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Special Issue on

‘Migrants and Refugees –
Then and Now’

Editor

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions
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Cover picture:

The Freedom Monument (Latvian: Brīvības piemineklis) is a memorial located in Riga, Latvia, honouring soldiers killed during the Latvian War of Independence (1918–1920). It is considered an important symbol of the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of Latvia. Unveiled in 1935, the 42-metre (138 ft) high monument of granite, travertine, and copper often serves as the focal point of public gatherings and official ceremonies in Riga. Source: Wikipedia.

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Contents

- 6 From the Editor
- 10 Protocol of the AEMI 2014 meeting in Riga, Latvia
- 17 Chairman 's Report 2013 - 2014
- 20 Janja Žitnik Serafin: *Some Terminological Dilemmas in Migration Studies*
- 30 Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade: *Portugal - Refuge and Refugees: Movements and Personalities*
- 47 Susana Sabin Fernandez: *Forbidden Haven to Little Basque Refugees*
- 70 Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell: *In Search of Their Invisibles: the Personal and Household Servants*
- 97 Paul-Heinz Pauseback: *Dreams, Returning Emigrants and Millions of Dollar - What we get back from Overseas*
- 112 Nonja Peters: *Migration and the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) since 1450: the Impact of In-migration in Sustaining the European Economy and Generating Cultural Heritage in Both Regions*
- 133 Sarah Marijnen and Jeroen Doomernik: *Baby Migration*

- 153 Protocol of the AEMI 2015 meeting in Turin, Italy
- 159 Chairman's Report 2014 - 2015
- 161 Solange Maslowski: *Expulsion of Economically Inactive European Union Citizens*
- 174 Daniele Valisena: *From Migrations to New Mobilities in the European Union: Italians in Berlin Between Anomie and Multi-situated Identity*
- 182 Federica Moretti: *Broken Dreams of a Dream Country: Italy Between Wishes and Disenchantment*
- 193 Susana Cascao: *Portuguese Language Media in Luxembourg: The Newspaper Contacto, a Step towards Integration*
- 200 Elisa Gosso: *Crossing Boundaries: Negotiating Transnational Heritage and Belonging in the German Waldensian Diaspora*

From the Editor

I am pleased to finally present to you this double issue of the AEMI Journal, based on a selection of papers presented at the Annual AEMI Meeting and International Conference in Riga in 2014 and Turin in 2015. The Riga conference was dedicated to the theme of *Migration and Refugees – Then and Now*, while the theme of the Turin conference focused on *Migrations in Europe in the Third Millennium*.

In the opening article *Some Terminological Dilemmas in Migration Studies* Janja Zitnik Serafin discusses the problematic use of the terms ‘autochthonous’, ‘host society/host country’, and ‘tolerance’ and argues that it is necessary to constantly revise the terminology used in migration studies. The purpose of her article is to show how words create perception, and how our understanding of certain established terms can depend on our personal experience, local circumstances and cultural background. We should therefore develop a high level of sensitivity to the different meanings of a particular term and also develop our intercultural awareness to get a deeper understanding of our own culture and a greater openness to the production of foreign cultures.

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade’s article *Portugal - Refuge and Refugees: Movements and Personalities* reveals the mobility of the Portuguese people from the early 1800s till the present, and how Portugal has served as a space of shelter and a bridge of passage for thousands of people from all walks of life and various nationalities: nobility, famous writers, intellectuals as well as people fleeing war.

In *Forbidden Heaven to Basque Refugee Children*, Susana Sabín-Fernández paints a grim picture of the Spanish Civil War and the dramatic evacuation of 32,000 children after the bombing of the Basque towns of Durango and Guernica. She thoroughly examines the key persons involved in the evacuation, and explains why many countries hosted the Basque children, while the USA decided not to do so.

Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell has taken on the huge task trying to identify each one of the entire non-Russian north European labour-force, recruited from 1798 to 1867 to fill the Russian American Company’s needs at Novo Archangelsk/ Sitka, on Baranof Island, and around the North Pacific Rim: e.g. governors, naval officers, office employees, and sea captains with their ship crews down to cabin boys. In her article *1798-1867: Russian America and its Latvians. In Search of Their Invisibles: the Personal and Household Servants* she particularly focuses on the personal and household servants, also referred to as the *invisibles*.

Paul-Heinz Pauseback's article *Dreams, Returning Emigrants and Millions of Dollars – What We Get Back from Oversea* focus on the consequences of return migration and the stream of material and immaterial goods that was brought back from foreign countries – mainly the US - to his North Frisia and Husum where almost every native family were affected: personal wealth, investments, innovations but above all: the idea of personal freedom – and the absence of autocratic authorities and oppressing bureaucracy.

In '*Migration and the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) since 1450: the Impact of In-migration in Sustaining the European Economy and Generating Cultural Heritage in Both Regions*', Nonja Peters demonstrates the role European expansion during the age of discovery played in interconnecting the Earth's peoples, cultures, economies and politics, how the world become 'global' and the vital role states and nations from Antiquity, the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East and Indian Ocean Rim and Americas played in this history.

She also makes a point of the fact that the Council of Europe has recognised cultural heritage - tangible, intangible or digital - as a unique and non-renewable resource and a major asset for Europe and for the entire European project. She therefore stresses the fact that most of this cultural heritage – at least the artifacts displayed in the British Museum in London and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam - are not from Europe, but were 'acquired' by maritime explorers during the 'Age of Exploration' from nations and states the British and Dutch had conquered, and that they in fact commemorate colonialism and imperialism.

In the article *Baby Migration*, Sarah Marijnen and Jeroen Doornik introduces the reader to what they describe as a 'peculiar and often unnoted form of international migration', starting immediately after the Second World War when orphans from war-torn European countries were adopted by American families. This Intercountry Adoption (ICA) has since the mid-1970s until the present been shaped by an increasing gap between rich and poor countries, and created an growing demand for children in developed countries. This has resulted in a billion-dollar unregulated industry, raising the questions on the role of the adoption organisations and agencies, and ultimately paved way to international normative frameworks e.g.: the United Nations Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children (1986), and the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (2000).

In *Expulsion of Economically Inactive European Union Citizens*, Solange Maslowski argues that a growing number of inactive Union citizens, e.g. persons who are self-sufficient and in possession of sickness insurance coverage, pensioners, first-time job seekers and job-seekers who no longer retain the status of workers, have been expelled from their host Member state and that this phenomenon seems to continue. She describes the process of expulsion of economically inactive Union cit-

izens by quoting the main legal grounds for expulsion such as threat to public policy, public security and public health, abuse of rights or fraud and unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member States. Morawski argues that economically inactive Union citizens are not protected enough against expulsion, despite the existing safeguards. Since no conviction is required, the mere suspicion of a breach of the order is sufficient to constitute a threat to public policy. The recent refugee crisis and some events surrounding the Brexit, such as the requirements of the United Kingdom to condition the freedom of movement of mobile workers, is however, much more worrisome, according to Marowski. Such a step would destroy the fundamental right of freedom of movement of Union citizens that has existed since the foundation of the EEC for mobile workers.

In her article *From Migrations to New Mobilities in the European Union: Italians in Berlin Between Anomie and Multi-situated Identity*, Daniele Valisena argues that Italian newcomers in Berlin are representatives of a new phenomenon called new mobility originating from the 2008 economic crisis. The crisis revealed not only the economic contradictions and disparities between North and South Europe, but also cut the bond that tied a generation of young, highly skilled workers and globalized multicultural people, to their countries, giving them the opportunity to leave and to enter in a brand new pattern of life that, for its specificities can not be identified as a traditional migration flow.

Valisena claims that in regards to migration history, neither push and pull, nor political and economic paradigms can explain this new migration wave. In the same way, chain migration, melting pot or diasporic models, as well as ethnic analysis do not seem to be able to totally comprehend this new phenomenon.

Broken Dreams of a Dream Country: Italy Between Wishes and Disenchantment

The Italian community in the Belgian territory, count 157,400 (2013) people of a total Belgian population of 11. 2million. In her article, Federica Moretti first describes the experiences of Italian graduate students currently pursuing Master or PhD programmes at the University of Leuven, Belgium and those of the second/ third generation students enrolled at the University of Leuven. The research unfolds and compares the two groups' conceptions of Italy, especially focusing on two issues: how is Italy 'imagined' and how do these imaginaries open up to various courses of action.

Susana Cascao's article *Portuguese Language Media in Luxembourg: The Newspaper Contacto, a Step towards Integration* is based on her Master's thesis studying the Portuguese language newspaper *Contacto*, a weekly periodical founded during the first and biggest wave of Portuguese migration to Luxembourg in the 1970's.

Contacto has been serving the community in a facilitating role that Susana argues represents a step towards a desired integration through the interaction with local organisations and through open support for more political involvement of the Por-

tuguese community, e.g. the call for dual nationality, the insistence on the need for participation in both municipal and general elections, and the raising of awareness on the rights of workers.

From Elisa Gosso's article *Crossing Boundaries: Negotiating Transnational Heritage and Belonging in the German Waldensian Diaspora*, we learn that the term Waldensian defines an Italian religious Protestant group that originated in Lyon, France, as an heretical movement in the early Middle Ages. In 1532 their members decided to adhere to the Protestant Reformation and, consequently, to organize themselves as a Church. Because of persecutions from both the political power and the Catholic Church they were soon banished from Lyon and scattered across other regions, particularly in the Waldesian Valley in Western Piedmont, close to Turin. From here they moved to Germany, and established the Waldensergemeinde in Hessen south of Frankfurt. The peculiarity of this group is that in 1974 it established a twinning agreement with the native land of their Waldensian ancestors, Pragelato, in the high Chisone Valley, and in 2014 the two groups celebrated the 40th anniversary of the twinning, focusing on social and cultural beliefs rooted in a common heritage.

Hans Storhaug,
Editor

The Association of European Migration Institutions Protocol of the Annual Meeting

*24 - 27 September 2014
Riga, Latvia*



Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other experts on migration issues met for a three day conference in Riga and Cesis, Latvia. The conference was hosted by Latvians Abroad, Museum and Research Centre and the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Latvia and took place at the university's Mazā Aula. This group picture was taken by the waiter at the Royal Europe Restaurant marking the end of yet another successful AEMI conference.

Thursday, 25 September 2014

After an informal gathering at the University of Latvia Wednesday evening, conference members met Thursday morning in the *Mazā Aula* at the university. Welcome speeches by Maija Hinkle, chairperson of the board of the Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, the primary host organization, Inta Brikše, University of Latvia, Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences, and AEMI chairman Hans Storhaug, marked the official opening of the annual conference.

In his keynote speech Pēteris Kārlis Elferts, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador-at-Large for the Diaspora addressed the complexity of Latvian diaspora, representing both a problem for the economy as the country is losing people and taxpayers, but also a huge resource and great potential, since Latvians abroad gained valuable education and work experience that the country will benefit from in the future.

The rest of the day was devoted to papers and discussions related to the theme *Migration and Refugees - Now and Then.*'

- Session 1 *Refugees 1* was chaired by Maija Hinkle, Latvians Abroad – Museum and Research Centre. Speakers:

Dietmar Osses, Director of the LWL Industrial Museum Hannover Colliery in Bochum, Germany: *Longing for Home: Polish Displaced Persons in Germany*

Maija Krūmiņa, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia, Latvia: *The New 'Home': Latvian Refugee's First Steps in Their Host Countries*

Jacek Barski, Porta Polonica - Documentation Centre for the Culture and

History of Poles in Germany, Bochum, Germany: *Remembrance Places on Polish Slave Laborer, Displaced Persons and the Polish Enclave on the New Internet Site Porta Polonica*

Maria Beatriz Rocha -Trindade, Universidade Aberta, Portugal: *Portugal: Foreseeing the Refugee: Movements and Personalities or Refugees?*

- Session 2 *Refugees 2* was chaired by Baiba Bela, University of Latvia.

Speakers:

Susana Sabin Fernandez, University of Southampton, UK: *UK and US Haven to Little Basque Refugees*

Drago Župarić-Iljić, Simona Kuti, Snježana Gregurović, Margareta Gregurović, Dubravka Mlinarić, Mario Bara, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb: *Old Wounds, New Displacements? The Last 25 Years of Forced Migrations in Croatia*

Ieva Garda-Rozenberga, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia: *Latvians in Sweden: crossing the real, imagined and storied borders*

- Session 3 *Scandinavian Migration* was chaired by Mathias Nilsson, The Swedish Migration Center. Speakers:

Knut Djupedal, Museum of Migration, Norway: *Some Thoughts on Norwegian Emigration for Religious Reasons in the 16th Century*

Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell, Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Finland: *1798-1867: Russian America and Its Latvians*

Ann-Kristin Högman, Department of Political, Historical, Religious and Cultural Studies, Karlstad University: *Old and Alone? The Impact of the Great*

Emigration on Social Networks of the Elderly

• Session 4 *Child and Return Migrations - Rewards and Challenges* was chaired by Maddalena Tirabassi, Altreitalie Center on Italian Migration. Speakers:

Paul Pauseback, Noordfriisk Instituut: Germany: *Dreams, Ex-emigrants and Millions of Dollars – What We Get Back from Overseas*

Nonja Peters, Curtin University, Australia: *Migrants, Refugees and a Sustainable Europe – Then and Now*

Jeroen Doomernik, Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands: *Migration for Adoption: A Specific Kind of Trafficking?*

Friday, 26 September 2014

The morning session started with a keynote speech by Prof. Dr. Vita Zelče, ASPRI and Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Latvia, who spoke about *Major Flows of Migration Early 19th Century to 1991: Latvian Case*.

• Session 5 *Media and Migration* was chaired by Hans Storhaug, the Norwegian Migration Center. Speakers:

Patrick Fitzgerald, Mellon Centre of Migration Studies, N. Ireland, *Refugees in Irish Migration History*

Mārtiņš Kaprāns & Inta Mierīņa, Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, University of Latvia, Latvia: *Latvian Emigrant Communities: Media, Identity and Belonging*

Andris Straumanis, University of Wisconsin - River Falls, USA: *The View from Hell: Latvian Press Reports of Emigration to Brazil, 1890-1915*

• Session 6 *Archives and Museums* was chaired by Knut Djupedal, Museum of Migration, Norway. Speakers:

Maira Bundža, Western Michigan University, USA: *Preservation of Baltic Migrant Culture in Libraries and Archives*

Emilia García López, Council for Galician Culture, Spain: *Letters Galician Exile on the Web: Epistles Project*

Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly and Nadia Babazia, Red Star Line Museum, Belgium: *The Valorisation of Migration Stories as European Biographical Heritage & Their Use as a Museum Tool to Connect Past and Present – The Case of the Red Star Line Museum*

Maija Hinkle, Latvians Abroad - Museum and Research Centre, USA: *Latvians Abroad - an Interim Assessment*

After lunch the organisers and the staff at the Occupation Museum had arranged for a visit and guided tour at *Stūra māja* (former KGB building). Dinner was enjoyed at *Rozengrals*, Riga's only authentic medieval restaurant. (Located on the narrowest street of Old Riga, it is a modern incarnation of what was once Vinarium Civitatis Rigensis – the wine-cellar and festival hall of Riga city council, mentioned in scripts as early as in 1293. Source: <http://www.virtuallatvia.lv/medieval-restaurant-rozengrals/>.)

Saturday, 27 October 2014

Saturday morning conference members were taken on a bus tour through a beautiful landscape of birch forest to the medieval city of Cēsis. Mr. Jānis Rozenbergs, Chairman of Cēsis Regional Council, spoke about the problems the city is facing due to diaspora. Unable to

find relevant jobs, many young Latvians had left the city in recent years. To reverse this negative trend the regional council were about to implement a city development program to bring the migrants back home.

Immediately after the meeting with Mr. Rosenberg, AEMI members got organised for the General Assembly meeting.

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

Minutes of Meeting

The General Assembly of the Association of European Migration institutions was called to order Saturday 27 September 2014, 12.00 a. m. at the castle of Cēsis, Latvia by Chairman Hans Storhaug.

1 Attendance Register and Apologies

Hans Storhaug conveyed apologies from La Cité de la Mer, France, the National Library of Norway, University of Mainz, Germany and the Center of Humans Migrations in Dudelange, Luxembourg.

It was noted that the following representatives of 23 member institutions were present:

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément

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

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

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

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

The Swedish Migration Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr. Mathias Nilsson and Mr. Erik Gustavson

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

Altreitalia - Center on Italian Migrations, Turin, Italy represented by Prof. Maddalena Tirabassi

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

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

The Danish Immigration Museum, Denmark, represented by Ms. Cathrine Kyö Hermanssen

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

North Frisian Institute, Bredstedt, North Frisia, represented by Mr. Paul-Heinz Pauseback

Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostella, Spain, represented by Emilia Garcia Lopez

The Red Star Line Museum, represented by Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly and Nadia Babazia

Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, Riga, Latvia, represented by Maja Hinkle.

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

2. Minutes of the General Assembly of AEMI Saturday 29 September 2012 at the Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland

The Minutes of the General Assembly of AEMI Saturday 29 September 2012 at The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland were approved as accurate records.

3. Chairman's Report, 2012-2013

The chairman gave his report summarizing key points and referring to the full text at the AEMI website. Hans Storhaug thanked Adam Walaszek, Agnieszka Stasiewicz and Jan Lencznarowicz for a great meeting in Krakow.

In addition to frequent internet communication, the board held one face-to-face meeting in Paris, France 18 - 20 June 2013. Unfortunately, Adam Walaszek and Eva Meyer were prevented from coming. The board discussed the framework of the upcoming Annual Conference and who to invite as keynote speaker. In that respect, the board agreed to make a request to the Global Forum of Migration and Development, the European Fund for Integration, the High Commissioner of National Minorities, and the Open Society Foundation.

The Paris meeting coincided with the General Assembly meeting of Genetique, and the Board joined them at the dinner buffet closing their meeting. The Board also discussed how to make the new website more user friendly and what it will take to bring the book project *Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migratory History* to fruition.

The chairman also thanked Mathias Nilsson and his colleagues for making their preparations to host us in Karlstad.

Finally, Hans Storhaug reminded the assembly that the Board is now entering the final year of its three-year term, so potential new board members should consider running for the election next year.

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

4. Secretary's Report, 2012-2013

AEMI's Secretary Sarah Clement noted that she had communicated messages to and from AEMI members, particularly on the development of the AEMI website. The new website offers functions like Facebook and Twitter, but they are not frequently used. In order to make the website more informative for both members and potential visitors, Secretary Clement requested more detailed information about each member institution. The Secretary also noted that she had actively tried to recruit new members, and had invited Paul Lappalainen, senior advisor with the Swedish Equality Ombudsman and member of the advisory board of the Open Society Foundations to the Karlstad conference.

5. *Treasurer's Report 2012-2013*

Treasurer Eva Meyer presented the financial report 2012, and addressed the question of removing members that had not paid their subscription for many years from the member list. The Board will work out a solution, and contact the institutions involved. The Presiding Officer thanked the Treasurer for her presentation and moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

6. *Auditor's Report 2012-2013*

The Auditor of AEMI, Mr. Erik Gustavsson, presented AEMI's financial report. The Presiding Officer thanked Mr. Gustavsson and moved the adoption of his report. The meeting adopted the motion.

