 the main destination ceases to be Brazil and shifts to France, after the routing towards Europe which started in the end of 1950s.

A new phase starts more recently (1985-86) when Portugal enters the European Union, creating a whole different reality for mobility. The international relations, the decisions made internally and the commitments undertaken will now have to answer existing European policies, forcing the country to have that reference in mind.

The decrease of emigration shown in the last decade of the twentieth century, gives place to a new phase produced by

the recent financial and economic crisis where the values rise and the destinations diversify. The composition of the flows is now different, including a large number of qualified young people with university degrees (Rocha-Trindade, 2012).

The number of Portuguese residing abroad is now estimated in about five million (but it is probably much higher), the equivalent to half of those living in the country<sup>6</sup>. The continued exit movement, maintained by diverse reasons even today, has in the last years acquired very significant values<sup>7</sup>.

In short, throughout times the Portuguese have established themselves in markedly different spaces according to the time of movement. Inhabited spaces, with scarce population or already populated places with different social structures, whose local organization affects the type of life that can be led and the fulfilment of assumed expectations. The complexity that marks contemporary societies imposes totally different rhythms of life, making mobility between them harder.

Taking a step back to face the Portuguese migratory phenomenon, note that in the last cycles of its 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century history - transatlantic and European – Brazil and France constitute the two largest receiving spaces, being considered the two main destinations.

Those who have left in recent years (between 100,000 and 150,000 in 2011) have open pathways and joined national groups already established in traditional destinations. Many of them have been forming new clusters in Great Britain, Switzerland and Spain (Europe) and in Angola (West Africa).

Currently, the Portuguese spread out across all the continents assuring spaces of presence that keep on feeding the dynamic emotional interaction.

The economic advantages brought by those who leave are well known, as large amounts of money are sent back to the country of origin regularly, improving the balance of payments as shown in the annual reports of the central bank (Banco de Portugal).

The amount of remittances sent by emigrants to Portugal has been decreasing over the years, as integration improves and the desire to return fades away. However, the recent rise of emigration has reversed this trend.

### **The Present: A Policy of Proximity**

Portugal has always tried to maintain a good relationship with those who leave and with those who arrive. The search for success throughout the whole insertion process in the destination space does not however prevent the desire to maintain an attachment with the space of origin. Its weakness or, worst, its destruction, would have repercussions in the balance of the relationship between the two places each migrant finds himself linked to by experience and by evocation, breaking healthy emotional bonds capable of maintaining his psychological balance. Nevertheless, proximity is a designation that could be used when thinking about the way the adopted policy has been developing and the orientation taken by administrative services, although it has suffered constraints of a cyclical nature of which result the verified variations.

An objective look upon what has occurred will remind us that the geographic

distance produced by transoceanic migration allowed significant alterations in the interpersonal relations on one side of the Atlantic and the other. This parting was totally modified throughout the European cycle, in which the separation spaces were shortened and communication became more and more simplified.

The status of the Portuguese migrants abroad and their complete integration are more dependent on unilateral decisions taken by the countries where they now resided in and the social environment that surrounded them than eventual bilateral agreements in order to guarantee safety and easy integration. The ample international legislation that now regulates the issues of the migratory phenomenon and all the guaranties that have been established in this field since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, reveal the social importance acquired and the dynamic that embodies the policies.

Although Portuguese governments have always been aware of the importance that emigrants have for national development, the same cannot be said about civil society in general. The value of the contributions that many 'Brasileiros' (Brazilians was the name given to Portuguese emigrants in Brazil) made during the temporary or definitive periods of homecoming, was officially recognised and rewarded by the political power. In the period between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (1850 – 1930), a large number of benefactors contributed with roads, bridges, hospitals, schools (Rocha-Trindade; Caeiro, 2000:135-149). All these manifestations of those successful emigrants who stayed connected to the country of origin, show integra-

tion in both countries and reveal a bipolar emotional bond that in many cases was preserved in spite of the geographical distance.

A new migration phase presents totally different characteristics and a new legislative instrument aims to achieve a more effective legal framework to regulate the situation in Portugal. The new measures wish to promote a progressive insertion and consequent integration, both for the citizens residing abroad and for the foreigners who now reside here. This way, the role of the State should focus specially on the issues here enumerated:

- Streamlining and facilitating the whole administrative process leading to obtaining documents of various natures in reasonable time. In order to do that it is necessary to insure previous specialized professional training of all national agents interfering in these processes, conducive to a certain attitude modification towards the individuals they contact<sup>8</sup>.

- In order to better the quality of the communication of such agents with newly arrived who speak different languages; it is necessary to foresee the existence of staff with bilingual interpretation skills. The Direcção Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas (Directorate-General Office for Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities) on one side, and, on the other, the current organization of the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras/SEF (Foreigners and Frontiers Department) and the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural/ACIDI (High Commissioner's office for Immigration and Intercultural Di-

alogue) have been taking measures in that sense.

- In the same line, the integration process will be accelerated by creating evening courses directed to learning the language of the country where the emigrants now reside, which in many cases are given locally; in Portugal, teaching Portuguese as a foreign language, applied to some of the linguistic communities residing here, could become part of the National Program for Adult Education. The knowledge of the language of the country of residence facilitates and accelerates the process of integration.

- It is the State's role to regularly observe and evaluate the development of the integration process of all its migratory population. This is done by the Direcção dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas/DGACCP (Direction for Consular Affairs and Portuguese Communities) consular network located in strategic points chosen by political reasons, and in Portugal, through a special organism designated Observatório (Observatory), in the framework of the High Commissioner's office for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue<sup>9</sup>.

- It is important to foresee, in a timely manner, the evolution of the immigrants' descendants resulting from family regrouping demographic growth, on one side, and the multiplication of generations, on the other. This prospective action envisions preparing, in advance, these descendants' entrance, in a number over a hundred thousand, in the Portuguese education system.

Through the plan for the integration of the immigrants (Council of Ministers Resolution no. 63A/2007) based on a

joint effort that brought together all the ministries as well as contributions made by civil society organizations during a period of public discussion, a document arose, mirroring the sensitivities of the Portuguese. Aiming to boost a collaboration work between different State structures and civil society, so as to guarantee a concerted action of the proposed goals and the creation of a monitoring network, working under the supervision of the High Commissioner's office for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.

The Advisory Council for Immigration Affairs constituted a guarantee for the development of this plan that covered various thematic spaces: accommodation, work, job and professional training, housing, education, solidarity and social security, culture and language, justice, sport, immigrants' descendants, racism and discrimination, religious freedom, immigrant associativism, media, relations with countries of origin, access to citizenship and political rights, gender equality, human traffic (a total of 122 points). The second part includes the list of measures, indicators and goals.

A new plan, elaborated based on what was referred above, was constructed in collaboration with the same Council and updates the decisions included in the first.

### **Political and Institutional Framework**

The policies developed by the Portuguese government related with the migratory phenomenon throughout the last hundred and fifty years, have not al-

ways been defined in a clear way, it could be considered ambiguous, progressively diluting itself and becoming more precise and assumed nowadays through its supporting legislation.

The measures of administrative nature supporting it and regulating emigration, are many and diversified, although they are coated by an ethic character that translates a just preoccupation for the countries welfare, which even overcame the wellbeing of the people, they didn't constitute an articulate set of norms whose alignment can be defined as a specific political strategy. Several considerations produced on this matter consecrated its authors, politicians and illustrious writers who were showing concern for the 'parting of people' through the articles and books published.<sup>10</sup>

If, on one side, this legislation limited the manner exits should be done and clearly limited them, its application and the way control was made was not always efficient, giving place to a broad clandestine emigration. The legal frame established determined conditions whose practice couldn't be assured. That way, the growing illegality created serious problems to the integration of the elements constituting it. Even though many managed to cross the border, they did it illegally using solutions resulting from the multiple strategies of the smugglers. The instability that so many lived in their early immigration times made them lead a 'parallel life' and be subjected to precarious housing and work conditions. The stay and insertion were hampered.

In broad strokes, and considering the transoceanic migration that was head-

ing to the other side of the Atlantic, always sought after the harmonization of national policies with those emanating from recipient countries, amongst which, in the South, the Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela and in the North, the United States of America and Canada. The 1960s, put in a new destination – Europe - in the horizon and the growth of exiting streams directed towards it, include, once more, the widely known illegal component, that has always characterized all exiting streams in the country.

The 'Junta de Emigração', created in 1947 (Decree-Law No. 36199 of March 29<sup>th</sup>) was the first State organism to promote the formal framework of the matters related to the migratory phenomenon: international and internal migration wise.

In 1970, the 'Secretariado Nacional da Emigração' (National Emigration Secretariat) is created (Decree-Law n° 402/70 of August 22<sup>nd</sup>) whose identical functions are the results of the migratory situation then experienced by the country. Its contents and regulation (Decree-Law No. 12 of January 1972) which specifies its functions and how they should be carried out constitute a political breakthrough on this issue, as they provide a proper orientation to the reality then experienced. The life of this organism was short, since the revolution of April 25<sup>th</sup>, 1974 changed and inserted an immediate renovation of the goals to be pursued, introducing a new democratic ideology, which inspired legislators in their decision-making.

From that date on, the vision on migration changes and the Government policy begins to cover many aspects that

until then had not been considered. In particular, the importance which the presence of Portuguese people living abroad acquires and the effort made in order for this to be recognized at a national level. The loss of an immense Empire that was maintained for centuries (from the 15th to the 20th century) and ensured Portuguese presence in several continents is replaced by another type of presence, which is guaranteed by its citizens residing abroad. The empire falls, a new nation is born.

In this sense, we now enumerate some of the most relevant facts at an institutional level: the creation of a State Secretariat (Decree Law No. 763/74 of 4 December), hereinafter referred to as 'Secretaria de Estado da Emigração' (Secretary of State for Emigration), which is integrated into the 'Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs). Contrary to the previous situation, belonging to the 'Ministério do Interior' (Home Office), a most prestigious position is conferred leading to an increase in functionality. Instead of the national focus and restricted space of negotiation, wider power emerged allowing to coordinate and develop internationally dimensioned actions.

Among the various amendments made to the legislation (Decree-Law No. 77 80, June 10<sup>th</sup>) and included in social practices that have come to state the existence and importance of residing abroad, is the modification of the name of the national day, June 10<sup>th</sup>. The Day of Portugal is first designated as 'Portugal's, Camões' and the Portuguese Communities' Day' in 1978. The association of the name of the country to that of Camões, author of the 'Lusíadas', an

epic poem which celebrates the history of Portugal, and to the Portuguese communities, is indicative of the importance that they will intentionally assume.

The concern related to the welfare and the integration of those who reside outside of the country in any of the two decisive stages of their migratory route, origin and destination, is explicit in the document above referred. Having initially been assigned the name 'Secretaria de Estado da Emigração' (Secretary of State for Emigration), becomes in 1980, the 'Secretaria de Estado da Emigração e das Comunidades' (Secretary of State of Emigration and Communities) (Decree-Law No. 380 of February 7<sup>th</sup>). The introduction of the concept of community recognizes and appreciates their existence. More than the changes, the purposes behind them should be highlighted: In the title initially adopted, the focus was on the phenomenon taken in its wholeness – emigration – followed by its association to people and groups that support migrations. Finally, it shows an explicit desire to put the Portuguese emigrant communities among many other topics that concern political guidance and the public administration of the country. The concept of «communities», disassociated from the adjective 'migrants', which would give them a specific particularity, elucidates on the political intention of integration.

In the first two years of the 80s decade two decisions of great importance are taken, making it clear that it's the country's will to integrate immigrants in the whole of the Portuguese population, providing them the opportunity to express an opinion on the policy guidelines which concern them. The creation

of the 'Conselho das Comunidades' (Communities Council) (Decree-Law No. 373/80 of 3 October), an international dimension advisory body, is a project to create a democratic, institutional space, which assembles regularly, and reveals the integrating purposes that support it. Keeping up the same intentions today, the same that have guided its establishment has however suffered many changes regarding the processes related to its organisation and forms of representation.

In 1981, the 'Lei da Dupla Nacionalidade' (Law of Double Nationality) (Decree-Law No. 373, October 3<sup>rd</sup>) gives the Portuguese the option to join another nationality, allowing them access to the benefits of both.

The Decree-Law No. 497/85 of December 17<sup>th</sup>, approving the organic law of the 10<sup>th</sup> Constitutional Government, extinguishes the Secretary of State and in its place creates the 'Secretaria de Estado das Comunidades' (Secretary of State for Communities), assuming their increasing importance. The available information on the Internet Government site confronts us with the disappearance of the previous State Secretariat, which, however, still appears designated as such. Vd. -<http://www.secomunidades.pt/web/guest/PostosConsulares>

On the other hand, the right to vote and the opportunity to run in the elections for the Portuguese Republic Parliament on behalf of the communities, is yet another indicator of recognition towards the emigrants and it gives them the same rights other voters have (Law No. 6978 of November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1978). However, the small number of Members of Parliament that represents

them has established a permanent discontentment on Portuguese emigrant communities. The right to vote for the election of the President of the Republic, recently acquired with article 297 of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1996, constitutes the response to a struggle that lasted many years and ended only with the promulgation of the organic law No. 3 of 2000, after being subjected to 14 amendments to the initial version.

In summary, the Portuguese emigrants participate in the elections for the Parliament of the Republic, the President of the Republic and the European Parliament. The vote in the elections for the Parliament is made by correspondence and concerns the election of four of the 226 Members of Parliament (two from Europe and two from the rest of the world). The vote in the elections for President of the Republic is done in person and presupposes effective ties to the national community, judged by criteria established in the law. The number of registered voters has fluctuated over the past decade between a maximum of 185,223 citizens in 2001 and a minimum of 146,374 citizens in 2005. The rate of participation in voting by correspondence is near 30 percent in Europe and 20 percent in the rest of the world. When being required to vote in person for the President, the overall participation rate recorded was 8.3 percent.

Considering now the other side of the coin, in Portugal, the first institutional approach regarding the social aspect of the immigration phenomenon came from the Ministry of Education, focusing on the elementary education level. A working group was then created (1993), answering the Minister's own

Office, designated as the Coordinator of Multicultural Education Secretariat SCOPREM whose function included dealing with all the new problems arising from the entry and establishment of immigrant families in the country. The elements that joined the classes covered by the above-mentioned education level gave them an intrinsic diversity that had to be attended to by regional coordinators, and in a more direct and immediate way, by their own teachers.

This way, the specific body, headquartered in Lisbon, coordinated a nationwide programme, whose implementation was put into practice by the Regional Directorates.

Meeting monthly, the elements coordinating each one of them, in the Ministry of Education, in Lisbon, jointly analysed the specific matters pertaining to the situation under consideration and that sustained the whole school structure. Those meetings were also used to present situations specific to each of the schools or to each of the classes included. I can say, based on my personal experience, that there was a climate of genuine interaction, extended by joint action programs that included teacher training allowing knowledge transfer in the area of migrations and multiculturalism as well as in the application of the principles of intercultural philosophy<sup>11</sup>.

The existence of a 'Ato Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas/ACIME' (High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities), created in 1996 (Law No. 3A96, of January 25<sup>th</sup> 2000) provides, in general, the purposes structure and of competences for the performance of the targets listed below. Although human and budgetary

resources have significantly increased in recent years they are still insufficient for the success of the complex and diverse tasks that they should embrace. In this sense, it might be interesting to rethink whether the designation of the ACIME should not explicitly include the fundamental strategic goal of promoting the integration of immigrants 'Alto Comissariado para o Desenvolvimento Intercultural e Integração dos Imigrantes' (High Commission for the Development of Intercultural Dialogue and Integration of Immigrants)<sup>12</sup>.

The 'Centro Nacional de Apoio ao Imigrante/CNAI' (Immigrant National Support Centre) was created eight years ago (2004), The principle that defines the policy developed by its field teams, is «Proximity». The financial and technical support provided to immigrants' associations, which noticeably increased, as well as what is given to local centres to support the integration of immigrants (CLAII) and the strengthening of the 'Escolhas' (Choices) programme unambiguously demonstrates the interest that the political power shows for social problems associated to immigration.

It is important to mention the creation of new offices, of which I highlight: the Immigrant Consumer Support Office, the Qualification Support Office and the Entrepreneurship Office.

The next segment schematically shows the set of organisms that have been guiding this matter, exerting an ever-broader action and collaboration with elements from immigrant communities:

SCOPREM - Secretariado Coordenador dos Programas de Educação Multicultural (Coordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programs),

created in the Ministry of Education, by Legislative Decree No. 6391 dated March 13<sup>th</sup>, 1991.

ENTRECULTURAS - The designation changed to 'Entreculturas' (Between Cultures) by Decree No. 48-SEEB92 (SEEB – State Secretariat of Elementary Education). The reason for the change was originally to register a 'brand' that evoked the idea of communication and cultural interaction, relationship between people, cultures. On the other hand, they wished to simplify the Secretariat's name. The team of the Secretariat ENTRECULTURAS was later integrated into ACIDI (then ACIME) in January 2004, at the Office of Education and Training, and later in DAADI.

ACIME - Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas (High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities), created in 2002 in compliance with immigration policy outlined in the programme of the XV constitutional Government, aims to give answers to the process of integrating immigrants into Portuguese society. The respective Decree-Law No. 251/2002 of November 22<sup>nd</sup> creates, in dependence of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and replacing Decree-Law No. 3-96, January 26, and Decree-Law No. 39/ 98 of February 27<sup>th</sup>.

Vd. [http://www.igf.minfinancas.pt/in-legal/bd\\_igf/bd\\_legis\\_geral/leg\\_geral\\_docs/DL\\_251\\_2002.htm](http://www.igf.minfinancas.pt/in-legal/bd_igf/bd_legis_geral/leg_geral_docs/DL_251_2002.htm)

ACIDI - High Commission for immigration and Intercultural dialogue, created in 2007, resulted from the merger of the High Commissioner for

Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, of the technical support structure for the coordination of the Choices Program, mission structure for dialogue with Religions and the Secretariat Entreculturas. With this restructuring, the Government centralizes, in this way, a public Institute, assignments scattered throughout various agencies. Vd. Decree-Law No. 1672007 of 3 may – organic law of ACIDI.

Vd. [http://www.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=Downloads&d\\_op=getit&lid=291](http://www.acidi.gov.pt/modules.php?name=Downloads&d_op=getit&lid=291).

Further information on this subject can be found in the ministerial order No. 662-I2007 of May 31, 2007 approving the statutes of the ACIDI.

vd: <http://www.acidi.gov.pt/docs/Legislacao/LPortuguesa/ACIDI/Estatutos3.pdf>.

CNAI - Opened March 23<sup>rd</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>, 1994 in Lisbon and Oporto, the National Immigrant Support Centres continue to provide direct assistance to immigrants that have access to it under the ACIDI.

Opened in Faro inly in 1999, the extension of the CNAI ensures identical service and covering a different area extends the geographic coverage of the action pursued.

Observatory - The Observatory, which was created in 2006, integrates these functions. Answered to the ACIME, with whom he maintained a very close collaboration and naturally came to be integrated in the structure of the ACIDI.

It has a key role in the field of the study of the current immigration phenomenon, which it discloses through numerous collections, a magazine and specialized thematic collections. The collaborations have been established

with other institutions, including academic oriented, and the protocols that with many it has established provided the development of research projects on current topics, the results of which clarify on going problems.

Still worth mentioning are the national and international meetings that have been organized regularly and who have maintained a large public projection.

Vd. <http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/>

The Governments of European receiving countries have been struggling to make its nationals understand the multiple advantages arising from the maintenance of immigration flows. In its policies, the advantages of demographic nature are very well explained, translated by rejuvenation of the resident population and the advance of economic activity, in the agricultural, industrial and commercial areas. The political speeches covering this subject reiterate these dimensions, both with the goal of providing to the public accurate and extended information, as well as with the intention of preventing rejection of foreigners and the development of xenophobic reactions<sup>13</sup>.

How to operationalize these intentions? Deciding not to provide a linear vision or promote 'futurology', one can only say that the response will have to be given over time, driven by social evolution shaped by the measures that may take place and that, in order to be viable and allow the success of its implementation, impose a clarified observation and tuned monitoring of all the existing social situations dynamics and require its adequacy.

Within the enlarged EU policy, general and advisory in character, the measures taken by each country will, without contradicting principles of timely reference defined and accepted, be subject to the process of adaptation that occur in each one of them.

The results presented in the United Nations (UN) report on human development: 'Overcoming Barriers: Human mobility and Development', published in 2009, refer to Portugal as the country with the best policy for the integration of immigrants, which is based on the technical advice of experts from 42 countries. Portugal is it referred to as an example of generosity and good practices.

Recently, the 'Committee for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination' concluded on February 21<sup>st</sup>, its examination of the 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> combined periodic reports from Portugal, recognizing the innovative measures that the country has taken to implement the integration in a multicultural society. However, the experts who belong to this body who supervisions the application of the dispositions of the International 'Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination', expressed concern at the lack of reference to civil society in the given report.

## **Perspectives on the Future:**

### **Final Thoughts**

Portuguese emigration, whose continuity through generations has led, in the context of its diaspora, to the crystallization of bipolar or multipolar relational spaces between émigré communities in a given country or countries and their counterparts who remained in its ori-

gin<sup>14</sup>, has given visibility to the ties that has built and maintains with each of them.

The dual signs of belonging that testify the references adopted by migrants in public places or by civil society forces express the importance of those unions, often with local and even national support. Through the symbolism of selected representations, materialized in different forms, these emotional connections allow visualizing both the origin and destination, any of the countries involved the affection that remains for each of them. The toponymy of parks, squares, gardens and streets favour foreign residents by adopting the name of land from which they originate or listing even their nationality. Landscapes are drawn in tiles, raised flags historical figures and patron saints; architectural traits imported constitute representations easily identifiable.

This has not assumed a significant dimension for immigrant communities in Portugal, with a few exceptions, usually barely visible by the general public. This ignores everything, for example, on the source locations of most foreigners here, limiting residents to know, if anything, the names of some of the countries from which they come or in which regions of the globe where they are. The features of the history, patrimony and cultural heritage of the respective peoples are, in most cases, totally unknown.

There is a huge potential of missing information and it would be the competence of schools, universities and mass media to bring awareness to the Portuguese people.

Additional caution is required regarding the possible resurgence of attitudes

of xenophobia and racism that might arise from the recent manifestations of global terrorism that recently have been taking place in Europe. As the experience of other countries has shown, this creates a space that enables concerns of high security that often marks foreign residents of certain regional or national origins as suspected of being responsible for these attacks, triggering widespread intolerance attitudes that matter to prevent and counteract in all possible modes.

Although the concepts of emigration and immigration are two aspects of the same phenomenon - or better yet, two sides of the same individual connected with his country of origin and with the one who receives him, we should not talk about the current situation of immigration in Portugal evoking the aspect of migrant people. In fact, it was another time and the modes in which the variables involved articulate were diverse: contexts and lands were different, societies with other characteristics that interfere in dissimilar circumstances, new situations that interfere with the way the phenomenon is articulated. And, if by chance, there may be some added emotional value in our struggles and our sufferings in alien countries, to better understand the power of those who now resided among us, there is however the risk of trying to draw comparisons between what is not really comparable.

Firstly, times are different and, even if the trajectory made was long, nowadays in the countries of the Western civilizational area, in order to deepen democracy and the consolidation of the constitutional States and the pursuit of social justice is different and the view

under which the immigrant's labour is more human and seek to give him the best conditions for the construction of his future.

Secondly, were exceeded the time when it was common for the space of the European Community to be designated as Fortress Europe, where the production and a norm to ensure the design of restrictive policies seeking the closing of borders and the creation of encouragements to the return of migrant workers. The authorities of the European Union of today want, on the contrary, that some of the immigrants stay, and multiply in order to compensate for their deficits in young population and workforce. We have ceased to be reluctant and temporary receiving countries of foreign labour and have evolved towards a more just approach, sharing our own citizenship equally with the ones occupying our living space.

Currently the subject of migration is part of the globalization agenda by being a part of the worldwide political discussions space, so the commitment of national forces it becomes essential. Each of the social frameworks in which the migration today is inserted is very diverse, and the organization of each power that governs the historical past that preceded each one and that impends over the prevailing ideology. The policies of the past have evolved naturally, implemented by the dynamics of exchanges that have been progressively intensified. The difficulties stem more from the application than from regulatory drafting.

Portugal is a country of Western Europe which has always combined its people with those of other worlds and

which has always recombined uses and customs through reciprocal adoption practices. It has been open to new faiths, becoming a highly eclectic, open society. The integration of those who have come to stay, foreigners who seek it or nationals returning, is covered by a philosophy of insertion or re-insertion, based on standards that seek a eunomic society.