7. *Appointment of Auditor for 2013-2014*

The Chairman thanked Mr. Gustavsson for serving as auditor in the past years, and kindly asked him to stay on as Auditor for 2013-2014. The Presiding Officer moved that Mr. Gustavsson continued as Auditor, and the meeting adopted his motion.

8. *Treasurer's Proposed Budget 2014*

Treasurer Eva Meyer proposed a budget for 2014, that was unanimously supported by the Assembly. The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Proposed Budget 2014. The meeting adopted the motion.

9. *Journal Editor's Report 2012-2013*

Hans Storhaug, Editor of the AEMI Journal, presented volume 11 of the Journal based on the theme of the Krakow conference *Shaping Europe's*

Identity - European Internal Migration.

The Journal counted nine articles based on papers delivered at the Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland. The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his presentation and moved the adoption of the Editor's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

10. *Admission of New Members*

Nina M. Ray, Professor of Business and Marketing at the Boise State University, Idaho, has frequently attended the AEMI conferences and submitted articles for publication in the AEMI Journal. Ms. Ray has applied for membership and was accepted as an associated member.

The Emigration Museum in Gdynia, Poland, represented by Dr. Marcin Szele was also accepted as member.

11. *Member's Projects*

Mathias Nilsson informed the Assembly that the application for EU funding of his project *Migraport* had not been accepted. Some of the AEMI members already involved in the project would still be interested to collaborate with him on this project. Mathias Nilsson will also consider a new application for the ICT Policy Support Programme (ICP-PSP) which aims at stimulating innovation and competitiveness through the wider uptake and best use of ICT by citizens, governments and businesses.

Maddalena Tirabassi encouraged the Assembly to contribute to the project *Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migration History* by sending her statistics, photos and articles on migration from their own countries. Maddalena

Tirabassi also urged the Assembly to make a public announcement supporting the victims of the Lampedusa catastrophe.

Sarah Clement wanted members to contribute to the *Places of Memory and History* concept by sending her information and pictures of three places connected to migration in their country.

12. Future venues

Representatives from several member institutions have expressed their wish to host the AEMI conference in the years to come. The 2014 Annual AEMI meeting will take place in Riga, Latvia which that year has the status as European Capital of Culture. Ms. Marianna Auliciema, representing Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, announced that the theme for next year will have a special focus on refugees.

The venue for 2015 is still to be decided. The actual alternatives are Altréitalie, Center on Italian Migrations, Turin, Italy or The Red Star Line in Antwerp, Belgium.

In connection with the 400th anniversary of the first European recorded landfall in Western Australia in 2016, Ms. Nonja Peters has proposed Perth, Australia as the venue for the Annual AEMI conference that year. Another alternative might be Santiago de Compostella in Spain.

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman's Report 2013 - 2014

Ladies and Gentlemen:

How time flies. I can hardly believe another year has passed since we met in Karlstad, the Sun city of Sweden. I will use this opportunity to, once again, thank Mr. Mathias Nilsson and his predecessor Mr. Erik Gustavsson and the rest of the staff at the Swedish Migration Center, for their warm welcome and extraordinary hospitality, and an exciting and educational conference and meeting. Located in the beautiful Karlstad courthouse building, right in the heart of the city, the Migration Center offers a well of sources and opportunities for genealogists and historians as well as for the city's immigrant population. The conference took place at the Karlstad Congress Culture Center, one of the largest and modern congress buildings in the Nordic countries offering state-of-the-art conference facilities.

The Swedish Migration Center was established in 1960 as Emigrantregisteret/ the Kinship Center and changed its name to the Swedish American Center as part of its 50th Anniversary in 2010. The recent shift to Swedish Migration Center more than anything reflects the fact that the Center is taking its position as the leading migration research center in Sweden seriously, dealing not

only with the historic nineteenth- and twentieth century emigration history, but also reflecting on afterwar immigration and present day integration processes. With an increasing immigrant population and a growing support for the nationalistic Swedish Democrats (SD), gaining 13.7 per cent of the votes in the recent election (2014), making it the sixth-largest party in the Parliament - *Riksdagen* - indicates how important this shift is.

As usual, there has been frequent communication between members of the Board, mainly by email, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in Riga, Latvia. Your Board, for the last year of this current three-year cycle, has been Maddalena Tirabassi (Italy) as Vice-Chair, Sarah Clement (France) as Secretary, Eva Meyer (Åland/ Finland) as Treasurer, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the Association's *Journal*, Mathias Nilsson (Sweden) as representative of last year's host institution, and Marianna Auliciema (Latvia) representing the host institution of 2014, and myself as chairman.

The Board held three face-to-face meetings during this period, one in Paris in November last year, and two in

the city of Riga this year. The meeting with the French Ministry of European Affairs took place in Paris on 1 November 2013. It was organised by Virginie Brenot-Beaufriere, Head of Cultural Department at La Cite de la Mer, Cherbourg, France, and was a materialization of a meeting that was expected to take place in the beginning of the year. Nathalie Lhayani at the French Ministry of European Affairs, welcomed the Board (represented by Maddalena, Sarah and Hans) providing us the opportunity to present AEMI and its network and to discuss the possibility for funding of one or more of the projects described in the report of last year (mainly the book project *Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migratory History (1800 – 2010)*).

However, the French Ministry made it clear that it could only support projects concerning France, e.g integration of non-citizen immigrants in France. The application also had to be in French. Consequently, Sarah and Generique was given the responsibility to have an application ready by March 2014, focusing on 1) the construction of EU citizenship related to past and present migrations in France, comparing *Ius soli* and *Ius sanguinis*, discrimination and policies of inclusion and 2) places of memories and history of migrations in Europe (three places in each European country to be put on a map on the AEMI website. Just recently, the project was granted 5000 euros which will be spent on making a leaflet presenting a synthesis of research on French migration - in both the French and English language.

On 2 – 4 April 2014, the Board (represented by Maddalena, Sarah, Eva and Hans) met with the organizing com-

mittee in Riga, represented by Latvians Abroad and the University of Riga: Marianna Auliciema, Baiba Bela, Liga Belicka, Ilze Garoza, Liga Hartpenga, Juris Zalans, Maija Hinkle and Ints Dzelzgalvis. The organizing committee was well prepared, presenting the board alternative themes, schedule and venues for the upcoming conference. The main focus will be on refugees and migrants – now and then. During the meeting Ilze Garzola made an interview with vice chair Maddalena Tirabassi and chairman Hans Storhaug that was published on the Latvian Online news portal. The interview titled *Not Everybody Leaves for Money*, can be downloaded at <http://latviansonline.com/emigration-everybody-leaves-money/>

After a farewell dinner, Ints Dzelzgalvis guided us through the historical part of Riga, while presenting us a short version of the city's history; Riga was a major centre of the Hanseatic League, deriving its prosperity in the 13th–15th centuries from the trade with central and eastern Europe. The urban fabric of its medieval centre reflects this prosperity, though most of the earliest buildings were destroyed by fire or war. Riga became an important economic centre in the 19th century, when the suburbs surrounding the medieval town were laid out, first with imposing wooden buildings in neoclassical style and then in Jugendstil. It is generally recognized that Riga has the finest collection of art nouveau buildings in Europe.

As recruiting new members in order to enlarge the network and to strengthen our economy has been, and still is, one of the main objectives of your Board, I am very happy to report that we have

received applications for membership from the following three institutions:

CGM - Center of History of Migrants, Leiden University, the Netherlands, University of Osnabruck, Germany and House of Emigrants, Gothenburg, Sweden. Jacek Barski, representing Porta Polonica – Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of Poles in Germany, Bucum, Germany and Inese Auzina-Smita, representing Latvian Documentation Centre in the UK, have also addressed their interest to join the Association.

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

about who to elect next that have the talent and energy to take the organisation a step forward. I would like to thank again Mathias Nilsson and his colleagues at the Swedish Migration Center for hosting the Annual Meeting in Sweden in 2013. And we also thank Marianna Auliciema and her colleagues at Latvians Abroad, Riga, Latvia, for welcoming us to Riga.

Hans Storhaug,

Chairman, AEMI

September 2014

Some Terminological Dilemmas in Migration Studies

Janja Žitnik Serafin

Abstract

The author presents her arguments on the problematic use of the terms 'autochthonous', 'host society/host country', and 'tolerance'. She explains the meaning of the term 'integration' (cultural and linguistic), as it is defined in certain European documents, and points out some misinterpretations of this term found in recent academic literature. In her conclusion she argues that intercultural awareness is crucial in terms of our perception of internationally established terminology. In order to be able to understand the terminological dilemmas of our own as well as those of others, we

must develop a high level of sensitivity to the different meanings of a particular term depending on one's cultural background, even though that term has been generally accepted by the leading scholars in the respective research field. Or, in other words, the more we develop our intercultural awareness, the more disputable the generally accepted terminology becomes, regardless of the fact that it is indispensable for any kind of scholarly communication. Therefore terminology must be constantly revised, not only for the purpose of its necessary updating but also for its due relativization.

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to show how words create perception, and how our understanding of certain established terms can depend on our personal experience, local circumstances and cultural background. I will base my discussion on the theory of subjective perception vs. intercultural awareness (Grosman 2004), and use the Slovenian case to illustrate the relativity pertaining to some crucial terms in ethnic and migration studies.

The most frequent opportunity that opens various terminological questions is the process of the translation of scholarly texts from one language to another. One of the most prominent English translators in Slovenia, Erica Johnson Debeljak reflected upon terminological issues in ethnic and migration studies as she translated one of the books in this field. The book itself, she says, reveals many differences between the American and European perceptions of certain terms: the word *emigrant*, for example,

is for obvious reasons almost exotic in the United States, in contrast to the word immigrant, which is used much more frequently there 'because America is a land to which people have historically come, not from which people have left' (Johnson Debeljak 2012: 15-16). She also writes:

One of the fascinating aspects of translation is the realization of how specific vocabularies develop in individual languages to match geographical, historical, and cultural reality. I have discovered, in the translation of this book, that this aspect is never more acute than with notions of 'foreign' and 'home.' Take America, for example. We say 'overseas' to mean 'foreign lands' because for Americans most foreign lands are quite literally over one sea or another. The same term would hardly be suitable to landlocked Hungary or indeed to most European countries. /.../

What is most specific about Slovenia as a nation is its history of shifting borders and national affiliation. These shifts have mostly taken place during the last century, which was also the period when a good deal of emigration out of Slovenia took place driven by both economic and political forces. But, in fact, many of the ethnic communities discussed in this book did not result from actual human movement (migration) but, rather, are the result of the movement of borders and the changing configuration of states. /.../ And finally there are minority communities living inside

of Slovenia who, in terms of ethnicity, belong to one of the former republics of Yugoslavia. /.../ If they came to Slovenia before 1991 (most of them came in the 1970s), they were not treated as immigrants until the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the emergence of new successor states.

Naturally, the Slovenian language has developed a vocabulary to describe these various communities, a vocabulary that cannot be easily replicated in another language with very different notions of 'foreign' and 'home.' (Ibid.)

Bearing this in mind, I will try to explain in this article some of my dilemmas concerning the use of the terms 'autochthonous', 'integration' (cultural and linguistic), 'host society / host country', and 'tolerance'.

Autochthonous

The fact is that no definition of the term 'autochthonous' has yet achieved an international consensus, highlights one of the most abused areas in the field of minority politics at least in European countries. The excuse that the term 'autochthonous' still does not have an accepted international legal definition is always at hand when it comes to a debate about the condition of certain immigrants in European countries who do not enjoy the protection afforded to constitutionally recognized minorities. The first European Commissioner for Human Rights, Alvaro Gil-Robles delivered a warning about this issue in the report of his visit to Slovenia (Council of Europe, Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights 2003: 4-5, 7-11) and

in his second report (Council of Europe, Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights 2006: 4-5 point 1: Protection of Minorities). In the latter, the commissioner also reported that the measures of the government for minority protection required additional investigation into the concept of 'autochthonous' (primary) minorities and non-autochthonous ('new') minorities, and that the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities also applies to groups of people who come from the other republics of the former Yugoslavia. The commissioner felt it was extremely important that the Slovenian government take measures to reduce the different levels of protection for Roma communities that emerge from the definition of these groups as either autochthonous or non-autochthonous, as the definition is still legally ambiguous. He was concerned that the use of these concepts caused legal and practical uncertainty and created the risk of arbitrary exclusion. As far as people from the republics of the former Yugoslavia were concerned, the commissioner expressed concern that they were not recognized as a minority in Slovenia, which caused great difficulty in terms of the preservation of language, faith, culture, and identity.

The Slovenian government or, more precisely, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs defines its understanding of the concept of autochthonous minorities as follows (Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2006: 2): 'By and large, we speak of *autochthonous or historical settlements* of certain communities in cases where such communities have been present in a certain area for *at least two*

generations or more' (emphasis added). Similarly, the *Minority Rights Group* stated in *World Directory of Minorities* (1990, xiv) that ethnic minorities become autochthonous after two generations (or in 40–50 years).

This is the same interpretation implicitly recommended by the European Commissioner of Human Rights (Office of the Commissioner for Human Rights 2006: 3, comment f-5). But the use of the term in the Slovenian government documents is inconsistent to say the least, and at times even hypocritical. In international communication the Slovenian government uses the interpretation of the term as quoted above. But this definition of autochthonous minorities is not yet established in Slovenian internal documents. Most people who immigrated to Slovenia from other republics of the former Yugoslavia came during the 1970s and have dedicated the entirety of their active lives to the Slovenian economy and society. Moreover, the number of their second and third generation born in Slovenia now exceeds the number of first generation immigrants. Nevertheless, the Slovenian government in its internal documents continues to qualify this minority with the label 'non-autochthonous, new ethnic communities' or 'new minority ethnic communities' (Čurin Radovič 2002: 232). We find similar syntagms in other expert literature, for example 'new ethnic/national communities' (Komac 2003) and 'new national minorities' (Medvešek and Vrečer 2005). By placing the label 'new' in quotation marks, some authors implicitly question the suggested non-autochthonous status of these communities. The danger exists

that the apparent ‘short-term’ presence of these minority groups in the perception of the general public will continue to justify their marginal treatment. Despite positive advances in the legislation pertaining to culture (e.g. ZUJIK 2002), the structural reality of Slovenian society is that those ethnic minorities that are generally considered as non-autochthonous – although they have been present in Slovenia for more than two generations – have an inferior position from a number of standpoints. The reason why I avoid making any distinctions on the basis of the vague concepts of autochthonous and non-autochthonous is that from the viewpoint of human rights there is actually no difference between these two poorly defined categories.

Integration (inguistic and cultural)

The term integration has a number of contradictory definitions in various academic fields. Even authors from the fields of ethnic and migration studies, in which the term should mean (successful and equal) inclusion of immigrants into the receiving society, use the term to express different things. Certain academics in the field of migration studies use the term integration more or less synonymously with the term assimilation (for example, Graf 2004; Wörsdörfer 2004; Yükleyn and Yurdakul 2011), that is the inclusion of immigrants after they have acquired the majority language and adapted themselves to existing social norms of the receiving country, ‘members become blended almost seamlessly, leaving behind their cultural differences’ (Yükleyn and Yurdakul 2011). In the last few decades – especially in connection with economic, political, cultural,

religious, and linguistic integration – it has come to mean the opposite. Integration is now generally understood as a two-way or multilateral process in which different parts are joined together on equal basis. Receiving countries accept immigrants mostly because certain economic sectors in these countries need them. Therefore, adaptation is also understood as a two-way process in which the national majority and the immigrants play equal roles.

As Phillips (2009) points out, ‘the European Commission, in defining the ‘Common Basic Principles’ enshrined in *A Common Agenda for Integration*, conceptualises integration as a two-way process, whereby minority groups and the majority population participate in the process of change on an equal footing.’ On the other hand, Phillips admits that ‘although the *desirability* of integration as a two-way process may be publicly acknowledged, the *expectation* is that most of the adaptation will be undertaken by the minority ethnic population.’

Integration as a two-way process is also expressed in the terminology of a number of Slovenian State documents that deal with immigrant issues, for example the *Resolucija o imigracijski politiki Republike Slovenije* [Resolution about Immigration Policies in the Republic of Slovenia], passed by the National Assembly on May 14, 1999, and the *Resolucija o migracijski politiki Republike Slovenije* [Resolution about Migration Policies of the Republic of Slovenia], passed by the National Assembly on November 28, 2002. On the LIAM (Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants) website of the Council of Eu-

rope (2012), the following position on linguistic integration is expressed:

The very idea of linguistic integration may actually only be one of what the established population deem to be the duties of newcomers and it is not necessarily the main aim of the newcomer. 'Integration' is actually often taken to mean that migrants do not stand out from other speakers or do so only minimally (through a slight accent, for instance) or even that they do not use their other languages in public and forget them. In this view of integration, migrants should go unnoticed linguistically and use the 'normal' language of the native population. This is an external interpretation of integration, which relates to the wishes of certain native speakers, namely the gradual elimination of differences combined with linguistic standardisation. This interpretation also requires adult migrants to show a high level of proficiency in the dominant/official language, which is perceived as a demonstration of their loyalty and allegiance to the host country. In the final analysis, proficiency in language is equated with citizenship: "someone who speaks French (well) is French". These 'assimilationist' expectations may be offset by a curiosity for unknown languages, a desire to learn them, goodwill regarding mistakes that are made or difficulties migrants have in expressing themselves and acceptance of the use of other languages in public or in the media. These more positive attitudes may depend on the degree of legitimacy attached to the languages (migrants' languages versus foreigners' languages) and to a large

extent on the degree of acceptance of inherited diversity. These positive attitudes should be encouraged by all forms of intercultural education.

The position of the Council of Europe is that the external definition of linguistic integration mentioned above is NOT consistent with either the real needs of the host society or the expectations of migrants themselves and the rights they should be granted. From an internal perspective, integration should not be defined solely in relation to acquisition of the majority/dominant language, but in relation to each individual's language repertoire (my emphasis).

Just as the authors of these documents do, I also understand the concept of cultural and linguistic integration in the sense of active and above all equal inclusion of minority (immigrant) languages and cultures into the general cultural awareness of the population of multiethnic countries, which of course does not mean the eventual 'disappearance' of migrant cultures and languages into the majority culture and language, as Yükleven and Yurdakul (2011) misinterpreted the term. The inclusion of an immigrant culture on an equal basis is often a necessary condition to the long-term preservation of its authentic elements and the continuation of its vital development. Integration thus means active rather than passive acceptance of diversity. Tragic results of inter-ethnic tensions in certain countries a few years ago have taught us that the national or citizenship identity should be based on the general acceptance and complete absorption of the concept of cultural

pluralism and ethnic, religious, and linguistic equality. Intercultural awareness and multicultural national identity are prerequisite for the internal stability and security of any country.

This is why authors in the field of ethnic and migration studies are expected to use the term integration in accordance with the understanding explained in the above mentioned (and other) EU documents.

Host Society/Country

I feel that I must at this point discuss the problematic use of the term 'host society' in connection with Slovenian society and its relationship to immigrants or 'new' minorities. The term was borrowed from international academic circles,¹ and was first used in Slovenia by certain research circles,² and then by the wider Slovenian public.

Most people from other parts of Yugoslavia came to Slovenia before 1980. At that time Slovenia needed a work force, and there were sufficient jobs for what we now call 'immigrant vocations.' The housing policy at the time – unlike that of today – also made it possible to solve housing problems for immigrants. Until the end of the 1970s, a large number of young people³ came to Slovenia. They completed the first (and in the economic sense) passive period of their lives in the Yugoslav republics of their birth where they were educated. Then they brought their knowledge, skills, and capabilities and invested them in the Slovenian economy and society. The investment of their labour power (after schooling in their home republics) contributed to the economic development of Slovenia and eased its way to inde-

pendence. They, along with the other residents of Slovenia, established the sovereign Slovenian nation. And yet when independent Slovenia began to function as a state, it required of them a different process for the acquisition of citizenship than their 'hosts.' More than 15 percent of 'immigrants' from the republics of the former Yugoslavia – and even some of their descendants born in Slovenia – were erased from the 'active' register of residents in the administration offices that provide residents with personal documents (and became known in the international media as 'the erased'). Many of them lost their homes, jobs, social networks, and the only homeland they had.

The patronizing notion that Slovenia is the host country and immigrants are guests, additionally distorts the attitude of the state and the wider public to the rights and position of immigrants, at the same time distorting the self-image of the immigrants themselves and their own awareness about their rights and position. These immigrants are not guests in Slovenia. Slovenia may have hosted refugees, foreign consultants, political and other delegations, but it can hardly be said to host the workers that pay taxes and other contributions into state coffers and upon whom the Slovenian economy directly relies.⁴ Rather than the inappropriate and misleading term of host society/country, I use the terms receiving society/country, majority society, etc.

Tolerance or Respect?

Otherness provokes feelings of doubt, caution and reserve but also, often enough, resistance and aggression that

can be translated into hate speech and discriminatory actions. All of these different forms of xenophobia are expected to be prevented by tolerance. In 1996, the General Assembly of the United Nations named November 16 as the international day of tolerance. In Slovenian schools, students are taught to be tolerant of others (see e.g. Šlibar 2006; Sardoč 2009). But pupils who are not ethnic Slovenians do not want to be tolerated by their teachers and schoolmates for their supposed differences; they want to be respected and liked (cf. Žitnik 2005a). In this sense, the meaning of tolerance in connection with immigrants and minorities becomes controversial. One must ask what in fact tolerance is and whether a tolerant attitude to the other really contributes to equality, productive coexistence, and intercultural awareness.

In addition to the many Slovenian writers who have written about ethnic, cultural, and religious tolerance (among others Kuzmanič 1994; 2004; Kovačič 2005; Širec 1997; Leskošek, 2005; Klepec 2007), many foreign authors, among them Voltaire (1988), have written on this subject. The most successful Slovenian emigrant writer and social critic, Louis Adamic, one of the founding fathers of American multiculturalism, wrote on many occasions that the tolerance of the national majority to immigrants is really only hidden contempt, a subtler form of intolerance that implies the superiority of the national majority. Tolerance is 'a veneer for intolerance, which cracks easily' (Adamic 1940: 297). On other occasions (for example Adamic 1946: 7), he wrote that those who are on the receiving end of

tolerance begin to feel 'vaguely defensive'. Consequently tolerance leads to 'negative stands and attitudes which preclude vital communication with others ... and there they are, there we all are, separated from each other by invisible chasms.'

A number of other social critics have thought much the same thing. Graf (2004: 16) wrote that: "No longer does it suffice to assume an attitude of tolerance that decides from a national superior point of view how much of the foreign may be accepted." To tolerate is to take the authority to decide whether the legitimate rights of others may be respected or not. As if it were only because we allow others the colour of their skin, their language, their faith, habits and values, their way of life, that they can keep them. They can still feel a bit guilty about it, but we are generous enough to allow it. Or in Goethe's words (Goethe 1897: 221): "*Dulden heißt beleidigen.*" – "To tolerate is to insult." This is why I prefer to use the word respect instead of the noun tolerance or the verb tolerate.

Conclusion

Our perception of certain English terms very often depends on the specific cultural background and local circumstances that are vividly reflected in the vocabulary of our mother tongue. On the other hand, it also depends on the level of our intercultural awareness. As Meta Grosman (2004:25) puts it,

... all encounters with other/foreign cultures, whether or not we encounter them in translation, which is to say partially adapted to our own/ domestic culture, or in the original,

whether these encounters are with films, cartoons, and other television programming, provides an intercultural connection. /.../ For example, if we watch *Hamlet* in London, regardless of the fact that we are physically located in the foreign culture, we cannot (and often we do not want to) remove ourselves from our own particular culturally conditioned position as reader/viewer. Nor can we erase the intertextual experiences derived from our mother tongue, which inform all our subsequent reading and often condition our understanding of literature and our relationship to it. The effects of primary literary socialization as we experience it in lessons of our mother tongue also has an important influence on all our subsequent encounters with literary texts in other languages and from other cultures. Whether these effects in certain individuals become cultural limitations or whether they encourage wider and more varied possibilities of experiencing texts from foreign literary systems is dependent on the development of the necessary intercultural awareness that both requires and allows a deeper understanding of one's own culture and a greater openness to the production of foreign cultures. The development of intercultural awareness and expanded experiential possibilities brings the diversification and enrichment of understanding without the danger of hybridization or other threats to primary language identity.

Because individual languages segment reality and name it in different ways, the speaker of a specific language sees and

distinguishes, for example, only those colours for which his language provides an established name. Therefore speakers of different language communities and cultures will 'see' the different individual colours that they can describe in words; in this way, words create perception. In the reflection and discussion about subjective conceptions, we are limited to our maternal or our first language, which is also the language of our primary relationship to the world and our emotions (Grosman 2004: 26).

In this sense intercultural awareness is also crucial in terms of our perception of internationally established terminology. In order to be able to understand the terminological dilemmas of our own as well as those of others – either in the context of ethnic and migration studies or in any other discipline or field of research, we should develop a high level of sensitivity to the different meanings or different shades of meanings of a particular term depending on one's cultural background even though that term has been generally accepted by the leading scholars in the respective research field. Or, in other words, the more we develop our intercultural awareness, the more questionable the generally accepted terminology becomes regardless of the fact that it is indispensable for any kind of scholarly communication. Therefore terminology is and must be constantly revised, not only for the purpose of its necessary updating but also for its due relativization.

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Notes

- 1 For example in Sanders (2002), and Cancedda (2005). In her 123 page *Skilled Migrants Integration Assessment Model*, Cancedda uses the term *host(ing) country/society* sixty-nine times. Upon recommendations for the final formulation of this European Commission document (Žitnik 2005b: 3-4), the phrase *host/hosting society/country* was mostly replaced with the phrase *receiving society/country*.
- 2 For example in Razpotnik (2004: 37 and subsequent pages), and in Gosar (2005: 29).
- 3 In the last Slovenian census, only 6.38% of immigrants with Serbian ethnicity living in Slovenia were older than 65, while 16% of the general Slovenian population were older than 65. Statistics for members of other former Yugoslav nations in Slovenia are similar to those for Serbians.
- 4 In the middle of the past decade, the need for immigrant workers in Slovenia suddenly grew. The Slovenian economy simply could not function without them. As a result of Slovenia's weak planning mechanisms and its disability to cover labour deficits in certain categories, Slovenia was unable to fill the gap internally. As a result, Slovenia issued some 17,000 working visas for citizens of third countries in 2004. In 2008, the Republic of Slovenia passed a law limiting the number of work permits for foreign citizens to 24,600, which did not even come close to covering the needs of the Slovenian economy during 2008. For this reason, the government again raised the quota the same year. (For more on this issue see Gombač 2007; 2009.)

Portugal - Refuge and Refugees: Movements and Personalities

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade



Fig 1 The Exiled and Legend

A brief introduction will review the various senses of social and geographical mobility, seeking to list the diversity of concepts that can be framed within this very broad category. Portugal will then be taken as an example of the space

for analysis taking into account the permanent movement of people, and concluding with facts and figures that characterize the relevant periods.

The departure of the Portuguese Royal Court to Brazil (1807) – a colony located in the south of the American continent - because of French invasion, led to a situation of exile which lasted for 13 years. The 25th of April, a milestone that separates a long dictatorship of almost fifty years (1926-1974) from the time democracy was installed, limits the analysis in time. The former is our starting point and the latter our end point.

The political settings will outline the historical figures who triggered change in particular situations, acting as an engine capable of motivating action which overcame the difficulties encountered.

The social reasons that promoted the search for refuge and that kept in exile those forced to move from their country were interwoven with an international structure where the circumstances that led to those situations were located. The memory of what occurred and the ways to preserve the memory of controversial personalities translates the individual or collective representation of achievements that at a certain point deserved criticism and, at another, pride.

The Polysemy of Two Multi-sided Concepts

Portugal's history reveals the mobility of its people who consistently left the country either voluntarily or compelled by various reasons. It is estimated that a number equivalent to half of those residing in Portugal are residing abroad (Rocha-Trindade, 2000:22-9; 2014:72). The migratory movements led to many and diverse locations in flows of variable volume, smaller groups or even isolated individuals who, for one reason or another, had to make such a choice. Although they have gained more interest and therefore required greater attention, movements of an economic nature are the primary subject of research projects developed and their consequent publications. It is therefore important to try to position the departures from the country and the motivations caused by other circumstances.

The consensus is that the migration concept covers both the point of view of the country of origin of the migrants, in a conceptual situation of emigration, and the receiving country, diverging to an immigration perspective, as two sides of the same coin.

Regarding issues such as the root causes of departure that lead to expatriation, there has been a certain conceptual enlargement. A few decades ago, the idea of international migration was mainly associated with economic reasons, while today we have to include other distinct cases. It could be risking the establishment of a business; in loco monitoring of investments; having national or multinational interests (of diplomatic, industrial or service providing kind) represented in an international

space; the search for an environment conducive to the acquisition of a qualification or a degree outside the country of origin; or the establishment of residence abroad by retirees, due to a milder climate, better quality of life or greater security.

All these aspects are now included in the very broad and inclusive concept of migration. It should be noted, however, that there is no coincidence between this expansion, which touches a multiplicity of sociological meanings, and the context of their legal or regulatory contents. In fact, there is a certain time lag between the evolution of its meaning, in the strictly scientific plan and its translation in legal terms, which is due to the significant inertness of both the national and international legislative apparatuses.

As a trivial example, quite a few diplomats, who are in every aspect a special case of temporary migrants, would certainly be vigorously opposed to being included in the migrant category, for social prestige reasons. If a legal inclusion in that social category was attempted, it would assume some parity with the profiles assigned to other forms of mobility, namely the labour motivated ones.

Unlike the previous case, in which migrations tend to be taken in a broader sense, having precise meanings both in social and legal terms, the notion of exile has a much more restricted meaning, currently almost stripped of legal content and even sometimes, instead, related with feelings and emotions of individual character.

In its wide-ranging context, the condition of exile is virtually coincident with the condition of the expatriate, i.e.

someone who willingly or unwillingly was led to reside away from his homeland. It also applies, in a more restricted sense, to people of a very high social profile that at some point had to reside in a country other than their own, as happened with previous rulers or members of Royal families, as well as prominent politicians, generally by government enforcement.

As a relevant example, the Exiles Memory-Space (*Espaço Memória dos Exílios*)¹, a museological oriented space located in Estoril (Portugal), documents the presence in Portugal of a large number of crowned heads of European ex-monarchies. There is Spain (Don Juan de Borbón y Battenberg, the son of King Don Alfonso XIII of Spain and his wife Queen Victoria Eugenie, Counts of Barcelona), France (Counts of Paris), England (Duke of Windsor Edward Albert and Wallis Simpson), Italy (King Umberto II and Queen Marie Joseph of Italy), Luxembourg (Grand Duchess Charlotte of Luxembourg), Austria (Otto and Joseph of Habsburg), Romania (Carol, son of Ferdinand, King of Romania), Bulgaria (Queen Giovanna, accompanied by her two sons, King Simenon II and Princess Marie Louise), Serbia (Princess Helena Karageorgevitch) and Hungary (Archduke Josef Árpád von Habsburg Lothringen). All linked by ties of kinship, shared the same space that served as a refuge from the war that had broken out in Europe and reached the countries from which they originated.

Another example refers to the famous group of expatriates, who, willingly and as the result of their free choice, moved from one continent to another: the re-

nowned American writers and intellectuals who chose Paris for residence, between the 1920s and 19440s: Ernest Hemingway, Samuel Beckett, John dos Passos, Lawrence Durrell, F. Scott Fitzgerald, James Joyce, Henry Miller, among many others.

Portugal served not only as a space of shelter, it was, in the best of senses, a bridge of passage for thousands of people of various nationalities that were persecuted by German Nazis and later managed to reach the American continent. In the year of the invasion of France by Germany (1940) during World War II, Aristides de Sousa Mendes, Consul of Portugal in Bordeaux, defied direct orders of dictator António de Oliveira Salazar, who acted as Minister of Foreign Affairs. For five days thousands of entry visas for Portugal were granted to fleeing persons (including an estimate of ten thousand Jews).

In a very different perspective from the previous one, any resident outside its area of origin, in his own country or abroad can then feel «exiled». The literary productions that refer to the nostalgic feelings of those who compare the memories of a land they consider their own with the reality of where they went on to live are widely known². Let us recall the «Song from Exile (*Canção do Exílio*)» by the Brazilian author Gonçalves Dias³ written in Coimbra in 1843, taking this idea as a leitmotif:

God forbid I die,
Without me getting back there;
Without enjoying the perfections
I can't find here;
Without seeing the palm trees,
Where the Sabia bird sings.

Não permita Deus que eu morra,
Sem que eu volte para lá;
Sem que desfrute os primores
Que não encontro por cá;
Sem qu' inda aviste as palmeiras,
Onde canta o Sabiá.

More recently, the great Portuguese poet Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, writes in *The Sixth Book (Livro Sexto)* (1962):

When we don't have the homeland we have
Lost by silence and renunciation
Even the voice of the sea becomes exile
And the light that surrounds us is like bars

Quando a pátria que temos não a temos
Perdida por silêncio e por renúncia
Até a voz do mar se torna exílio
E a luz que nos rodeia é como grades

We can also mention some concepts related to the exile, such as deportation and banishment. These are figures with a precise legal content, consisting of the expulsion of an individual from their land of habitual residence, as a sentence imposed by the courts due to the commission of serious crimes.

Moreover, the word exile presupposes that the location where the banishment leads to is located outside the mainland, meaning some situations of exile took place, in the Portuguese case, in its colonies; in the case of France, in the French Guiana; in England, in Australia. The notion of banishment is substantially older and does not require the target location to be located outside the national territory: there are documents

of sentences, cited in national jurisprudence, in which the condemned were merely 'cast out' to a different municipality in their own country.

Given, however, that the notions of exile, deportation and banishment are limited to a criminal law framework that currently lacks relevant legal content, we will be left dealing with other related concepts, 'asylum' and 'refuge'. Exile as separation and form of compulsive travel implies a forced departure from the place of provenance translating into a particular form of mobility.

The exposition that follows focuses on two of the major causes that lead to it: one resulting from factors of a political nature, and the other caused by major natural disasters.

The present analysis begins with the exile of the Portuguese court in Brazil because of the French invasions (1807-1814), the strategy behind this decision and the way it was implemented, see *Table 1*, next page. The transfer of the Royal family and their entourage, estimated at around fifteen thousand people (nobles, officials and other servants), involved careful planning and was certainly very difficult to implement.⁴

The stay outside of the country from 1808 to 1821 came to an end with the Liberal Revolution that occurred in Oporto on August 24th, which, in a way, forced the King D. João VI to return to the country on July 4th, 1821. Subsequently, the Regent Prince D. Pedro, who had been installed to ensure the power of the Portuguese Crown in Brazil, proclaimed its independence on September 7th, 1822 - an unprecedented act within the South American independence framework, projecting a

Table 1

<p>Political Situation and Ideological Contradictions - The Monarchy - 19th Century <i>A Retrospective Look</i></p>	
<p>Portugal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fleeing the French Invasions (1807-1814) Transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil (the Royal family, nobles, servants, domestics-controversial number - about fifteen thousand people) Boarding - November 27, 1807 	
<p>Brazil</p>	<p>13 years Permanence (from 1808 to 1821)</p>
<p>Portugal</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberal Revolution of Porto – August 24, 1820 Return of the monarch and his entourage - July 4, 1821 	

unique position into the history of the two countries. The conflict between the existing ideologies of those who identified with the traditional absolutist orientation and those who joined the new liberal conceptions, ended up in several armed clashes. These included the clash at Vila Franca de Xira – the Vila Franca Turmoil ('Vila Francada', 27/05/1823)

and the April Turmoil («Abrilada», 30/04/1824) took place in Lisbon, see *Table 2*, below.

The progressive deterioration of the Portuguese political system, in power since the Regeneration, in part due to the erosion caused by the alternation of power between the Progressive Party

Table 2

<p>Clash of Ideologies Political Changes Activate International Mobility <i>From Absolutism to Liberalism</i> (Independence from Brazil-Ipiranga, September 7, 1822)</p>	
<p>Normative</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constitution • Constitutional Law 	<p>Lisbon, September 23, 1822 Lisbon, April 29, 1826</p>
<p>Riots</p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Vila Franca Turmoil” • “April Turmoil” 	<p>Vila Franca, May 27, 1823 Lisbon, April 30, 1824</p>

and the Regenerator Party (and other parties which emerged later from those), worsened in the early years of the 20th century.

The disenchantment caused by the monarchic regime, in which inequalities accentuated the visible differences in everyday life, began dividing the landowners from those who did not have access to rights which were considered basic, causing a succession of clashes.

The tragic assassination of the King D. Carlos I and the young heir Prince D. Luís Filipe on February the 1st, 1908, was followed by the deposition of the last Portuguese monarch, D. Manuel II, who, accompanied by his mother D. Amelia of Orleans and Bragança, was forced to leave the country and go to the United Kingdom in 1910, immediately after establishment of the Republic that happened later in that same year.⁵

The alternation of the new rulers, and the constant change of the elements that

constituted the Governments that followed, joined supporters to the establishment of the Republic, which took place on October 5th, 1910, see *Table 3*. The persecution of the losers, which always occurs in similar situations, encourages escape, and thus the abandonment of the country and the search for refuge.

The crossing of the bridge between the monarchy and the two republics that followed was characterized by a governmental instability. The turbulent times experienced during the period of establishment of a Republican government run by 13 Presidents during the period from 1910 until 1974 integrated several regimes. Its synthesis is presented in the following tables, allowing a quick apprehension of the events, see *Table 4*.