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## Notes

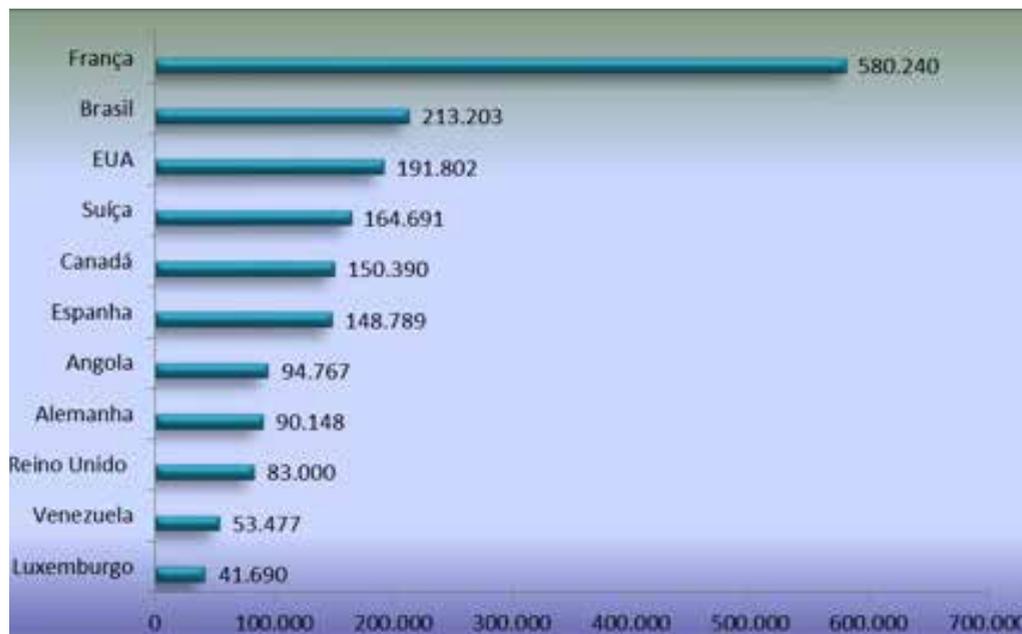
- 1 'Migratory Route' or 'Migratory Itinerary' designates the set of steps, actions or situations, data or experiences by a migrant individual with relevance to the process he is involved in. The concept is sequential and chronological in nature, rather than spatial and finds interest and application especially in situations of international migration. (Rocha-Trindade, 1985:37).
- 2 The associative movement developed in immigration spaces deserves a special mention, by the sociability it can create and the help it provides its associates. The high number of Portuguese associations abroad and all of the activities they maintain reveal the importance and dynamics of their operation. See <http://www.observatorioemigracao.secomunidades.pt/np4/18>
- 3 This characteristic has been appointed and explained by many scholars. As a reminder and example: the works of historians Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (1977) and Joel Serrão (1982); of geographer Jorge Arroiteia (1983) and of sociologist Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade (1985, 2002).
- 4 The vast Portuguese empire that survived to the second half of the 20th century only ended with the independence of the several colonies, then called ultramarine provinces. So and by chronological order, in 1974, Guinea-Bissau became independent, followed, in June 1975 by Mozambique and in July by Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe. In November Angola becomes also an independent State. Macao was returned to Chinese rule in 1999. The independence of East Timor, interrupted by the invasion of Indonesia, was only achieved in 1999.
- 5 On November 22nd 1497, 503 years ago, the Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama circumvents the Cape of Good Hope (the south of Africa), the halfway point of a long and unpredictable sea journey, started on July 8th of the same year, in Lisbon. This trip would take him to India, where he arrived on May 20th 1498. A notable feat considering the limited geographic and maritime knowledge of the time, which opened the doors of the orient to the western world.
- 6 The absolute numbers that translate the scope of the migratory phenomenon can hardly be considered reliable. They can only serve as an indication of their importance. Portugal's political-administrative structure is constituted by the territory in the European continent and two archipelagos in the Atlantic Ocean: Madeira (2 inhabited islands and deserted isles) and Azores (9 islands distributed in the western, central and eastern groups). The numbers that reflect the exit of immigrants and their settling abroad amount to about half of those in mainland Portugal, four times the ones in the Autonomous Region of Madeira and three times the ones in the Autonomous Region of Azores.
- 7 After the decline in people exiting the country after the revolution of April 25th 1974, that restored democracy in Portugal, there was a growing number of immigrants from different origins, corresponding to 5% of the Portuguese population. In recent years, the international crisis that hit Portugal in a relevant way has led many national citizens to seek employment abroad. This is mostly an academically qualified population, of both genders, greatly contrasting with the previous migratory fluxes. Estimates count around the 100 thousand and 150 thousand immigrants.
- 8 That attitude has shown itself to be, still and often, hostile and obstructive.
- 9 The Immigration Observatory is an ACIDI structure dedicated to reflection and scientific research on the issues of immigration, minorities and all of their contexts, mobilizing the contribution of researchers in this domain to that end. The evaluation of the progress of processes of integration is clearly within the goals of this institution and several works on this subject have been published. The intense collaboration kept with Universities and Investigation Centers, where research projects, whose results (while naturally subjected to a process of selection) fuel its publications.
- 10 To quote, as an example, some of the authors that mentioned it in the passing of the century: Oliveira Martins 1891, Affonso Costa 1911, Emygdio da Silva 1917, Bento Carqueja 1920, among others. Once the long period that followed it, and

during which there was a significant silence on the subject, was left behind, very interesting studies appeared since 70s: Barreto and Almeida 1974; Aguiar 1986, Cassola Ribeiro 1986, Halpern Pereira 1981, Rocha-Trindade 2001

- 11 Many Colloquia and works that have been organized and published on the subject of the experience of education led in Portugal, in classes constituted by elements of very diverse origins and where multiculturalism is recognized. As examples, refer to the «Escola e Sociedade Multicultural» (Lisboa, 1993); «Um Dia, Um Tema» (Évora, 1996); «I Congresso - Imigração em Portugal – Diversidade – Cidadania - Integração», (Lisboa, 2003); «Formação de Professores de Línguas Estrangeiras» (Porto, 2006); and the publications: «Cadernos de Formação, Lisboa, 1996)», «Educação Intercultural de Adultos» (Lisboa, 1996);
- 12 France has a *Haut Commissariat pour l'Intégration*, created on December 19th of 1989, with roles similar to those outlined here. It includes 20 consulting members and is currently presided by Patrick Gaubert
- 13 On the issue of xenophobia and racism, namely on the forms they take in Portugal, see Machado, 2002: 359-378
- 14 The author has taken a special interest on this issue. See, for example, Rocha-Trindade, 1976, 2010

#### Annex 1

#### 408 Portuguese emigrate every day



Source: Observatório da Emigração. Updated in 29/08/2011

*Annex 2**Evolution of Immigration in Portugal (1980 - 2010)\**

Year	Total (%)	Growth
1980	50750	-
1981	54 414	7.21
1982	58 674	7.82
1983	67 484	15.01
1984	73 365	8.71
1985	79 594	8.49
1986	86 982	9.28
1987	89 778	3.21
1988	94 694	5.47
1989	101 011	6.67
1990	107 767	6.68
1991	113 978	5.76
1992	123 612	8.45
1993	136 932	10.77
1994	157 073	14.70
1995	168 316	7.15
1996	172 912	2.73
1997	175 263	1.35
1998	178 137	1.63
1999	191 143	7.30
2000	207 587	8.61
2001	350 898	69.02
2002	413 487	17.84
2003	433 650	4.87
2004	447 155	3.11
2005	414 659	-7.27
2006	420 189	1.33
2007	435 736	3.70
2008	440 277	1.04
2009	454 191	3.16
2010*	443 055	1.97

\* Preliminary data

Source: SEF Report 2010 - <http://sefstat.sef.pt/relatorios.aspx>

# Slovenian Emigrant Writers In Other Parts Of Europe

*Janja Žitnik Serafin*

I begin this review paper<sup>1</sup> with a brief introduction to the 'prehistory' of literary creativity among Slovenian emigrants in other parts of Europe. I shall then outline the history of Slovenian emigrant newspapers in western Europe in the period before the Second World War and the literary contribution of the most important authors of that period – with a special emphasis on Professor Vojteslav Mole, who lived in Krakow. This will be followed by a concise historical review of Slovenian emigrant writers in other parts of Europe who left Slovenia after the Second World War, where I shall limit myself to the 16 most notable authors. I shall conclude by attempting to shed some light on certain issues surrounding their literary bilingualism. The method employed in the paper is that of the review study: I shall compare the main findings of my own research to date with the relevant findings of other authors and attempt to supplement them with the results of more recent research in the context of the subject under discussion. One new aspect of this paper is the triple comparison of the position of the authors covered, namely a comparison of the position of emigrant authors in different historical

periods, a comparison of the position of Slovenian emigrant writers in other countries of Europe with the position of Slovenian emigrant writers in other parts of the world, and a comparison of their position with that of immigrant writers in Slovenia.

## **Early History of Slovenian Emigrant Literature in Other Parts of Europe**

The early history of Slovenian literary creativity in other parts of Europe can be covered by considering three distinct categories. The first category is the consequence of the fact that all Slovenian writers who enrolled as university students at any time before 1919, the year Slovenia gained the first university of its own, did so in other parts of Europe. Many would remain abroad, meaning that they found employment there, wrote and published there, and made their mark in various parts of the Europe of that time.

The largest number of Slovenians of course studied in Vienna, which up until the founding of the University of Ljubljana was not 'abroad' for them, but the capital of their homeland. In the sixteenth century, for example, Slovenian

students represented almost a quarter of all the students enrolled at the University of Vienna, while in 1535 they actually accounted for more than 70 percent (Ožinger 1994: 36). Also surprising is the large number of Slovenian *magisters* and university lecturers there, as well as canons of the Vienna cathedral chapter, particularly in the sixteenth century, when their ethnic origin even provoked the protests of local nationalists (Simoniti, 1994: 27). In the sixteenth century the majority of Slovenians belonging to the academic circle of Baron Herberstein taught at the University of Vienna; others from his circle made their mark in other parts of the empire. It was also more or less in this period that Primož Trubar and Adam Bohorič, the founders of standard literary Slovenian, enrolled at the University of Vienna.

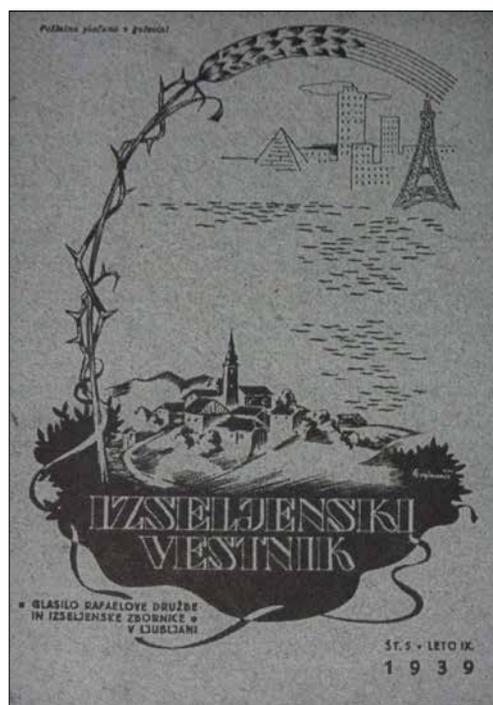
From the eighteenth century onwards the most important Slovenian writers and linguists, from the Carniolan revivalists to representatives of the Slovenian *moderna*, enrolled at the University of Vienna. In the earlier periods they included almost all the celebrated names. In the first decade of the 20th century, too, the remarkably strong generation of Slovenian academics born between 1876 and 1890, who would later come to prominence in various branches of the humanities, particularly literature and philosophy, studied at the University of Vienna. The same applies to the last years before the First World War and the years immediately following it. It is therefore entirely comprehensible that some of these writers should have remained in Vienna for a lengthy period, sometimes several decades, and in some cases for the rest of their lives. The most

notable among them are Pohlin, Koptar, Miklošič and the physicist, poet and essayist Jožef Stefan, who lived in Vienna until his death in 1893. Others who studied in Vienna and then took up employment there included Stritar, Trstenjak, Murko and Vidic, and later Kidrič. Prežihov Voranc, who had attended a cooperative college in Vienna before the First World War, wrote the majority of his most important works during his emigrant years between the wars.

Slovenian students in other parts of Europe were responsible for a whole range of Slovenian literary publications during or shortly after their studies. In Vienna these ranged from Levstik's *Pavliha* and Stritar's *Zvon* in the 1870s all the way up to the illegal literary gazette founded at the University of Vienna during the Second World War by the group of Slovenian writers that formed around Janez Remic (Pibernik 1991). Even today, the Club of Slovenian Students in Vienna (KSŠSD) periodically publishes the student paper *Punt* and the occasional anthology of works by its members, for example *Smrt samokruhnosti: Pesmi in proza* (Leben 1993).

Before 1919, when the University of Ljubljana was founded, many Slovenians also studied in Graz and Prague and at universities in Italy, while individual students also studied at other European universities. Some remained there and forged careers for themselves as writers, teachers or academics. In the period before the Second World War they functioned as active intermediaries between Slovenian culture and the culture of their new homeland.

The second category of the earlier history of Slovenian emigrant literature in other parts of Europe is not connected to Slovenians studying at universities there, in other words to the study years of Slovenian writers, and is not at all comparable to the aforementioned category of rich literary production, either in content or in volume. This category includes the usually anonymous original emigrant literary writings that appeared in Slovenian emigrant periodicals in Europe between the wars. Ten 'Yugoslav' emigrant newspapers in which Slovenians were involved were published in western Europe in this period (Drnovšek 1992: 273–282), and around 20 communist or left-wing workers' papers, in which Slovenians were also involved; some of these papers even had supplements in Slovenian (Drnovšek 1992: 289–302). Of the five Catholic newspapers for Slovenian emigrants, two were published in Slovenia and three in western Europe (Drnovšek 1995: 449). Most interesting from the point of view of literary contributions are the monthly *Naš zvon* (1925–27), published in Westphalia, and *Rafael* (1931–1935), published in Heerlen in the Netherlands with various subtitles, the last of which was *Glasilo jugoslovanskih izseljencev v zapadni Evropi* (Newspaper of Yugoslav Emigrants in Western Europe). Despite the 'Yugoslav' in the subtitle, the paper appeared exclusively in the Slovenian language. In 1935 the Heerlen-based *Rafael* merged with the Ljubljana-based *Izseljenski vestnik* and from then on appeared as *Izseljenski vestnik Rafael*.



*Izseljenski vestnik* (Emigration Herald), 1939

The texts in these publications do not have noticeable artistic ambitions and are interesting above all as historical documents in which the experiences and feelings of Slovenian emigrants, particularly in the mining districts of western Europe, are reflected in a picturesque manner. This applies as much to the attempts at poetry as it does to short prose works. For this reason Slovenian emigrants in Westphalia, the Rhineland and elsewhere greatly enjoyed reciting these poems at their cultural events, for example at gatherings of miners' wives, etc. Among the authors of literary and semi-literary pieces in these publications – mainly poems, sketches, introductions and essay-like reports on visits to emigrant communities – who at least

occasionally signed their names, are Antonija Rože, who published poems, including those for specific occasions (e.g. Rože 1933), and spoke in public to the Slovenian community in France, and the editor of *Naš zvon*, Janez Evangelist Kalan (Žitnik 1999: 91). His Westphalian letters and some introductions are a typical example of the semi-literary genre, which might be characterised as an essay-like combination of literary and journalistic elements written in a distinctly individual style. Among examples of a clearly individual style are Kalan's speech in Ljubljana, published in 1927 (*Naš zvon* 3 (10): 6). It is, in fact, from the recognisable style of these pieces that we are able to conclude that Kalan is also the author of some anonymously published sketches.

The third category of 'early' Slovenian emigrant literature in Europe, which partially coincides in chronological terms with the second group, consists of the finest creators of Slovenian emigrant literature in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century, who, however, did not publish their work in the emigrant publications mentioned above. The most notable of them is the poet, writer, translator, art historian and classical archaeologist Vojeslav Mole, who lived in Kraków for 33 years. Since his life is closely connected with the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, the host of this year's AEMI conference, a brief biographical outline is appropriate here.

He was born in 1886 in Kanal ob Soči. While a *Gymnasium* student he published literary pieces in *Ljubljanski zvon* and *Omladina*, the latter being the publication of the Vienna-based academic society 'Slovenija'. In 1906,



Vojeslav Mole (1886 - 1973) The most notable creator of Slovenian emigrant literature in Europe in the first half of the twentieth century

after passing the *Matura* examination, he enrolled at the University of Vienna. Beginning in the autumn of 1908 he spent a year attending lectures on Polish literature and Slavonic linguistics in Kraków, where he also began to publish his first scholarly papers. He spent 1909 and 1910 in Rome preparing to study the history of art, continuing and concluding his studies in Vienna with a doctorate in 1912. He then spent a year travelling around Italy, with the help of a scholarship from the Austrian government, and in the autumn of 1913 took up a post with the Central Commission for the Protection of Monuments in Vienna, which assigned him to the conservation office in Split.

At the outbreak of the First World War he was called up into the Austrian army, but by September 1914 he was a prisoner of war in Siberia, where he would remain for six years. In 1917 he married Ela, a Polish former colleague from the university in Kraków, by proxy. The autumn of 1919 saw him teaching at the university in Tomsk, where he attained habilitation. Again in 1919, he was among the co-founders of the weekly Slovenian publication *Naš list* in Omsk. In the spring of 1920 he returned to Kraków and then, with his wife, moved to Ljubljana for five years, taking up a post as professor of classical archaeology and Byzantine art. In 1925 he and his family moved to Kraków and remained there for 14 years until the outbreak of the Second World War, and for a further 19 years after the war. In Kraków he was elected to the post of full professor of the history of the art of the Slavonic nations at the newly founded Institute of Slavonic Studies at the Jagiellonian University – serving as the Institute's director from 1936. Following the German attack on Poland, he and his family were evacuated to Lvov, from where they travelled to Ljubljana, where Mole again became a professor of Byzantine studies. After the war he returned to Kraków and continued to teach at the Institute of Slavonic Studies. In 1950 he became the director of the History of Art Institute at the Jagiellonian University and took up the chair of Medieval Art.

Mole published three independent literary works: two poetry collections and an autobiography. His second collection of poems, entitled *Tristia ex Siberia* (Mole 1920), was written while

he was a POW in Russia. In addition to literary works he published a whole series of scholarly works, for the most part in Polish academic journals. He retired in 1960. In 1947 he was elected a full member of the Polish Academy of Science in Kraków, and in 1961 he became a corresponding member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1966 he and his wife went to live with their daughter in Oregon, USA, where Mole died in 1973.<sup>2</sup>

The other significant creator of Slovenian emigrant literature in pre-war Europe was the story writer, poet, literary historian and critic Janko Lavrin (1887–1986), for many years professor of Russian literature at the University of Nottingham in the United Kingdom. Lavrin, who likewise became a corresponding member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and an honorary member of the international Society for Slovene Studies published poems and prose in the Prague-based publication *Domači prijatelj* between 1906 and 1909 and, 10 years later, in the Chicago-based publication *Čas*. A fascinating collection of his autobiographical sketches appeared posthumously.<sup>3</sup>

Also important in this period is the work of two Slovenians in France – the literary and translation work of the artist Veno Pilon (1896–1970) and the French poetry (12 collections) and some translations by Vladimir Kavčič, who wrote under the name of Jean Vodaine (1921–2006). Both of them – like Mole and Lavrin – were pre-war emigrants but the focus of the literary and translation work of all four writers is situated in the period after the Second World War.

## Recent History of Slovenian Literary Creativity in Other Parts of Europe

With the end of the liberation war and the victory of the Yugoslav socialist revolution in May 1945, more than 20,000 political refugees left Slovenia. There were many well-established writers among them who continued to write and publish even during the refugee period 1945–50, publishing a number of periodicals and even printing some original literary works in refugee camps in Austria and Italy (Žitnik 2007). Among those who – either directly from the homeland or following a period in the camps – withdrew into European exile, the most important figures in the literary field are Vinko Beličič, Stanko Janežič and Franc Jeza, who lived and

worked in Trieste, Vladimir Truhlar and Rafko Vodeb, who were active in Rome, Metod Turnšek, who in 1956 moved from Trieste to Austrian Carinthia, and Dimitrij Oton Jeruc, who after periods living in various parts of Europe finally settled in Belgium. Some of them, particularly the clerics, returned to Slovenia after several decades. Janežič returned in 1969 while Truhlar and Vodeb returned in the 1970s.

In the early 1950s the successful story writer Igor Šentjunc moved to Germany, where he would publish 23 novels in German, for the most part historical novels but also romances and crime stories; some of his works have been translated into various European languages. Post-war emigrant authors writing in both languages – Slovenian and German – include Venčeslav Šprager and Maruša Krese in Germany, the poet Tea Rovšek-Witzemannin in Vienna and the late poet and prose writer Milena Merlak Detela and her husband Lev Detela, who moved to Vienna in 1960. The poet, prose writer, translator and editor Lev Detela, the author of 40 books in Slovenian and German, is among the more prolific and original contemporary Slovenian emigrant writers, and without a doubt among the bolder ones in the literary sense (Žitnik Serafin 2010). In recent years Maruša Krese and Lev Detela, who first found success in the German-speaking world, have also become well established within the cultural context of Slovenia. In 2008 Maruša Krese even won the Fabula award, an important literary award in Slovenia.

It is also characteristic of other Slovenian bilingual writers that, as a result of the long blockade of Slovenian emigrant

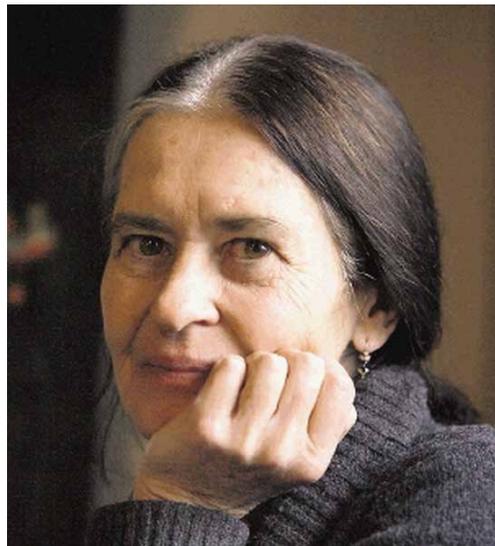


Veno Pilon (1896–1970)

literature within Slovenia itself, they initially found success in the language of their new homeland or in the wider area in which that language is spoken, and only then, in most cases from the end of the 1980s onwards, in Slovenia as well. Similarly, those who wrote exclusively in Slovenian first broke through in the context of the Slovenian emigrant press and the press of the historical Slovenian communities just across the borders of Slovenia, but did not achieve success in Slovenia itself until the lifting of this blockade in 1991, when Slovenia became independent. This of course only applied to 'political' emigrants.

Among the post-war emigrant authors living in France, the best known in Slovenia are the photographer, philosopher and essayist Evgen Bavčar and the popular bilingual writer Brina Svit (Brina Švigelj Merat), who has lived in Paris since 1980. Her novels are published by, among others, the prestigious French publisher Éditions Gallimard, translations of her works in various languages are also published elsewhere, and new editions and new impressions of her Slovenian works and Slovenian translations of her French novels are constantly appearing in Slovenia.

The poet and essayist Ifigenija Simonovič lived in England for almost 25 years before returning to Slovenia in 2003. The literary legacy and current work of Slovenian writers in other parts of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia are still awaiting a more serious literary historical and literary critical evaluation. There are a number of authors working in Sweden who are best known for their publications in periodicals, while they also occasionally



*Maruša Krese who first found her success in the German-speaking world, won the 2008 Fabula award, an important literary award in Slovenia*

publish books.<sup>4</sup> Among leading Slovenian writers, there are also, of course, some who have spent longer or shorter periods living in other parts of Europe, or are still living there, but given their more or less uninterrupted involvement in publishing within the context of Slovenia, we have never considered them to be emigrant authors.

In his opening remarks at a round-table discussion on Slovenian writers in the European Union in 2010, Lev Detela (2010) pointed out, among other things, that the situation of Slovenian writers in Europe or today's EU differs in terms of its structural conditions from the situation of other Slovenian emigrant authors, above all in Argentina but also in the USA, Canada and Australia. Typical for Slovenian writers in other continents is (was) a stronger involvement in the broader cultural activities of the Slovenian communi-

ties living there, in emigrants' organisations with many cultural initiatives of their own, literary and other events and, often, their own newspapers. Particularly in Argentina, Slovenian literary and cultural activity was given a special impetus 35 years ago with the founding of the cultural organisation *Slovenska kulturna akcija* and the cultural journal *Meddobje*, which brought together numerous expatriate authors (for the most part with a Catholic orientation) who had settled in Argentina after the Second World War. This journal, which is still published today, has seen and occasionally still sees, alongside the contributions of Argentine Slovenians, contributions from emigrant authors in other parts of the Americas, Australia, Asia and, in individual cases, Europe and sometimes even Slovenia. Detela does, however, admit that the energy of their literary mission has faded significantly everywhere in the world, with the passing of the generation that was very active in the first decades following the Second World War.

On the other hand Slovenian emigrant authors in Europe were to a certain extent isolated figures, suggests Detela, since their situation following the departure overseas of the main body of Slovenian anti-communist cultural figures – and thus after the cessation of the various cultural and literary activities in refugee camps in Austria and Italy – differed from the situation of the more interconnected and numerous authors who were members of the historical Slovenian minorities in Austria and Italy. Detela (*ibid.*) claims: 'Many emigrant authors who did not emigrate to America or Australia lived among the Slove-

nians of Trieste, Gorizia and Klagenfurt or other parts of Austrian Carinthia, but for various reasons, frequently ideological and mental, they remained fairly distant from Slovenian organisations and groups in those places. They represented a kind of unique cosmos, and more or less remained a special *corpus separatum* with unique literary characteristics – for example Vinko Beličič and Franc Jeza in Trieste or Metod Turnšek in Carinthia.'

Of course – despite the common experience of separation from home – literary isolation and solitude are far more understandable in the case of Dimitrij Oton Jeruc in Belgium and Saša Jerman in England than in that of the emigrant writers in the historical Slovenian communities outside the borders of Slovenia, since Belgium and the United Kingdom did not have strong Slovenian communities with a sufficiently ramified cultural infrastructure to provide the necessary support to writers with literary ambitions. Among these solitary figures or – better – loners, we may include with little hesitation contemporary and still active Slovenian literary figures in other parts of Europe. Although Slovenian communities exist in the countries where these authors live, and although the activity of these communities continues even in the present day, these authors do not as a rule form ties with them or do so only exceptionally or on a more or less ad hoc basis.

This does not, however, apply to the majority of Slovenian authors in Sweden, who – quite the opposite – are characterised by a vital connection with the Slovenian community there and with its organisations and societies. A typical example of an author who is

closely involved in the activity of the Slovenian community in Sweden is Avguštna Budja. Collective anthologies of Slovenian poetry and prose in Sweden, including, for example a Slovenian anthology from the late 1970s (Budja, Hriberšek, Jakše and Zavodlov 1979) and bilingual or multilingual or 'Yugoslav' anthologies, two from the 1980s (*Šesti festival poezije in proze 1983* and *Sedmi festival poezije in proze 1984*) and one from 1990 (*Ett öppet fönster/Odprto okno*), are also eloquent evidence of this.

### Literary Bilingualism

For emigrant writers, literary bilingualism of sufficient quality, something that as a rule is the privilege of the educated, is the most reliable way of breaking through to different target audiences. In Germany, some of the most successful Slovenian expatriate writers, e.g. Šentjurg and Šprager, had practically no connection with the Slovenian community there, for the most part because they wished to hedge themselves off from its internal ideological quarrels. For this reason, as regards use of their mother tongue, they lived in linguistic isolation, which further contributed to their decision to give up writing in Slovenian and – in order to succeed in the majority language of their new homeland – dedicate themselves entirely to writing in German. As mentioned above, Šentjurg was very successful in this.