The Censorship established during the New State (Estado Novo) and the control exercised by the International State's Defense Police (known by its acronym PIDE) effectively imposed major limita-

Table 3

The Chronology of the Exiles	
Portuguese Political Framework from the 19th to the 21st Centuries	
REGIMES	
Traditional Monarchy	Constitutional Monarchy
Absolutism	and Liberalism
1 st Republic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • From the Monarchy to the Republic (1910)
2 nd Republic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Republican Regime (1910-1926) • Military Dictatorship (1926-1928) • National Dictatorship (1928-1933) • Installation of the Estado Novo (1933-1974)
3 rd Republic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Colonial War (1961-1974) • Democracy (1974-...)

Table 4

The Republican Regime	
Conditions	
1st Republic (1910-1926)	Instability 8 Presidents of the Republic, 39 Governments, 40 Heads of Government, 7 Parliaments
2nd Republic (1926-1974)	Artificial Stability – Control and Oppression Dictatorship Estado Novo – The New State-Salazar 5 Presidents
3rd Republic (1974-...)	Representative Democracy 6 Presidents

tions on the circulation of information. It was, thus, mainly through personal channels that many of the situations in which the refugees were found abroad were known, albeit with some imprecision. In this context where certain members of the opposition were and some of the initiatives they took would be public, although most times without the desired precision.

In 1961, during the dictatorship, two operations assumed particular prominence: the political takeover of the transatlantic *Santa Maria* that sailed towards Brazil (January 22nd) led by Captain Henrique Galvão, and the hijack of a passenger plane flying from Casablanca to Lisbon Airport, held in mid-air by Palma Inácio, (operation Vagô – November 10th). Both events were unexpected and caused great surprise in an apparent socially stable country. The press largely reported the occurrences by issuing censorious and severe criticism.⁶

Of all the research carried out in recent years by historians and politics spe-

cialists many publications have come out (books resulting not only from research projects but also from many opinion articles) focusing on the struggles against the regime carried out from abroad. Documentary research on funds currently deposited at the National Archives of Torre do Tombo, among many others, and oral information directly collected from the people who survived torture and exile, enable the reconstitution of some of the steps of one of the most difficult times the country went through and that span over a period of forty eight years.

Throughout this period, among the most popular destinations searched by those who were forced into exile, Brazil stands out within the American continent and, in Europe, France and Switzerland were the countries of choice. It became fairly easy to trace those who integrated the *Brazil Group*, the *France Group* and the *Geneva Group*. Algeria deserves special attention for receiving relevant figures of the opposition.

Table 5

The Brazil Group		
Circulation in a Political and Intercontinental Space		
Motivations	Stay	Return
Political emigrant / exiled individual possesses culture and professional training that sets him apart from the rest of the colony		
Internal conflicts and differentiated political training	Republican ideal	
	Socialism	
	Anarchy	
Journalism - Idea diffusing instrument		

Table 6

The France Group		
Originating from Various Political Persuasions		
Motivations	Stay	Return
Goals		Militancy, Release of Political Prisoners, Abolition of Censorship, Extinction of the Secret Political Police PIDE, Return of Exiled
Stay	Full-time job Internal struggles Political action	Organization of Revolutionary Brigades ARA, LUAR
Return	Apotheosis	

The following tables search for the distinct traits featured by each of the first three mentioned groups and the denominations by which they can be identified, see *Table 5 - 7*.

Recognized intellectuals and professional journalists were able to unite and overcome the existing political differences, sheltering themselves in a category identified as Opposition. Among them was a group, called the *Buddhas* (Budás),

because of their lack of concrete actions against the regime. They were criticized for their inaction, which consequently denigrated their image as ‘professionals of the revolution’. Intellectuals of very high value, whose name is still remembered – Casais Monteiro, Jaime Cortesão, Fidelino Figueiredo and Alberto Moura Pinto, among many others - shared the Republican ideal, and had some strong identification with socialism.

Opponents residing in French territory were designated *The France Group* and tried different ways to politically persuade the society they were a part of. Within them, there were various movements worth mentioning, as the *Armed Revolutionary Action (ARA/ Acção Revolucionária Armada)* and the *Moonlight Brigade/ Unity and Revolutionary Action League (Brigada LUAR/ Liga de Unidade e Acção Revolucionária)*.

The majority of Portuguese intellectuals exiled in France fought against the regime in various ways. In addition to the contacts established and the meetings organized locally, they published texts in Portuguese, works and articles referring to that specific context. The militancy assumed through the international media was seeking not only to report what was happening in the country but also to sensitize residents and Governments of the country they were in. Many of the messages were translated into cultural actions and the songs of Zeca Afonso⁷, José Mário Branco or Sér-

gio Godinho should not be forgotten. As musicians and in order to reach larger audiences, they combined popular melodies with revolutionary messages and political commitment. Poetry and theatre were also means to reach the Portuguese workers in France, as a means of politicization.

The Portuguese exiled in Switzerland found in Geneva a set of conditions favorable to their settlement. The political asylum given to them, the scholarships granted, the temporary jobs that allowed, not only to pay expenses essential to survival but also to study and follow academic and professional careers would give them unique opportunities for solidarity to emerge and to provide an organized struggle. António Barreto, Medeiros Ferreira, Eurico Figueiredo, Carlos Castro e Almeida, Maria Emília Brederode Santos, Ana Benavente are some of the names who continued to be prominent in the post April 25th era.

They maintained their political intervention in a country that as they recog-

Table 7

The Geneva Group			
An Adventure Experienced Together			
“In Portugal, we were smothered“, António Barreto			
	Motivations	Stay	Return
Goals	Democratisation, Decolonisation, Development		
Framework	Acquisition of academic education and politics Reflection and group discussions (Cafe Landolt and Cafe Commerce) Mutual aid (legalization, political asylum, scholarships)		
“Utopic Homeland” – Built and revisited			

nized was different than the one they had imagined but that had nonetheless evolved. The *Utopic Homeland* (Pátria Utópica) work documents facts and feelings: ‘we weren’t in Portugal in terms of territory, but our heads were full of Portugal’ (Medeiros Ferreira); ‘Here, I retrieved my citizenship; there, I was always a foreigner’ (António Barreto). Many other opponents of the regime exiled abroad circulated between several countries where they were organized differently depending on the contexts in which they were inserted. Even though the members of the three groups mentioned pursued the same ideal, their characteristics and methods were different.

Personalities

In the context of mandatory emigration caused by reasons of a political nature, a long list of emblematic figures visibly and very actively intervened in the struggle for a change in the regime, both as leaders and as followers supporting and defending them.

The countries they headed to, vary according to the timeframe when the choices were made. However, some of them remained as the most popular choices: Brazil, on the other side of the Atlantic; France, Spain, Switzerland and Sweden in Europe and Algeria, in North Africa. They welcomed many of those who were forced to leave the country intentionally, whether it was to avoid arrest or as a result of a planned escape that required collaboration in their own country.

The list of those who are part of this group is so long that not everyone can be included in this text. Only a few will

be mentioned; those who are and will always be remembered for the role they played. The history will highlight their names and forever associate them with the major modifications that they were able to introduce.

Under the Dictatorship, General Humberto Delgado (1906-1965), publicly and very actively fought against the Regime. He was murdered near the Portuguese-Spanish border (approximately 30 km of Villanueva del Fresno, where his and his secretary’s body were found) victim of entrapment – and operation codenamed *Fall Operation* (*Operação Oulton*) - mounted by the PIDE. Today he is recognized as a hero and he is still frequently remembered and paid tribute to.

The Army Captain Henrique Galvão (1895-1970) and the ex-Air Force military Palma Inácio (1922-2009) both distinguished themselves by their bold actions: the former by the takeover of a luxury liner, the *Santa Maria*, on January 22nd 1961 and the latter, by high-jacking an international TAP flight going from Casablanca to Lisbon, on November 10th 1967. Both actions aimed to draw attention more widely to the situation in Portugal.

Among the illustrious opponents of the regime, Mário Soares stands out as the figure of a great man of the opposition that will remain in history as one of the most prominent actors in the struggle for the installation of a democracy. As a result of his political activity against the dictatorship, he was arrested by the PIDE twelve times (serving a total of almost three years in jail), was deported without trial to the island of S. Tomé (Africa) in 1968, and in 1970, forced into exile in France.

His election as President of the Republic (a position he held for two terms from 1986 to 1996) allowed him extensive international action. The first proposal for Portugal's entrance into the European Economic Community, led by Medeiros Ferreira, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is owed to his engagement. The foreign policy that considered the Mediterranean as one of its main goals lost its importance, being replaced by the fresh perspective of a triangular relationship to be established between the country, Europe, Africa and the Atlantic.

Manuel Alegre (1936-) recognized poet, was the leader of the Patriotic Front for National Liberation in Algiers during the ten years he spent there. His protest, broadcast by the radio station *The Voice of Freedom (A Voz da Liberdade)*, turned his voice into a symbol of resistance and freedom. The first two books he wrote, *Song Square (Praça da Canção)* (1965) and the *The Song and the Arms (O Canto e as Armas)* (1967) were seized by the Censorship. Clandestine copies, typed or handwritten circulated from hand to hand.

The 25th of April enabled the return of many of those who had been exiled outside the country, including Álvaro Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese Communist Party, had escaped the Peniche Fort and spent twelve years abroad. He returned to Portugal, like Mário Soares, founder of the Socialist Party, after four years of forced residence in Paris. The convictions that both had and the battles they fought in ideological spaces they could never connect had, nonetheless, the same purpose. They marked the Portuguese political life in such a way that their names are mandatory in the

History of the liberation of the country from its dictatorship.

Many occupied places of great responsibility in the following governmental structures assuming guardianship of crucial ministries such as Foreign Affairs and Agriculture. The confidence inspired by their long struggle for freedom opened doors for the very high responsibility positions that they were being entrusted to governmentally and academically.

Natural Disasters

Natural disasters are catastrophes caused by natural phenomena and imbalances that cause human, material and environmental damage and, consequently, economic and social losses.

These phenomena cover a wide diversity of events. Among them, the ones that led to compulsory exile: flood, landslide, volcanic eruption, erosion, tropical cyclone (hurricane, typhoon), forest fire, flood, tornado, earthquake, tsunami.

Although somewhat unpredictable, the biggest tragedies have been major promoters of movement for the people affected by them. In 2012 the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) estimates that approximately 32.4 million were forced to change their place of residence due to natural disasters. In Portugal, a country located on several tectonic faults, the various earthquakes that have occurred are still in everyone's memory, especially the terrible earthquake of 1755, which deserves a special mention for its magnitude. It resulted in the almost complete destruction of the city of Lisbon, especially the downtown area, having even reached part of Setúbal and the coast of Algarve. The earthquake was followed by a tidal wave (which is believed to have

reached 20 meters in height), multiple fires, and, most certainly, more than ten thousand casualties. The exodus that followed is understandable and referred to by many authors. In the Azores archipelago, where the seismicity is combined with volcanic activity, several major disturbances arose, with significant consequences.

The last catastrophic earthquake that occurred in the region on 1 January, 1980 is still remembered and the Capelinhos volcano is considered a milestone in global volcanology (1957-1958). The seismic crisis associated with the volcanic eruption and ash and materials fall originated the widespread destruction of housing, agricultural fields and pastures in the parishes of Capelo and Praia do Norte (island of Faial). Fortunately there was no loss of life.

Benefiting from the solidarity demonstrated by the United States, the victims (thousands of Faial island residents and many other Azoreans) took advantage of the special emigration quota then granted. In a first phase (September 2nd, 1958) the *Azorean Refugee Act*⁸ was approved and 1,500 were granted visas for the family providers of the Faial Island so they could emigrate to the E.U.A. until June 30, 1960. An amendment later extended the number of visas to 2,100, which enabled about 2,500 families to emigrate - a total of about twelve thousand people. In the following decades due to the mechanism of family reunification, more than 175 thousand Azoreans moved to that country.⁹

Seizing the opportunity presented to them, many of them sought to remake their lives in the U.S.A., following the paths of by many other countrymen

from the 18th century on. The already established groups were thus thickened and new ones were created on the East Coast and throughout California.

Although emigration in the Madeira Archipelago always existed, extreme phenomena that occur regularly may not be directly responsible for it as the mudslides example – intense and prolonged rains followed by floods and landslides - shows. The lack of a proper urban planning has been responsible for numerous property destroying avalanches.

Political and Institutional Framework

In accordance with the principles of the Geneva Convention of July 1st, 1951, the right for asylum is a legal decision which can be assigned individually, by a third country, to the people who were victims, in their country of origin, of discrimination on grounds of nationality, ethnicity, religion or political choice, among others, in such a way their safety and perhaps, their own life becomes endangered. The processes leading to the recognition of this right are generally very complex and long until they reach their conclusion, since it is necessary to produce proof that the risks invoked are actually real and focus directly on the petitioners.

It is estimated that 45 million people are currently displaced around the world due to various conflicts (the highest number since the beginning of the Millennium). More than half is established in urban areas and not in camps; four-fifths remain in developing countries with financial difficulties to help and maintain them. The situations of political upheaval and generalized armed

conflict generate the largest number of asylum applications. However, knowing the risks enumerated above, which can be joined by many others, such as hunger, disease or even the threat of genocide, they can collectively target large groups of people, forcing them to travel to get away from risk zones.

This gives rise to refugee populations, of which the worst examples are located in sub-Saharan Africa due to civil wars and tribal conflicts of extreme violence. Without much concern for an extensive enumeration, some examples, such as the cases of ethnic and religious conflict that occurred in Darfur (Sudan), as well as the situations of genocide, focusing alternately on the Hutu and Tutsi ethnic groups, which recently occurred in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. Data from 2012 indicate the five countries with the largest number of internally displaced are Syria (660,000), the Democratic Republic of Congo (456,000), Burma (407,000), Colombia (390,000) and Sudan (370,000).

The action of international organizations tends to encourage these groups to concentrate themselves in refugee camps, in order to facilitate the arrival of humanitarian aid.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – UNHCR - was very opportunely created by the UN General Assembly resolution on December 14th, 1950 and began its activity in January 1951. It aims to centralize and manage the forms of international assistance to populations in danger. For more than fifty years, the number of people who have been the subject of concern to the UNHCR increased considerably

and the problem of forced displacement has become increasingly complex.¹⁰

On September 20th 1991, the Portuguese Council for Refugees (CPR) is constituted; then, in 1992, the institution adheres to ECRE-European Council on Refugees Exiles, a pan-European network consisting of 69 non-governmental organizations, having been assigned the role of 'operational partner' for Portugal.

In 1993, a Legal Office came into operation within this institution – a small-scale structure, with just a lawyer who started working to direct assist asylum seekers as well as refugees. The situation in Portugal is not very expressive and the number of requests carried out has been relatively low.

Founded in 1980 and assuming a large space of global implantation (it is present in about 50 countries) the private institution named Jesuit Refugees Services (*Serviço Jesuíta aos Refugiados*) has been present in Portugal since 1992. The motto 'to accompany, to serve and to defend' translates the action developed and the thousands of recorded calls acknowledge their importance and dimension.

In the second half of the last century, the April Revolution (1974) that introduced democracy in Portugal and is associated with the process of decolonization gave way to a specific phenomenon in terms of demographics (already taking into account the existence of traditional migratory movements dating from long ago).

Although this displacement from former colonies to the metropolis was a remarkable event for the country, it was not a novelty for previous colonial em-

pires, because quite a few repatriation movements had already taken place in Europe during the 20th century – the British coming from India (1947) and East Africa (1967); the Dutch who returned from Indonesia (1949); Belgians repatriated from former Belgian Congo (1960), the now Republic of Congo; Frenchmen repatriated from Algeria (1962), from Tunisia (1956), West Africa (1960) and Indochina (1949).

The sudden arrival of a voluminous flow of ‘returnees’ to Portugal 11 (an expression which referred to them in a negative way) expressed by various estimates, considered numbers that reached between 500,000 and a million people. The surprise of a so significant and sudden influx of people and the position that they assumed in society provoked reactions, not always in favor of their acceptance, creating in many of the residents a sense of visible concern, which often assumed a clear attitude of rejection.

The diversity of opinions generated apprehension and unfair criticism, but also major initiatives of solidarity. The comprehensive designation *Returnees* (*Regressados*) that was then assigned to them developed a negative connotation, which remained for a long time. Generalizations were made and the people ended up being placed in a category that did not enable a distinction between its elements and, in a way, extrapolated personal characteristics, which consequently led to a marginalization. For many, this return forced felt like an exile.

Summarizing previous observations, it can be said that both the petitioners of the right to asylum and the refugees constitute unique situations of human

mobility and that, although they could be conceptually integrated in general migration problems, they are differentiated from them by the imminent risk they are exposed to which requires the adoption of specific solutions aimed exclusively at these populations.

Foreseeing the Future from the Current Situation

The year of 2008 delineated and confirmed a financial crisis environment throughout the world, translated initially by the bankruptcy of housing loans enterprises, the bankruptcy of financial organizations dedicated to speculative practices, possibly of a criminal nature, followed by an economic crisis due to devaluations in the stock market, the bankruptcy of industrial and service companies and the increase of explosive lay-offs and the resulting unemployment rates.

This crisis has not yet manifested a visible stabilization, containment or reduction, despite the very strong interventions and considerable financial amounts advanced by developed countries’ Governments, perhaps due to the political stagnation of the world’s largest economy, which lasted until the re-election of the current President of the United States of America. Barack Obama’s last State of the Union speech (in January, 2015) recently presented to the wide audience of Republicans and Democrats who heard him in Washington reveals the great modification that has been operating in the country throughout his six years in Office. The same did not happen in Europe, where there is a visible inequality between the Northern and Southern countries. Stag-

nation, deflation, high unemployment, ineffective efforts by the European Central Bank (ECB) and very high levels of corruption constitute the current crisis situation. The Euro Zone continues to face enormous challenges with its economic policies, with debt levels still quite high and worrisome demographic perspectives.

Most analysts consider that it is unwise to make any predictions (either optimistic or pessimistic) on the financial, economic and social situation, until possible tendencies of evolution can be evaluated. The present situation makes it difficult to make reliable predictions about the possible duration of the world crisis and its possible extension (or contraction) in a short or medium term.

It is essentially an unfavorable socio-economic environment for the entrance of new immigration flows and perhaps, for the very stability of communities of foreign residents (including those working in temporary immigration schemes) in receiving countries. On the other hand the output flows have continued to gradually increase and the selected destinations have been intentionally chosen according to the possibilities of insertion revealed by the economic state that characterizes each one of them.

The emerging movements created in recent times reveal the emergence of new political ideologies, in which electoral participation has decreased. Some of them represent a new European left, focused on the devastation caused by economic austerity measures imposed. On the other hand, a growing extreme right has been surfacing in countries such as France, Austria and Greece, where there

are also populist parties, which indicate the citizens' discontent with the policies followed.

Summary

The geography of exile reveals the expansion of political and social ideas, since the real diffusers of ideologies were those forced to leave their countries. Their roles were highlighted throughout the text. The natural disasters that sporadically occur, usually unexpectedly, are different situations that deserve to be considered individually.

Migrants have always transferred their ideals onto their itineraries ending up changing ways of governing, the recognition and allocation of social rights. During the 19th century the actions of European Socialists and anarchists in the American continent were visible. It would be very interesting to analyze the transfer produced by Portuguese exiles along the routes they travelled throughout the ages. This analysis glances into the continuities and discontinuities of a political sequence, following a methodology that combines history with sociology.

This approach only mentions the essential, leaving the secondary aside. The distinct times considered, marked by the dates that individualize them and the specific integrating behavior logic, include not only some prominent personalities, who were real engines for the development of the initiatives mentioned, but also framing institutions that possess an inner intelligence which justify the actions pursued.

Militancy was presented as a way of life - day after day, being exiled reinforced the Portuguese opposition

to the regime. The great leaders of the opposition movements, whose names became part of their own history, constitute a road to understand the struggles in which they were involved. The consequences of mistakes made and the ways found for organized counteraction mirror the reactions taken by nationals within and outside the country.

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Notes

- 1 The Memory Space of the Exiles (Espaço Memória dos Exílios), opened in 1999, recreates the social environment then lived, through a core permanent exhibition, consisting of archival documents, images and objects considered reference material. The way chosen to exhibit this material is not state of the art, but specific information related to the experience in the Estoril coastline during the period of World War II can nonetheless be gathered.
- 2 Many authors became noteworthy because of how they treated the theme of exile. Without a comprehensive concern, some examples are given in chronological order: Notes From Exile («Notas do Exílio»), 1893; Pages from Exile («Páginas do Exílio»), 1988; Writings of Exile («Escritos do Exílio»), 1975; Utopian Homeland: the Geneva Group Revisited («Pátria Utópica: o Grupo de

- Genebra Revisitado»), 2011; *The Exile of the Last Liberal* («O Exílio do Último Liberal»), 2012; *The Returnees Have Changed Portugal* («Os Retornados Mudaram Portugal»), 2013.
- 3 António Gonçalves Dias (1823-1864) was born in Caxias, Maranhão/Brazil, having studied law at the University of Coimbra. He so profoundly understood the Portuguese language that he prodigiously translated his feeling of being away from the country in the poem that immortalized him: *Song of Exile* (*Canção do Exílio*).
 - 4 The Prince Regent Dom João of Braganza (future King Dom João VI), received the news of the penetration of French troops in Portuguese territory (23 November) and immediately summoned the Council of State, having determined that the entire royal family and the Government were to embark to Brazil (27 November). The Portuguese Squad, which included 83 ships, 3 frigates, brigs and two schooners supported by four ships of the Royal Navy, left the port of Lisbon in November 29, 1807, carrying about fifteen thousand people. General Junot entered Lisbon on the morning of 30, leading an army of about 26,000 men which was preceded by a detachment of the Portuguese Cavalry, who surrendered and accepted to serve the French. This previously scheduled action avoided the defeat of the Portuguese monarchist Government.
 - 5 On October 4th, 1910, a revolution took place and the next day (October 5th) the proclamation of the Republic took place in Lisbon. The Necessidades Palace, the King's official residence, was bombed, and the monarch was advised to go to the Mafra's National Palace, where his mother, the Queen, and his grandmother, the Queen Mother Maria Pia of Savoy would join him. The next day, after the Republican victory, Manuel II goes to the Ericeira beach to embark on the Royal yacht *Amélia* and head to Oporto. The officers aboard prevented him and he was taken to Gibraltar instead. Upon arrival, he received news that Oporto had adhered to the Republic - the coup was over. The Royal family moved to the United Kingdom, where it was received by King George V.
 - 6 See for example, regarding to the hijacking of the ship *Santa Maria*, the news published in January 24, 1961 by News Paper (*Jornal de Notícias*) (Porto) and *Diary of Lisbon* (*Diário de Lisboa*); also the ones that have been published about the diversion of the plane by the *Daily Illustrated* (*Diário Ilustrado*) and *Diary of Lisbon* (*Diário de Lisboa*) in November 10, 1961.
 - 7 The song of José (Zeca) Afonso, «Grândola, Vila Morena», recorded in 1971 in Paris region, gave the starting signal for the military uprising in April 25, 1974, via the emissions made by *Rádio Renascença* (program *Limite*).
 - 8 The persistent diligence of State Congressman Joseph Perry Jr. and federal senators John O. Pastore (Rhode Island) and John F. Kennedy (Massachusetts, which shortly after was elected President of the United States) contributed to such a decision had been taken.
 - 9 The demographic breakdown, in the order of 50%, contributed to the improvement of the life conditions of the resident population, since job opportunities increased and wages improved.
 - 10 António Guterres (1949-) former Prime Minister of Portugal (1995 a 2002), was elected in 2005 by the United Nations General Assembly for a five-year term as High Commissioner. In his inauguration speech that he did for conviction and because he believes truly in this institution values, values that you want to make prevail throughout the world.
 - 11 The return to the country, designated by two concepts – «*Regresso*» and «*Retorno*» - that circulated in Portugal in the second half of the Decade of 70 and in the first half of the 80, distinguishes the application of each of them. Although both designations expressed mobility, the former designated simply the return and the latter was used referring to a specific group forced to abandon the colonies. The recommendations of Point 1, concerning the concepts of Return issued by the first Portuguese Communities Council which took place at the *Palácio da Foz*, in Lisbon (April 1981), establishes the following: «After detailed consideration on the subject, it was decided unanimously to recommend that, in future, the terms “*Regresso*” and “*Retorno*” will be used with the following meanings (...): “*Regresso*”: whenever the journey to the country of origin is voluntary; “*Retorno*”: whenever the exit from the host country is compulsory».

Forbidden Heaven to Basque Refugee Children

Susana Sabín-Fernández

Abstract

During the Spanish Civil War and soon after the bombing of the Basque towns of Durango and Gernika, about 32,000 children were evacuated to other countries looking for safety. Whilst countries such as France had already received thousands of refugees, the UK government had firmly refused to take refugees, arguing that this was against its policy of nonintervention. Evacuation to the UK only materialized as a result of enormous public pressure on the British government and private initiative.

Simultaneously, there was an attempt to evacuate 500 Basque children to the US. Initially this initiative was supported by numerous government officials and a considerable section of the population, to the extent that it was debated to increase the number to 2,000. However, the project was eventually rejected and no refugee children were authorized to enter the country.

This article examines who were the key players involved in the process of negotiating the evacuations, and the societal impact of the strategies these players employed in order to succeed, with an emphasis on the US case. It also explores the reasons why despite significant dis-

agreement between interest groups in a variety of countries, some of them finally came to be hosts for the children but the US did not.

Which agents became involved and finally decided the outcome of this endeavor? What was their agenda? How did they manage to engage other parties to gain the necessary support? How did they influence the decision makers in power? These fundamental issues are addressed from a perspective which utilizes a wide range of primary sources.

Ultimately it is argued here that the powerful pro-Francoist Catholic circle in Boston was a main agent responsible in stopping the evacuation to the US by placing the debate within a religious and anti-communist perspective. On the other hand, in countries such as the UK the Roman Catholic Church was not a key player and society put the emphasis on the humanitarian aspect of the venture.

Basque Refugee Children

Soon after the war started in July 1936, committees were set up by trade unions and humanitarian organizations to aid Basque children, but the massive evacuations abroad began in the spring of

1937 immediately after the bombing of the towns of Durango (31st March) and Gernika (26th April).

In order to frame the issues that surrounded and led to the evacuations we must remember the complex international diplomatic scenario of the Europe of the 1930s. The prevailing policies of appeasement had led to a Non-intervention Agreement signed by 27 countries¹ at the end of August 1936, which in turn was counterbalanced by the birth of a significant international volunteer movement.

Aerial bombardment targeting civilians and killing thousands in Basque towns and cities was new within the European context. As a result large numbers of the population began to flee towards Bilbao, leaving their homes behind to seek refuge. An important consequence was that this generated a revived interest and a broader, often passionate, debate about the War of 1936 within the international community. It certainly played a decisive part in the general response concerning relief.

The idea of large numbers of children being evacuated to other countries, which had previously been rejected by the foreign governments approached, became a real prospect. These would be the first massive child evacuations, a new phenomenon in European contemporary history. Due to the particularly brutal treatment to which the Basques were subjected there was a shift in public opinion, and to some degree governments relaxed their previous inflexible stance with regard to non-intervention. The treatment included:

- Civilians targeted by aerial bombings.
- Starvation and related illnesses aggra-

vated as a result of:

- An international embargo, which was in effect favoring the insurgents.
- The Italian and German attacks of ships that carried supplies.
- The naval blockade of Bilbao in March 1937, ordered by Franco to stop food entry, which generated much controversy with regard to international law.

Consequently the Basque Government made an appeal to the world to save the Basque children. The cry for help throughout the territories loyal to the Republic was *Salvad a los niños!* (Save the children!), since they were the most vulnerable members of society.

The next step for the Basque Government was to organize the evacuations; both the internal ones within the territory controlled by the Basque forces, for which they had the support of the Spanish Republican Government and the Generalitat (Catalan Government), and those to other countries. A variety of foreign institutions and committees collaborated in order to facilitate population displacements. The committees were mainly formed by political organizations, trade unions, and humanitarian aid groups, very often set up with the sole purpose of helping refugees in general or to provide asylum to a particular group, such as the children.

Each evacuation was advertised in the local press, where information with regard to destination and other relevant matters was displayed. There was also an indication of any compulsory requirements that needed to be met, such as those related to the medical condition



*Dead child in Bilbao after a bombing operation by the Luftwaffe in 1937.
Photo: Irujo-Ametzaga Archive*

of the children. Once the parents had seen the details and acceptance criteria, they decided whether to register their children for the voyages or not.

It is not surprising that parents strongly approved of the Basque Government's initiative to evacuate their children and voluntarily signed up for it. There was such a demand that often there were more requests than places on offer, as parents' concerns for their children's safety intensified as they learned how the insurgents were increasingly taking control of areas nearer Bilbao. They feared an imposed new regime which would bring about a totalitarian education system that would reeducate their children according to Francoist fascist values, and also retaliation and almost certainly imprisonment for many, if not death. Furthermore, at that point it was generally believed that the war would

finish soon and all parties involved saw these evacuations as a temporary measure, therefore it was assumed that if children were evacuated to safety, the family separation would be brief.

For a number of reasons there are no exact figures of how many children were evacuated. Firstly, there were constant movements and relocations of refugees within the host country. Sometimes they stayed in a country for a short period of time, only to be taken to another later on; for instance, occasionally France was a first step towards another destination such as Belgium, Mexico, Denmark and other countries. Secondly, many of the primary sources were destroyed during the war and the subsequent forty years of Franco's dictatorship.² For these reasons, frequently historians can only estimate approximate numbers, which fluctuate between 31,000 and 33,000.

This was nearly one fifth of the child population³ of the provinces of Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa at the beginning of the 1930s.

Here we mean 'organized' evacuations of children, as, for instance, about 20,000 were sent officially to France, but in 1939 there were approximately 68,000 refugee children there. Also, there was only one organized evacuation of children to Mexico, which consisted of a group of 455, but there were a total of 20,000 republican exiles in Mexico, which included 4,000 children. In total, approximately 150,000 to 200,000 people escaped to exile between 1936 and 1939, therefore children's exile represented a big proportion of the total Basque exiled population.

Although not directly involved in the war, refugee children became a central element in the political arena. They would be the next generation in a post-war society and, more importantly, they turned out to be an excellent propagandistic resource for the two warring sides. Both the democratically elected Republican government and the rebels would use the children in an attempt to gain credibility and international support for their cause.

Although the reasons for the evacuations had originally been to take the children away from the disasters of the war, the Francoist press and the Catholic hierarchy asserted that the organizers were in fact following Moscow's orders. They were obviously thinking of the effect this argument would have on the international community and managed to provoke swings of public opinion. As a result there were serious disagreements between interest groups throughout the

European countries and also in the US. Eventually some of these countries came to be hosts for the children while some others did not.

The French republic became one of the major receptors of Basque refugee children. When the Republican government initially approached the European democracies to request their support, it was anticipated that France would collaborate. This was the closest country in the geographical sense but also with regard to socio-cultural and historical traditions⁴, thus this could potentially be the most suitable source of help. Léon Blum's Popular Front coalition had recently won the elections and the official response was affirmative as expected. However, there were profound internal divisions within the political spectrum and also amongst the public. On the one hand, socialists and communists were committed to deliver the promised aid to the bordering country. On the other, the political right, large sectors of the state administration, some Catholics, and the army rejected the proposal. They demanded strict adherence to neutrality. Urged to stay neutral by other countries, particularly the UK, and bowing to enormous internal pressure finally the government withdrew its offer of help.

Despite this, France received more refugee children than all the other host countries combined; collective refuge homes, namely colonies, were set up for the children throughout the country. It is noteworthy that some of these were subsidized by foreign organizations and humanitarian groups. It is generally acknowledged that in 1939 there were about 170,000 non-combat-



Basque refugee children's camp in the United Kingdom. Photo: NARA.

ant refugees in France, of which 68,000 were children. With regard to organized evacuations of children figures oscillate between 20,000 and 22,000 according to different sources. The British position towards the Spanish Civil War and the evacuation of children represents an excellent example of the complex situations that this war generated at an international level. It also shows a number of internal discrepancies between British state interests and the civil society's humanitarian and political agenda.

As for the UK, initially the Conservative Government firmly refused to take refugees arguing that this was against its policy of non-intervention. However, for humanitarian reasons there were

English officials prepared to use navy ships to transport refugees. After several initial failed attempts regarding a potential evacuation of Basque children to the UK, finally, after the destruction of Gernika and consequent universal reaction, on 30 April 1937 the government gave in to the massive public pressure. They agreed to a limited evacuation of 2,000 Basque children between the ages of 5 and 12, but imposed severe restrictions such as the firm refusal to use any public monies for the operation or to have any responsibility for the children once they were in the UK. Hence, on the 15 May 1937 the Basque Children's Committee was created, under the umbrella of the National Joint Committee for Spanish

Relief. This non-governmental committee would be responsible for the care and housing of the children from the moment they arrived in England.

Eventually, in May 1937, approximately 3,861 children between the ages of 5 and 15 were evacuated to the UK on the ship *Habana*, accompanied by a small number of adults. Uniquely this was the only official evacuation to the UK, thus all the refugee children of the Spanish Civil War in the UK went together on the same voyage. They became a very easily identifiable group which has been known to the present day as the Basque Children, even though those who are still alive are on their late eighties and nineties.

Belgium did not seem an ideal country to be approached in relation to evacuations. Firstly, in comparison with the great powers it was not perceived as a key player in the political sphere. Secondly, its distance from Spain, both geographically and in the sense of how little it was known, in addition to its physical proximity to Germany, did not make it an obvious choice. Finally, the Belgian coalition government was also deeply affected by strong internal divisions with regard to the matter of helping the Spanish Republic. Paradoxically, both sides of this remarkably polarized argument were defended most enthusiastically by socialist leaders.

In the end Belgium decided to remain neutral, but another paradox was still on its way. Thanks to the enormous solidarity demonstrated by Belgian families, trade unions, humanitarian groups, religious and non-religious people and in spite of the governmental decision, this country gave asylum to the largest

volume of children after France. More than 5,000 children, of whom more than 3,300 were Basque, settled in Belgium exceeding all initial expectations. As noted above, these children did not travel directly from their towns of origin, nor was Belgium their originally intended destination; they had been taken to France in the first instance.

The evacuations of children to the USSR, and also to Mexico, were especially significant, both because of the volume of refugees and also because of how the events developed afterwards. An important point was that while other countries were in a hurry to repatriate the children from a very early stage, the USSR and Mexico decided not to send them back to a country ruled by Franco.

Helping the Republic was not initially in the Soviet agenda. However, the open support that Germany and Italy provided to the rebels from the onset of the war pushed the USSR, and to a certain extent Mexico, to eventually support the Republican Government. Thus, in addition to any humanitarian intentions there was a strong political agenda behind their decision to accept evacuees. The fact that the 'Catholic' Basque Government sent children to the 'communist' USSR created much controversy and was used to fuel the debate on evacuations and as political propaganda by the insurgents. Indeed, the Basque Government never intended to send children to the Soviet Union and it was the pressure from various sectors of the Basque Socialist Party and the Communist Party that finally made of the USSR a recipient country. However, the Basque authorities demanded from the parents who were willing to send their children to the Soviet Union a special

form including a declaration stating their will to send them there.

In any case, between March and October 1937 there were four official expeditions which transported a total of nearly 3,000 children to the USSR. In June 1937 there was an official evacuation of 455 children to Mexico, known as the Niños de Morelia.

Switzerland was of considerable interest as a safe haven for refugees. It seemed to be a perfect solution for relief effort owing to its neutral status and political stability. It was also acknowledged for having a distinguished history of an ethical approach to armed conflicts, as the Swiss were the pioneers of initiatives such as the Red Cross and the Geneva Convention.

Despite some initial internal disagreements on whether to stay neutral or to provide help, the Swiss authorities in aid organizations established contacts with representatives of international groups and, in February 1937, the Swiss Committee to Aid Spanish Children was formally created. The committee was then renamed Swiss Aid.

However, at this point something unexpected happened. Once the Swiss support had been officially offered, the Spanish Republican Government's attitude changed and they started to lay a series of obstacles on the table. Consequently the project of taking a group of 500 children to the Helvetic Federation did not materialize. Whatever the differences and the fruitless first attempts, once the international community became involved with the organized evacuations in the spring of 1937, Switzerland became part of the scheme and received a number of children.

There are large discrepancies regarding figures, and whilst some sources give an estimate of about 450 children in Switzerland, others practically double it, quoting two groups of approximately 400 each. In any case this remains an under-researched topic that evidently requires further investigation.

Denmark was one of the twenty-four countries which formed the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees, previously named International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees. In 1937, the Committee for Children's Spanish Sojourn in Denmark was conceived as a response to the appeal for help. The intention was to organize shelter for some 300 Spanish children with Danish families. The support for this particular venture was not nearly as massive as it had been for some previous relief action in relation to other conflicts, and it resulted in the small number of 122 Spanish children from the Basque Country, Cantabria and Asturias being taken to Denmark. However, despite the low number, the press dedicated some space to the children on a daily basis, and the campaign had popular support. These children travelled from France in two separate groups in September 1937 and they were not accommodated privately but in two colonies in Ordrup and Odense, near Copenhagen. After a few months there their presence became a rather controversial topic and in August 1938 it was decided to send them back to France, where they would be supported with Danish funds in a mansion near Paris. There was also a colony subsidized by Danish funds in Catalonia before it fell to Franco.



*Basque refugee camp in the Northern Basque Country (Donoibane Garazi) in 1937.
Photo: Irujo-Ametzaga Archive.*

Also involved in the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain⁵, Norway and Sweden were the last countries approached with regard to the evacuations. While at an official level they both remained neutral and refused to host children in their territories, there were some individuals who became highly involved with relief work. Also, these countries were sympathetic to the Republican cause and supplied aid in a broad variety of practical ways, usually through the hundreds of committees created for that purpose in both countries:

- Maintained many colonies in French territory.⁶
- Subsidized colonies on the Spanish Mediterranean coast, in the Catalonia and Valencia regions.
- Collaborated with expeditions to America.