Those who became clearly bilingual writers as emigrants chose a surer but more difficult route to different readers. Since their personal links with publishers were weaker, it was usually more difficult for them to publish in the lan-

guage of the new homeland than it was for native writers. For the most part they did not cultivate connections with their own immigrant community and its media, which could have made it easier for them to publish in Slovenian. Consequently, their success depended above all on their own enterprise, self-promotion and lobbying in the dominant publishing circles in both the old and new homelands. More recent authors of Slovenian origin have also begun to get involved in foreign-language writers' societies and cultural organisations. The socially critical poet and prose writer Maruša Krese, who divides her time between Berlin, Graz and Slovenia, has attracted considerable interest both in Slovenia and internationally. The author of several books in Slovenian and German, she lives 'in the global world' (Detela 2010). Literary works in Slovenian and German have also been published by the three Vienna-based Slovenian authors mentioned earlier, and by Venčeslav Šprager, who lives in Bavaria and who, having strengthened contacts with the country of his birth in recent years, has renewed and consolidated his knowledge of his mother tongue to such an extent that he can now publish bilingual works even without the help of translators and editors (for example the poetry collection *Augenblicke/Trenutki*, Šprager 2006).

Even Brina Svit, 'our biggest writing star' (Hrastar 2006), who in the 1980s and 1990s published three novels in Slovenian – *April* (1984), the epistolary novel *Navadna razmerja* (1988) co-written with Peter Kolšek and the novel *Con brio* (1998), which was nominated for

the Kresnik award – has in recent years written works in French and then herself translated them into Slovenian, e.g. the novel *Odveč srce* (Svit 2006), translated as *Un coeur de trop*. By contrast, her novels *Con brio* (Svit 1998) and *Smrt slovenske primadone* (Svit 2000) have been translated from Slovenian into French for Gallimard.<sup>5</sup> Brina Svit, who is undoubtedly the most productive Slovenian emigrant author (and one of the most productive Slovenian authors in general), has received many literary awards and prizes, among them

the Académie Française's Prix Maurice Genevoix for the novel *Un cœur de trop* (2006), the Belgian Prix Licorne and the independent bookshops prize Folies d'Encre (Topolovec 2008) for the French version of the novel *Coco Dias ali Zlata vrata* (2007).

A number of fine emigrant writers who wrote exclusively in their mother tongue – in particular those working in the first decades following the Second World War – remained until their deaths accessible only to members of their own language community. Since at that time the majority of European countries did not yet recognise the principles of integration and intercultural transience at the national level, which includes material support for the translation and publication of minority or immigrant literature, the literary contribution of post-war Slovenian migrant authors was marginalised in their new European homelands. Their literary work in their mother tongue represents a characteristic and interesting though isolated and unintegrated foreign body in their new homeland, which accepted them into its economic, legal and political system but not into its culture. Until recently, immigrant writers in Slovenia were in a very similar position, since Slovenian readers did not have an opportunity to discover their literary work written and published in their own mother tongues (Dimkovska 2005). Although some shorter works have appeared in the literary journal *Paralele* (Dimkovska 2006), which focuses on the writings of minority authors, Slovenian translations of their books have been more the exception than the rule (Mugerli 2005).

In 2010, however, there was a notice-



Venčeslav Šprager: *Augenblicke/Trenutki* (2011)

able shift in the attitude of the Slovenian literary establishment towards immigrant authors. Until recently, the statute of the Slovenian Writers' Association (*Društvo slovenskih pisateljev*; DSP) read as follows: 'Any Slovenian writer, poet, prose writer, dramatist or essayist writing in Slovenian may become a member of the Association.' With the new Founding Act of the Slovenian Writers' Association, debated by members at the general assembly on 29 March 2010, this condition has become much more open: 'Any Slovenian writer (poet, prose writer, dramatist, essayist) writing in Slovenian or in any other language, or citizen of the Republic of Slovenia or writer with the right of residence in Slovenia who is not Slovenian by nationality but who writes in Slovenian *or in his or her own mother tongue* [emphasis mine] may become a member of the Association. Slovenian writers who do not live in the Republic of Slovenia may, regardless of citizenship, become members of the Association under the same conditions' (Founding Act of the DSP 2010: 3).

I believe that an amendment of this kind may accelerate, at least slightly, positive processes in Slovenian culture, which is evidently still in the transitional period of forming the intercultural consciousness and multicultural national identity of its members. Perhaps writers who have come to Slovenia from other countries will gain, also through membership of different Slovenian cultural and literary organisations, concrete new opportunities to establish themselves more widely in the culture of their new homeland.

## Conclusion

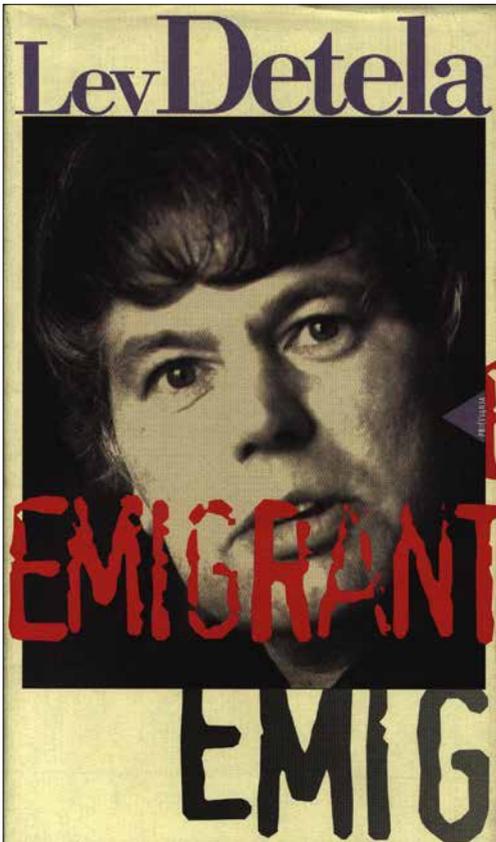
Today there are almost no Slovenian writers left of the generation that emigrated from Slovenia to other parts of Europe at the end of the Second World War. 'We are actually standing on the graves of this unique literary phenomenon, which was still very much alive in the 1960s and 1970s,' writes Detela (2010). According to the poet, writer and dramatist Lev Detela – who, following his emigration to Austria in 1960 himself relied on the global Slovenian diaspora community, and who is still today co-editor of *Meddobje*, the Buenos Aires-based journal of Slovenian emigrant culture around the globe – the energy of the literary mission of post-war Slovenian emigrants is fading everywhere because the generation that was so active in the first decades following the Second World War is dying out. And yet Detela, who considers himself one of the 'last representatives of the so-called second wave of emigrant Slovenian writers, who, before the democratisation and independence of Slovenia were not recognised in their homeland', is a surprising example of an artist whose energy, even after half a century of continuous writing and publishing, shows no signs of fading. Quite the opposite: in recent years his annual average number of new books has actually increased. To a slightly lesser extent this also applies to his Slovenian contemporaries in other parts of Europe. In 2009, three years after her award-winning prose collection *Vsi moji božiči*, Maruša Krese returned with a new collection, *Vse moje vojne*. Last year, after a break of five years, Pavelhaus in Graz published a new novel by Venčeslav Šprager in Slovenian

and German (Šprager 2011 and 2011a). Both are, in fact, maintaining a slightly less intense pace of publication than that which characterised earlier phases of their writing careers. This does not apply to the practically uninterrupted creative momentum of Brina Svit, the youngest of the authors covered here.

Good-quality creative bilingualism remains the best assurance of a visible presence in two literary and cultural systems. The internal visibility of literary works within the context of an in-

dividual migrant community, which until recently was still very important for conserving Sloveness among emigrants, simply no longer functions in today's increasingly 'loose' migrant communities. Perhaps it will turn out that the once productive collective energy of Slovenian migrant communities has a suitable counterweight in the remarkable individual motivation of the most successful individuals, among them contemporary Slovenian emigrant writers, in particular those who, lacking the support of the social and cultural network of a Slovenian community in their new homeland, were first compelled to establish themselves, entirely independently, in a language that was foreign to them before they could attract attention with their literary work in Slovenia itself.

This sad rule does not apply to immigrant authors in Slovenia. For them, the exact opposite applies: it is easier for immigrant writers who were well established in their native countries before immigrating to Slovenia to establish themselves in Slovenia. In other words: when it comes to including emigrant and immigrant writers in the group of prominent writers, or even in the group of 'our' writers, Slovenia is evidently very cautious. First it waits to see what others will say. After that, it is much easier and safer to decide about who deserves our recognition as well.



*Lev Detela, author of 'Emigrant' (1999) and many other books in Slovenian and German, is among the more prolific and original contemporary Slovenian emigrant writers*

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## Notes

- 1 This paper is an extended version of the following article: Janja Žitnik Serafin, Literarna zapuščina slovenskih izseljencev v drugih deželah Evrope, *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, 2011, no. 34: 35–45
- 2 In Slovenia those who have written about Mole include Stele (1970), Cevc (1974), Jutršek (1987) and later e.g. Jež (2002)
- 3 In addition to entries in *Slovenski biografski leksikon*, *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* and biographical/bibliographical articles in the SAZU yearbook (volumes 8 and 37), studies on Lavrin and brief portraits of this eminent emigrant have been written by various authors, among them Vera Brnčič (1976) on the occasion of Lavrin's ninetieth birthday, on his death 10 years later (or on the occasion of the posthumous publication of his prose sketches), Rado L. Lenček (1985; 1986), Dušan Moravec (1986), Aleksander Skaza (1986/87), Harry Leeming (1987) and Vladimir Gajšek (1988), and more recently Viktor Baranovskiy and Irina Khlebnikova (2009)
- 4 Slovenian writers in Sweden have been written about by Avgušтина Budja (1999), who as well as presenting her own work up to that time offers a detailed presentation of the literary work of Marija Hriberšek, Mihaela Hojnik, Adi Golčman and Tone Jakše
- 5 To date Brina Svit has published six novels for Gallimard: *Con brio* (1999) and *Mort d'une prima donna slovène* (2001), that were translated from Slovenian (both translated by Zdenka Štimac), and *Moreno* (2003), *Un cœur de trop* (2006), *Coco Dias ou La porte dorée* (2007) and *Petit éloge de la rupture* (2009), which were written in French

# Going South: The Case of the Slovenians in the Territory of Former Yugoslavia

*Metka Lokar*

## **Introduction**

The scale of migration from East to West is as large and frequent as from the South to the North. The scale of migration in the opposite directions, from West to East and North to South, at least within the Europe, are smaller: Particularly in recent times migration in these directions are rarely permanent, and at least nowadays more or less considered as temporary (labour) migrations. Such is the case of Slovenians going south, i.e. migrating to the territory of former Yugoslavia.

This migration dates back at least to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continued to the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was a form of internal migration by which numerous Slovenian migrants settled permanently and integrated quite easily into the receiving society. For them, the new society was not 'foreign' because it used to be the part of the same empire, state, kingdom, or federal republic, so it is very interesting to observe the particular need of the communities with larger number of members to organise themselves into the 'emigrant' associations. It is also interesting to see when and particularly why this need arose. It appears that these societies were originally

more or less intended for cultural exchange between a narrower and broader homeland, as they are nowadays, after the collapse of Yugoslavia in the 1990s, in order to maintain Slovenian national and cultural identity, and of course to strengthen the connections with the home country.

## **Slovenian emigration over time and space**

Throughout history Slovenia has been a place of mass emigration to foreign countries all over the world. Slovenian emigrants have been missionaries in South America, some of them also in North America and Africa. Many Slovenian soldiers have left the homeland at different times and to serve in different places. Also some experts, like engineers, teachers, or doctors have found jobs abroad but most of the emigrants have been labourers, searching for new opportunities and a better life.

»The first wave of migration from the Slovenian ethnic territory was initiated in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and it was directed towards the USA, and in part to Brazil and Argentina. The second wave was in the period between the First and the Second World War. It was an economic

emigration, caused by the global economic crises that in a way can also be understood as political. The vast majority of tens of thousands moved from the Primorska region, which was at the time under severe pressure from the fascist government«. (Žigon 2001:6)

»The great depression in the 1930's resulted in huge migrations of Slovenians to some Western European countries like Germany and France, also the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg where mostly miners and workers in factories found the jobs at that time«. (Drnovšek 2012:25–41).

»Another wave of migration from Slovenia started after the World War II, in 1945, when thousands emigrated to USA, Canada, Australia and Argentina due to political reasons. And the last, even larger wave was in 1960's and 1970's when numerous Slovenians went to West Germany, France, Sweden and other developed European countries«. (Žigon 2001:6). They left mostly to work there, so it was again predominantly economic migration. A lot of Slovenians still live there, as they actually do all over the world, not just Europe. The estimated number of those who live abroad is about half a million, 'which would mean the fifth quarter of the Slovenian national body' (Žigon 2001:6). For a small nation of two million people this is for sure a huge number.

According to *Slovenija danes (Slovenia today)* Slovenian emigrant associations can be found in 27 foreign countries,<sup>1</sup> even in so distant – or a kind of 'exotic' for Slovenians – like for example Brazil, Uruguay, Venezuela, Mexico, Kenya or New Zealand. Many of them can be found across Europe, of course, and 44

of them in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The Slovenians who live there represent a specific story of Slovenian expatriates – after Slovenia declared its independence and Yugoslavia disintegrated in 1991, once representing one of the several nations living in the same country they were almost overnight defined as citizens of foreign countries.

### Historical background

The so-called Tito's Yugoslavia which is widely known was not the only state of south Slavs with the same name. There was actually one before – a state with several components, stretching from the Western Balkans<sup>2</sup> to Central Europe which existed during the interwar era of 1918–1941. The official name of its first formation was the State of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs; this was a short-lived (just a month long), internationally unrecognized state, which was formed at the end of October 1918 from the southern parts of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy after its dissolution.

After the merger of this state with the formerly independent Kingdom of Serbia the new state was formed in December 1918. For its first eleven years of existence, it was officially called the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (SHS). It was among the most poor and underdeveloped countries in Europe, only 14 percent of all inhabitants lived in towns, industry was undeveloped and provided work for only 200,000 workers; most of them were farmers working seasonally to earn some extra money, only 46 percent of all land were used for farming; and average life span did not exceed 45 years of age (Pirjevec 1995: 31–32). Then the name of

the kingdom was turned into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia; but Yugoslavia was anyhow its colloquial name from the very beginning. The common name for it, used to distinguish it from Tito's Yugoslavia, is the 'first' Yugoslavia.

The 'second', i.e. Tito's Yugoslavia, was formed during World War II, first as the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia in 1943, renamed the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1946, and renamed again as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) in 1963. Its disintegration started in 1991 and with it the formation of the new independent states in the territory: besides Slovenia also Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Serbia, Montenegro, and

lastly Kosovo. The basic problem of SFRY has been the unsolved question of its identity – is it unitary state or federation (Gleni 2001: 328). Political elites, dominated more and more by the weak League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which has been divided by national, religion, political and even ideological lines, were not able to solve this question, which haunted Yugoslavia after its establishment in 1918. The country dissolved in the most terrible war in Europe after 1945. After the disintegration of Yugoslavia the domestic environment became for Slovenian migrants at once foreign, and the new search for their own identity started.



*Fig 1 The Former Yugoslavia. After Slovenia declared its independence in 1991, the Slovenians living in other Yugoslav republics have been defined as citizens of foreign countries*

Source: [www.europe-atlas.com](http://www.europe-atlas.com)

### **Slovenian emigrant societies in the new states of the former Yugoslavia**

Even after more than 20 years since the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia there has been a noticeable lack of studies of Slovenians in the area (and those that exist are more or less partial). So the Slovenian Migration Institute, Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts started a three-year project in 2011 entitled 'Slovenian Labour Migration to the Countries of Former Yugoslavia: From Settlers to Transmigrants' – which refers to transnational occupation groups like diplomats and consular staff, humanitarian and development workers, correspondents, journalists, military and police staff, businesspeople and others. It is an interdisciplinary research project on the dynamics of employment-related migration from Slovenia to the countries of former Yugoslavia from the 19<sup>th</sup> century up to the present, concerned with the types of employment taken by Slovenians. Their influence on intercultural relations from a historical perspective, with an emphasis on newer employment-related and transmigrational lifestyles, is also taken into consideration.

The aim is to learn as much as possible not only about the employment dynamics and work organisation, but also about emigrant family dynamics, upbringing and education, leisure time activities, contacts with the homeland, the attitude towards ethnic or national identities and cultural heritage, establishment of social networks in the immigrant country and in Slovenia, as much as about the contacts with the immigrant environment and intercultural relations. To facilitate this research we

drew up a list of Slovenian emigrant associations in the area: there are ten registered in Bosnia and Herzegovina, sixteen in Croatia, fourteen in Serbia, three in Macedonia and one in Montenegro (in Kosovo, for now there is no Slovenian emigrant association). We asked each first to complete the questionnaire on the functioning of each association and its activities<sup>3</sup> to get an impression about how they work and live, some of them even with the century-old tradition, most of them newly established after the break of Yugoslavia in 1990s. The study should be completed by the end of June 2014, so we can now only present an analysis of the preliminary results.<sup>4</sup>

At present, we've got the most comprehensive picture about the Slovenians in Bosnia in Herzegovina, partly because there are some books written about them with testimonies and life stories included,<sup>5</sup> and partly because of a really quick and constructive response of practically all the Slovenian societies there, which gave us the opportunity to talk to the representatives of the Slovenian emigrant societies and to organise a working round-table<sup>6</sup> about the current situation and future challenges that they are facing with. All together gave us the idea what to observe more precisely according to the practices they run, so also the majority of our field work on the project already has been done there.

### **Slovenians in Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Slovenians have been leaving for Bosnia and Herzegovina for centuries and the oldest historical records concern a lonely traveller, travel writer, missionary or a nobleman fighting against Ottomans



Fig 2 Slovene soldiers crossing the Sava river near Stara Gradiška, 1878. (Source: Jernej Andrejka, *Slovenski fantje v Bosni in Hercegovini*, Celovec 1904:23)

there which dates back to 16<sup>th</sup> century (Kržišnik-Bukič 2007:20). From the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there were some seasonal workers going 'down there' mostly for logging, a doctor or two and just a few others – and that was it. More substantial arrivals of Slovenians in the area were connected to the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and its administration at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This Ottoman province constituted a mountain area so difficult of access that it was shut off not only from the empire to which it belonged, but also from Europe (Schevill 1991:393). The Great Powers decided that the province, a source of almost constant insurrection, should be entrusted to Austria to occupy and ad-

minister, on a provisional basis with the Sultan to retain sovereignty, at least on a paper. Of the two hundred thousand Austria-Hungary soldiers who occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, nine to ten thousand were Slovenians. After them also came numerous civilians: labourers, merchants, craftsmen, various experts and even highly trained professionals like teachers, lawyers, judges, doctors, engineers, among them three thousand Slovenians. It is interesting to observe how because of that fact historical events in Bosnia and Herzegovina over the century also became a part of Slovenian oral tradition; there are still some old people that sometimes at the end the conversation say 'Pa mirna Bosna! (With peace in Bosnia!)', meaning 'The end of words ... so shall be done and that's it!' At that time Slovenians settled in major towns

in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo, Travnik, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, Banja Luka, Bihać, and other places. Due to their skills and abilities they had a special status in predominantly uneducated local society (they were also better paid), and it is presumed that this is the source of the myth about hard-working, diligent, honest and modest Slovenians, spreading gradually all around the territory of former Yugoslavia and surviving until today – despite the present depression of Slovenia's economy and huge political crises.

The next major wave of migration from Slovenia to Bosnia and Herzegovina happened in the 1920's when a lot of people moved from the territory which fell to Italy after World War I, namely the Primorska region on the south-west border of Slovenian ethnic territory. They mostly bought some land and settled permanently in the area, as did, for example, more than 50 families in Slatina, near Banja Luka. Mining has also been important 'business' for connecting Slovenia with Bosnia and Herzegovina (as practically the whole territory of the former Yugoslavia). After that forced migrations happened during the World War II, when due to Nazi ethnic cleansing in Slovenia many thousands from there were transported to Bosnia and Herzegovina and condemned to bare survival for several years.<sup>7</sup> And finally, also after the war numerous Slovenian experts were sent there, this time in the name of brotherhood and unity to help with development plans and 'building up' a part of the new (Tito's) Yugoslavia. These migrations were not meant to be forced, but 'the chosen ones' had not much

opportunity to choose whether to go or not. Some of them returned home after time, but some started a new life there.

The fact is that no matter when or where or for what purpose Slovenians came to Bosnia and Herzegovina (and this could also be applied to Slovenians migrating to other parts of the former Yugoslavia), they were always well accepted by the local population.<sup>8</sup> Their influence on the local society was substantial; they brought knowledge, progress and development to the new environment, new habits and customs – if we believe the testimonies even new fashion in clothing and the emancipation of women. Even nowadays this influence still exists in some ways since Slovenia as EU member state represents a bridge between the Western Balkans and the rest of the Europe.

We can imagine how the pleasure probably has been mutual – and this to such an extent that Slovenians, especially at the time of the second Yugoslavia, almost get assimilated. They integrated themselves quickly into the receiving society, probably because both languages, Slovenian and local (which can be Serb or Croatian or Bosnian), are very close. Also, although Slovenians were known for preserving their own language and culture (and traditionally very active in doing it), 'Balkan' way of life obviously had, or still has a kind of a charm and appeal to be accepted and adopted very quickly. And finally, the previously mentioned socialist 'brotherhood and unity' did its task very well. Disillusionment came with the collapse of the former Yugoslavia and the war that followed – and it brought to the Slovenes a new concern for the preser-



Fig 3 Slovenian expert Josip Bučar at the steelworks in Vareš in 1930's. (Source: Četrta stran trikotnika: Znameniti Slovenci in slovenska društva v Bosni in Hercegovini 1878–2000, ed. by S. Koblar, Ljubljana 2008:45.)

vation of language, culture, national identity, and reconnection with the homeland. The major work with all this has been done and still is being done by the Slovenian emigrant associations in Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>9</sup> As we learned through the previously mentioned questionnaire they are very active in organising Slovene language courses and cultural events, they cooperate a lot with each other to be more effective with it, they also connect to other associations abroad, and of course Slovenia.

### Conclusion

The fifth article of the Slovenian Constitution among others defines the concern of the Slovenian state for Slovenians living outside the country.<sup>10</sup> In the spirit of this, after the Slovenian declaration of independence, the Slovenian Government set up the Ministry for Slovenians Abroad. It was subsequently replaced

with the Office of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia for Slovenians Abroad that works in the governmental framework. Among working bodies of the Slovenian National Assembly there is a Commission<sup>11</sup> that monitors the state of affairs of Slovenes living abroad. There are also civil society organisations that cooperate with Slovenians in foreign countries which help them maintain close contact with Slovenia: after the independence of Slovenia Svetovni slovenski kongres (Slovenian World Congress) and Izseljensko društvo Slovenija v svetu (Emigration Association Slovenia in the World) were established, and beside this Slovenska izseljenska matica (Slovenian Emigrant Association) as the main organization for supporting Slovenian emigrants – for the last twenty years also those in the territory of Former Yugoslavia – has been operating since 1951.

Slovenia's independence brought about major changes in the life of Slovenian emigrants in the new states formed from the former Yugoslavia. Many Slovenian emigrants and their descendants clearly value their ethnic identity; Slovenians are no longer mixed with Yugoslavs as an ethnic category, which was widely promoted by the former state of SFRY and before. Most emigrants in the area of former Yugoslavia belong nowadays to the second or third, somewhere even the fourth generation, which became very well integrated in the receiving society.

So Slovenian emigrant associations, together with the Slovenian governmental and non-governmental institutions face new challenges. The main one is the replacement of generations and concern for return to their roots and the preservation not only of their distinct national identity but also their language and cultural identity as their *differentia specifica*.



Fig 4 The 'Slovenian day in Slatina' 2013, traditional cultural event organised by Slovenian association Triglav Banja Luka, Bosnia and Herzegovina, with guests from Novi Sad, Serbia, and Novo mesto, Slovenia. Photo: M. Lokar

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## Notes

- 1 *Slovenija danes* (<http://www.slovenija-danes.slovensci.si/>) is the main media for Slovenians outside the Republic of Slovenia. It provides them the key information about Slovenia and the activities of various associations and organizations of the Slovenians abroad; among them, there are also many churches, media institutions, schools, etc.
- 2 Balkan is a Turkish word, meaning 'a chain of wooded mountains'. The practice of geographers and politicians is to accept the Danube river as the inland boundary of the Balkans (Schevill 1991: 13). On the other hand the area north of Sava river which was closely related to the historical events in the Balkans is by many historians also considered part of the Balkans. Under this definition major part of present day Slovenia has been considered as Balkans, even the area has been historically linked to the central European area.
- 3 The questionnaire consisted of 58 questions; among them for example the question whether association has its own place to work, which sections it has, does it care about the archive, library, how it cooperates with the Slovenian embassy and in which fields, how the association is financed, how many members does it have, what is their background, age, education, and professional structure. There were also questions like if the association publishes the bulletin, brochures or books, if there is a poet or writer among members, maybe an artist, what kind of events does it organise etc. Last part of the questionnaire was on language: which language is spoken among members, Slovenian or local, how the school on Slovenian language is organised, for whom and how often, who are the teachers etc.
- 4 In addition to the planned publication of the research results we hope for a potential influence of the results on various strategies that Slovenian government will have to establish regarding the all areas of the former Yugoslavia in the future.
- 5 For example *Slovenci v Bosni in Hercegovini skozi pričevanja, spomine in literarne podobe: 1831–2007* by Vera Kržišnik-Bukić, *Četrta stran trikotnika: Znameniti Slovenci in slovenska društva v Bosni in Hercegovini 1878–2000*, edited by Stanislav Koblar, *Od prednikov do potomcev: Slovenci v Slatini in Banjaluki 1923–2008* by Vera Papež Adamič, *Vseeno kdaj, vseeno kje – vedno smo Slovenci/Bilo kad, bilo gdje – uvijek smo Slovenci* by Alenka Uduč, etc.
- 6 It was held in Banja Luka in June 2012.
- 7 Most of them returned home after the war.