- Maintained colonies organized by the Basque Government.
- Generally provided financial assistance, voluntary staff, clothing and food.

Bilbao fell in June 1937 and as soon as the Basque Country was occupied by the insurgents Franco initiated a politically motivated campaign to repatriate the children from the host countries which had given them refuge. According to the Francoist authorities' and also to the Spanish Catholic hierarchy' propaganda there was not a better place for the Basque children than Catholic Spain. On March 17, 1937 the Spanish Ministry of Justice of the Francoist regime commended parents, guardians or relatives of evacuated children to give their names, addresses and general data to the authorities.⁷ In many instances,

as in the UK, the Spanish administration sent forged letters in the name of the –absent or even dead- parents of refugee children asking for the repatriation of these children. In 1939 the Francoist authorities continued to press families with children abroad to be returned.

Offer U.S. Haven to 500 Little Basque Refugees

After the bombing of Gernika, news of the Basque refugees in Europe soon reached the United States, and the idea of helping them quickly arose among Basque-Americans. One of the first proposals to help evacuation from Bilbao came from U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers who, in contact with the British embassy, knew that Great Britain had agreed to protect refugee ships on the high seas, outside the three-mile limit, and that the British authorities had asked Franco not to interfere. The Spanish merchant ship *Habana* had left Bilbao for Bordeaux with 3,200 women and children, escorted by the British destroyers *Fury* and *Fortune*. But there were still 150,000 refugees waiting to be transported abroad.

Spanish Foreign Minister of the Republic Julio Álvarez del Vayo wrote a telegram to Eleanor Roosevelt after the bombing of Barcelona in February and March 1938 in the following terms:

Words cannot convey to you the brutality with which Barcelona has been bombarded. Stop The number of dead and wounded exceeds three thousand. Stop German aviation has converted the most fantastic conceptions of aerial warfare into most horrible reality. Stop Rebel Spanish aviators have refused

more than once to participate in the savage destruction of open cities. Stop The German planes belonging to the armies of invasion have chosen on the other hand to try out in Barcelona a new type of bomb which shatters twelve large buildings in a single minute, burying in the ruins all the families living there. Stop the women and children of Barcelona who are aware of the feeling you have shown for the Basque children turn to the United States; they ask the great American nation to raise its voice against this indescribable horror and to put an end to the policy which prevents the legitimate Spanish government from acquiring the means necessary to defend itself against the assassination of a thousand women and children in a single day.⁹

On April 30, 1937, four days after the bombing of Gernika, French Foreign Minister Yvon Delbos told the U.S. ambassador to the French Republic, William C. Bullitt, that the French government was open to receiving approximately 100,000 women and children from the Basque Country.¹⁰ The Basque government had the ships to transport the refugees but asked for financial help from the American Red Cross.¹¹ On the same day, the U.S. State Department, after seeking a legal opinion from the Department of Justice, informed Bullitt that it would not violate Article 3 of the Neutrality Act¹² to provide financial contributions to help women and children in Bilbao if the funds were used to relieve human suffering or to provide medical assistance or food and supplies. The organizations soliciting or collecting the funds could not act on behalf

of the Basque or Spanish Republican governments, and the State Department would have to issue certificates to organizations that wanted to solicit funds and make contributions within the limitations of the law.¹³ Six days later, on May 6, 1937, the State Department reported to the American Embassy in Paris that the Red Cross could collect up to \$5,000 to help the Basque refugee population in France but that the group could not provide direct contributions to the French government, only to the French Red Cross.¹⁴ The funding was delivered by May 1937. Spanish Foreign Minister Julio Álvarez del Vayo thanked Bullitt for having helped the refugees in the besieged city of Bilbao.¹⁵

The American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children, created in May 1937, undertook the first attempt to bring Basque children to the United States¹⁶. The group hoped to transport 500 children to New York by the end of June. The refugees would be shipped by sea from Bilbao to Donibane Lohitzune, the location of the U.S. Embassy to the Spanish Republic, and then by train to Paris to embark for the United States within a month.

The children would be hosted either by Basque families or by a nursery school in New York under the care of Basque priests, nurses and teachers, as done in the Basque colonies of Great Britain and France. The children would remain in New York during the war and, if necessary, after the war if their parents were dead, missing or in prison. If they had to remain in Spain, children whose parents had been involved in politics or who had fought for the Republic would have to be "re-educated" in spe-

cial schools. They would also suffer from the lack of basic food and medicine as a result of the region's devastated economy. All the families were asked by the Basque government to sign a form requesting and consenting that their children be sent abroad.

There were no Basques among the members of the organization. The executive committee included Dr. Frank Bohn, general secretary; William E. Dodd Jr., treasurer; Gardner Jackson, Washington representative; Dr. Algrnon D. Black, Pauline Emmet and Katherine Meredith, associate secretaries. The board also included an advisory committee of Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Albert Einstein, William Brown Meloney, Caroline O'Day, Laura de los Ríos, James T. Shotwell, Dorothy Thompson (1893-1961) and Mary E. Woolley. Finally, Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962) agreed to become the board's honorary president.

On May 22, 1937, the board sent a request to the U.S. secretary of state asking for permission to bring 500 Basque refugee children to New York.¹⁷ The first step for the board was to apply for visitor visas for the children. The State Department had no reason to deny the visas. Thus, on May 23, 1937, the U.S. Navy sent a communiqué to the U.S.S. Kane reporting that between 500 and 5,000 Basque children would be issued visas to be sent to the United States.¹⁸ In response to the Spanish Embassy in Washington, the State Department pointed out that, "as to the question of their obtaining passport visas, the decision is placed by law upon the appropriate American consular officers, who must be guided by the provisions of ex-

isting laws governing the admission of aliens into the United States. Although I am not in a position to give you any assurance at this time as to the final action which may be taken in regard to the visa applications of these children when made, I assure you their cases will have the most sympathetic consideration.”¹⁹

On June 16, the Spanish Republic’s ambassador to the United States wrote to the secretary of state with the Basque government’s official request to send the children to the United States:

With reference to the conversation which I had the pleasure of having yesterday with the under Secretary of State, Mr. Summer Wells, with regard to obtaining the necessary permission so that Basque Societies, enterprises and persons, domiciled in this country may be able to bring here a certain number of children from Bilbao and from the Basque Country in order to perform the humanitarian work which they believe is incumbent upon them and demonstrate their solidarity with the philanthropic work which the Basque colonies in other countries, such as Mexico, France, United Kingdom, etc. are doing. I take pleasure in advising you that the Basque Government has accepted the idea and proposal of the living Basque elements in North America and I therefore take the liberty of requesting Your Excellency to inform the Secretary of Labor or the competent authorities, that the Basque Societies, entities, and persons can, in my opinion, furnish all the guarantee necessary to safeguard the moral, material and religious interests of the said children, and therefore the Basque Government

and this Embassy would have the greatest pleasure and satisfaction in seeing permits issued for the entrance of the said children into this country.”²⁰

The petition had many other supporters, including Florencio Laucirica,²¹ president of the New York Basque Center; the U.S. Committee for German-American Relief for Spain; and the Workers Fellowship of the Society for Ethical Culture in New York. During a meeting at the Basque center, a commission of 27 members was formed to execute the project. The first step was to contact the State Department to determine regulations for bringing children into the United States and for families who wished to adopt a child. The State Department replied on May 25, noting that visitor visas could only be issued to aliens who were able to qualify as non-immigrant temporary visitors under Section 3 (2) of the Immigration Act of 1924. Section 3 of the Immigration Act of 1917 also stated that “all children under sixteen years of age, unaccompanied by or not coming to one of both of their parents, except that any such children may, in the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, be admitted if in his opinion they are not likely to become a public charge and are otherwise eligible.”²² The 1917 Immigration Act also defined as inadmissible “all persons whose ticket or passage is paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality or foreign government, either directly or indirectly.” But because Bowers was reportedly in favor of the project, the final decision was in hands of consular officers abroad.

After the media reported on the news,

2,700 New York Basque families offered their homes and funds for the refugee children. After such a response, the American Board of Guardians asked for permission to bring 2,000 children instead of 500.

However, only three days after news reports of the project, the Massachusetts Catholic Order of Foresters (MCOF) publicized their emphatic – though misinformed – opposition to the plan. The MCOF was told, probably by Fascist agents in the North American Catholic hierarchy, that some of the children could be communists and that their stay in the United States could be used as Communist propaganda. Joseph A. Calahan, chief ranger of the MCOF²³, Francis Talbot and Victor J. Lo Pinto offered a number of reasons to oppose the project. They included:²⁴

1. *Bringing refugee children and adults to the U.S. in the past had always caused untold hardship.* However, the MCOF letter did not identify the previous efforts or explain why they had failed. As U.S. Consul William E. Chapman noted regarding Mexican refugees in 1917, he had been authorized to certify consular invoices in a hotel within the United States since the American Consulate at Nogales (Mexico) had been closed because of the revolution, and Venustiano Carranza (1859-1920) had not yet been recognized president of Mexico. According to Chapman, the system of issuing visas to refugees at a consulate worked very well at the time.²⁵

2. *The solution for the kids was not to take them abroad since nothing was more sacred than the love of home and family.*

The members of the MCOF were likely

not aware that the parents of many of these children had been killed or imprisoned. With no home or close relatives, many of the children were helpless.

3. *It is not good to deprive the children of their sacred right to heritage.*

The MCOF was not informed that some of the most basic rights of heritage, such as the right to speak one's own language, had been banned and even criminalized by the new regime, which had passed the first laws on the prohibition of speaking Basque on September 25, 1936. U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers reported on the issue on March 24, 1938.²⁶

4. *If it was imperative to remove the children from their homes, the best place to take them was the northern Basque Country, in France, where they could easily be returned to their native land when the war was over.* Once again the MCOF was not well informed since there were already thousands of children in the northern part of the Basque Country, including at a hospital run by the Basque government. The northern Basque Country, which had about 70,000 inhabitants at the time, could not, for obvious reasons, handle another 150,000 refugees in three months (April-June 1937).

5. *The children should also be placed in Catholic homes. Those supervising the welfare of the children should be forced to guarantee that their religion will be scrupulously safeguarded and protected from perversion.*²⁷

Calahan and Talbot must have been unaware that 100 per cent of the New York Basque families that had agreed to host the Basque children were Catho-

lic and that Catholic priests and nurses coming from the Basque country or residing in the United States would assist them. Additionally, they probably did not know that religion was a compulsory subject of study in all the colonies organized by the Basque government.

6. The Catholic hierarchy in both France and Spain was willing and ready to administer American relief quickly, efficiently and intelligently among the Basque refugee families.

Again, the MOCF was improperly advised, since, for instance, Monseigneur Joseph Clément Mathieu (1882-1963), bishop of Dax, was one of the most fervent advocates of sending the children abroad. In addition, the Spanish Catholic church never spent any money on the Basque, Catalan or Spanish refugee children abroad.

7. The siege of Bilbao would end, and the war would soon be over and the kids safe.

Once again, the MOCF was misled since, after the capture of Bilbao, many Basque children were removed from their homes and sent to “reeducation” camps, where the new regime inculcated its principles.

8. The children have been offered an asylum on their own soil and among their own people by the Nationalists; but a merciless leftist government has torn them away from their mothers’ bosoms and homes, regardless of their well-being.²⁸

No children were taken abroad without formal petitions from their parents. On the contrary, many children would be returned to Spain against their families’ wills through blackmail. As for the asy-

lum offered by Generalissimo Franco’s forces, Talbot, Lo Pinto, Calahan could not have known of the evidence for the massacres of civilians in places occupied by the rebels, which the International Red Cross and the British National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief under the presidency of Catherine Atholl had been passing to U.S. officials.²⁹

9. The project may cause undesirable public responsibilities for the U.S. administration.

Once again, the MOCF was not well informed since the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children, the Committee for German-American Relief for Spain and the New York Basque Center had already collected the necessary funds to finance the project. Besides, the Basque host families had agreed to take care of the children at their own expense. As we will see, other Basque organizations in the United States were also ready to help.

10. The project may be a real danger for the neutrality policy.

As the U.S. State Department determined, humanitarian projects did not violate the Neutrality Act.

It should be noted that it was easy to be misinformed, considering that newspapers in Massachusetts, Maine and even Washington and New York were publishing inaccurate articles, such as the following from the Daily Kennebec Journal of Augusta, Maine:

It’s being charged that this scattering of the child refugees is a deliberate plan for breaking down the Basque national

morale. Most of the children may never return to their native land and all of them will be away long enough to be nationalized by the countries to which they have been sent. Thus they will no longer be Basques and the Basque race will eventually disappear off the face of earth as such. Such development is being hotly protested specially in this country. This is too far to bring the children anyhow and unless they are managed with unusual care and skill are bound to suffer much. If they are to be used for propaganda or other ulterior purposes the plan is cold blooded and cruel. This would not detent Communists, however, who consider no sacrifice too great to advance their cause.³⁰

One of the most prominent opponents to bringing Basque children to New York was Cardinal William H. O'Connell (1859-1944) of Boston. And O'Connell soon gained the support of the Adams, Boston, Cambridge, Falmouth, McMahan, Newton, Springfield, Waltham and Worcester Councils of the Knights of Columbus (CKC). Numerous CKC councils in Massachusetts and Maine sent telegrams to both the State Department and the House of Representatives opposing the supposed communist conspiracy. Other Catholic organizations in O'Connell's diocese joined the campaign, such as the Franciscan Friars of the Atonement, the League of Catholic Women, the Congress of Catholic Women, the Women's Philomatheia Club, the Ladies Catholic Benevolent Association of the State of Illinois and the Catholic Alumni Sodality of Boston. They all opposed the project as "Red propaganda."

Francis P. Frazier, John Z. Norton and John J. Harrington, grand knights, wrote to U.S. Representative Robert L. Luce on May 25:

Five hundred Knights of Columbus of Waltham and their families, after special meeting last evening, protest the importation through waiving of immigration laws by State Department of two thousand Basque children violently alienated from parents and potential public charges of this country.³¹

Francis P. Frazier, on behalf of the Newton CKC, called the project a 'brutal attempt to gain partisan publicity at the expense of innocent children';³² the Falmouth CKC considered it to be a 'monstrous proposal'³³; Grand Knight J. P. McAndrews of Adams protested against that 'monstrous undertaking, noting that it was 'just another piece of Communistic propaganda instituted by the followers of the Loyalist group in Spain who are seeking sympathetic support in United States'³⁴; Joseph Z. Ouellette, for the Main State CKC, expressed that the children could 'easily become tools of propaganda in favor of the Communist Socialist regime';³⁵ Victor J. Lo Pinto called it an 'unwarranted mass kidnapping'.³⁶ Finally, John J. Spillane, state secretary of the Knights of Columbus, also expressed his disapproval on behalf of the Massachusetts State CKC to Franklin D. Roosevelt.³⁷ In all these cases, the answer by the U.S. State Department was the same: 'the department has taken no action in regard to these cases, since the responsibility for passing upon the temporary visitor status of each individual case rests upon the



Ruins of Gernika after the bombing of April 26, 1937 by the Luftwaffe
 Photo: William Smallwood Archive

American consular officer who receives the passport visa application'.³⁸

Also, J. F. Robinson, on behalf of the Massachusetts Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (MSSAR), asked the secretary of state to refuse to cooperate with the project, which he said was not in the best interests of either the children or the nation.³⁹ Other organizations, such as the Junior Order of the United American Mechanics⁴⁰ and the American Coalition ('an organization to coordinate the efforts of patriotic, civic and fraternal societies to keep America American')⁴¹ also opposed the project in letters to the State Department.

The telegram campaign soon reached Congress. On May 25, Senator Henry C. Lodge (1902-1985) of Massachusetts, relayed his disapproval to U.S. Secre-

tary of State Cordell Hull; Rep. Charles R. Clason (1890-1985) of Massachusetts, did the same, saying that 'to use these children for exploitation purposes is an example of extreme cruelty and heartlessness'⁴²; Rep. John W. McCormack (1891-1980) of Massachusetts, denounced the project as 'Red propaganda' and became one of its most ardent opponents. He met with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins (1880-1965) and Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles (1892-1961) in person. He also communicated with the Department of Immigration, the State Department and President Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁴³ Finally, Massachusetts Senator David Ignatius Walsh (1872-1947), who reported that he had received 500 telegrams in one day opposing the project,

and Massachusetts Governor Charles Francis Hurley (1893-1946), spoke out against the venture. When the Labor Department issued word that it would not be issuing any visas, Walsh and Hurley appeared in a photo in the Boston Post on May 29; beneath the caption, 'Walsh informs Hurley Basque plan is dead,' the picture showed Senator Walsh taking a cigar from Hurley.⁴⁴

Out of Massachusetts' 17 representatives in Congress, only Rep. Joseph E. Casey said he thought there was no basis to the claim that the evacuation effort was a communist conspiracy: 'suppose Fitchburg were being shelled by airplanes and children were being murdered in the streets. What would you say or do to a man who under any pretense refused to help rescue them? Thankfully England has raised no such scruples against the rescue of little children from the murderous bombs and machine-guns of war planes.'⁴⁵

By June, the U.S. Labor Department had decided not to make an exception for the Basque children in its application of the 1917 Immigration Act (which stated that all children under 16 years of age, unaccompanied, and having their tickets paid by an association, would not be eligible for a visa, unless the secretary of labor determined that they would not become a public liability). On June 30, General Queipo de Llano from Radio Sevilla spoke of the thousands of children who had been evacuated from the Basque Country to other countries and characterized the withdrawal as 'red propaganda designed to depict the Fascists as ruthless toward such innocent victims of the war.' He added that Franco's government would lose no time

in having these unfortunate victims returned to their homes and their parents as soon as possible. He emphasized that Mrs. Roosevelt had misunderstood the problem when she pledged her help in transporting 500 Basque children to the United States.⁴⁶

Several protest telegrams reached the State Department, including one by the Workers Fellowship of the Society for Ethical Culture in New York⁴⁷ and one by three-time Pulitzer Prize-winner and Librarian of Congress Archibald Macleish (1892-1982):

Rumors are being spread in New York that your Department refuses asylum in America to Basque children evacuated from Bilbao stop May I respectfully urge that you take earliest possible opportunity to deny these rumors stop It is vital to self-respect of United States citizens that not even in idle talk should this democracy be pictured as only civilized country of western world to put itself in so shameful a position stop I realize certain United States organizations are not above opposing rescue of these children for fear appearance in America of catholic refugees escaping from Franco guns might expose falsehood of widely disseminated contention that Franco and his Nazi and Fascist allies are patriotic engaged in protecting Spanish people against anarchist and communists stop But surely such organizations cannot influence decision of a nation dedicated to ideals of political and human freedom.⁴⁸

On June 8, the same day that 500 refugee children were approaching Veracruz, Mexico,⁴⁹ the American Board of

Guardians for Basque Refugee Children made one last appeal to the White House to try to generate some pressure to reverse the labor department's decision:

The President:

Answering the appeal of the Duchess of Atholl who organized removal of 8,792 Basque refugee children to France, 4,000 to England, 500 to Belgium, 500 to Holland, and 500 to Mexico, the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children has undertaken to bring 500 children to United States to be cared for here for duration of civil war. They will be accompanied by Basque Catholic priests and will be maintained here by responsible organizations which solicit the advice and cooperation of Federal Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

This action is strictly non-political. Being humanitarian in the broadest sense it is in line with the best traditions of our country, which always in the past has given liberal assistance to victims of catastrophes throughout the world.

World public opinion looks to you, Mr. President, to enable American generosity to find its logical expression in this emergency. Other governments have taken emergency measures, but European accommodations for refugees are already overtaxed.

The situation is critical. Bilbao suburbs are in flames. Every day's delay may cost lives. We respectfully urge you, Mr. President, to intercede on behalf of these unfortunate children, thus making possible American participation in this great work of mercy.⁵⁰

However, on July 2, Chapman, probably pressured by Bowers, contacted the State Department to discuss the evacuation question. On July 19, the U.S. Embassy in Paris sent a note to the U.S. State Department with a copy of a letter from Chapman noting that he believed he was authorized to issue American passports and grant visas in French territory. At Chapman's request, the U.S. consul in Bordeaux had sent him passport and visa application forms, fee stamps, and immigrant identification cards. Addison E. Southard, U.S. consul general to the French Republic, wanted to know if Chapman had authority to act this way.⁵¹ The embassy never received a definite answer.

The board sent a petition on June 24 to U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull asking to be formally registered to undertake a fund-raising campaign for the relief of Basque refugee children in Europe.⁵² Four days later, the State Department answered affirmatively.⁵³ On July 9, the board received notification from Charles W. Yost at the State Department's Office of Arms and Ammunitions Control that the organization could register,⁵⁴ and they did.⁵⁵ The organization raised funds by means of letters, advertisements and personal solicitations. The contributions were sent to the Comité International de Coordination et D'Information Pour L'Aide à L'Espagne Républicaine via the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy. The first funds were sent on July 8, before the board was properly registered. That day, the board sent \$1,064 to the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, which was to transfer it to the board's coordinating

committee in Paris. A second transfer of \$200 through Spanish Children Refugee Assistance was received in August.

The board dissolved in August 1937. Before it ceased to operate on September 1, the group asked the State Department whether it could transfer its permit to another organization. William E. Dodd, the board's former general secretary and a member of the American League Against War and Fascism, wrote to the State Department's Office of Arms and Ammunitions Control announcing that the group would be disbanded. From May 25 to August 30, 1937, the board collected \$2,301.06 in donations for Basque children. Of that money, 61.6 percent was transferred (\$1,264), 34.2 percent was expended in organizational and administrative charges (\$787.06) and the rest, 4.2 percent (\$250), was used for loans and currency exchanges.

On December 18, 1937, Dean Driscoll of the Idahoan Basque Shepherders' Overall Dance Association applied to the State Department to collect money for the relief of Basque refugee children.⁵⁶ The request was accepted only two days later. John Archabal⁵⁷ was the official promoter, and the group planned to collect money at a dance at the Riverside Pavillion in Boise on December 21. The association raised \$1,366, and the funds⁵⁸ were sent to the American Red Cross in Boise to be transferred to the International Red Cross in Bilbao.

Another group, the Committee for the Aid of the Basque Refugee Children in France, also applied a year later, on November 1, 1938, to be registered with the Secretary of State.⁵⁹ The committee, led by Florencio Lauzirika and

Jerónimo Astoreka of New York, obtained approval a week later.

On May 18, 1938, the Spanish Ministry of National Education began to make plans to deploy a new lot of teachers to properly educate the next generation of children. The teachers would all be officers from the National Movement, the only lawful political party, and would teach subjects like 'correct political thought.' One of the first schools devoted to the 'reeducation' of teachers was in Pamplona, in the Basque Country, to correct the 'mistakes of the Basque nationalist doctrine':

The new state must urgently move towards the formation of the national body of teachers, formed in a genuinely Spanish spirit in order that all may respond to what our history and our movement exacts and signifies. A complete education is necessary for the generations of today as well as for future ones which makes them penetrate deeply into the Spanish 'gestas' (old legendary romances) in defend of what is Spanish and of Christianity. All that constitutes the complex problem of the formation of the teachers occupies principally the attention of this Ministry. All this will be rapidly done in future dispositions. (...) Therefore the Ministry has decreed that:

1. In the city of Pamplona in the Arts and Crafts building will be held a course in national guidance for primary education. The opening will take place the first of next July.

2. Said formation course to treat upon the following subjects:

1. Religious and military spirit of life.

2. Spanish fatherland, History of Spain and meaning of Spanish culture.
3. Cultural and national education. Points of guidance in the spirit of the National Movement. Political doctrine of the F.E.T. Points of guidance about the New State.
4. Social organization, work law ('Fuero del Trabajo').
5. Methods to be followed in the teaching of small children.
6. Theoretical lessons for physical education, anatomy, physiology, hygiene, psychology of the national education.
7. Discussion of the subject of physical education and physical exercise.
8. The course will last 30 days, conducted along the lines of a boarding school. The expense of maintenance will be borne by the teachers attending, and will cost 150 pesetas.⁶⁰

Soon, the children who did not have the good fortune to be sent abroad and whose families were suspected of being leftist or Basque nationalist were sent to these schools. And those children who were sent abroad, whose parents were imprisoned, were systematically blackmailed to force their return. One of the people in charge of this enterprise was Monsignor Ildebrando Antoniutti (1898-1974), the papal chargé d'affaires to the Spanish regime for the purposes of "exchanging" prisoners. In 1962, Pope John XXIII named him Cardinal Priest of San Sebastiano alle Catecombe.

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As registered in the notes, the historiographic sources used to write the present article are mainly archival documents from the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) at College Park (Maryland, USA) and the archive at the Gernika Peace Museum (Gernika, Bizkaia).

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Notes

- 1 They did not all sign up to the same conditions.
- 2 Also, many of the records that were not destroyed were seized by Franco and stored in the National Historical Archives in Salamanca and Madrid. These were only made available to scholars from the late 1980s.
- 3 The child population refers to children between 5 and 14 years old.
- 4 Also, Euskal Herria (the 'Basque Country'), a stateless nation, comprises seven territories, of which three are within the French Republic (Baxe Nafarroa –the ancient Kingdom of Navarre-, Lapurdi and Zuberoa).
- 5 In fact the president of the Board of directors of the International Commission for the Assistance of Child Refugees in Spain was the Norwegian Judge Michael Hanson.
- 6 Holland also provided asylum to a small number of children and helped to maintain colonies abroad.
- 7 Notification of the Circular of the Ministry of Justice of March 17, 1939, Busturia, March 24, 1939. Bizkaiko Foru Aldundiko Ondare Historikoaren Foru Agiritregia, Ereño Juzgado 0056/030.
- 8 Report from U.S. Ambassador to the Spanish Republic to the U.S. State Department. Donibane Lohitzune, May 4, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/77.
- 9 Telegram by Julio Álvarez del Vayo to Eleanor Roosevelt. Barcelona, March 21, 1938. NARA, College Park, U.S. Department of State Files 1930-1939 (Files 852.00/..., Box 6416), Document 852.00/7571.
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- sador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/71.
- 12 Joint Resolution of Congress approved on May 1, 1937 amending the joint resolution approved on August 31, 1935.
 - 13 Report by the Office of Arms and Ammunitions Control of the U.S. State Department. Washington, April 30, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/80.
 - 14 Report from the U.S. Embassy in Paris to the U.S. State Department. Paris, May 6, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/79. See also Document 852.48/107.
 - 15 Telegram from the U.S. Embassy in Paris to the U.S. State Department. Paris, May 5, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/70.
 - 16 The board's central office was located at #20 Vessey St., Suite 301, New York, NY.
 - 17 Letter from the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children to the U.S. Secretary of State. New York, May 22, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.00/..., Boxes 3687 to 3701), Document 852.00/5511. Also Document 852.48/127.
 - 18 Report from the U.S. Navy to the U.S.S. Kane. Washington, May 23, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/86. See also 852.48/121, P. 2.
 - 19 Letter from the U.S. Department of State to the Spanish Embassy in Washington. Washington, June 24, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/121.
 - 20 Letter from the Spanish Embassy in Washington to the U.S. Department of State. Washington, June 16, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/121.
 - 21 Also spelled Lauzirika (in Basque Lauzirika).
 - 22 Act of 1917. U.S. Reports of the Immigration Commission. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1917, vol. 1, p. 48.
 - 23 Mary S. MacNally (Springfield Court of MCOF) and Annie F. Sullivan, Secretary of the Saint Claire Court Number 106 of MCOF, also joined the telegram campaign asserting that "this is totally foreign to American ideals, it is heart rending, cruel and foolishly unnecessary." National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/99.
 - 24 Letter by Joseph A. Calahan, chief ranger of the MCOF to the U.S. secretary of state. Boston, May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/88.
 - 25 Letter by U.S. Consul at Bilbao William E. Chapman to U.S. Consul General at Paris Addison E. Southard. Donibane Lohitzune, July 11, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/148.
 - 26 Persecution of the Basques: Forbidding Use of Their Ancient Language. Report by Claude G. Bowers to the U.S. State Department. Donibane Lohitzune, March 24, 1938. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.402/...), Document 852.402/9.
 - 27 Letter from Francis Talbot to the U.S. Secretary of State. Washington, May 24, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.402/...), Document 852.48/128.
 - 28 Letter by Victor J. Lo Pinto to the U.S. Secretary of State. New York, July 22, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/144.
 - 29 Note by the British National Joint Committee for Spanish Relief to the U.S. State Department. Dunkeld (Scotland), August 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/157.
 - 30 "Basque children," *Daily Kennebec Journal*, Thursday, May 27, 1937. P. 5.
 - 31 Telegram by Grand Knight John J. Harrington to U.S. Representative Robert L. Luce. Waltham (Massachusetts), May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/89.
 - 32 Telegram by Grand Knight Francis P. Frazier to U.S. Representative Robert L. Luce. Waltham (Massachusetts), May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/89.

- 33 Telegram by the Falmouth Council of the Knights of Columbus to U.S. Representative Charles Gifford. Falmouth (Massachusetts), May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/90.
- 34 Telegram by Grand Knight of Adams Council of the Knights of Columbus J. P. McAndrews to U.S. Representative Allen T. Treadway. Adams (Massachusetts), May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, US Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/93.
- 35 Telegram by Joseph Z. Ouellette, State Deputy Knights of Columbus to U.S. Secretary of State. Brunswick (Main), May 26, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/96.
- 36 Letter by Victor J. Lo Pinto to the U.S. Secretary of State. New York, July 22, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, US Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/144.
- 37 Telegram by John J. Spillane, State Secretary of Knights of Columbus, to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Worcester (Massachusetts), May 25, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/93.
- 38 Letter by the U.S. State Department to Representative Charles Gifford. Washington, June 4, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/90.
- 39 Telegram by J. F. Robinson to U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Boston (Massachusetts), May 28, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/101.
- 40 Letter by Lester Treadwell to the U.S. Secretary of State. New York, June 9, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, US Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/109. See also, letter by George G. Grey, Chairman of the New Jersey Committee to the U.S. Secretary of State. Trenton (NJ), June 11, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/114.
- 41 Letter by John B. Trevor to the U.S. Secretary of State. Washington, June 9, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/110.
- 42 Letter by Representative Charles R. Clason to the U.S. Secretary of State. Washington, May 26, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, US Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/94.
- 43 Telegram by John McCormack to the president of the U.S., Franklin D. Roosevelt. Washington, June 10, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/130.
- 44 Donald F. Crosby, "Boston's Catholic and the Spanish Civil War: 1936-1939," *The New England Quarterly. A Historical Review of New England Life and Letters*, March 1971. P. 98.
- 45 "Little Basque refugees," *The Fitchburg Sentinel*, Fitchburg, Massachusetts, May 28, 1937. P. 6.
- 46 Dispatch from Charles A. Bay, at the American Consulate in Seville to the U.S. State Department. Seville, July 1, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/141.
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- 48 Letter by Representative Archibald Macleish to the U.S. Secretary of State. New York, June 8, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/108.
- 49 "Spanish orphans arrive in Mexico." National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/134.
- 50 Letter from the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children to the U.S. President. New York, June 8, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/112.
- 51 Letter from Addison E. Southard at the U.S. Embassy in Paris to the U.S. State Department. Paris, August 1, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/148.

- 52 Letter from the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children to the Secretary of State. New York, June 24, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/Relief-Regis. American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children/1.
- 53 Letter from the American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children to the Secretary of State. New York, June 24, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/Relief-Regis. American Board of Guardians for Basque Refugee Children/2.
- 54 In compliance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of the rules and regulations promulgated on May 5, 1937, pursuant to section 3(a) of the Joint Resolution of Congress approved May 1, 1937 (Neutrality Act).
- 55 The registration for the purpose of soliciting and receiving contributions for use in Europe arrived on July 29.
- 56 Application by Dean Dryscoll to the U.S. Secretary of State. Boise (Idaho), December 18, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/Relief-Regis. Basque Shepherders' Overall Dance Association/1.
- 57 Probably misspelled, John Atxabal.
- 58 Subtracting expenses for the transfer of the funds (\$262), the Red Cross received a total of \$1,104 for the relief of Basque refugee children.
- 59 Letter from the Committee for the Aid of the Basque Refugee Children in France to the U.S. State Department. Washington, November 1, 1937. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.48/...), Document 852.48/Relief-Regis. Committee for the Aid of the Basque Refugee Children in France/1.
- 60 The Burgos Attitude on Religious and Intellectual Freedom. Report by U.S. Ambassador to the Spanish Republic Claude G. Bowers to the U.S. Secretary of State. Donibane Lohitzune, March 1, 1938. National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, U.S. Ambassador Claude G. Bowers Files (Files 852.404/...), Document 852.404/95.

1798-1867: Russian America and its Latvians. In Search of Their Invisibles: the Personal and Household Servants

Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell

Abstract

This presentation focuses on the non-Russian North European (Evangelical Lutheran) population's multifold contributions toward the development of the North Pacific region, with specific focus on Russian America and its mostly far too ignored Estonian and Latvian contributions. To get a grip on the many questions of why, I have for the past 30 years worked towards the full identification of each one, which is still ongoing, focusing on what I have perceived as an often willful suppression of the history concerning Russian America's entire non-Russian north European labor-force, recruited from 1799 to 1867 to fill the Russian American Company's ever present needs at Novo Archangelsk/ Sitka, its administrative site on Baranoff Island (today part of US-held State of Alaska), and at its many operating sites around the North Pacific Rim. This covered everyone from governors, naval officers, office employees, and sea captains with their ship crews down to cabin boys and personal and household servants. These recruitment activities weren't

only directed towards the Grand Duchy of Finland, where hundreds upon hundreds of Finnish and Swedish speaking Finlanders were engaged, but also to the Ingrians, and to the Baltic Provinces of Estland, Lifland, and Kurland, where Baltic Germans, of military and civil ranks, were recruited as well as Estonians and Latvians (and in lesser cases to such nations as Poland, Prussia, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Norway).

The overwhelming majority of this particular multiethnic population adhered to the Evangelical Lutheran persuasion and numbered no less than a third of the entire "white" population stationed at the Russian American Company Colonies' local head-quarter, Novo Arkhangelsk/ Sitka, as well as its many operating sites on both islands and on the Russian-held shores around the North Pacific Rim. Here this population nestled both with ease, as well as documented unease within the ethnic Russian population adhering to the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic persuasion.

Each one, governor, naval officer, sailor/mariner, gold-smith, shoemaker, tailor, baker, cabinet-maker, ship-builder, furrier, Company book-keeper, and office employee or black-smith etc., was at all times aware of his/her place within his own people, as well as his place among the diverse linguistic and ethnic groups within his own parish membership, and his/her place in the hierarchy of Imperial Russian society, as well as where his/her place fell within this multiethnic Lutheran parish membership, and his place as part of conquered people under Imperial Russian rule.

There were internal crossovers within this parish too. As Cygnaeus claimed he wasn't keen on partaking in such worldly shop-talk circulating around tackle, sails and ships, he retired to his own rooms. However the more likely reason was he had difficulties holding his own in conversations held in rapidly spoken German. Of these four Lindenberg and Harder remain unidentified in full. Additionally, of the six only von Bartram's valet and Cygnaeus' first valet are fully identified.

Considering the fact that Finland with its small population provided Russia with a cadre of military men of which 339 naval officers' biographical and professional records have been documented (Pikoff 1938) of which 9 rose to the rank of admiral, 21 to the rank of vice admiral, and 46 to the rank of rear admiral (Pikoff 1938:4), and in the military, 1611 officers' biographical and professional records have also been documented of which more than 200 rose to the rank of general (Schulman 1912. Nordenstreng 1922. Åkerman 1941.

Finska Kadettklubbens Styrelse 1960. Wirilander 1975. Wirilander 1985. Halén 2011a. Halén 2011b).

When considering the even smaller populations of Estland, Lifland & Kurland, their numbers of naval and army officers serving in Imperial Russia who had risen to the ranks of admirals and generals within the Imperial Russian military, has been known to be far greater than the number of those from the Grand Duchy of Finland. ... and most all of those hired for Russian America, or commissioned there to serve the Russian American Company had either hired and brought their own personal valet, or upon arrival the Company had assigned one to each of them. These valets were seldom noted, rarely referred to, hardly ever recorded or recognized, were kicked and degraded when their masters considered they had served poorly, as well as dismissed, but when needed they were craved for when not instantly available.

Society's Invisible Ones

In any society including within the Evangelical Lutheran world of Europe, the personal servants and household ones were always ranked as the lowest. This too held true to society in Russian America. These servants were the invisible ones. Still they were part of those most necessary *underpinnings* of society, no one could be without, and as with their services they literally upheld everything and everyone ranked above them. It would have been unthinkable to even think that the governor's wife would have stood in the kitchen preparing the multi-course dinners served every day at the governor's house, seat-

ing 12 to 20 men, or that she by hand would be scrubbing her and her husband's dirty clothes in a tub, or wash the dishes and floors herself. Equally unthinkable was the notion that any gentlewoman, or any elected official's wife, burger's wife and their daughters would move through life without the assistance of their own chamber maids, or that a nobleman, gentleman, officer, elected townsman, government official, industrialist, burger/townsman, business man, or the like in status, including their wives and daughters, would move about without their shadow, their personal valet/chamber-maid, who was supposed to be ready at his/her beck and call anytime anywhere including long travels made at any season across land and seas.

In early 1860 when two high-ranking inspectors came to assess the Russian American Company's viable health, Governor Furuhjelm's wife wrote her mother concerning the housing of these government inspectors, referring to Pavel Golovin Captain of the 2nd Rank: '*his manservant must live with Treibe*' (Christensen 2005:98), that is, Golovin's valet had to share room with Governor Furuhjelm's kitchen's cook, and, as a personal valet, working so to speak 'in chambers', was considered of higher rank than a cook working behind the scene in the heat of a kitchen, to the valet of a high ranked officer of Imperial Russia. Such share lodgings were surely seen as an insult, even though the governor's cook had traveled the same distance as Golovin's valet: crossed vast lands and oceans by ship.