- 8 It is also interesting how for example differences in religious affiliation – Slovenians are mainly Catholics, the locals are mainly Muslims and Orthodox (Catholics are in minority) – have never been the barrier for cooperation and friendly relations.
- 9 They are in Banja Luka, Breza, Doboj, Kakanj, Prijedor, Sarajevo (2), Tuzla, Vitez and Zenica, united in the organisation called Evropa zdaj (Europe Now). All together have more than four thousand members.
- 10 'In its own territory, the state shall protect human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall protect and guarantee the rights of the autochthonous Italian and Hungarian national communities. It shall maintain concern for autochthonous Slovenian national minorities in neighbouring countries and for Slovenian emigrants and workers abroad and shall foster their contacts with the homeland. It shall provide for the preservation of the natural wealth and cultural heritage and create opportunities for the harmonious development of society and culture in Slovenia. Slovenians not holding Slovenian citizenship may enjoy special rights and privileges in Slovenia. The nature and extent of such rights and privileges shall be regulated by law.' (Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, 2001: 18–19)
- 11 Commission for Relations with Slovenes in Neighbouring and Other Countries.

# A Comparative History of Immigration: European and non-European Immigrants in France, 1918-1981

*Louisa Zanoun*

## **Introduction**

On the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 2012, shortly after midnight, in Aigues-Mortes, a small town in southern France, a man and his wife attacked a group of young French Muslims who were having dinner in a car park during the holy month of Ramadan. After shouting abuse at the young men, 'We don't need Arabs here. We are in France. This is our country', the couple opened fire on them. The young people, fearing for their lives, ran off to hide as the couple, armed with a rifle, chased them in their car and fired around ten shots. While the husband shot at the youths, his wife passed him the bullets to recharge his rifle while shouting, 'we are in France here. Run, run'. After 40 minutes of what some of the victims described as a manhunt, the local police managed to arrest the couple. One of the youths was injured but luckily no one died. Only two days after the attack, the couple appeared in court and were convicted of acts of armed violence and incitement to racial hatred. The husband received four years in prison, his wife, too.

Some would say the harshness of the sentence reflects the severity of the crime. After all, the couple shot a group of unarmed young people and chased them with a gun for around forty minutes. But French authorities have not always shown such promptitude and harshness when dealing with racist crimes. In fact, in the same town of Aigues-Mortes, almost 100 years before those events, a group of Italian workers was savagely attacked by French people.<sup>1</sup> On 16 August 1893, groups of French villagers and workers, claiming that Italian workers took French jobs, launched violent attacks against the local Italian community. At the end of the attacks, which lasted two days, between five and ten Italians had died, and hundreds had been injured. After these terrible events, the French authorities launched an investigation. A diplomatic row even erupted between France and Italy, with the latter accusing the French government of organising the killings of Italian workers. The trial finally took place in late 1893, six months after the events, with both Italian and French people

being accused of criminal acts. After the end of the trial, the jury chose to clear all the accused and released them from prison immediately. It is impossible not to draw a parallel between these two stories as they happened in the same town one hundred years apart, and roughly for the same reason, namely racism and hatred of foreigners. These two stories are interesting for many reasons. They tell us much about the history of foreigners in France and how they are perceived by some French people as well as their treatment by French authorities. Within the context of this article, they are interesting at two levels. Firstly, the French authorities' response to the two events: in 2012, the accused were put on trial and sent to prison within hours of the attacks. In 1893, it took six months to take the accused to court, and all were cleared. Secondly, and this is what is of most interest here: the ethnic backgrounds of the victims; in the most recent case, they have North-African origins; in the case of 1893, the victims were Italian.

The question here is: would such a crime as happened in 1893 against Italian nationals happen today in France? In other words, would Italians be set upon by French nationals for taking French jobs today? The answer is most probably negative. How about North-Africans and other non-European migrants? Could they be attacked by French people? Well, as the Aigues-Mortes event of August 2012 has just shown, the answer here is sadly yes, even if cases such as these are rare. The parallel between Italians and other Europeans who began to arrive in France en masse in the late 19<sup>th</sup>

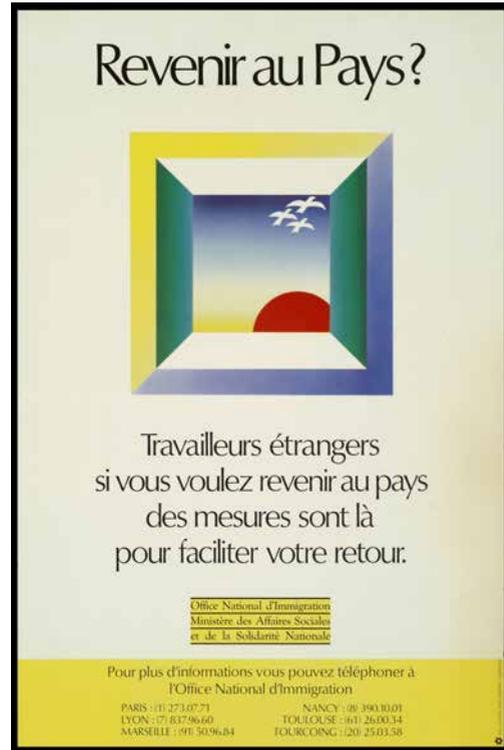


Fig 1 The office national d'immigration (ONI) was created in 1945. ©Génériques

century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the large waves of non-European immigrants who came after 1945 is easy to make. It is easy because one can see many similarities between how immigrants, both European and non-European, were treated and how 'problematic' their presence in France may be considered. As this paper demonstrates, the way French society and authorities have treated foreigners depends largely on the economic and political context.

The first part of this article will focus on the history of immigration between 1918 and the 1950s and briefly show who these immigrants were, why they came to France and some of the chal-

lenges they faced. The second part will consider how non-European immigrants, who came to France mainly from the African continent after World War Two, were received and perceived. Finally, it will present some of the similarities and differences, between these two waves of immigration. The aim here is to allow for a longer-term understanding of what immigrant communities, from within and outside Europe, experienced and how they were perceived in France.

### **European immigration 1918-1950s**

Of all West European countries, France has perhaps one of the longest histories of immigration. Starting with the large waves of immigrants predating the Middle Ages up to the more recent mass arrivals of economic migrants from Europe, Africa and Asia, those migratory movements are part of France's history. Historians agree that the large waves of immigration, those that have shaped French society into what it is today – where one third of French people (20 million) are thought to have foreign origins – began in earnest in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly after World War One when hundreds of thousands of Poles, Italians, Belgians, Spaniards and other Europeans migrated to France. With 2.7 million foreigners living on its soil in 1931 (almost 7 percent of its population), France was by then the second most important country in the world for immigration after the United States of America. So who were those migrants? Why did they come to France? And how did the French government treat them?

In 1920, France had a population of around 39 million. By comparison, fifty years before, in 1870, it had 38.5 million. This means that its population only grew by 500,000 over a period of fifty years. It might be tempting to think that the war which had just ended and killed almost 1.7 million French people was responsible. Certainly it was, but only in part. In fact, a deeper chronic problem affected French society at the time, and had in fact affected it for since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: a chronic shortage of births.<sup>2</sup> This low birth rate had a dramatic effect on the growth of France's population and on its economy. As the historian Elio Accampo explains, 'In 1789, France had a larger population than Britain, Germany or Italy, standing at 27.5 million inhabitants. But by 1914 [i.e. within 125 years], it had only grown by 45 percent (to 40 million); Italy had grown by 225 percent (to 36 million); Britain 450 percent (to 45 million) and Germany 340 percent (to 68 million).' Thus, after the Great War France faced a demographic crisis and a serious labour shortage which threatened the growth of its economy. Indeed, in the 1920s the country faced an unprecedented economic and industrial boom which required more and more workers, especially blue-collar workers.

That is why after the war, in order to help resolve the chronic labour shortage it faced, French industrialists and business owners actively recruited foreign workers. The majority of immigrant workers came from Belgium, Italy, Poland, Spain but also Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia Russia etc. There was also a small number of North-African workers (around 1000).

It is important to note that economic immigrants were not the only foreigners in France during the interwar period. Political immigrants also came to France: Russians who fled the Bolshevik Revolution (in fact a large community of Jews had already migrated from the Russian empire before 1914, largely for political reasons as they faced antisemitism and persecutions at home), Italians who fled fascism, Germans who fled Nazism (including German Jews), Armenians, Spaniards who left Spain after the end of the Civil War in 1939 etc.

But the economic crisis that hit France in the early 1930s swiftly put a stop to immigration. Between 1931 and 1936, half a million foreigners were asked to leave or were forcibly sent back to their home countries, and among those who managed to stay in France many faced antisemitism, racism and humiliations, particularly Jews.<sup>3</sup> For example, in 1932, the French parliament passed a law that limited the number of foreign workers in French companies. Six years later, as the threat of war against Germany looked more and more realistic the French government operated a crackdown on foreigners by publishing a decree that authorised the internment of foreigners that threatened public order and national security. It also allowed for the denaturalisation of freshly-acquired citizenships if holders were found to be unworthy to be French. Paradoxically, at the same time, east-European and Spanish refugees arrived in France in increasing numbers. Some historians argue that xenophobia and the antisemitism in France at the time was closely linked to the recent influx of foreigners, including Jews, and the threat they represented

culturally, economically and politically to French natives.<sup>4</sup>

During World War Two and the occupation of France by Germany, the authorities (both French and German) targeted foreigners; mainly foreign Jews but also Spanish Republicans and other 'undesirable' elements. Foreigners were not free to work, they had to register in municipal offices and were not allowed to move about freely, nor leave the country without a permit. In the most extreme cases, they were interned, sent to labour camps or deported to concentration camps. After the war, while immigration had been steadily decreasing since the early 1930s and France was in great need of foreign workers to help rebuild the country, the French government changed its immigration policies.

### **Non-European immigrants 1950s-1970s**

After World War II, the birth rate in France was on the increase, but France's economic growth was so important that foreign immigrant workers had to be called upon once again. Whereas before 1945 industry and business owners recruited their own foreign workers directly by sending special envoys to recruit workers in their home countries, after 1945 the French government took charge of the recruitment of foreign workers. The ordinance of 2 November 1945 established a national body (the *Office national d'immigration*; National Office of Immigration) that signed labour recruitment agreements with various countries. Although officially there were no ethnic quotas in place, it was agreed that the National Office of Immigration should discourage agree-



*Fig 2 Massacre des Italiens à Aigues-Mortes, 1893. By G. Stern*

ments with non-European countries and favour those with other European countries as they were deemed 'culturally compatible'. That was how the French government organised for hundreds of thousands of Italian, Spanish and Portuguese workers to come to France in the 1950s. But while France preferred European migrants, economic growth in parts of southern Europe and the levelling off of living standards in some member states of the European Economic Community began to occur, fewer and fewer Italians were prepared to migrate to France towards the end of

the 1950s. At the same time, the French economy grew considerably and needed more and more foreign workers to do the work some French people refused to do, such as mining, steelmaking, construction work and other such demanding work. As fewer Europeans were prepared to migrate to France, the latter turned to its colonies and former colonies in North and sub-Saharan Africa.

While before 1945 there had been few North-African African workers in France (few remained on French soil permanently, most returned home after earning enough money), after 1945 the

French government organised for special envoys to go to North African and sub-Saharan towns and villages to recruit workers, in particular young, single male workers who could be recruited and sent back to their home countries according to labour and economic fluctuations. As a former colonial power, France could count on a large workforce across many continents including Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Vietnam, Mali, Senegal and the French territories of Guyana, Martinique and Guadeloupe, which provided France with the workers it so greatly needed. Those migrant workers were sent mainly to work in France's industrial centres as well as the Paris area. From the middle of the 1950s until the late 1970s, North Africans (especially Algerians and Moroccans) were the largest immigrant group in France. While the North African community comprised largely young male workers in the 1950s, who, so the French government assumed, would return home after having made some money in France, by the end of the 1960s it became clear that their stay in France would not be short-term. Indeed, as many decided to settle in France, they brought their families or started their own families. Most historians agree that the French government had not anticipated this state of affairs. After all, the accommodation the government provided for these immigrant workers was not meant to favour family reunification or marriage. The state-run housing agency called SONACOTRA (*Société nationale de construction de logements pour les travailleurs*), which in the 1950s was created to house immigrant workers, built hostels with very small rooms for single men. It was hoped that this

type of accommodation would discourage family settlement and encourage the workers to go back to their home countries once they had earned some money.

But just as more and more North-African as well as West African immigrants continued to arrive in France, the economic crisis of the 1970s and the accompanying economic difficulties that hit France turned immigration into a social and a political problem. Immigrants, at least from non-European countries, became a 'problem', and according to French public opinion, there were clearly too many of them. Hostility and racist attitudes towards North Africans, which already existed, became commonplace. Immigrants were regularly portrayed as a threat to French culture, identity and labour market. Some French people did



Fig 3 Poster denouncing the Stoléru law  
© Génériques

not hesitate to use hatred and racism for political ends. Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front party, which was created in the early 1970s, portrayed North Africans as a threat to France's national identity and its labour market. One of the party's famous slogans at the time read, '1 million immigrants, 1 million French workers unemployed'.

In the interest of what it felt was the public good, the government decided to put a halt to immigration and created several immigration laws to restrict the numbers of immigrants entering the country. In 1974, the French government put a ban on all immigration; but only on non-European immigration. European immigrants were in fact still welcome. In 1977, another government initiative, known as the Stoléru law, offered money to immigrant workers (10,000 French francs) and their families if they agreed to return to their home countries.<sup>5</sup> In the early 1980s, the new left-wing French government removed some of the old policies that had restricted family reunification and racist attacks became less common. But hostility towards North African immigrants continued, with Jean-Marie Le Pen's openly racist party winning more and more votes in national and local elections, particularly after 1983.

## Conclusion

To conclude, it is clear that immigration in France changed in terms of numbers but also in terms of the immigrants' ethnic backgrounds during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Whereas one can clearly see that between 1918 and the late 1950s the majority of immigrants were Europeans,

afterwards the majority of immigrants came from Non-Europeans countries. Secondly, it is also clear that the conditions in which immigration occurred was different before and after World War II. Whereas before 1945 the state did not intervene in the recruitment of foreign workers, after 1945, it sought to control the number of immigrants. Another conclusion is that at many points in French history, sections of the population and political elites have felt threatened by immigrants and have responded with hostility and violence. Before 1945, European immigrants were seen as problematic and threatening, in particular Italians who were victims of numerous and savage attacks before 1914 (for example Marseilles in 1881, and Lyon in 1894) but also foreign Jews, Poles and Spaniards. In the 1930s, within a context of global economic and financial difficulties, France sent tens of thousands of Polish workers back to Poland. During World War II, Spanish Republicans were interned in camps in France: 30,000 of them were deported to concentration camps in central Europe. As for foreign Jews, the primary target of the Vichy government, 70,000 were deported to concentration camps. However, as the face of immigration changed in France, non-European immigration, and North Africans in particular, represented a threat and became problematic. Thought of as an inassimilable minority, they are seen, as were foreign Jews or Italians before them, as a threat to France's labour market, its culture and identity. What is more, the particular context in which immigrants from the former colonies arrived in France –

it is important to note that France had just lost its colonial empire which for more than 130 years had contributed to France's nation-building – did not help. To be sure, every time France faced economic or social difficulties, immigration was no longer perceived as a temporary solution to an economic problem but as a more permanent social and political 'problem' which needed to be remedied.

## Notes

- 1 See Gérard Noiriel, *Le massacre des Italiens à Aigues-Mortes*, Paris, Fayard, 2010
- 2 Elinor A. Accampo, 'The Gendered Nature of Contraception in France: Neo-Malthusianism, 1900-1920', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 34, 2, 2003:235-262
- 3 Statistique Générale de la France, *Résultats Statistiques du Recensement Général de la Population effectué le 8 mars 1936*, Tome I, 2e partie: 58
- 4 For more information on antisemitism and xenophobia in 1930s France see, Ralph Schor, *L'Antisémitisme en France pendant les années trente: prélude à Vichy*, Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1992; Michael M. Marrus and Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews*, New York: Basic Books, 1981; Vicky Caron, '„Prelude to Vichy: France and the Jewish Refugees in the Era of Appeasement', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20, 1, January 1985
- 5 Lionel Stoléru was junior minister in charge of manual labourers between 1974 and 1978

# 300 years of German Migration History: The New Permanent Exhibition at the German Emigration Center Bremerhaven

*Simone Blaschka-Eick*



*The German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven opened in 2005 and won the European Museum of the Year Award in 2007. The museum allows its visitors to follow the paths of the more than 7 million people who emigrated to the New World through the port of Bremerhaven*

*Photo: Klaus Frahm*

In April 2012 the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven opened a new wing. Now the museum is not only presenting German emigration history but also the immigration history of the last 300 years. The new exhibition wants

to show migration as part of the global movements and not as a national issue. It is the only museum in Germany that presents migration history in such a universal approach and for this long period of time.

As the German Emigration Center is a quite new museum, it was opened in 2005, the need for the extension was not planned because of an obsolete permanent exhibition. It was rather a question of the urgent need of a museum in Germany, a museum presenting the immigration history of Germany: not only the history of the recent past but also the tradition of migration that has been established in Germany at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

This tradition was not and is not part of the huge public discussions on the theme of integration which have lasted since the turn of the millenium. Mostly the discussions focus on the theme of labourers who came to Germany in the 1950s and 1960s and the integration of their descendants. Unfortunately some not very well informed and panic-stricken people get much public attention in these discussions. All these were good reasons for the German Emigration Center to developed, building and presenting the new wing on the theme of immigration to Germany.

### **Overview: Migration from and to Germany 1683 – present**

Germany was and still is an emigration and immigration country; often both concurrently. Since the early modern era, people have migrated to and from the German states: persecuted French protestants fled to Brandenburg – Prussia from 1685 onwards. At approximately the same time, around 1683, protestants from Krefeld near Frankfurt/Main begin immigrating to the colony of Pennsylvania in North America, where the majority sought and found a greater freedom in practising their re-

ligion. A social catastrophe would have taken place in Germany, if migration had not taken place in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: in search of work, at least fifty million men and women left their homelands and moved to Germany. Approximately five million Germans left for overseas, forever. The tide turned at the end of the 1890s: German industry now requires more workers than currently available in the domestic market. Initially, Poles were engaged. From 1955, the German government signed treaties with Italy, Spain, Portugal and Turkey, to bring workers from those countries to Germany. However at the same time, hundreds of thousands of Germans emigrated: most of them hoping to achieve more overseas than in Germany. The two World Wars, initiated by Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, heavily influenced the country's history of emigration and immigration: during the Second World War, Jews and persons politically persecuted by the National Socialist dictatorship fled from Germany. After the war, German refugees and Displaced Persons, from former German regions that were surrendered to Poland and Russia, came into the country.

Starting in the 1970s, Germany's demand for foreign workers subsided. In 1973, the German government imposed the so-called 'ban on recruitment'. With only a few exceptions, no foreign workers were allowed to enter the Federal Republic anymore. In contrast, the German Democratic Republic still recruited foreign contract workers during the 1980s. Emigration was always forbidden in the German Democratic Republic.

Today, Germany is again a country of emigration and immigration: Since the year 2000 more than 150,000 Germans emigrate every year, due to recurrently raging economic and financial crises. Today (2012), particularly Southern and Eastern Europeans seek work in Germany.

### **The concept of the new exhibition**

Besides the presentation of the quite unknown history of immigration to Germany in the last 300 years, the concept of the new exhibition focuses on two further ideas.

First the visitors should be enabled to compare the integration of German immigrants in American society with the integration of immigrants who came to Germany. Of course this is to show that

the behaviour of immigrants in relation of language, social and work life is the same no matter where.

Second, visitors should be enabled to decode all those clues which are hidden in German everyday life showing the rich history of immigration to Germany. For this reason the exhibition focuses on immigrant biographies and everyday life situations and not only on statistics or the political history of the subject. This idea was developed to show migration as a normal part of everyday life and not as something special or theoretical.

### **A gateway to the New World: Grand Central Terminal**

From the gallery a marble staircase leads down to the main concourse with the richly ornamented ticket booths on the



*Detail of the interior of the German Emigration Center: a Grand Central Terminal in New York  
Photo: Ilka Seer*

left and the waiting room's finely turned wooden benches on the left. The new 800 square meter exhibition room with the theme of transit, transports the visitor to one of the world's most beautiful train stations: Grand Central Terminal in New York.

The wealth of design and history make it a perfect place for telling the story of German immigrants to the New World between 1683 and 1974. The story of their dreams and achievements, but also the story of the downsides of life in the New World – the harsh realities of everyday life, the conflicts between Americans and Native Americans, the disappointments and failures. The train station as a backdrop for transition: the scene of arrival, whatever its nature may be.

New York celebrated the opening of the magnificent Grand Central Terminal on February 2, 1913. 'Gateway to an American continent' were the words a promotional leaflet used to describe the terminal on the corner of 42<sup>nd</sup> Street and Park Avenue with its 57 tracks. From here millions of immigrants took the New York Central Railroad bound for Chicago. The booming industrial city on Lake Michigan not only had plenty of jobs to offer but was also convenient for continuing onto the Midwest or still farther to California.

At the same time, hundreds of thousands of Americans arrived at or departed from Grand Central Terminal every day – Americans with European, African or Asian roots, the rich and the poor, the religious and the non-religious, the young and the old – a number totaling over 40 million in 1921, over 53 million eight years later, and, finally,

by 1947 over 65 million.

The rapid settlement of the U.S.A. in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was made possible by the railroad. The steam trains first operated along the East Coast during the 1830s, with connections to the Midwest following later. Once the American Civil War was over in 1865, the railroad, or 'iron horses?', as the Native Americans called the trains, stretched across the huge expanse of America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico.

In most of the newly founded states U.S. Army troops overpowered the Indians, the Native Americans, before larger numbers of European settlers were able to move in. The state of Illinois, founded in 1818, did not register a significant rise in population until after 1832 when the Sac Indians had been defeated. In Illinois particularly as well as in other Midwestern states close to one million German farmers settled between 1830 and 1870.

One of the three dioramas in the waiting room of the new exhibition room gives a precise picture of how these German farmers lived. A second diorama shows German workers in the 'huge, greasy meatpacking plants' of Chicago 'that smelled like the craters of hell.' That is how author Upton Sinclair described the meatpacking industry in his bestselling novel *The Jungle*. A third diorama portrays the period after the First World War and German immigrants who opened their own 'delis' or delicatessen shops.

Visitors to the German Emigration Center will step up to the ticket booths with their bronze adornments just like the travelers did and still do. Exact cop-

ies of eight of the 26 ticket booths in Grand Central Terminal were reproduced for the new exhibition wing, each containing cabinets displaying photos, documents and memorabilia of a German immigrant family.

An audio station relates how emigrants felt as immigrants in their country of arrival, their new home, and what became or has become of their descendants. Their migratory life is preserved in photos and documents and treasured as a keepsake.

### Immigration as Part of Daily German Life

After experiencing how a German emigrant establishes a new existence abroad, visitors cross a bridge connecting the old building to the new wing, thereby changing their perspective from emigration from Germany to immigration to Germany. From this moment on, they no longer follow the path of one of 18 emigrants but that of one of 15 immigrants, leading them back to Germany. Fifteen biographies from 15 different groups of immigrants recount 300 years of immigration history to Germany. And this history is being told in a very public place: a shopping mall.

Here visitors trace the roots of immigrants: the shop windows display common, everyday objects together with the memorabilia of immigrant families, illustrating the stories of 15 immigration groups that came to Germany in the last 300 years. On the ground floor general information on immigration to Germany between 1685 and today can be found as well as the new 'Roxy' cinema.

The first thing to catch the visitor's eye is a kiosk with newspapers dated 24 No-



*On the ground floor in the German Emigration Center visitors will find the new 'Roxy' cinema  
Photo: Ilka Seer*

vember 1973, the day after the recruitment stop was passed, barring the influx of more workers from southern Europe. This was a pivotal date in the history of immigration to Germany. What was Germany like on that particular day in 1973?

### The Search Begins.

Each visitor follows the biography of an individual immigrant whose story unfolds throughout several shops in the little shopping mall. A hairdresser, an ice cream parlor, a vintage book shop, a travel agency, a department store and a camera shop – each shop reproduced after original shops in Wolfsburg, Leverkusen, Cologne and Mönchengladbach. The other shops are more generic representations. Memorabilia from the immigrants' families is displayed in

the shop windows together with other merchandise. For example, one shop window displays camping tableware including mugs, plates and aluminum drinking bottles. While one bottle is from 1973, the other bottle is from the 1950s and once belonged to a Ruhr Pole immigrant who worked in a mine.

A closer look into daily life reveals immigration history. Among common, everyday items dating back to 1973, objects going back 300 years are also to be discovered. It may be reflecting only one year, but it enables a look at the immigration history of Germany in the past and in the present. An even closer look shows examples, disclosing under, between and behind what immigration history conceals. A journey in the past sharpens one's outlook of the present.

Each shop represents a special part of everyday life: there is the hairdresser which touches the theme of beauty and looks: For immigrants who not look like most people in Germany this could be painful by experiencing discrimination.

In the antique bookshop are shelves crowded with memorabilia. For example on the theme of religion:

- a rosary from a French woman who followed her German husband to Germany after he had been displaced from Alsace-Lorraine in 1919.
- a hymn book of a family from Masuria, the men of the family working for 30 years every winter in the Ruhr valley.
- the hymn book of a family of ethnic Germans who were displaced from Rumania to Poland after the Hitler-Stalin pact and who fled to

West Germany after the end of World War II.

- the baptism present from a Huguenot family dating from the 1880s whose ancestors fled to Brandenburg after being persecuted by the catholic king of France in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- the prayer breads of a Moslem woman whose grandmother came to Germany in 1961.

All these people and their descendants found support in their religion during their immigration to Germany. Visitors can compare not only religious objects but also objects on the theme of language and identity in the antique book shop. The other shops represent other themes that are important for the integration of immigrants in a society such as work, family networks and leisure time.

By accompanying an immigrant and his family through the shopping mall the visitor learns more and more about how it feels to be an immigrant in Germany: audio stations based on interviews with the families give a very personal impact and help to understand different points of views.

Together with the opening of the new permanent exhibition the German Emigration Center extended its research work and its collection. In addition to the emigration from Germany to the USA, to Canada, Australia, Argentina and Brazil from 1683 onwards, there is now research work also on the theme of immigration from Europe, Asia and Africa to Germany since 1685.

# Generations of Immigrants, Employment and Entrepreneurship in Australia 1890 – 2000

*Nonja Peters*

## **Introduction**

The small business sector employs around 70 per cent of Australia's work force. Approximately 30 per cent of Australia's small and medium sized businesses are owned by the overseas born. If the second generation were included closer to 50 per cent would be immigrant owned. In Western Australia (WA) close to 40 per cent of the small business sector is immigrant owned, 'Is that not a truly dazzling legacy? (Sibree 2012)'. The focus of this article is WA'S immigrant entrepreneurs.

## **Aims and Objectives**

Who is an immigrant entrepreneur and why is 'history' and 'generations' important to an understanding of the entrepreneurial process? Conceptual approaches most often cited to explain the entry of successive waves of specific immigrant ethnic groups into the small business sector in host environments attributed the differences in representation in the business sector to a group's culture, structural barriers, situational influences, ecological factors, global economic factors, the opportu-

nity structure, supply and demand factors, the need to be upwardly mobile, or combinations thereof. In recent times, Kloosterman, van der Leun & Rath (1998) conceptualized their 'mixed embeddedness' model by extending Roger Waldinger's (1985) 'interactive model' which claimed that ethnic businesses proliferate in industries where there is congruence between the demand of the economic environment and the informal resources of the ethnic population (Kloosterman et al 1998; Peters 2002).

The Kloosterman et al model, which examines the impact of the host's institutions on the entrepreneurial process, located the rise of immigrant entrepreneurship, theoretically, at the intersection of changes in socio-cultural frameworks, on the one hand, and transformation processes in (urban) economies and the institutional framework on the other.<sup>1</sup> However, their model does not address, anymore than previous ones, the wide-ranging intra and inter-ethnic variation in entrepreneurial concentration and style observed among and within immigrant groups in host environments around the world.<sup>2</sup>

In contrast, my research - a comparison of the entrepreneurial behaviours and strategies of first and second generation Greek, Italian and Dutch entrepreneurs in Western Australia over the last century - uncovered a generational shift from primordial to instrumental ethnicity with attendant upward mobility in business category and income in much of the second generation. The following quote from a 1950s first generation businessman is a typical response from this cohort of immigrants:

"I never saw the sun come down of a night. I start at 6 am, finish 9.30-10 pm... If I was to put in 8 hours per day I can live, nothing else. But after the extra hours this is the money you can save. You can save the money but you can't enjoy the life. Life is dead like that, it's a prison!"(Italian delicatessen proprietor in the 50s).<sup>3</sup>

In this paper I argue that because other studies do not compare the generations they miss the contrast articulated above and in doing so keep immigrant enterprise needlessly associated with deprivation and disadvantage.<sup>4</sup> I further contend that this is due to current theoretical models' lack of historical perspective. I illuminate the benefits of viewing immigrant enterprise from an intergenerational perspective.

Vermeulen et al (1985:118); Vermeulen and Govers (1994;1997) describe the model shopkeeper as having had an adequate education, as being self-reliant rather than group oriented and as coming from an entrepreneurial milieu.

Research in the Netherlands, on Greek, Italian and Surinamese entrepreneurs prompted me to add a 'generations' dimension to my inquiry.<sup>5</sup> They all alluded to the fact that socialization into a business milieu inclines the offspring of immigrant entrepreneurs to pursue self-employment and engage in risk-taking behaviour. I relate the greater business success of the second generation to their local education and their differential views on ethnicity. My views are supported by Vermeulen et al, who when asked to predict who was more likely to go into business claimed as the decisive factor - someone from an entrepreneurial background (1985:120).

Palmer (1984:99) defines the second generation as the son or daughter of an immigrant, born in the host country, or educated and socialised there, [who] establishes an entrepreneurial career independent from that of their parents. Yet few theorists separate immigrant entrepreneurs into generations. Lever Tracy et al (1991) failed to make a distinction between first and second generation entrepreneurs even though 20 per cent of the Chinese and nearly 50 per cent of the Indians in their sample were born in Australia. Neither are they concerned with the impact on second generation entrepreneurial activity of access to the local networks their parents' relinquished when they migrated.

Hartmut Kaelble (1981:98) noted how important growingup and having access to the resources of an entrepreneurial milieu had been for the American industrialists he investigated. In his book *The Historical Research on Social Mobility* (1981) he observed increasing numbers of businessmen had fathers

who were businessmen, in the generations following the Industrial Revolution. In my sample more second than first generation entrepreneurs came from a business background. Kets de Vries notes:

"... in spite of the hardships so often experienced by the father, the son frequently follows his footsteps because, paradoxically enough, familiarity with the fact that obstacles have to be overcome in some way has an reassuring quality. Moreover early exposure to risk may increase one's tolerance to it..." (1977:44).

Or it may simply be, as Shakespeare advanced, 'that it is better to take the ills you have than fly to others that you know not of'. (From William Shakespeare's play 'Hamlet': And makes us rather bear those ills we have, Than fly to others that we know not of. Editor's remark.)

The impact of growing up in a family business background is well captured by Michael Novak in this illustrative quote:

"I have often noted my own ignorance and inability in something I much admire: the ability to launch a successful business. My personal fantasy is to be the owner of a wine store. How would one go about it, and not lose one's shirt? Once I asked a young neighbour of mine, who had just opened a pizza parlour on a beach strip surrounded by competitors, how he had the courage to risk his savings in such a (to me)

unlikely venture. He smiled, twenty-five years of age as he was, and said he was already planning to add 200 square feet as soon as the season closed. He said his father owned nine restaurants, in which he himself had worked in every position and taken inventory and managed accounts since reaching the age of ten. He said it was his ambition to own at least five restaurants by the time he was thirty five. It seemed to me that this young man had received through his family-for all I know, extending back several generations-what I think I could never acquire. To him launching a business, creating wealth, was second nature, to me an almost insurmountable barrier. The skills he had learned since the age of ten constitute human capital of a sort lacking to me. It struck me too that much of his human capital was inherited through his family and, perhaps, in some measure through the mercantile culture into which he had luckily been born" (1986:125).

The 'business talk' in which they are raised plays an enormous role in the socialisation process. Italian (born?) Gino recalls that everybody in the old days was in some form of business or another and that the discourse at family or community gatherings was important to the evolution of his business consciousness. The business immigrant tradition and work ethic in which the second generation was raised also made them accustomed to hard work and long hours.<sup>6</sup>

For example, from 1902, Greeks were either shopkeepers or merchants, and

their cafes and fish and chip shops were sprinkled across WA. They were also involved in fishing, pearling, food processing, industrial refrigeration companies, supplying hydraulics to businesses in the mining industry. Not to mention all those in trades or in the restaurant, café and wine industries and other small businesses. From these humble beginnings in recent years, descendants of this group were made Governor and Solicitor General of WA. Many Greeks have also received Australian honours. The process to these dizzying heights included the long hours they were prepared to work. David Lekias, who currently operates a large lighting business, reflects:

"Dad opened up a fruit and milk bar in Barrack Street opposite the Town Hall from personal savings. He was there for around 36 years. We kids all grew up through that shop. We all had to work in the shop after school, and Saturdays and Sundays.<sup>79</sup>"

The Greek boys also recall how racism became a driving force in their success:

"At school we Greek boys-like the Italians, Jews and other ethnics-could not avoid becoming tough guys. We were constantly abused by local boys and had to fight for our rights and for recognition almost every day."—son of Greek migrants.<sup>89</sup>

The same committmemnt and expectation also proved true for the Dutch. Once known as painters and carpenters,

builders, bakers and electricians, the Dutch are now bankers and bureaucrats, writers, artists and architects, developers, shipbuilders, manufacturers and flower exporters. 'They're in every facet of the economy, from construction and investment companies to smaller concerns,' Austal Ships, founded by John Rothwell, the son of Dutch migrants, became a huge multi-million dollar concern. However, their achievements slip under the radar.

Dutch Gerard Verhoeven, links his work ethic attitudes to socialization practices:

"Wherever, whenever, I will always dedicate myself 150 per cent to whatever job I do. Therefore, I reason that in waged labour this would still only give me the wage for which I was contracted. However, if I were to put 150 per cent effort into my own business then, the rewards would be far greater and I get to reap the benefits - not my boss!"

The Dutch also afforded a good example of Max Weber's (1930) *Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and I quote here from Gilmour (1990):

"You can't compete with the Dutchies....no matter how tough it gets, they can reduce their expenditure. They can live on less than anyone. They take pride in surviving on less than you can. When conditions are hard they eat the wallpaper."

Boissevain and Grotenbreg (1987) dub

the type of learning acquired in a family business 'experience and feeling', because it creates an awareness that managerial skills and/or craftsmanship are valuable resources and that individuals exposed to these special background conditions have a greater disposition for developing such characteristics. Children who grow-up in a small business lifestyle pick-up business skills automatically because as de Vries (1977) also noted, despite the vicissitudes of self-employment, its turmoil and other psycho-social uncertainties the process has a profound effect on the family situation and will influence career orientation at a later stage.

A local and/or tertiary education is another important element in the development of many flourishing second-generation concerns. Walker (1988:131) notes that Greek boys from a successful business background tend to be more motivated to do well in school than Greek boys whose parents were in waged labour. Werbner (1990) similarly links the spurts in the fortunes and expansion of the second generation Punjabi Muslims in the Manchester fashion industry to the central role the university educated sons, or younger educated brothers play in the business. She states:

"Seen in terms of their...sophistication, managerial...[and] communicative skills and sheer energy, I can only conclude that the fact that they are educated affects their performance in the business. It does seem that a university degree, however irrelevant it may be, has

a radical impact on the expansion of business" (Werbner 1984:166, 1990:21).

Walker (1988:131) also noticed that the businesses owned by Greeks in his inner city Sydney sample underwent expansion when a universityeducated son joined the firm's ranks. The Greek Kailis' brothers attribute their success as exporters of lobster and other seafood to their secondary/tertiary qualifications which, they maintain, better equipped them to remain flexible and open to market forces and opportunities. Not long after joining their father in the business they began expanding the firm's activities, moving into wholesaling, retailing and even exporting. The brothers eventually created the largest privately owned fishing company in Australia. Second generation Dutch, who figure prominently among the Netherlands-born self-employed, had little formal education. Most had left school early to help the family get on its feet financially. With self-employment easy to achieve in Australia Dutch workingclass parents tended to view a tertiary education as a luxury rather than necessity. However, most of those who became self-employed had completed further education at night school.

Another major difference between the generations in the WA study was their perception of ethnicity. For example for the first generation it was most often primordial, that is measured in terms of social cohesion. Thus the symbol that mobilised various forms of social organisation such as the moral economy – which exploits family members and kin

labour and finances and operates with a greater dependence on ethnic clientele. Among first generation Greek and Italian proprietors ethnic symbols are thus primarily an identity marker and the banner under which they huddle together in residential and/or economic niches to protect themselves against mainstream xenophobia and/or economic exclusion.

In contrast, second generation entrepreneurs of Greek and Italian origin and second generation postwar Dutch were self consciously aware that ethnicity could be a resource, which could be either commercially exploited or suppressed, depending upon the nature of the particular situation (Vermeulen & Govers 1994 and 1997). For example for Italian Frank Cicerello, who runs a very successful inner city travel agency, ethnicity is a marketable commodity, which he ignores in dealings with the general public and invokes in business dealings with the Italian community. Dutch Eddie Verhoeven, the owner of a second hand car yard suppresses his ethnicity, having perceived it to be disadvantageous to acknowledge his heritage in business because of the negative evaluation of the Dutch as frugal and bombastic (know-all) by the Australian business community (Palmner 1984).<sup>10</sup>

For the second generation entrepreneurs then ethnicity presented most often as symbolic capital, that is as a resource they could mobilise for profit, and/or that gave meaning to the entrepreneur's motives and/or actions or a stigma that induced liability, although this could have a positive outcome as schoolyard racism often strengthened a

migrant child's resolve to achieve economically.<sup>11</sup> In addition it constitutes the foundation upon which immigrant entrepreneurs' local, national and transnational communication networks are based. Entrepreneurs of Dutch backgrounds also tended to use ethnic symbols without necessarily participating in an existing ethnic organisation. Instead, they practised what Michael Novak (1986) terms 'cosmopolitan ethnicity':

"One need not be less of a Jew because one teaches at any Ivy league university with mainly gentile colleagues, neighbours, and friends; nor need an Italian, Slovak, or Chinese lose all sense of history, place and emotional self-understanding by living outside an ethnic ghetto." (Novak 1986:131).

The level of social cohesion and ethnic group size were among the Italians and Greeks first generation added determinants of entrepreneurial activity. This was particularly relevant to the labour market patterns of the large Italian population. Evans points out that settling in neighbourhoods, such as the Perth inner city, where most residents are of the same nationality increases not only the regularity of employment but also co-ethnics' exposure to self-employment:

"...even a relatively small number of entrepreneurs can offer employment opportunities to a substantial portion of their co-ethnics. For example, in a group with only average levels of entrepreneurship (6 per cent), if each

business owner employs just one co-ethnic, then 12 per cent of the groups' work force is involved in the ethnic economy and if the employer hires three co-ethnics then 24 per cent are in the ethnic economy. ...the effects are even more striking at higher levels of entrepreneurship" (Evans 1989:959).

Men belonging to very large ethnic groups are, in fact, about one and a half times more likely to be business owners with employees than are men belonging to very small groups (Evans 1989:958; Evans & Kelly (1989). For the Greeks it was high levels of social cohesiveness such as that produced the same effect. For despite the scattered nature of WA's early Greek cafe culture it provided its Greek employees, upon which it totally depended, with proportionately as many opportunities for small business activities as did the Italian enclave, albeit in a strictly limited area - food. This is confirmed by Price (1963;1975) who notes that until WWII, 73 per cent of the Greek immigrants around Australia had entered the catering trade.<sup>12</sup> This is because all that was needed to start a fish and chip shop was some sort of premises, a basin of fat, a container to heat it, a sharp knife to fillet fish and peel and cut potato chips, and the will power to work long hard hours at tedious work (Yiannakis 1996:150).

How this works is best explained with reference to Pnina Werbner's 'culture of entrepreneurship'. It begins when chain migration pioneers find and operate a business niche, later they sponsor co-ethnics into this niche by provid-

ing advice, employment, patronage, credit and/or skills training is relevant for both generations. Because during the process, the initiator-entrepreneur's behaviour becomes a model for the actions, dreams, attitudes and beliefs of increasing numbers of compatriots. Later arrivals or subsequent generations adopt similar strategies because the resources most available to entrepreneurs are available to members of the whole group (1984:187).

### Conclusion

The image of the immigrant entrepreneur as a comparatively recent newcomer to the host environment, arriving as an adult with little or no capital and relatively few qualifications, and subsequently moving from unemployment into self-employment in a business that requires little capital outlay and few qualifications and minimal English language competency, - implicit in the 'mixed embeddedness' model - fits the characteristics of only the first generation entrepreneur in the WA study (Rath et al 1998).

As I explained earlier, in this paper, in contrast to other research, I identify and treat as separate entities first and second generation entrepreneurs. I give as the reason for this distinction the fact that my findings reveal that the two generations predominantly discussed in this thesis, are located in dissimilar businesses because they can access different entrepreneurial resources.

Throughout this paper I illustrate this with reference to the second generation's distinct experiences of ethnicity, the economy and other aspects of the host

society, but in particular their capacity to exploit two cultural milieux which enabled them to make a quantitative leap, from the high risk low capital intensive concerns operated by their parents, to the high capital investment low risk business they own. In contrast to the first generation these entrepreneurs also utilise banks and other loan facilities to assist them in their entrepreneurial ventures (Simon 1993:135/6). The end result of immigrants' entrepreneurial activities is a great change to both the migrant group and the host society. This process is well captured by this quote from academic Loretta Baldassar from Italian origins on the Italian transformation in Australia quoted in an article by Bron Bree.

"These days, it is hard to believe that garlic was once an unknown and highly suspicious food [by host society], that olive oil was only available from chemists in small glass bottles for medicinal purposes, that bread was prized for its ability to be cut in thin square slices, that cheese came in silver paper and melted into slippery blobs when cooked, that wine was considered a beverage for foreigners and that tea was more popular than coffee" (Sibree 2012).

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## Notes

- 1 WA immigrants currently (1996) own nearly 40% of the enterprises in the state's small businesses sector. If we were to add the second generation to this figure, immigrant entrepreneurs would comprise the majority of small businesses in WA (Collins (1998:18).
- 2 The quotes in this article are derived from the author's PhD, which was based on 255 oral history interviews she conducted with Greek, Italian, Dutch and Vietnamese immigrants between 1992 and 1999. The European groups were chosen because they have self-employed profiles above the national average the Indochinese because Asian immigration to Australia is becoming more prominent and their business behaviour is even less understood than that of Europeans.
- 3 Interview RW, 1998.
- 4 The second generation in my paper comprise individuals who originated from an ethnic business background; those who had acquired the requisite skills to become self-employed while employed; and individuals who had inherited a business from a relative. It also comprised individuals who strove, through economic success, to become integrated into the Australian and immigrant socio-economic systems and who in opposition to their parents achieve this by innovative dynamic practices such as expanding and modernising businesses established by their parents, or in businesses they established from scratch for themselves in unrelated fields.
- 5 Unfortunately, apart from Boissevain & Grotenbreg the books are only available in the Dutch language.
- 6 For the migrant children in this study who had grown-up in a business milieu these attributes were amplified by a strong work ethic and an ideology that links self-employment with success and independence.
- 7 Interview D.L. 1996.
- 8 Ibid.
- 9 Interview E.P 1995.
- 10 Palmer (1984) describes such entrepreneurs as 'culture suppressed'.
- 11 . Werbner's 'culture of entrepreneurship' echoes Schumpeter 'swarm of entrepreneurs' (Swedberg 1991:41)..
- 12 Price, C. Early 20th Century 'Naturalisation Records.' Canberra: Business Archives, Australian National University.

# ‘Go west!’ New Perspectives on Recent Immigration from Eastern Europe to Germany

*Dietmar Osses*

## **Abstract**

The crisis and breakdown of eastern European states in the 1980s and 1990s brought an unexpected number of immigrants to Western Germany. In these years, nearly 4.5 million people went to the Federal Republic of Germany as political refugees, asylum seekers or repatriates. They came mainly from the former Soviet Union States, Poland, Romania and the former States of Yugoslavia.<sup>1</sup>

The history of migration flows between Germany and these states vary greatly. A closer look on the differences and on the similarities between these groups of immigrants and a comparison of the historical backgrounds and political implications as well as on individual decisions of the immigrants can open up new perspectives on this period of immigration to Germany.

This article presents the results of a temporary exhibition at the Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage and Culture – Hannover Colliery in Bochum which was complemented by a co-operation project with the Ruhr

University Bochum<sup>2</sup>. Individual life stories of immigrants from Eastern Europe formed the basis of the project. A set of 30 oral history interviews opened up a broad spectrum of individual and collective experiences. In the exhibition, eleven life stories gave insight in expectations and experiences of the immigrants concerning migration, home, belonging and identity.

## **Go west: The project**

With the project ‘Go west! Immigration from Eastern Europe to the Ruhr’ the Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage and Culture focused on the immigration from different countries of Eastern Europe to the Ruhr during the last 30 years. From the end of the 1980s to 2005 about 2.3 million immigrants from countries of the former Soviet Union came to Germany, about 2 million people from Poland, more than 430,000 people from Romania, some hundred thousands from the former States of Yugoslavia and another 200,000 Jewish immigrants.



*Fig 1 Immigrants Emir and Krisitna exploring the exhibition Go west*

The history of this immigration has not yet been told. In comparison with other groups of immigrants and in contrast to the high number of nearly 4.5 million immigrants from Eastern Europe, they often seem to be invisible in German society and everyday-life. So one of the main aims of the project was to tell this story of these immigrants, to give them visibility and a voice.

An important impulse for the project came from the Slavic department of the Ruhr University in Bochum. Over the last 10 years the quota of native Slavic speakers among the students increased from under 5 percent in the late 1990s up to 95 percent nowadays. All of them have a personal or familiar migration experience and most of them are highly interested in the history of migration from and to Germany. For this reason

the museum decided to develop a co-operation project with two special courses at the university to prepare an exhibition in the museum. The participants of the courses covered the main emigration countries: the former Soviet Union States, Poland and the former States of Yugoslavia. As the Romanian language is not a Slavic language, the museum decided just for practical reasons to deal with the Romanians in a later project and concentrated on the Slavic-speaking people for this time.

Apart from one single person, all of the students were native speakers in a Slavic language and had personal migration background. So in the end, the first step of the courses, research on the history of migration between Germany and Eastern Europe's states, led the students to research and discover their own

history and the history of their families.

Furthermore, due to their own immigration experience and their close connections with different immigrant communities, the students could easily open access to a broader part of the communities and to immigrants of all ages.

So in the end the project managed to obtain memories and objects from more than 20 people, which could be shown in the exhibition 'Go west! Immigration from Eastern Europe to the Ruhr', presented in the Hannover Colliery - Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage and Culture in Bochum.

With the personal experience, stories and objects from the immigrants the exhibition allowed to tell new stories about immigration to Germany and about living in Germany as an immigrant from Eastern Europe.

As introduction of the exhibition, a giant map of Europe and Asia and a synopsis of the milestones of migration history from and towards Germany and the Eastern European States gave both introduction and historical background information. After insights into the collective experiences of immigrants in Germany, the exhibition followed the way of the immigrants from Poland, former Yugoslavia, former Soviet Union states and Jewish immigrant. For each group personal stories were given and at each topic in the exhibition there was an audio station installed where the people told their own story with their own voice.

### **Russia as the land of the free: Emigration from Germany in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century**

From the beginning of the 18th century up to the end of the 19th century Germany was a country of emigration. In this time, Germany was not a united state but shattered in dozens of kingdoms, duchies and counties. Following the principle 'cuius regio, eius religio', the religion of the people depended on the particular monarch. Freedom of religion was seldom granted, personal and economic freedom was strictly limited by landlords, guilds and crafts.

In 1763, Catherine II, the Tsarina of Russia with German roots, recruited farmers and craftsmen from German countries to emigrate to Russia. She promised far-reaching privileges to the settlers: freedom of religion, release of military draft, autonomy and self-administration on local level with use of the German language, up to 30 hectares of land for free, exemption from taxation for 30 years and financial help for the first years in Russia. Within five years time about 30,000 emigrants followed the recruitment and built up 104 German communities and cities around the river Volga.

A second wave of German immigration to Russia started in 1787, when emigrants from Southern Germany and from West Prussia, most of them Mennonites who sought for religious freedom, settled down in the very South of Russia and around the Black Sea.

A third wave of immigrants from Germany went to Russia in the 1860s, especially coming from former Polish territories, from East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Posen and from Württem-



*Fig 2 Emma and Elena - Two generations immigrants from Russia*

berg. In contrast to the settlers before, they were recruited by landlords as peasants after the abolition of serfdom in Russia in 1861. These immigrants did not get any privileges but freedom of religion which was important for these some 200,000, mostly Lutherans and Mennonites.

In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the period of growing nationalism in Europe brought the withdrawal of privileges from German immigrants in Russia. With the beginning of the First World War, the public use of the German language, the publishing of German newspapers and selling of German books were forbidden by the Russian Tsar. By 1918, about 200,000 Germans had

been expelled and deported to Siberia. But the period of forming Soviet Republics brought in some parts new freedom for the German immigrants and led to the building of the Volga German Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic within the USSR in 1924.

During World War II, after the German offensive against the Soviet Union in 1941, all Germans in the USSR were sent to camps, banished and deported, mostly to Kazakhstan, Siberia and other remote areas. They had to work and live in work camps and were conscripted into the Soviet labour army. In 1953 lifelong banishment was rescinded and from 1956 on Germans were permitted to return to the European parts of the

USSR, but not to their former settlements nor to Eastern or Western Germany. The use of the German language in public and exercise of religion was forbidden in some areas. In everyday-life, German culture was suppressed by the communist party. In times of discrimination and suppression (Western) Germany appeared for a lot of Germans in Russia as the land of desire. But due to the Cold War and Iron Curtain only a relatively small number of 109.000 Germans managed emigrate from the USSR to Germany in the years 1953-1987.

### **Partitions, reconstitution and shift of territory: Polish Migration and migrating Poland**

The migration history of Poland is one of the most extraordinary in Europe. As a consequence the three partitions of Poland in 1773, 1792 and 1795 from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century legally there was no sovereign Polish state up to 1918. The former Polish territory and population was divided between the Prussian State in the west, the Russian Empire in the east and the Austrian-Hungarian Kingdom in the south. Every nation brought their elites, administration and settlers to the new territories.

After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 the Polish people in the Prussian territories acquired legal status as inhabitants of the German Empire of Polish origin. Legally, in Germany they were not treated as foreigners but as members of the Empire. So it was easy for them to go west without crossing a legal border.

Due to crop failures, the strict inheritance law and a system of serfdom, from 1871 onwards thousands of Pol-

ish men, mainly poor peasants from the rural areas, followed the call of money and labour and moved to Western Germany to the 'Ruhrgebiet', the new, explosively growing industrial area in the Rhineland and Westphalia along the river Ruhr<sup>3</sup>. They worked in coal mines and iron works and satisfied the urgent need of workers for the growing heavy industries. Some coal mines and miners 'colonies' had a quota of 50 percent up to more than 75 percent Polish workers and inhabitants. The Polish immigrants built up a closed meshed network of ethnic associations and organisations. But for the Prussian-German authorities in a state of permanent social struggle this high number of Polish people in Westphalia and their self-confident organisations appeared as a threat. In the year 1900 the government set up a centre for observation of the Polish Immigrants in Bochum. The use of the Polish language was now forbidden during meetings of the Polish associations and Polish miners were forced to use the German language – officially for the reason of safety in the mines. For Polish church services, the use of the Polish language was restricted, and songs and sermons had to be approved by the authorities before the services.

At the beginning of World War I more than 500,000 Polish people lived in the Ruhrgebiet. Official policy tried now to avoid any social conflicts in the Empire and improved the situation for the Poles in Germany step by step.

After the war the state of Poland was reconstituted as the Second Polish Republic on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1918. Poland got back the former Polish territories of West Prussia and Poznan. The industrial



*Fig 3 Polish immigrant Agnieszka*

region in Upper Silesia, after the Ruhrgebiet one of the biggest in Europe, was divided between Germany and Poland. The division was accompanied by serious fights and forced migration on both sides. In the Ruhrgebiet, the number of Polish people decreased from more than half a million in 1914 to about 160,000 in the 1920s. In 1919 Polish immigrants in Germany acquired legal status as an ethnic minority with a special protection by law. It guaranteed free use of the Polish language, assistance for building up Polish schools, the right to develop associations and political parties and exemption from military draft. This status helped to develop and improve Polish culture, associations and political parties in Germany, especially in Westphalia. During the rise of the National Socialist regime the Polish minority in German managed to keep its autonomy until the beginning of 1939.

But with the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, the Poles in Germany lost all the rights, Polish associations were forbidden, and officials were sent to concentration camps. In the following years, hundreds of thousands of Poles were sent to Germany as forced labourers and most of the Jewish Polish community were killed in concentration camps.

After the end of World War II, the borders between Germany and Poland were re-established. Germany lost all territories in the East along a line at the rivers Oder and Neisse. The former German population was expelled, more than 8.5 million Germans were forced to leave, but more than 1 million Germany remained in Poland, some hundred thousands of them by force as they were needed as skilled workers and specialists. At the same time, Poland lost its Eastern territories with a majority of Ukrainian and Byelorussian population. This shift westwards of the Polish territory forced the migration of millions of people: Germans, Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Jews.

After the division of Germany by the Allied Forces, the establishment of two separate German states and the building of the Berlin Wall, migration between Poland and Germany stopped completely, but for a short period of political thaw within the Cold War from 1956 to 1958 less than 200,000 Germans got permission to repatriate.

The Federal Act on Displaced Persons and Refugees from 1953 guaranteed people of German origin free access to the Federal Republic of Germany as ethnic German repatriates. As an ethnic German repatriate one got (back)

German citizenship as sole citizenship, consideration of social insurance, compensation for lost real estates and properties and assistance to find accommodation and work. This act was meant as a political statement that Germany would not ever forget any member of the German nation.

### **Work migration, immigration restrictions and the iron curtain: Politics and reality in Germany 1955-1973**

From the early beginning in 1949 up to the year 2000, the official policy of the Federal Republic of Germany stated: Germany is not a country of immigration!

But in contrast to this statement, from the very beginning on million of immigrants came to Germany. In the middle of the 1950s, Western Germany encountered a phase of intense economic boom. The heavy industries – coal, iron and steel, located in the Ruhrgebiet - provided the backbone of this development.

As the ever-increasing demand for workers could not be satisfied, the West German government signed several recruiting agreements with states from South and South-Eastern Europe as Italy (1955), Spain and Greece (1960), Turkey (1961), Morocco and South Korea (1963), Portugal (1964), Tunisia (1965) and Yugoslavia (1968).

More than 14 million so-called so called 'guest workers' and their families followed the call of labour and the hope for a better life to Germany. The recruiting agreements allowed them to stay in Germany from one half up to two years. But millions of them managed to get

follow up permissions and stayed much longer.

After the ban of recruitment in 1973, which was set up in several European states due to the economic crisis, at least 3 million of the 'guest workers' decided to stay in Germany for lifetime. Many of them, especially immigrants from Turkey, brought their families to Germany in the following years. So in opposition to the political aim not only the absolute number of immigrants but also the portion of non-working and workless immigrants increased further. Facing an increasing number of more than 300,000 workless immigrants during the continuing economic crisis, in 1984 the federal government enacted a law to grant financial help for immigrants to repatriate to their home countries. By taking the amount of 10.500 DM the repatriates lost half of their claims for social insurance and the right to a later return to Germany for a permanent stay. About 150,000 workless guest workers took the money and returned.

### **Mass immigration from Eastern Europe**

A new and unforeseen wave of immigration to Germany appeared in the late 1980s and 1990s. The breakdown of the communist governments in the 1980s and 1990s brought a wave of 4.5 million immigrants to Germany. Mainly from Eastern Europe, they came as political refugees, asylum seekers or as ethnic German repatriates.

For this huge and diverse group of immigrants the laws and restrictions regulating German citizenship were of crucial importance. German citizenship



Fig 4 Immigrants at the Unna-Massen train station in the 1980s

is based on the principle of the blood-line, following the *ius sanguinis*. Citizenship depends on the citizenship of the parents, not on the country where one is born. In addition, the Constitution provided for one single citizenship and prohibited double citizenship. For people living in the former German territories in the east, this meant that they and their offspring were still considered to be Germans by law. This ensured that they could return to Germany as Germans at any time. In contrast to this, for political refugees as asylum seekers Germany only provides protection. The fact of political persecution has to be proved in court. According to the law, political asylum seekers have the right to stay in Germany until their status is cleared. They get housing and food in refugee

camps but they do not get a permission to work and earn money in this time.

After the repression of the *Solidarność* movement and establishment of martial law in Poland in 1981, nearly 100,000 Poles came as political refugees to Germany. Some escaped crossing the green border to Czechoslovakia, others were forced to leave the country by the Polish authorities and were brought to the German border. According to West German law, as political asylum seekers they had the right to stay in the Federal Republic of Germany until their status was cleared. But they did not get permission to work and were not allowed earn money in this time.

Faced with increasing problems, political and economic crisis, only a few months later thousands of Poles decided to leave their home country. For most of them the situation of the country appeared completely hopeless and first of all families with young children decided to take the enormous risk of leaving the country illegally.

Legal emigration from Poland was nearly impossible since the quota of permissions was extremely restricted. Filing an application for emigration to a 'capitalistic' state in the eyes of the communist authorities was a treasonable act which could cause a lot of disadvantage for the applicants and their families. Legal emigrants lost their real estate and the right to return to the country.

As a consequence, a lot of emigrants used a limited tourist visa to cross the border. As they had to expect negative consequences for themselves, their families and friends in Poland, plans for emigration were kept secret. To avoid any problems a lot of young families emi-

grated from Poland with strictly limited luggage, telling their children that they were going on holidays to Germany.

Up to the year 1990 more than one million emigrated from Poland to Germany. The vast majority benefitted from the possibility of getting the legal status as an ethnic German repatriate. In those days it was easy to convince the authorities that one had German roots. In most cases it was enough to have ancestors who lived in the former German areas, to have German ancestors, or to claim to have been practicing German culture..

As a repatriate one got free German language courses, help to find housing and employment, and payments to Polish social insurance were assigned to the German social insurance. So it was not difficult to claim to be an ethnic German and a lot of Poles did so. The majority of the new immigrants from Poland followed the old track of migration and came to Westphalia – this was a well known country over generations of migrants.

The wave of emigration from Poland was followed by millions of people who came from the states of the former Soviet Union. From 1990 to 1996 more than 3 million people immigrated mainly from Russia, Kazakhstan and the Ukraine to Germany. Most of them were attracted by the first euphoria about the reunification of Germany in 1990 on the one hand and were shocked by rising nationalism, outbreaks of anti-German feeling, and breakdown of the economy in the collapsing Soviet States on the other hand. Emigrants of all ages emigrated to Germany, nearly 100 percent applied for authentication as ethnic

German repatriates. Provided that discrimination against Germans and its repercussions in some successor states of the Soviet Union was still persisting, family members who are not considered ethnic Germans themselves could be authenticated as ethnic German repatriates by a special reception procedure. Being accepted they are awarded the German citizenship by act of law and got the full amount of assistance programmes.

### **From multi-ethnic state to civil war: Yugoslavian work migrants and refugees of war from former Yugoslavian states**

Shortly after forming the Kingdom of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in 1918 as a multi-ethnic state, more than 10,000 emigrants went to Germany to work as miners and industrial workers the Ruhrgebiet. When the state was renamed by King Alexander I as 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia' in 1929, Yugoslavians made up the fifth largest group of immigrants in the Ruhrgebiet after immigrants from Poland, the Netherlands, Austria and Czechoslovakia. During World War II, Yugoslavia was invaded by German troops. With help of the Croatian fascist militia 'Ustaše' Croatia was made a German satellite state; other parts of Yugoslavia were occupied by Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary and Italy. Communist and royalist groups built powerful resistance forces in several parts of Yugoslavia who initiated effective guerrilla campaigns against the occupation, supported by the exiled royal government and the Allies. In April and May 1945 partisans succeeded in the liberation of the Yugoslavian territory. After re-estab-

lishment of the Yugoslavian Kingdom in November 1945, in 1946 Yugoslavia was transformed into a Socialist Federal Republic with the six Socialist Republics, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Slovenia and Serbia with the two autonomous Provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina. In contrast to the Soviet satellite-states, the super-diverse multi-ethnic and multi-religious state of Yugoslavia was largely allowed freedom from interference from the Soviet Union. Under the presidency of Josip Tito by and large the government managed to balance the different claims of ethnic and religious groups with some political pressure. Looking back on the success of Partisan forces, they played an important role for the integration of different political forces in Yugoslavia.

In contrast to all the other communist states in Europe, facing economic crisis and growing populations in the late 1960s, Yugoslavia decided to allow work migration to western capitalist European states. After the recruiting agreement between Yugoslavia and West Germany in 1968 some hundred thousand migrant workers came to Ger-

many - not only men but a high quota of women who worked in the electrical industry in South Germany and the Ruhrgebiet. With a growing tourism industry mainly in Croatia and Slovenia many Yugoslavian immigrants in Germany decided to open Yugoslavian restaurants in Germany to serve Yugoslavians as well as returning German tourists. In 1973 the number of Yugoslavian immigrants in Germany reached the peak of more than 700,000. In spite of the halt to recruitment and the policy of repatriation in the 1980s more than 300,000 Yugoslavians remained in Germany.

Economic and political crisis, rising nationalism and religious tensions led to the Yugoslav Wars in the 1990s. Facing the breaking down of the Yugoslavian State and the civil war in the 1990s, more than 1.2 million people from former Yugoslavian States took refuge in Germany. Based on a special Quota Refugee Act from 1991 until 1995 345,000 Bosnians found refuge in Germany, followed by 195,000 refugees from Kosovo after 1999. Most of the others did not register as refugees but went to their relatives and stayed as visitors in Germany for some time.



*Fig 5 Muslim Serb immigrant Emir in the exhibition Go west*

### **Immigration to the homeland of offenders: Jewish migration from former Soviet Union States to Germany**

The persecution of the Jews by the Germans and the Holocaust is an exceptional chapter of European history. Under the Nazi regime, approximately 6 million Jews were killed using a programme of systematic persecution and



*Fig. 6 Roman and Elizaveta - Two generations Jewish immigrants*

murder in the German Reich and the occupied states. After the Second World War in some parts of Europe and the especially the Soviet Union, anti-Semitism and discrimination of Jews continued. In the states of the Soviet Union, Jews were legally an ethnic group and Jewish ethnicity was marked on identification cards. Anti-Semitic policy in the Soviet Union reached a peak in 1952 and 1953 with the execution of Jewish poets and journalists and Stalin's campaign against Jews as 'corrupt Jewish bourgeois nationalists'. After Stalin's death in 1953 anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism was not part of the official policy but kept going on as everyday-life appearance. Jews were still discriminated and had generally no chance to practise their faith.

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, because of the ongoing anti-Semitism in some parts of the Soviet Union the first free and democratically elected government of the German Democratic Republic decided in autumn 1990 to grant general asylum for Jews coming from the Soviet Union States. After the re-unification Germany kept this act from till nowadays. Following a restricted quota Jewish emigrants from succeeding states of the Soviet Union get protection and assistance in Germany and the right of residence. Since 1993 about 200,000 Jews immigrated to Germany.

#### **Different history, common experiences: Attitudes towards Germany**

The oral history project 'Go west!' made by the Westphalian State Museum of

Industrial Heritage and Culture in co-operation with the Ruhr University Bochum with approximately 30 interviews gave the chance to get insight in some attitudes of the immigrants about Germany and the Germans.

The diversity of relationships between Germany and the mentioned states in history as well as the specific development of the migration history of every group generates a broad variety of attitudes towards and narratives about Germany and the Germans. These attitudes and narratives differ between the various generations. Especially members of the elder generation who had personal experience with war and the period reconstruction suffered from the experience of war and dictatorship whereas the younger generation got to know about the war and Nazi Germany only from school education, common narratives and family stories.

A set of similar experiences of all the mentioned groups is the experience of living in a Communist society. Until the end of the Soviet Union the years from 1941 to 1945 were officially celebrated as the great patriotic war which in the end brought the victory of the Soviet System. By the Communist party, Western Germany was said to be a state, where capitalism and fascism still remained whereas the German Democratic Republic as a Socialist Republic obtained to have overcome these systems. By and large the interviews showed that this official narrative and especially the periodic political ceremonies with parades and tributes to the veterans and heroes of the war were well known. But besides this official view there were different family stories to be found. While

in some Croatian families the history of the Partisans played a predominant role, among the ethnic German immigrants from former Soviet Union states the history of persecution of the Germans after 1941 stood in the foreground. Especially the immigrants from Poland with German roots knew about the banishment and discrimination of Germans in Poland but also about the crimes of the Soviets against Polish people during the war. With a closer look on the younger generation which includes the students of the University's courses the lack of knowledge about Germany's pre-democratic history was striking. This is even true for a 23 year-old Jewish immigrant from Kazakhstan who came to Germany three years before and didn't know anything about the Holocaust. In contrast to western Germany and a lot of western European countries, the Holocaust was no story to be told in the Soviet Union.

Another collective experience for most of the migrants of the 1990s (excepting the Polish) was a growing nationalism in most of the states which in the end led to war in some post Soviet states and in the former Yugoslavia. In post communist states extreme nationalism often was accompanied by rising anti-Semitism and glorification of National-Socialism.

A further set collective experience of nearly all immigrants was to live to see the economic and political breakdown of the own country which caused an intense feeling of hopelessness and threat for the future of oneself and the family. In such a situation, Germany appeared for most of the immigrants as a kind of 'promised land'.



Fig 7 Maria and Kristina, immigrants from Russia Kazakhstan, members of the project 'Go west'

### Immigrant's first steps in Germany

As much as the motivation to emigrate and ways to cross the border differed, as homogeneous were the first steps for the immigrants in Germany. The immigrants from Eastern Europe were mainly collected in two big camps, the Friedland Camp near the city of Göttingen in Lower Saxony and the Camp Unna-Massen near the city of Dortmund in Northern Westphalia.<sup>4</sup>

Regardless of social origin every immigrant had to go to an immigration camp and stay there for some days or weeks until legal status was checked and confirmed.

The interviews of the project 'Go west' proved that this procedure made a big impact on all immigrants and is still clearly remembered by all of them.

They kept a lot of details in mind. By and large in retrospect the immigrants were impressed by the bureaucracy that appeared to them not as impersonal and restrictive but as useful and efficient. Another clearly remembered issue was the special situation in the language courses, as most of them had none or insufficient knowledge of the German language. There was a special feeling of solidarity and networking to help each other in the new surroundings among the immigrants. Some of these networks especially within the group of Polish immigrants were maintained even after the period in the camps and formed the core of a large number of different Polish associations we still can find in Germany.

A further collective memory is the situation of entering the local supermarket

for the first time. Most of the Eastern European migrants lacked a variety of fresh and exotic fruits, of technical and luxury goods from the Western world in their home country. In the mostly simple supermarkets near the immigration camps they found what they longed for. The first purchase appeared to them as a kind of proof for the better life that they were looking for. Twenty years after their immigration a lot of immigrants still remember what they bought at their first purchase in Germany.

### **Living as immigrants in Germany**

After clearing legal status, the immigrants chose different ways to their new life in Germany. Those who were approved as ethnic German repatriates got German nationality and were helped to find accommodation and employment. The early immigrants from Poland often tried to assimilate completely. Many of them did not speak Polish in public. They built up informal networks to help each other and have talks in Polish in private rooms. It is a phenomenon of the last five to ten years that Polish shops, companies and legal association appear in the Ruhrgebiet as well as Polish concerts, festivals and art exhibitions. The members of the Polish artist association 'Kosmopolen' reflect the questions of being Polish in Germany. The Polish immigrants seem to be on their way to look after their history and their future in Germany.<sup>5</sup>

Looking at the immigrants from former Soviet Union countries we can see that similar to the Polish the majority of them were accepted as ethnic German immigrants. Some of them had experienced negative stereotypes and

discrimination in the USSR because of their German origin. A general narrative of them is desire for a better future for their children which they hoped to find in Germany. In our research we found a lot of examples where these desires seemed to be fulfilled by the success of the children in jobs and social life. But on the other hand there were several examples of parents who experienced the loss of self-confidence, who lost their feeling self-worth and belonging to the society: 'In Russia I was treated as a German but in Germany now I am treated as a Russian' – that seems to be a collective feeling of the elder generation.

Looking at the immigrants from former Yugoslavian states it is significant that most of them tried to go back to their homeland in the last few years. But a lot of them today swing [Hans, I've not idea what this means!] Germany and the Yugoslavian successor states. Due to maintaining religious and ethnic discrimination in the new states, it is often not possible for all to go back for good and live in peace there. The experience of war, extreme nationalism and religious intolerance has split the former Yugoslavian community in Germany. Language courses and church services have often taken a nationalistic turn - a development which is not accepted by all of the immigrants, especially those who have well integrated families in Germany. In our project we found both - evidence of a trend for growing Croatian, Serbian or Bosnian identity and self-consciousness as well as sticking to a 'Yugoslavian' or 'Balkan'-identity or new cross-over identities as Serbian Muslims.

The general asylum for Jewish immigrants from Russia and the other Soviet

Union successor states brought 200.000 Jews to Germany. In the Ruhrgebiet, in the past years the Jewish communities have reached the numbers they had before 1933. Due to this several new and prestigious Jewish synagogues have been built, often with help from the local government in a sense of indemnification. But the Jewish religious communities have to face new challenges: As a consequence of the interdiction of Jewish church services in the Soviet Union, there is a great lack of knowledge about Judaism and Jewish religious life. As the Jewish immigrants mostly have none or insufficient knowledge of the German language as well, the Jewish communities in practise have got the function of schools and meeting points particularly for elder Jewish immigrants.

### **Identities and feelings of belonging**

The comparison between the four different groups allowed the visitors to the exhibition 'Go west!' to have a closer look at specific conditions and circumstances. This helped to find patterns of individual and of collective stories and memories. A key question for the exhibition was the question of identity and the personal feeling of belonging to Germany as a new homeland.

The exhibition ended with an audio station where the visitors could listen to various people telling how they feel in Germany as immigrants and what their identity looks like. Within the vast variety of different identities one could separate out two main trends. Looking at the elder generation there was a noticeable number of immigrants who felt 'lost between two nations'. On the other hand, it appears as if especially

the younger immigrants do not stick to a single national or ethnic defined identity. Most of them do know their 'foreign' roots, but have developed parts of a German identity, too. They express that feeling as 'having two roots' or 'having two homelands'. Maybe the name of the association of Polish artists in Germany, 'Kosmopolen', is a hint at the development of a kind of 'European identity'.

## Notes

- 1 For a short overview about immigration history to Germany see Schneider, Jan: *The Organisation of Asylum and Migration Policies in Germany*, Nürnberg 2012
- 2 The results of the project are given in the catalogue: Osses, Dietmar (ed.): *Nach Westen. Zuwanderung aus Osteuropa ins Ruhrgebiet*, Essen 2012
- 3 See also: Osses, Dietmar: *Polish Immigrants in Westphalia - A European Case Study of Integration?* AEMI Journal Vo. 10, 2012:82-88
- 4 These were the main and permanent camps erected in 1945 (Friedland) and 1946/51 (Unna-Massen), first to serve refugees to Germany. In West Berlin, Marienfeld camp was installed in 1953, first to serve German refugees from the GDR
- 5 In 2013 'Porta Polonica', a documentation center for the culture and history of Poles in Germany was founded. See: Barski, Jacek/ Osses, Dietmar (ed.): *Polen in Deutschland. Geschichte und Kultur*. Essen 2013

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# ‘From Bootblack to a Position of Trust and Importance in the Business World’

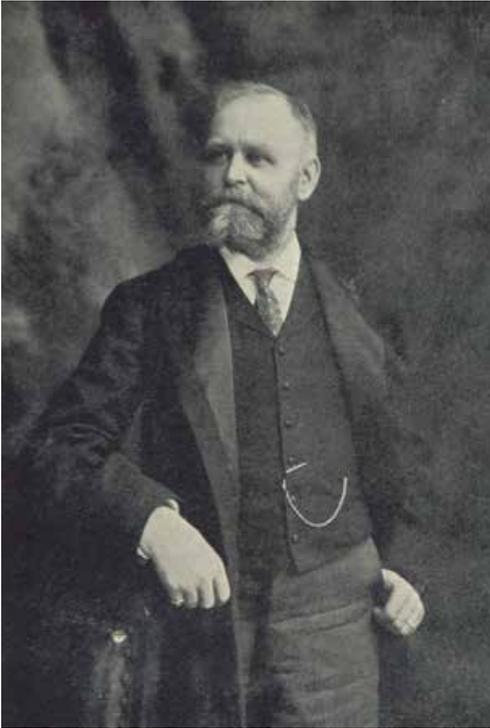
## The Biography of the New Yorker German-American Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924) as a Case Study of Integration and Participation

*Paul Heinz Pauseback*

At the AEMI Conference in 2009 I spoke about an ‘upcoming project’ between the Emigrant Archive of the *Nordfriisk Instituut*, where I am located, and the North Sea Museum, Nissenhaus regarding scientific research into the biography of Ludwig Nissen, the donor of the Nissenhaus museum in Husum.<sup>1</sup> Here I present some of my findings regarding the themes of integration and participation. As I had supposed from the beginning, Ludwig Nissen has proved to be an ideal guide to the New York of his day, to the boom-town of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and to a society so full of activity and mobility, mixed together from all of Europe and the rest of the world. Ludwig Nissens life – born 1855, emigrated 1872 and died 1924 – included the move of young immigrant in Manhattan’s Little Germany to millionaire in the New York and U.S. business elite. In

the 1880s and 1890s just when Ludwig Nissen made his rapid progress into the business world by becoming the leading importer in diamonds, pearls and precious stones, this previously divided group consolidated to a well defined class.<sup>2</sup> It was a power elite composed of very rich and influential merchants, manufacturers and investment bankers, that dominated the politics of the United States in the decades around the turn to the twentieth century.

‘The life of a nation is told by the lives of its people’, is the slogan of the American Biography Online. In this respect the biography of Ludwig Nissen opens a wide range of themes regarding Brooklyn, Greater New York and the United States. Through an otherwise nearly inaccessible mass of information Nissen leads the researcher to places and shows him events that are fundamental in the process of socialization, integration and



Ludwig Nissen around 1914. Source: Nordsee Museum, Nissenhaus, Husum, Germany.

participation. We find him active on the dance floor, in election campaigns, on Republican Party gatherings, as well as in club life, the Masonic world, and several manufacturers and merchants associations where the leading men of politics and business met. Only since more and more material of U.S. archives has become accessible through the Internet has it become possible to do such work, even from the European side of the Atlantic. Especially the New York newspapers are a great source, immense in quantity as well as quality and outcome. Combined with a collection of newspaper clippings by Ludwig Nissen himself this is my main source. Nissen was present in the newspapers from the mid-1880s over a period of 40 years until his

death in 1924. From the nearly 2,000 articles and shorter hints yet known, I have read and registered nearly half, especially for the years up to 1902 and from 1914 to 1920.

He quickly made his way from Manhattan's *Little Germany* to *Millionaires row* in Brooklyn. I wrote in 2009 that a prosopography of Ludwig Nissen will be of priority from the start and a vital part of the project.<sup>3</sup> To reconstruct his life for me means first to try to give an identity to the many names connected with him in the sources and identify these persons as friends, partners or counterparts who were linked with Ludwig Nissen in various political, social, religious, business networks. Besides time and place, these networks of personal contacts are at the heart of my research..

One emphasis of this report will be on Ludwig Nissens self-assessment as a well-integrated U.S. citizen of German descent in the conflicts connected with the Great War in Europe and the great 'showdown', as I will call it, in the year 1917 as the U.S. entered the war against Germany. Right after the beginning of the war Ludwig Nissen took a pronounced pro-German and anti-British position. In the following years the contrast between the German-American minority and the Anglo-American population in the United States, which has been gradually sharpened since the beginning of the twentieth century became more and more acute. Starting from some vague anti-German sentiment, public opinion led by a greatly irresponsible press gave way to an irrational hate against everything believed to be German. The declaration of war in April 1917 soon brought a quite

hysterical demand for loyalty which was mostly identified with an aggressively demanded Anglo-conformity. The people in the U.S. and in New York were deeply divided but Ludwig Nissen was one of the few who were able, though not without difficulty, to bridge the gap between the two factions. After 1917 he became one of the new moderate men that used their influence to try and lead the isolated German-Americans back into the society after years of segregation after 1914.

He acted as the president of a planned 'Brooklyn Bazaar for the relief of the War Sufferers of Germany and its Allies' with the special mission of advertising in prominent Anglo-American circles in the beginning of 1917 and later in the year with the same success as chairman of the 'Liberty Loan Associates', a committee of Americans of German origin or ancestry he founded to increase the sale of Liberty Bonds – all without becoming opportunistic like so many others or losing his credibility and influence on both sides. It is my opinion that only because of his effective integration in the host society that he could manage this trying task so successfully. Before returning to the events of the year 1917 in more detail a short outline of his life may be helpful.<sup>4</sup>

The New York that Ludwig Nissen knew between 1872 and 1924 was a multiethnic society *par excellence*. In 1890 four out of five New Yorkers were immigrants or children of immigrants. The Germans were one of the main immigrant groups in the city together with the Irish and later the Italians and the Russian Jews. They were generally regarded as trouble-free and easy to inte-

grate, but a considerable part if not the majority of the German community seemed to have stayed apart from the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant mainstream. What separated them was first the language, then their different religious beliefs as Lutherans or Catholics and third the feeling to have an own and 'at least' equal culture, something that was called 'ethnic pride' and described as a characteristic feature of the Germans. On the other side – and that is sometimes overlooked by German researchers – the 'mere Dutchman' has been often despised and ridiculed. The term 'Dutchman' was a swearword and an insult. That all together made 'the Germans' stay a little apart and settle together. Little Germany in Manhattan had been in existence since the 1830s. In 1900, with nearly 750,000 'German' inhabitants, Greater New York as a German speaking town was second only to Berlin.

Like all the other boys and girls of his time, Ludwig Nissen heard not only the stories from 'California – the Goldland' or from Iowa, where a man could get rich on fertile free land, but he also had heard from New York, that great city, just on the other side of the Atlantic where North Frisians had been going since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the town was still called 'New Amsterdam'. In 1869 his older brother Fritz went there and long before Ludwig Nissen was 16 his mind was made up that he would follow him, and in September 1872 he left, as one of tens of thousands of emigrants from the area of North Frisia in the nineteenth century, one of the millions of immigrants who came every year in greater



*The German Band - typically in Little Germany, New York. Source: Harper's Weekly, April 26, 1876.*

numbers from all over the world to New York, the city of their dreams Ludwig Nissen too first experienced life in the United States in Manhattan's Little Germany. These were decisive years that led to his naturalization as an US citizen in 1879, to his beginnings in the jewellery business in 1881 and to his marriage with Miss Cathy Quick in December 1882. Four years later the young couple left the German-American ghetto and removed to Brooklyn. This change of place marked their entering into the White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) majority population. Rapid success in his business and quick adjustment to the necessities of the new social life were the prerequisites to his breakthrough into the elite of the New York bourgeoi-

sie. In 1893 the following was reported in the *Brooklyn Eagle*:

"Mr. Nissen is recognized as one of the leading diamond merchants in the United States (...) [he] married Miss Katie Quick, of New York. They (...) have a refined and comfortable home (...) which is ornamented by works of art of great merit, collected with studious care both in this country and in Europe. (...) His love for out-door recreation is centered in a fondness for horses. He has travelled a great deal, and for some time past has made annual visits to Europe."<sup>5</sup>

Here we see Ludwig Nissen equipped with the most important talents and

requisites of the elite: education, horses, art and travelling. By this time he was 36 years old and on the verge of a big career in the business world, twenty years after his arrival in Castle Garden and some ten years after his start in the jewelry trade.

Ludwig Nissen died in Brooklyn in 1924 – a rich, well known man, highly estimated not only in his line of business. In their will he and his wife donated their wealth and art collections to Ludwig Nissen's birthplace, the town of Husum, on the condition that a museum should be built there, which today is the North Sea Museum, Nissenhaus. So Ludwig Nissen is remembered in North Frisia as the one who like no other emigrant from the area worked up his way from rags to riches. Interestingly, neither he nor his contemporaries saw the accumulation of wealth as the really important and outstanding aspect of his life. Instead his life should be seen and understood in terms of integration, segregation, cultural pluralism and xenophobia. With this background it turned out that behind the well known story of material success stands the story of a very successful, nearperfect integration into his chosen home country. First the young immigrant from rural Schleswig-Holstein had to adjust to the urban world of Manhattan's Little Germany, then in Brooklyn the young couple from the immigrant ghetto had to fit into the leading mainstream, English-speaking society, and third the successful German-American *homo novus* had to find his place within the New York and national business elite where a fortune of a million dollars meant nothing but a ticket to enter. This last step was surely

a trying task for him and definitely the most decisive step for his own identity.

Right from his start in Little Germany it is clear that good fortune and opportunities as well as the intention to participate in social and political affairs were factors of great importance in the process of integration. It began with things that are self-evidently important like the need to learn the new language as quickly and as perfectly as possible, and with trifles like a 'Ludwig Nissen Association', founded around 1878 to organize dance-parties and outings for its members. But later the one line leads to his presence at the breakfast in honor of George C. Miln, a famous Shakespearean actor, given by a number of prominent Brooklynites in 1896, and another helped to make him the long-time favourite toastmaster at the annual banquet of the National Association of Manufacturers.<sup>6</sup> It was the same with his membership of the Masonic and other fraternal orders. In New York Ludwig Nissen was a member of the Order of the Benevolent Buffaloes – and here too he was among those who were most active on committees and on the dance floor.

Also in these early years he became interested in politics and a member of the Republican Party. In 1879 when he was 23 years old he became naturalized to be allowed to vote in the upcoming campaign. His brother Wilhelm became an U.S. citizen in 1883 – but his intention was to go back to Germany for a visit and be able to stay there untroubled by the Prussian police as an escaped conscript. In the mayoral campaign of the year 1901 in which he was very heavily engaged, Ludwig Nissen spoke

before a German-American audience on 'The Duties of Citizenship'. He said that only full political participation of the immigrant leads to a good i.e. an integrated citizen. And he emphasized that

"our fellow citizens of German origin' in particular needed a little spur to become 'as alive to their responsibilities as those of Irish origin [who were] born politicians'. And he added, 'There are those (...) who are entirely too phlegmatic regarding their political duties. They think that if they become citizens and accept the protection of the flag of the United States and then sit at home and keep out of jail they are good citizens. I say they are not. (...) They will (...) go to their club or little beer saloon, and they do an awful lot of criticizing, but very seldom anything toward seeking the reason for the complaint and much less to the application of the remedy. Now, that kind of citizenship is not what we should have."<sup>7</sup>

In Brooklyn Ludwig and Katherine Nissen found quick access to the leading circles of society and politics. Only two years after their removal it was reported in *the Brooklyn Daily Eagle* from May 19<sup>th</sup> 1888, that Ludwig Nissen has been voted a director of the Aurora Grata Lodge of Perfection, 'a club that enrolls among its members some of the most prominent Masons of Brooklyn'. He also became very active in the political affairs of the city. Especially his membership of various social clubs was essential to becoming part of the local networks. To the clubs of German-American back-

ground he now added memberships in exclusively American and elite clubs. The *Brooklyn Eagle* reported in 1893, '(...) that to-day it is difficult to find a man of any degree of prominence who is not a member of one or more clubs'.<sup>8</sup> On the one hand club life was the basis of a tightly knit network that bound together the members of the elite as a class, because it made possible the exchange and development of ideas in congenial company regardless of competition in business, rivalry in politics, or differences in religious beliefs.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand these meetings were like a big training camp, the big 'melting pot' of this class, where integration was not only demanded but steadily lived. The *Eagle* in the same article of 1893 identified this function by saying that club life 'has done much to cement the sentiment of loyalty to the city and bring about a more thorough knowledge of the methods of government'.

I would like to explore this a little further by referring to the Grand Army of the Republic, a society of veteran soldiers who have fought in the Civil War, and especially their Brooklyn branch, the U. (lysses) S. Grant Post, No. 327. The activities of the veterans were supported by a group of associated members consisting of prominent and representative Brooklyn citizens. Since 1894 Ludwig Nissen had been a guest of the annual dinners of the organization. On joyous gatherings like that good fellowship prevailed the Stars and Stripes were everywhere prominent and patriotic speeches were given. We find the connection with immigration and integration manifest

in the 'ringing speech' that Brooklyn's mayor Frederick Wurster gave to the banquet on November 17<sup>th</sup> 1896 where

"he closed with a reference to the influence the veterans had had in the last thirty-five years upon the patriotism of the country and the millions who were coming from foreign shores to become citizens. He said that the veterans only asked them to be true Americans and leave behind them those things which are not in harmony with the principles of Americanism".<sup>10</sup>

The preceding year Ludwig Nissen had spoken on behalf of the associate members. He paid a tribute to the veterans, to General Grant and closed by saying that

"there will come a day when the ranks of the veterans will thin out beyond the possibility of filling up and that the time would come when the associates would have to organize in order to perpetuate the memory and heroism of the members of the Grand Army of the Republic".<sup>11</sup>

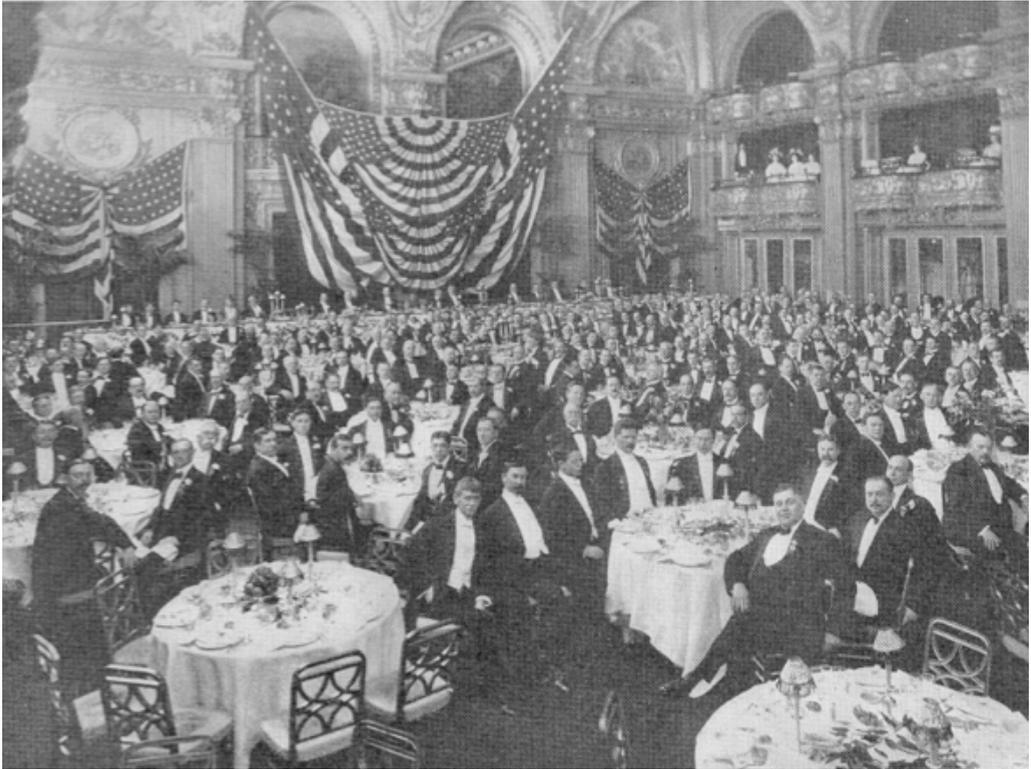
It is easily seen that Ludwig Nissen on occasions like this had adopted the history of the United States as his history, a decisive step on the way to become integrated. What history a person accepts as his history is as important for his identity as the religion he has or chooses for himself. Born in Schleswig-Holstein, Ludwig Nissen became a Lutheran and it is probable that in Little Germany the young couple has married in that same denomination. But in Brooklyn the

couple became members of the Central Congregational Church, an upper-class parish, Calvinistic and anglophile. The English-born Reverend Parkes S. Cadman became a friend of the family.

After the Civil war in the era of the 'Gilded Age' the elite of New Yorker merchants, manufacturers and bankers made their town the unrivalled financial centre of the United States. Their various associations like the influential New Yorker Manufacturers' Association or the National Association of Manufacturers became very helpful in the process of consolidating as a forceful pressure group. And it happened that exactly here Ludwig Nissen found a perfect arena for his talents, for example as the favourite toastmaster at the banquets of the National Association of Manufacturers. The delegates to the congress in 1908 that ended with this traditional annual dinner represented nearly one third of the world's production. The extent to which he was 'at home' in this circle was shown an article in the *Brooklyn Eagle* referring to the banquet of the American Chamber of Commerce at July 4<sup>th</sup> 1902 in Paris:

"Mr. and Mrs. Ludwig Nissen were present at the banquet. Mr. Nissen's hand must have ached during the greetings in the reception room, before the banquet, for he seemed to know every one, and every one was most happy to see him present".<sup>12</sup>

His progress there can be studied in a long and unbroken chain of presidencies and directorial seats in a number of influential organisations of manufactures,



*National Association of Manufacturers - The Banquet, 20 May 1908, Waldorf Astoria. Toastmaster Ludwig Nissen. Source: Nordsee Museum Nissenhaus, Husum, Germany.*

industrialists and bankers like the above mentioned or the New York Jewelers' Association, the New York Chamber of Commerce, the National Jewelers' Board of Trade and others from 1895 to his death in 1924. To be a part of the bourgeois elite became the core of his identity. The values, qualifications and rules of his class he embodied to perfection.

In 1914 Ludwig Nissen was at the zenith of his influence. Like most of his contemporaries he viewed the future with great optimism. In world politics he counted upon an alliance between the USA, Great Britain and Germany and he was deeply convinced that maintaining the peace was the first goal of the

German state. So when war broke out in 1914 for him England was to blame. But by taking this attitude he put himself in conflict with his class for the first time of his life. The majority of the people around him were pro-English, standpoint aggressively and without compromise formulated by Theodore Roosevelt, whom he knew well and had admired since the beginning of his political career. The way things went must have been a bitter disappointment and a heavy burden for him. The conflict with beliefs he had shared before was considerable; for example not only had he been a member of the 'American Committee for the Celebration of the One Hundred Anniversary of Peace

Among English-speaking Peoples', but in January 1914 he had been among the speakers at the dinner given by this committee in the honor of the Earl of Kintore, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anglo-American Exposition, planned for London in the summer of 1915 to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Ghent.<sup>13</sup> No wonder he became seriously ill in 1915. Nevertheless, to his supposed deathbed he still called his friend the Reverend Parkes S. Cadman from the Anglophile Congregational Church.

In the event, Ludwig Nissen recovered and continued to defend the 'German cause' and to support all efforts to keep up the U.S. neutral. But he stayed moderate in contrast to many German-American political leaders, newspaper editors and Lutheran clergymen who with widely published slogans of Teutonic superiority had led their followers into a dead end. By 1916 some of them had begun to realize their total isolation and started looking for a way out. In New York it was the once so self-conscious and influential German-American National Alliance that sought to contact Ludwig Nissen with a plan to make him the honorary president of an upcoming charity 'Bazaar for the relief of the War Sufferers of Germany and its Allies' in Brooklyn in 1917. His special task would be to advertise outside the German-American sphere. Here in prominent Anglo-American circles the sentiment towards Germany was disinterested at best and it was the name Ludwig Nissen only that stood for respectability and credibility and rather than a mere show of propaganda. He was successful, his call being followed

by some dedicated pro-Allies. But some among the German-American hardliners protested vigorously though it had been intended to achieve just that. It looks like Ludwig Nissen had become too successful in his efforts to bridge the gap between opponents. But he had no problems making clear that when he was in, he was number one, as a letter to the president of the National Alliance Henry Weisman shows, which we found in his papers.

Ludwig Nissen knew many of the German-American activists since they worked together in the election campaigns for the Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt and especially in many New York mayoral campaigns. With the preparations for the charity bazaar at the beginning of 1917 Ludwig Nissen became even more a figurehead to the conservative middle-class German-Americans of New York and vicinity. And as the relations between the USA and Germany grew worse quickly, the gap between Ludwig Nissen and American bourgeois elite, where he had been at home for the last twenty five years, deepened even more.

We are planning our work, especially presentation of the findings of our research, with regard to the approaching centenary of the US entering the war against Germany in April 1917. This particular year, 1917, showed clearly the outstanding position and perfect integration of Ludwig Nissen. As an example I selected an incident at the Congress of Constructive Patriotism on January 26th that had been reported nationwide by the press. Ludwig Nissen was among the New York delegation appointed by mayor Mitchel to represent

the city at the meeting in Washington, on Jan. 25, 26 and 27, organized by the National Security League. There he criticized sharply the speech of Elihu Root, Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1912 and former secretary of war in the cabinet Roosevelt, saying that his report was nothing but English propaganda disguised as American patriotism.

For the next day he asked for five minutes to dispute Elihu Root's contribution. He used that time to present the exact counterpart. Greeted with applause he warned the audience that he was 'going to strike a discordant note'<sup>14</sup>. And then he 'threw the congress into an uproar' by defending the German invasion of Belgium.<sup>15</sup> This whole act looks to me like a calculated provocation not so much to defend the policy of the Kaiser but mainly as a public test of strength, an inside affair of the elite class. Otherwise it would not have made much sense to bring up in 1917 a very emotional affair from the beginning of the war. It was not as an aggressive pro-German partisan that he was speaking, but as an American citizen claiming his right to state his point of view. Unlike any fanatic he conceded this right to his opponents too:

"I have no objection to Mr. Root or anyone else having their views on the European question, nor against expressing his views;(...)"<sup>16</sup>

It seems that his opponent understood this. Elihu Root and Theodore Roosevelt, who was backing him, were powerful opponents, but old acquaintances too. Ludwig Nissen in an interview to with the *Brooklyn Eagle* for January 28<sup>th</sup>

compared the incident with an experience in a former election campaign, where he once had been 'hissed and hooted' before. But to provoke the many for whom being patriotic was identical with being as anti-German as possible on more than one occasion was risky.

What might have happened to him was shown by the example of Arthur von Briesen. He came to the U.S. in 1858 as a young man with his family. A veteran of the civil war, influential in politics and highly respected, President Theodore Roosevelt had called him one of the most useful German-Americans. He was a lawyer and became head of the Legal Aid Society in New York. Like Ludwig Nissen in 1914 he defended Germany against the accusation of being the aggressor in the war and maintained a pro-German position during the next years also. But von Briesen quickly lost his public influence and reputation on the Anglo-American side. He became isolated and in 1916 he resigned from the presidency of the Legal Aid Society in order that it might not be damaged from the attacks aiming on his person.

But what did happen to Ludwig Nissen? Nearly a week after the incident at the Washington Congress he published a letter in the *New York Times* sent to him by the president of the National Security League, Solomon Stanwood Menken, and the committee in charge of the congress, as follows:

"My Dear Mr. Nissen: At the meeting of the committee in charge of the Congress of Constructive Patriotism held today it was resolved that the Chairman be instructed to convey to you its

expression of deep regret at the incident connected with your remarks at Washington.

We do not feel that you were shown that courtesy to which you were entitled, not alone as an invited speaker, but because of your long record of patriotic service as a citizen.

With very best regards,  
I have the honor to be, very truly yours,  
S. STANWOOD MENKEN,  
Chairman Committee on Congress"<sup>17</sup>

In business Ludwig Nissen continued to be successful too and on being elected president of the National Jewelers' Board of Trade for the third time in succession he was at the top of his career and influence. All in all it can be said that he came out relatively unharmed where others would have been 'rotten-egged and crucified' by the press.

Ludwig Nissen like most of the German-Americans and the Germans living in the U.S. regarded it as impossible that the USA would participate actively in the Great War. Then the unexpected happened on April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1917. The USA declared war against Germany and suddenly there existed a 'homefront' – and a new enemy to be fought and hated: the unloyal German-American, until then being widely considered as 'our best citizens'. The time after 1917 surely brought bitter experiences to Ludwig Nissen fighting back against 'German-bashing' and aggressively demanded Anglo-conformity, from which anonymous threats to blow up his residence with dynamite, so that his home has been guarded by the police at night

might have been the less important. But it brought also the possibility to him to march shoulder to shoulder again with the rest of his class. 'America first' was the credo now and somehow it seems as if he then quite naturally took the place where he was expected to be from the beginning. In 1920 Hans Rieg, director of the Naturalized Citizens' Bureau of the Treasury Department put it this way:

"He was not the type which effusively sloped over. He was not the kind which solicited or unsolicited, fulsomely announced every morning that he would be just as loyal an American today as he was yesterday. He fearlessly expressed his convictions before we entered the war, and never denied it afterwards. But when we got in, he got in, and I for one can bear testimony, that he did so with the spirit of true and unadulterated Americanism."<sup>18</sup>

And again it was his relationship to the ex-president Theodore of German descent, every reference made by Colonel Roosevelt (...) and Ludwig Nissen, Chairman of the Liberty Loan Committee, to the necessity for complete and overwhelming victory and denunciation of the Kaiser were cheered again and again.(...)<sup>19</sup> Ludwig Nissen had been hesitating to re-establish contact with Theodore Roosevelt, being afraid that he might be no longer welcome. But friends of both assured him that the ex-president had no bitter feelings against him and they made peace at a dinner before the public event began.<sup>20</sup>

After 1917 Ludwig Nissen found his way out of the crisis, but surely not without inner and outer struggles and traces thereof can be found the prosopographic way. To demonstrate this I return to the Reverend Parkes S. Cadman, who had sat a long night at the bedside of Ludwig Nissen when he seemed to be near 'the valley of death' in 1915. In 1916 he gave the main address at the Testimonial Dinner given in honour of Ludwig Nissen by the Riders and Drivers of Brooklyn. But after the war in 1920 at his 65<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration the Englishman and Congregationalist Cadman was not even mentioned on the guest list and the main address was given by the Reverend John J. Heischman – a Lutheran and a German-American.

In a previous article in this Journal (2009), I asked who was Ludwig Nissen, who was this man of whom the Borough President of Brooklyn Hon. Lewis H. Pounds said:

"Well (...) Nissen is all kinds of a fellow. Sometimes you think he is the perfection of manhood and good judgment, and sometimes you wish that he was where I would not say if there were ladies present."<sup>21</sup>

I now can add the questions, what made him so special, what set him apart from others? Why was he successful where others bitterly failed? I hope to find much of the answer in his extraordinarily widespread net of friends and acquaintances in which I see a prerequisite of his career that served him well in hard times too. There is still much

research to be done. But there is something more and that in the end brings me back again to the question of integration. In 1917 on January 28, the New York Herald described Ludwig Nissen as 'a unique figure in the business, philanthropic, political and civic life of this city'. After 45 years the young immigrant changed into a remarkably successful businessman but, more importantly, during his life he became unquestionably part of his town and his times. Totally integrated he belonged to it as to Little Germany, where he started, as he crossed Brooklyn Bridge every day to Broadway and Fifth avenue, where he had his offices. Ludwig Nissen was in integral part of his city – can there be a greater compliment to an immigrant?

## Notes

- 1 Paul-Heinz Pauseback, Ludwig Nissen: Reconstructing the Life of a Leading U. S. American Businessman and a Prominent Citizen of New York, in: AEMI Journal, vol 8 (2010):32- 41
- 2 see Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis. New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850-1896*, Cambridge (University Press) 2001
- 3 Pauseback, AEMI Journal, vol 8 (2010):40
- 4 read more: Pauseback, AEMI Journal, vol 8 (2010):32-41; Paul-Heinz Pauseback, *Auswanderung und Integration. Der New Yorker Deutsch-Amerikaner Ludwig Nissen*, in: *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch*, vol 46 (2011): 87-104; Paul-Heinz Pauseback, Ludwig Nissen – ‚eine einzigartige Figur‘ in New York. *Forschungsperspektiven 75 Jahre nach Gründung des Nissenhauses*, in: *Zeitschrift Nordfriesland* 179 (September 2012):15-22
- 5 *The Eagle and Brooklyn*, Edited by Henry W. B. Howard, Brooklyn; N.Y. 1893:891
- 6 *The Brooklyn Standard Union*, March 6, 1896, p. 4, Art.: ‘Miln the Guest. A Breakfast in Honor of the Shakespearean Actor’
- 7 *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 12, 1901:11, TO WORK WITH REPUBLICANS. Union of German-American Municipal League With Regular Organization to Down Tammany. LUDWIG NISSEN ON CITIZENSHIP. Duty of Germans Pointed Out – Story of a Squabble Between Mr. Nissen and R. Fulton Cutting
- 8 *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, December 24, 1893:16, PRESIDENTS OF CLUBS
- 9 see Beckert, esp. :263ff
- 10 *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 19, 1897:7, GUESTS OF THE VETERANS
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- 12 *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 27, 1902:33, NOTABLE BANQUET GIVEN IN PARIS BY AMERICAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
- 13 *The New York Times*, January 13, 1914, KINTORE PROMISES A BRITISH EXHIBIT
- 14 Proceedings of the Congress of Constructive Patriotism held under the auspices of The National Security League, Washington, D.C., January 25.-27, issued by The National Security League, Inc. 31 Pine Street, New York 1917, pp. 100-103 (copy to Ludwig Nissen in the library of the Nissenhaus)
- 15 *The New York Times*, January 27, 1917, PRO-GERMAN HISSED IN DEFENSE MEETING. Uproar in Washington Congress as Ludwig Nissen Defends Belgian Invasion
- 16 *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 28, 1917:5, Hissed? Nissen Enjoyed It; ‘Martin Luther Got It, Too’
- 17 *The New York Times*, February 19, 1917, Mr. Menken to Mr. Nissen
- 18 Public Testimonial Dinner 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 endeavour, Wednesday Evening the First of December, Nineteen Hundred and Twenty, Hotel Astor, New York, a booklet in the library of the Nissenhaus:15
- 19 *The New York Times*, 16. October 16, 1918, LIEDERKRANZ CALLS FOR VICTORY PEACE
- 20 Reminiscences of Theodore Roosevelt, by Ludwig Nissen, copy in the Library of the Nissenhaus
- 21 Pauseback, AEMI Journal, vol 8 (2010):38

# Standing on the Family Farm in Tysvær: How did ‘Kallekødt’ become ‘Thompson’?— How is Tysvær pronounced?

*Nina Ray*

## **Abstract**

This article explores the role that language plays in the legacy tourism business, an increasingly important sub-segment of the tourism industry. While seemingly obvious that those traveling to the land of their ancestors may request language help from migration institutions, past research has never asked representatives of migration institutions what help legacy tourists need. Delegates at a recent meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions participated in a survey about what they perceive to be the most important language needs of their patrons. Most indicated that while some nations, such as Scotland, emphasize that tourists should come learn the language of their ancestors, perhaps most language help by the migration institutions is fairly simple, such as explaining what a surname means. Motivations for interest in family history are also reported, with staff at migration institutions providing comparisons of their perceptions with those motivations reported by real legacy tourists. Norwegian-Americans serve as the ethnicity of

emphasis in this paper because of the identifiable nature of Norway as an ancestral homeland in contrast to other ethnicities without a homeland with clear borders. Specific language marketing suggestions are provided for those who are associated with migration institutions and similar entities.

*Keywords:* European migration institutions, legacy tourism, language of ancestors, personal identity.

## **Introduction**

In the United States, former Republican presidential candidate Rick Santorum discussed his working-class Italian ancestry and how that background helped to shape his values. During the summer before the 2012 election, in one of many political jokes circulating on email, the following quote appeared,

‘Why pay money to have your family tree traced; go into politics and your opponents will do it for you. ~Author Unknown.’

Many Americans and citizens, in addition to politicians, around the world are increasingly interested in their ancestry, as evidenced by popular television shows such as 'Who Do You Think You Are?' (versions airing in several different countries such as the US and the UK) and the PBS show 'Finding Your Roots.'

As Norwegians and their descendants were celebrating Syttende Mai in 2012 (May 17, Constitution Day) there was a major trial occurring in Norway. While not Norwegian myself, I was in Norway on July 22, 2011 when a lone gunman bombed government buildings in Oslo and opened fire on many young people at a camp. For a while, the nation thought that it was Norway's 9-11; in the end it turned out that the shooter was an extremist fighting against 'multiculturalism.' Certainly, there was much self-reflection in the nation about what it means to be Norwegian and a discussion about values Norwegians hold. These tragic events do serve to remind us that the discussion of heritage and one's ancestry can take on a very timely and poignant meaning.

I was visiting Norway gathering data for my continued research into the importance of 'legacy tourism' (travel based on the desire to learn more about one's 'roots') and was personally attempting to trace more ancestral information on my mother-in-law's Norwegian heritage. In spite of my efforts, I am still puzzled as to why the family name 'Kall-ekodt' became 'Thompson' immediately upon arrival in Quebec in 1865 and I still am not able to correctly pronounce the name of the region, Tysvær.

These linguistic failings prompted me to consider just what role language

issues (and the monies that could be made from language efforts) play in the growing industry of legacy tourism.

In this article, I will explore the role that language plays in the legacy tourism business, an increasingly important sub-segment of the tourism industry. Some related language issues have been explored in *Global Business Languages* before (see Ray and Lete 2007, for a discussion of importance of Basques to Basque-Americans; and Kaupins, Ray, and Berzins 2009, for a discussion of Latvian language and heritage). But the discussion here focuses on more than simply the importance of Norwegian language to Norwegian-Americans, when researching this particular ethnic group. Research from members of the Sons of Norway is compiled that will preliminarily illustrate these language issues for Norwegian legacy tourism. Research on language issues gathered at a recent meeting of directors and staff at migration institutions across Europe is discussed and will highlight some language issues these institutions face when helping those engaged in legacy tourism. Finally, managerial suggestions concerning language issues for those in this subsegment of tourism are provided; there is an industry in providing language help for those tracing their roots.

## Literature Review

*Being a Detective in One's Own Detective Story*

An advertisement for Ancestry.com airing on television in 2011 in the US shows a woman exploring her family history who states that she feels a bit like

the family detective in her search. Then, she discovers that one of her ancestors really was a detective, so she is the 'other family detective.'

The 'detective work' and 'thrill of the investigation' are some of the many motivations that people have when researching their family history. But, 'the problem with being a detective in one's own detective story is that the trail goes cold' (Brown, Hirschman, and Maclaren 2000:167). 'It is always the responsibility of someone else, usually a member of the family ... who has taken it upon themselves to tend the family tree ... The genealogical information they have is unfailingly incomplete. ... genealogy, in truth, is ultimately about absence, because there is always an empty space at the end of the search, when whatever information there is finally runs out' (162).

Often the role of the world's various migration institutions is to fill in absences by helping tourists engage in legacy tourism.

Legacy tourism is defined as 'those that travel to engage in genealogical endeavors, to search for information on or to simply feel connected to ancestors or ancestral roots' (McCain and Ray 2003:713). As Brown, Hirschman, and Maclaran (2006) point out, 'the past is certainly a distant land and getting there is a difficult and imperfect undertaking' (87). In their 2000 article, they termed the past as 'a foreign country' (174). In this current article, I emphasize the attempts at 'getting there' (both figuratively and actually) to the 'foreign country' from which ancestors left. 'The present ... can never quite escape the past' (Delaney 2008, i). All

present-day legacy (or 'ancestral,' 'diaspora,' 'roots,' etc.) tourists need to get to that distant land and perhaps speak that land's language; the route they take and the availability of the road maps (historical records) to help the modern day travelers get there, vary. For some, the journey is an important effort, necessary to one's personal identity; for others the destination (discovering records, finding an old homestead) is what adds to one's identity. In either case, language help may be needed. More and more academics are writing about legacy tourism, a growing sub-segment of the tourism industry, and more and more migration institutions are realizing that they are being called upon to help tourists get to that distant land of the past.

In some cases, the ancestral homeland is well defined (e.g., Norway) and the present-day boundaries are similar to centuries-old boundaries. In other cases, descendants may wonder where the ancestral homeland lies. For example, America's Scotch-Irish (or Scots-Irish; the terms will be used mostly interchangeably in this article) have no 'homeland' called 'Scotireland' to search for.

Gould (2010:181) found that individuals expressed their 'true self' through their consumer behavior, which could include traveling to search for their ancestors. The creation of travel products, both the services and goods that go with tourism, is ultimately a joint creation of the traveler consumer and the destination provider in a process of co-design and co-delivery of the benefits sought by the consumer conforming to the concept of 'bringing the consumer in' (Cutcher 2010). The legacy tourists exhibit a

manifestation of Czarniawska's observations that 'the Self is historical, and is both constituted by and constitutive of community.' 'The self is produced, reproduced and maintained in conversations, past and present' (Czarniawska 2000:275). That community is the legacy tourist with the community of the tourist's ancestors. The conversations are the language of the research and touring behaviors of legacy tourists. They are consumers who are looking for tourism experiences to 'link them with to others, to a community, to a tribe' (Cova 1997: 311). They have found their lineage to be the 'linking value' that sustains their community or ancestral tribe connection. Their lineage, in some cases their ancestral name, forms their brand that yields value through a 'sense of trust, affect, and shared meaning' (Arvidsson 2005:236). A result of legacy travel is an expansion of family histories through generations that gives those histories longevity that creates that 'something more that helps intensify life's purpose and meaning' (Cutcher 2010:88). The family name (and the meaning of it) plays an important language role in legacy tourism.

Searching for ancestors may be beneficial to one's mental health. Psychologists have shown that thinking about our ancestors increases self-esteem. Scholars at the Universities of Graz, Berlin, and Munich say the 'ancestor effect' boosts performance on intelligence tests (Fischer, Sauer, Vogrincic and Weisweiler 2011). Writing and thinking about ancestors led students to do better on verbal and spatial tests than those who thought about themselves or friends. Recent studies have also found that

learning new languages can enhance neurological functions (Hotz 2012a&b) and help to ward off Alzheimer's disease.

Basu (2001) describes the role of the search for identity as 'hunting down home.' Summarizing past works, he concludes that a current anthropological discussion revolves around two topics which compete with each other: a modern view with links identity with 'fixity,' and a postmodern one that suggests that personal identity and home are found in movement. Within the context of these two approaches, individuals form identity by personal narratives, telling stories of themselves. He emphasizes the need to address both 'the mobile and the static in these narratives of identity' (336).

Linkages and personal narratives rely on language. Much of the personal identity that is so important to the search for one's roots is tied to language. While language issues are raised from time to time, I am aware of no research that includes a language focus from both the perspective of providers and customers of legacy tourism. This article begins to rectify this gap in the literature. Perhaps the most relevant literature review has to do with the relationship of language to personal identity.

### **Importance of Language to Personal Identity: Speaking the Language of Our Ancestors and Naming Ourselves**

Intuitively, language plays a role in the definition of personal identity. Laroche, Pons, and Richard (2009) specifically address the measurement of the role of language in ethnic identity as 'the most

salient aspect of ethnic identity' (515), especially in some groups. Ethnic identity is 'complex and multidimensional' and they stress 'the importance of self-reported measures to capture the dimensions forming ethnic identity' (514). Their research focuses on the use of language (such as in media consumption, with family, and while shopping). Language, of course, is significant for a nation's identity too (van Oudenhoven, Selenko, and Otten 2010).

Literacy plays a language role in emigration and immigration. In a 2012 webcast, T. M. Devine stated that the Scottish nation was one of the most literate on earth and hence was aware of the opportunities afforded by emigration (Devine 2011).

Even the language of 'emigration' and 'immigration' takes on importance, as discussed at a recent meeting of the Association of European migration institutions that I attended. As one delegate discussed, one has to be told whether it is an 'e' (i.e., emigration) or an 'i' (i.e., immigration) that is the subject of a particular narrative. And of course, in today's political discourse, the immigration includes recent immigrants and their languages (even though this article explores the descendants of centuries-old immigrants). At that same meeting, another delegate discussed the important Dutch community in Australia (some 300,000 Australians claim Dutch ancestry). People everywhere are now interested in family histories, so language is regaining interest (Peters 2011).

When studying Basques and Basque Americans, Ray and Lete (2007) found 85 percent of respondents said that their native language is important or

very important when defining their personal identity. Of the native Basque speakers, all said it is 'very important.' Of those with Basque as a second language (eight in total), all but one said it is important or very important to their personal identity. Indeed, the word for a Basque person in the Basque language, Euskaldun, means 'one who speaks the Basque language.'

When researching Latvians, Kaupins, Ray, and Berzinz (2009) discovered that English is the native language of 25 percent of their respondents, and about 77 percent say that their native language is 'very important' as part of their personal identity. Eighteen percent say their native language is somewhat important and 5 percent say it is not very important. For those who listed a second language, other than their native language (mostly Latvian), about 93 percent indicated that this second language is important as part of their personal identity. The Basques and the Latvians are generally very concerned with passing on the language to the next generation.

I did not find such concern among Norwegian-Americans. Even though the headquarters of the International Sons of Norway offers online language learning and 'language camps,' I found that when a local Lodge was given the opportunity to offer language lessons, there was very little interest among the membership. After all, most Norwegians speak English; one would not need to know Norwegian to travel to Norway to search for one's personal identity.

Asymmetrical attitudes between neighbouring nations that share a language but differ in size are general social psychological phenomena that occur

across different historical backgrounds' (van Oudenhoven, Selenko, and Otten 2010:53). Of course, the Scotch-Irish, unlike many immigrants in the new world, shared the English language with British immigrants and Irish immigrants. But they were treated differently from those groups in their new home.

Other than the importance of one's native language,<sup>2</sup> the term that is used to describe a diaspora group can be important. And often a term used by group members themselves is unacceptable when used by outsiders. In the case of the Scotch-Irish, the term 'Scotch-Irish' is a very American term. At almost every meeting of the Scotch-Irish Society Identity Symposium, 'what do we call ourselves' is a topic for discussion and often the subject of in-depth scholarly paper presentations. Even the title of a well-known book on the Scotch-Irish, *The People with No Name* (Griffin 2001), demonstrates the difficulty in naming this group. Linguists such as Montgomery (2011) detail how the name Scotch-Irish has been used as early as 1695. Sometimes, the term historically was used to set the Ulster Presbyterians apart from simply 'the Irish' or 'the Scots.' Often the term carried more social class distinctions than ethnicity (MacMaster 2011), with the Scotch-Irish (sometimes with parallel use of 'Crackers') being those who 'fail to make a go of it' and 'take off for the frontiers of Virginia and Carolina.' Miller (2004) elaborates, 'Scotch-Irish' ethnicity was rooted ultimately in neither ancestral origin nor even religion, but instead was based on relatively new 'middle-class' behavioral standards ...

of an emergent Ulster-American bourgeoisie whose goals and ascendancy remained woefully incomplete even in the 1800s' (116–17).

Of course, not only do identities and their labels become diluted, since 'identities are not like hats; human beings can and do put on several at a time' (Colley 1992:6). When colleagues in Canada (e.g., Rogers 2011) talk about the subject, they mention that the term is almost unheard of in Canada and the phrase would be 'Ulster-Scots.' Of course, many claim that linguists should follow the old adage that Scotch is a drink, not a people. Yet, the term 'Scotch' does creep into some Canadian literature. According to Basu (2001), the Canadian writer Hugh MacLennan writes how his father 'had no need to journey to Scotland to know that he was of Scotch descent' (343). MacLennan (1961:1–2) writes 'he was neither Scot nor yet was he Scottish; he never used these genteel appellations which are now supposed to be de rigueur.'

The linguistic differences between Canada and the US could reflect the very different immigration history of Ulster men and women to these two separate nations of North America. Roe, Schaafsma, and Gutierrez (2009) had a small number of Canadian Scotch-Irish respondents for their research article 'Meanings, Functions, Maintenance and Reproduction of Present-day Scotch-Irish Social Identities: The Role of Symbolic Ethnicity.' Not surprisingly, the US pride in being Scotch-Irish due to the American Revolution and later wars, which provided common ethnic history and memory, is not evident in Canada. Additionally, 'there did not ap-

pear to be a cohesive, but different set of historical roles filled by their ancestors that provided for a shared lived or symbolic ethnic identity' (26). In both nations, MacDonell and Ray (2011) mention that many immigrants (and their descendants) and their identities were diluted as they moved west as part of the 'peculiar plight of frontier inhabitants' (Griffin 2001:124).

### Methodology

Various members of the Sons of Norway in three geographically separate US locations (Fargo, North Dakota [the largest Lodge in the nation]; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Boise, Idaho) were asked to complete a pen-and-paper survey instrument concerning motivations for interest in family history. The survey was derived from feedback from early interviews and terms and phrases in Basu's account of an ancestral tourism group to Orkney (2004). Each potential respondent was asked in person to complete a one-page (twosided) survey either at the gathering or to be mailed back. Appearing in person at the data gathering events allows the researcher to engage in conversations with respondents. Those of Norwegian heritage are focused on here because of the recent international focus on Norway due to the 2011 killings and the discussion of what it means to be 'Norwegian.' Also, for Norway, the ancestral homeland is well defined and the present-day boundaries are similar to centuries-old boundaries. In all, 42 Sons of Norway members who have taken a legacy trip comprise the participants for this group. A few other Norwegian-Americans who agreed to be interviewed, but did not complete the

same survey as the others, also contributed some qualitative information.

At the 2011 meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions in Aalborg, Denmark, delegates were asked to complete a short survey regarding various ways they have encountered language issues when helping modern day descendants search for emigrant ancestors. I gave a presentation on the subject and concluded my talk by requesting all to participate. Some completed the survey while at the meeting, some emailed a completed version a week or so later. A small number (six) of the total surveys were returned and they provided valuable data from those managing the 'roots' institutions.<sup>3</sup>

### Results and Discussion

#### *Remembering Grandpa and His Native Language*

The Norwegian-American closest to me was interviewed about her own heritage. She specifically was asked when she noticed that 'Grandpa' spoke something other than English and whether teaching her Norwegian was a concern for Grandpa.

"I think Tollef did tell stories to my brother, but to me he was very quiet. I remember an accent and that scared me. I remember I thought he was really strange".

"I don't remember him speaking Norwegian to anyone, but he was such a quiet person. I remember when my father taught me to count in Norwegian and my mother taught me to call meals in German, which I still remember"!

From just these few comments from a

close personal contact, we can identify some language legacy issues.

(1) Some cultures are known for being people of few words. If one does not speak much, it may be more difficult to pass that language on to later generations. One author ("Am I loud?" 2009) provides a similar example:

"If you've never been in the company of Finns, then you do not understand how truly silent a room can be. I remember actually making the argument to one of my companions when I was a Mormon missionary that the silent nature of Finnish people was a bigger barrier to missionaries learning the language than the ridiculously complex (yet oddly consistent) grammar could ever dream of being. After all, how could you possibly learn a language if you never got a chance to speak with people?"

Specific to the Norwegian business culture ('Norwegian Communication Styles,' n.d.) is the fact that:

"Plain speaking is prized and the more diplomatic approach to communication which can be found in many of the Asian countries, (as well as the UK), can be viewed as evasiveness or even as dishonesty. If you want to convince a Norwegian, tell him the facts in a straightforward and direct manner. Norwegians will tell you they disagree when they do—and they expect the same courtesy from you. ... Silence is golden throughout most of Scandinavia."

Few academic researchers seem to have

taken up this line of inquiry. Of the few, Segumpan, Christopher, and Rao (2007:4) found that a dramatic communication style in which the 'communicator manipulates exaggerations ... stories, ... rhythm, voice, and other stylistic devices to highlight or understate content' correlated with length of service to a firm. However, the authors found no significant difference in communication styles based on race or nationality, so findings are mixed.

Of course stereotypical ethnic communication styles do change over time and can exist side by side with seemingly contradictory styles, as is the case in China, according to Fang and Faure (2011:331). While conducting business, a formal and reserved approach is used for communication, 'however, business relationships in China are double-face.' But colleagues also must engage in social activities together. Certainly 'the power of silence' (e.g., Giri 2006) is an important part of many cultures. Does this power of silence relate to the availability of recorded documentation?

(2) Often children of immigrants were not exposed to just one culture/language (for example, Norwegians intermarried with Germans). Sometimes, certain languages and words were used for certain events (mealtime) while other languages were used for other events and activities. Anecdotally, second generation children and later descendants often have little knowledge or an incomplete/confused knowledge of the home country's language. As Colley (1992) indicated, one can have more than one 'hat' on at a time.

### *Why All the Name Changes?*

Several Norwegian-Americans gave some specific reasons for interest in family history.

- ‘See if I can find any relatives in Norway’
- Curiosity (general)
- Curiosity (about medical history)
- ‘Why immigration to America - Why all the name changes?’
- Discovering sense of place
- Going to Norway for grandparents who were unable to return
- Pride in ancestors/honoring ancestors
- Passing down information to children

### *Location, Information, and Relatives*

Of those in a multiethnic research project, not just Norwegian-Americans, who actually have taken a ‘legacy’ trip (n=667), 74 percent—the highest percentage—said finding a specific location relevant to one’s own ancestor was what they hoped to achieve out of genealogy travel. Close behind (70 percent) *was seeking information* (say, in libraries). A distant third, but still with 42 percent, was ‘finding *living relatives*.’

When helping a spouse or friend, 47 percent said seeking information was an important reason when seeking ancestors, 42 percent said finding a specific location relevant to an ancestor of the spouse or friend was important, and 21 percent wanted to find living relatives of the spouse or friend.

The importance of ‘finding location’ by national affiliation for those who have actually taken a legacy trip shows that the percentages for Norwegians (65 percent) and Basques (57 percent) are

lower than statistically expected. This is interesting given that the family surname is often taken from the name of an exact name or location of a family farm, such as one finds for the following Basque names:

Goikoetxea—‘upper house’  
 Etxebarria—‘new house’  
 Uberuaga—‘by the warm spring’  
 Elizondo—‘by the church’

I was told that the name of the family being researched in Norway, Kallekodd, means ‘cold place’ or ‘cold spring.’

Some of the major language issues relevant to the legacy tourism experience seem to be family name changes (e.g., ‘KALLEKODT’–‘THOMPSON’<sup>4</sup>), the meaning of a family name, determining the necessity of learning basic language travel skills, wondering if a translator is needed for reading archival records, being able to figure out old-fashioned handwriting, how diaspora groups refer to themselves (‘Scotch-Irish’ in US; not in Canada), or learning the language of one’s ancestors (‘Learning the Language of Your Ancestors,’ *Ancestral Scotland*, 2012). Legacy tourists should be referred to language learning sources and regional language learning sources.

‘In the Highlands, especially in the west and north, Gaelic used to be the dominant language and you can still hear it spoken today ... . If your ancestors were from this Gaelic-speaking region and you’d like to learn some of this ancient language, an ideal starting point is Sabhal Mor Ostaig, Scotland’s only Gaelic college ...

For the rest of Scotland, Scots is the predominant dialect though it varies from area to area. The Scottish Language Dictionaries project, a registered charity, will help you explore the language of your ancestors. Another useful resource is the bilingual Scots Online.' (Learning, 2012)

The above *Ancestral Scotland* discussion emphasized 'that all-important sense of place' in conjunction with learning the language of one's ancestors. Later, 'connection with place' along with 'personal identity' is shown to be the top-ranked reason why tourists are interested in finding ancestors.

Language help is needed with the simple pronunciation of the area of Norway where the ancestral family farm is, such as how to pronounce *Tjysvær*? Norway, like Scotland, has many regional variations in language, so providing regional language referrals is important there as well.

*Table 1* shows the results of asking migration institutions' directors how they provide language help to their clients. Research into the meaning of the family surname and the various renditions of that surname can be a valuable service provided by these institutions. In many cases, this language help may be less burdensome than more extensive help, such as translating archival records. Planned references to other organizations (language lessons, local translators, interpreters) could be valuable services to provide too.

The migration institutions contributing to the data are located in Finland, Sweden, Northern Ireland, Italy, and

Slovenia. Four of the six directors indicated 'somewhat important' (three) or 'very important' (one) when asked how important the tracing of ancestors and associated research was to the mission of their institution. One indicated that it was not at all important, but said 'we may consider examining in more depth the significance and ways of tracing ancestors in our future projects.'

The following represents the typical mission statements of these institutions:

- to assist in migration and ethnic research and to encourage the compilation, storage and documentation of material relating to international and internal migration ... It serves also as a resource site for genealogists.
- to help in interdisciplinary academic research of international migration
- to aid migration research and cultural exchange

When asked to describe how their institution aids those who seek help finding their ancestors, they responded:

- providing service in genealogy or referring people to relevant genealogy societies
- looking up information, making genealogical tables from archival sources; contact family ... , show places and sites of ancestral heritage interest (churches, gravestones, homesteads, etc.)
- through a Web site, such as <http://www.altreitalie.it>, to find roots, database on passenger lists (USA, Brazil, Argentina).

The native language of the majority of their clients is English, with some clients

*Table 1*

Migration institutions' directors indicating clients' need for language help

Reasons why clients need language help	Numbers of directors indicating	Percent of total responses
What does family surname mean?	4	20 %
Why the changes in the surname?	4	20 %
Help reading old-style script of words	3	15 %
Explaining a bit about language and who speaks it <sup>a</sup>	2	10 %
Explaining the meaning of the term the group uses to describe itself <sup>b</sup>		
Help with basic survival travel language	1	5%
Directing to language lessons to learn language of ancestors	1	5 %

<sup>a</sup> e.g., what is 'Basque?' 'who speaks it?'

<sup>b</sup> e.g., what 'Scots-Irish' or Schotch-Irish' means

speaking Italian and Russian, and their clients mostly need help with Russian, Swedish, Italian, and Irish. All but one (who was neutral) said that the language aid their institution may provide clients asking for help in ancestral searches is either important or very important. Respondents estimate that an average of 19 percent of legacy tourists (a range of 10 to 30 percent) meeting with them in person are taking a repeat ancestral trip and around 35 percent (a range of 10 to 100 percent) of first-time foreign contacts come to visit their country in order to connect with ancestors.

As can be seen in *Table 2*, both directors of migration institutions and those who take legacy trips state that the main reasons for such trips are to find a spe-

cific location of ancestral importance and to seek information from libraries and archival sources. Some wish to find living relatives of their ancestor.

All activities require some local language skills, even for English-speaking searchers and in English-speaking countries (e.g., Irish, Gaelic, etc.). Not to be ignored are those who seek information for a spouse or friend, and those who do professional genealogy work for remuneration. These various types of researchers represent several different groups, all who might need help with the local language.

Finally, from the entire data set and all ethnicities surveyed (*Table 3*), one can see that consumers of legacy tourism indicated that personal identity,

*Table 2*

Comparison of Responses of Migration Institution Directors and Their Clients:

	Professionals at Migration Institutions (N06/rank in column)	Total sample Legacy tourists (N=667)/rank in column	Norwegian- American Legacy tourists (N=59)/ rank in column
<b>Researching my own ancestor</b> % importance of finding specific location	21/ (2)	74 (1)	65 (1)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	22/ (1)	70/ (2)	54/ (3)
% importance of finding living relatives			
<b>Researching ancestors of spouse or friend</b> % importance of finding specific location	10/ (6)	42/ (4)	41/ (4)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	8/ (8)	47/ (3)	34/ (5)
% importance of finding living relatives	7/ (9)	21/ (6)	32/ (6)
<b>Professional research service for others</b> % importance of finding specific location	10/ (6)	8/ (8)	7/ (8)
% importance of seeking information in libraries	11/ (4)	16/ (7)	15/ (7)
% importance of finding living relatives	11/ (4)	3/ (9)	2/ (9)

connection with place, and intellectual challenge (the ‘detective story’) are the main reasons for interest in family history. As discussed earlier, the language of one’s ancestors is often an important part of that personal identity and often one needs language help to connect with place (using travel language to be able to

get to an old homestead, being able to read an old gravestone).

### **Conclusion and Managerial Suggestions**

Legacy tourism is an increasingly important sub-segment of tourism in many countries, fueled partly by an aging

population, popular television shows, and planned national events (Scotland's Homecoming in 2009).

Most often those seeking their roots have ancestors who did not necessarily speak the language or dialect of those modern day seekers. There are at least three segments of legacy tourists who may be seeking language help from migration and similar institutions, and these groups are interrelated. Those who seek help finding their own ancestors and the professionals they have hired may be obvious. Less obvious, but also important, are those who help a spouse or friend. I am such an example (researching family in Norway for mother-

in-law). Such groups should be targeted as well by migration and similar institutions, perhaps proposing the 'gift' of finding ancestors of someone close to them. While the personal emotions of identity and connection with place (and even living relatives) are main motivations, the pure challenge (the detective story) should not be overlooked. This curiosity could be exploited and directed to language learning opportunities.

While Norwegian-Americans were emphasized in this paper, data from all ethnic groups appearing in a sample of over 1,000, with 667 of those categorized as 'legacy tourists,' are remarkably similar. Thus managers and directors

*Table 3*  
Reasons for Interest in Family History  
(1,024 of total n=1,057 responding)

Motivations indicated by entire data set	Percent of Respondents Indicating
Personal identity	43
Connection with place	42.9
Intellectual challenge	33.1
Obligation to ancestors	30.8
Discovering continuities	27.5
Completing the circle	19.3
Quest	14.6
Finding oneself	13.7
Closing the gap	9.9
Recovery of social identity	9.7
Remainder (pilgrimage, homecoming, true home, sacred, community, magical feeling, inward journey)	8 or fewer

can formulate similar marketing strategies for all of their patrons and clients seeking their roots—those increasingly important legacy tourists.

Future researchers will continue to examine the importance of actually getting to a physical place and will also expand their studies to include associated aspects of the legacy tourism bundle. One example is understanding the role that language understanding and learning can play in the experience.

Some nations may begin to follow Scotland's lead to explain and promote 'learning the language of your ancestors' (2011). And future researchers should further explore the importance (or lack of it) of the perceived style of various cultures (such as loud, quiet, reserved) and if that style is related to the amount of record keeping, description, and oral history.

Whatever the diasporic origin of the respondents studied, there appears to be a personal identity motivation that prompts modern day consumers to experience a home not seen but inherited from our ancestors and request help interpreting the experience.

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## Notes

- 2 There is a resurgence in the language Ulster-Scots, as one can see from the BBC Ulster-Scots website, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/ulsterscots>, launched in May 2011. One can learn the Ulster-Scots language via a 'word of the day' and other means
- 3 I wish to thank representatives from the following migration institutions, who so kindly contributed data for this article: Institute of Migration, Turku and The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute in Finland, Slovenian Migration Institute at the SRC SASA, Ljubljana, Slovenia, The Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster American Folk Park in Omagh, Northern Ireland, and The Swedish American Center in Sweden
- 4 The family's working theory is that there was an Uncle Tollef at the time of emigration to North America, therefore in deciding which surname to adopt, the several Kallekodd brothers decided on what they thought was still similar to a family name, but would make life easier in America