Seldom if ever are any of these servants mentioned in any Company re-

ords, and hardly ever mentioned in any published academic research accounts, such as papers and books concerning the history of Russian America and/or the Russian American Company. And if any of them are ever mentioned, they are mostly hinted at in passing like mere nameless shadow-like figures of no consequence, sometimes by their profession: valet, cook, "my man", or, if in luck, the men are hinted at by their family name and the women by their given one.

However occasional exceptions are stumbled upon, as there were those who occasionally would actually see and register some of them. One who did so was Sitka's known womanizer. In the early 1840s above mentioned Pastor Cygnaeus wrote the following to his sister concerning two of his parishioners who served as chamber-maids: '*in actual real beauty those two young women outshine everything Sitka's female society can offer, and were they not servants they would be the hottest pursued prospects at any of the balls here at Sitka.*'

The message therein was/is loud and clear: '*never marry a servants however beautiful, as its cause is death to any upward mobility within any military career.*'

However, invisible or not the Lutheran household staffs in Russian America were all members of this small parish church.

The Need for Identification

In whatever the case, the task of identifying fully any of the Europeans Lutherans in Russian America who between 1800 and 1839 had been engaged in the Russian-American Company, they all would/should have been registered

into such a Homeland parish church if such an option had been made available to them in Russian America, but at the time period was not, as the closest Evangelical Lutheran Church, with parish and pastor was at Irkutsk, East Siberia. And in 1840 when this option was made available at Sitka, the ones of the Evangelical Lutheran persuasion became actually registered members of Alaska's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran Church. That is, registered there with their full names given at baptism accompanied by birth year, month and day and parish, , full name of parents their birth dates, death dates, and marriage date and place, father's social status and occupation, mother's social status and parents, and perhaps even siblings and their birth and death dates. As nothing less will ever do, as family names can be common and so are given names also, as their combinations, as well as the patronymics so commonly in use in several regions of Finland, all of this often additionally running through several generations.

Although such an identification process can turn into a most formidable task of detective work, it is the only way to go about, it as long as this identification hunt takes place within the borders of Finland, and most likely also within the borders of the Baltic Provinces of Estland, Lifland and Kurland. And although there are exceptions, among them Helsinge parish in Finland, where the records in spots are missing, the records including those Finnish, German and Baltic parishes in St. Petersburg and at Kronstadt, are such they will guarantee a success approaching the magic number of 80-90+ per cent.

However, troubles hit as soon as one moves out of the Grand Duchy of Finland the Baltic Provinces and the St. Petersburg and Kronstadt parishes. Why? Because in Imperial Russia everyone is identified by that other Russified name imposed there upon all foreigners who lived, worked, or were building their career in that vast land.

Here some examples, although none of these men are known to have served as household servants or valets:

Finlander *Efraim Jacobsson Honka*, a farmer's son from St. Martin's parish near Åbo was, if at all identified, found in the recorded into: *Index to Births, Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths in the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska 1816-1866* (Dorosh & Doroch 1964) under the variations of Efrem Gong/Gongo/Songo/Kongo/Konno. The same goes for Finlander *Samuel Mathiasson Hyörä*, a Journeyman Brewer from Reponmäki village in Rantasalmi parish. He was found in the same *Index* under the name of Samuil Khieras/Nieras. And the Finlander *Erik Ericsson Rosengren* from Knutila/Knuutila farm in Whittisbofjärd parish was found recorded into the same *Index* as Kiril Knutilov/ Knutiloff (Enckell 2007:23,31,48).

Among the many I manage to identify, there is still one glaring exception, a man who has turned into my biggest headache, and still remains unidentified.

In the same *Index* he is found listed under the name variations of *Matvei Riupp/ Riuppa/Riuppel/Ruppel/Ruppa*. In the Russian American Company records he is identified as: *Matvei Ruppe, a peasant, worker of Vyborg Gubernia, town of Vyborg, Kurvem village.*

Searching for a match in our database for births under the family name-variations of *Riuppe Ruppe* etc., only one came up, that of Mathias Henricsson, born 1794 June 25 at Riippa/Rippa/Rippala in Marinkainen village, Låchteå parish, the third child born to Henric Mattsson of Rippa/Rippala etc., married 1784 November 11: Carin Mattsdotter at Kelvå parish (both parishes situated north of Karleby/Kokkola city in Ostrobothnia).

I don't harbor any quarrel with any of those in Finland who now suddenly both privately as well as nowadays publicly insist they are related to, or descendants of this Mathias Henricsson Riippa etc., born 1794 June 25 in Ostrobothnia. However, my quarrel lies therein that *none of those who claim their actual kinship* to Mathias Henricsson, son of Henric Mattsson from Rippa/Rippa/Rippala etc. farm in Marinkainen village in Låchteå parish *has so far presented me or anyone else, with that most necessary water-tight proof that Mathias Henricsson is actually identical to that of my Matvei Riupp/Riuppa/Riuppel/Ruppel/Ruppa, worker of Vyborg Gubernia, town of Vyborg, Kurvem... village*, which claim I hereby declare to be moot until someone steps forward and does so. In this I'm also to blame, as foolish as I at the time was, when I most *tentatively* thought I had with this identification hit the Jack Pot. A mistake I have sorely regretted, as several years later my most trusted contact at Kodiak sent me photocopies of the following original Russian Orthodox Church records for Alaska:

Confessional Records issued by the Alaska Consistory to the Clergy of the Church of the Holy Resurrection at

Kodiak for 1850 under the heading for Spruce Island, page 4, is listed: peasant Matvei Stefanov Riuppe age 58, indicating this Matvei's birth year to be about 1792, give or take a year or so, and that his father's given name is/was Staffan/Stefan/Stephan etc. (Enckell 2007:77-79).

Here lies one of those many troubles: one is that our Mathias Henricsson was born 1794 June 25, the other it's that "Stefanov" bit. In the first place it doesn't fit above Mathias Henricsson whose father's first name was Henric, in Russian mangled to Genrik. Secondly, as a patronymic was mostly, but not always an indication of the father's name, as at times it was a name suitably caught out of thin air. As frustrating as it may be to admit, my search has so far brought no waterproof results. I nowadays tend to think our trouble causing Mathias might have been a member of Finnish Karelia's Orthodox community. Therefore, sadly this Mathew falls within that 10-20 per cent I so far haven't been able to identify.

Note: If a Finnish database search for the years 1790 to 1796 is made for the name of Mathias, with Staffan/Stefan/Stephan as the father's name, then 40 possibilities turns up, but none have a family- or village or farm-name starting with the letter R. However, one did come up with the village name of *Kärmetlax* which just might be twisted into something similar to that of *Kurvem...* also tied to the identity of our Matts/Mathias. When a search under the names of Mathias and Stefan* and the letter R* is made for the family name only two came up, but the birth dates were all wrong, and when the same was

put in with the letter R* for village and or farm/house, then 4 comes up, one of slight interest for the year 1794: here the village name was *Rytty*.

But the search will go on.

Difficulties Abound

In 2012 two known researchers presented at an international conference a paper on the Russian-Finnish Whaling Company, and their Finnish whalers, wherein it was clearly pointed to the ineptness and lack of work ethic, among these Finns and the company they worked for, and especially that this company didn't operate under international standard rules, which in the case of these two researchers were in gross error pointed to the incorrect facts: that these whalers were salaried at all times out at sea, and not as common rule demanded in this particular branch, their earnings were predetermined according to set percent of the catch. What these two most eminent scholars did not know nor had informed themselves well thereof, was that the archives at Sjöhistoriska Institutet vid Åbo Akademi has every conceivable original document there covering all aspects of this company's endeavors from the company's birth in 1850 to the end in 1861, including, ship crew lists, log-books and letters as well as reports published in Finland's newspapers of that time. And what Sjöhistoriska Institutet does not have Åbo Regional Archives has the originals of, as well as Helsingfors City Archives and the National Archives of Finland has, as well as the Enckell Archives at Åbo Akademi has photo copies of. The only thing anyone needs to do is to be able to read old hand written texts in Swedish. And this

shouldn't come as a surprise as besides Russian the most common language heard and spoken every day in Russian America was Swedish and Finnish with inserts of sporadic German. Confronted with photocopies of original documents clearly demonstrated the many errors in this presentation: these whalers in question, and the company in question had in no way earned any of the negativities this eminent duo had heaped on these whalers and their valiant endeavors. Sadly, prior to the delivery of this paper, this paper had already been published, which now is spreading an unfortunate heap of nothing but false information.

Additionally several years back one American scholar and researcher published an article on Alaska's Russian Era Finnish-born Governor *Arvid Adolph Etholén*, a handsome dark-haired man. No problem with that. However in this particular article Etholén was presented in gross error, not as a governor but as a Russian Alaska Creole, and the life he had led as such in Alaska. It's quite amazing that such an utter mish mash of a mistaken identity had found such an eminent publisher in the US.

As to Governor Etholén's wife, the highly educated Margaretha Hedwig Johanna Sundwall, a female intellectual of rank, who prior to her marriage had served as a professional educator at a female school at Helsingfors (Enckell 2003): of her the ever re-occurring old story, by now expected to be discarded, tells she was so devoutly religious it was unthinkable for her to marry Governor Elect Etholén if, for her 5 years stay in Russian America, she was not provided with an Evangelical Lutheran clergyman and chapel. That such absurd ideas still

keeps appearing in academic as well as popular accounts, is quite astonishing as in Finland women up to 1863 had no given legal rights at all, and thus couldn't demand any such things. The fact that at Sitka the church room in question was between August of 1840 and August of 1843 temporarily installed into the *Green Room* within the walls of Sitka's governor's mansion (Enckell 1996:24), that is, up to the time the actual church building was completed, seem to have been interpreted by some to underscore such a twisted and unrealistic notion.

But even more foolish is the notion that the Russian American Company would, just to please a governor's intended wife's religious devotion, proceed to spend considerable sums, building a church-building for just her, accommodating 150 to 200 people, as well as pay the salary for a hired clergyman, all representing a religion other than their own dominant Russian Orthodox one.

No way! Such a choice was purely economical, as the workforce the Russian American Company so ardently kept seeking throughout its operating years, and did recruit, were Lutherans from Finland as well as from the Baltic Provinces of Estland, Lifland and Kurland (Grinëv 2009), at that particular time-period subjugated under Imperial Russian rule (Enckell 1996:1-3).

By the fall of 1840 the logs for the building had already been brought down from the mountains, but, and as there's always cropping up a 'but': the Orthodox Bishop, at the time at St. Petersburg, wished to take up this matter with the Czar. Finding His Majesty's ear closed to this matter, the bishop, who arrived to Sitka in the fall of 1841,

fought what he considered to be such an unacceptable intrusion within his territory. Still, by Easter of 1843 the exterior of the church-building stood ready for interior adornment and the grand installment took place August 24 that year (Enckell 1996:25). By then Sitka could boast of an established Evangelical Lutheran parish with a fluctuating membership of 100-175 members a year, pointing to the fact that Sitka's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran parish was quite comparable in size to that of Irkutsk's Lutheran parish with its 150 parishioners both military and civilians (Lenker 1898:648. Wrede 1918:81). The unfortunate thing is that Irkutsk's Evangelical Lutheran parish archives and records went in 1879 up in smoke when the grand fire on July 7 swept through the city (Lansdell 1882:163-170. Lenker 1898:648). Although the same is not true for Sitka's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran Church, the where-about of this parish membership records still elude us. Only the original birth and baptism records were located in 1995 (Enckell 1996:51-59).

As to Margaretha Hedwig Johanna Sundwall's often referred to religiosity I don't think it was any more feverish or ardent than what was generally expressed or socially expected at the time, and certainly not more *Devout Lutheran* than Madame von Wrangell was reported to be (O'Grady 2001:31) or even that of Madame Furuhjelm's devotion, she so freely drenched those letters with, she mailed to her mother (Christensen 2005). When life at the time was so full of harrowing events and there were no tools yet by which to prevent or mend most of them, the choices were to go

insane or endure finding solace in the mercy of an All Mighty God. Of this the Wiborg-born Medical Doctor Alexander Frankenhæuser wrote his sister in the fall of 1841:

I knew the Etholén's firstborn was dying; however what I feared the most was that the mother would go insane, which Margaretha Etholén's last diary inputs clearly indicate she was on the verge of losing her mind (Etholén 1839: un numbered last page). The original diary is preserved at Åbo Akademi University Library's manuscript department. The Frankenhæuser letter collection is preserved in Finland at the said family's private archives.

A Short Background History

During Czar Paul's short reign 1796-1801, he created by Ukase of 1799 the Russian American Company out of a number of small pelt hunting firms, a firm administrated by a board with headquarters initially at Irkutsk, moved in 1801 to the Imperial capital St. Petersburg. The Company's operating sitescovered the Russian territories on the shores and Islands situated around the North Pacific.

Sixty-eight years later Russian Alaska was sold to the US, and 1867 on October 18 transferred to the United States of America. Nowadays at Sitka this historic event is remembered as *Alaska*



Fig 1 The Russian American Company headquarters at St. Petersburg. The Company's operating sites covered the Russian territories on the shores and Islands situated around the North Pacific. Photo by A.V. Grinëv gratefully received.

Day with a re-enactment of the actual transfer ceremony, a grand parade, military festivities and a truly grand ball. Of the 14 Governors/Company Chief Managers who administrated the Russian American Company's North Pacific operating sites, all but the first were high ranking naval officers in Imperial Russian service, of these were:

- 9 Russians, covering a total of 49 years
- 3 Baltic Germans, covering a total of 8½ years, and

2 Finlanders, covering a total of 9 ½ years.

That is: of the Company's highest ranking administrators eighteen years were administrated by 5 non-Russians Evangelical Lutherans represent 1/3 of the total of 14 governors. In numbers of years these Lutheran governors served 1/3 + of the total of 68 years.

The Baltic Germans:

Ludwig Karl August von Hagemeister, governor: 1818 January – October



Fig 2 Old map of the Baltic provinces: Estland, Livland & Kurland.

1818, born 1780 June 6 at Drostenhof, Lifland, died 1833 December 24 at St. Petersburg.

Ferdinand Friedrich Georg Ludwig von Wrangell, governor: 1830-1835, born 1796 December 29 at Pleskau, Estland, died 1870 May 25 at Dorpat,

Nikolai Rosenberg, governor: 1850-1853 (Pierce 1990: 432-434) born 1808 December 2 at St. Petersburg, died 1857 November 29 in the same city.

The Finlanders:

Arvid Adolph Etholén, a Finlander, on his mother's side of Pomeranian decent,

governor: 1840-1845, born 1798 January 9 at Helsingfors, died 1876 March 29 at Tavastby Manor in Elimäki parish, Grand Duchy of Finland,

Johan Hampus Furuhielm, governor: 1859-1864, born 1821 March 11 at Helsingfors, died 1909 September 21 at Helsingfors, Grand Duchy of Finland (Pierce 1986)

Note: *Johan Joachim von Bartram* (Junior) of Scottish & Baltic-German descent, born 1809 August 30 at Wiborg, died 1865 February 13 at Elimäki parish, Grand Duchy of Finland. After his first round of duty in Russian America

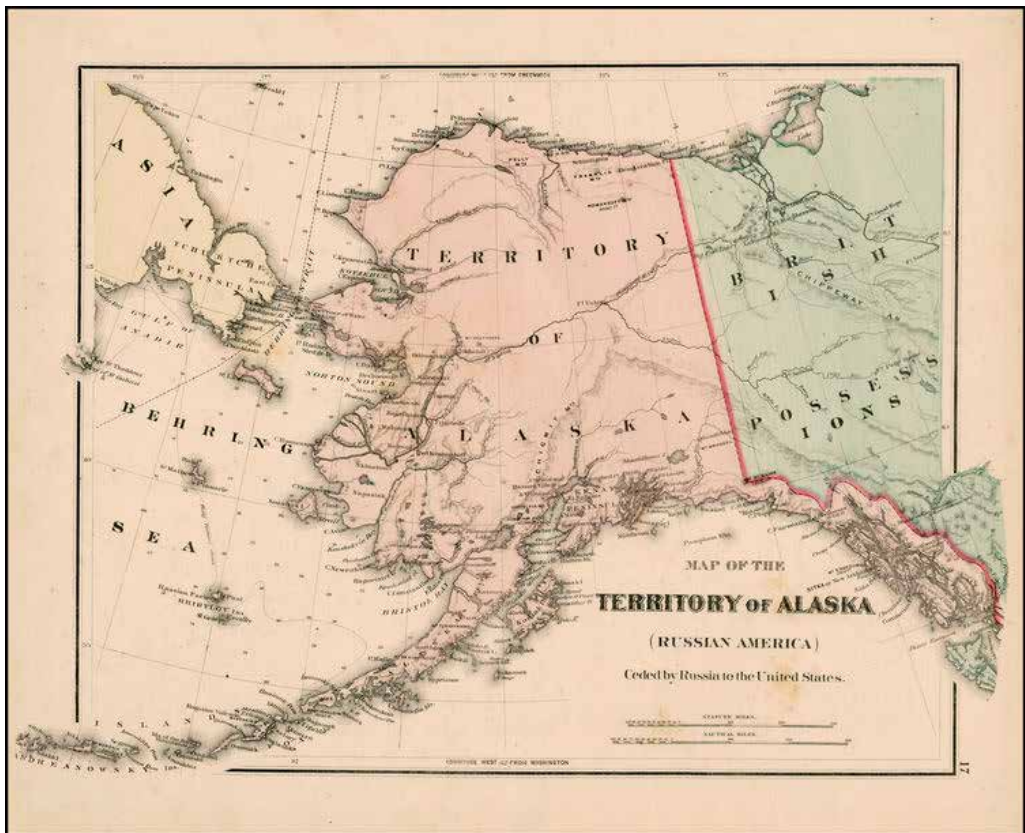


Fig 3 Old map of Russian Alaska.

1840-1845, he refused a second round, to yet later be offered the Governorship, which he also refused exclaiming: *no thank you, as to my knowledge I haven't yet lost my mind.*

Unknown is how many others might have refused this position.

1839 June 24: Czar Nikolai I granted full approval for the forming of one Evangelical Lutheran parish (Enckell 1996:2 Letter 8) to cover the Russian American Company's North Pacific sites (Enckell 1996:1-3), with its headquarters placed at Novo Arkhangelsk/ Sitka the capital situated on Baranov Island in the Panhandle of Alaska

To comply with the wish expressed by the Russian American Company Headquarters to maintain close contact with the supervisor of this far away Company parish, St. Petersburg's Evangelical Lutheran Upper Synod handed the task to the Finlander *Gustaf Fredrik Zandt* who since 1835 May 13 had served as Head Pastor at the Finnish St. Katarina Swedish language parish at St. Petersburg, born 1801 October 21 in Hattula parish Grand Duchy of Finland, died 1881 February 5 at St. Petersburg, Russia.

In accepting this task Zandt took upon himself to prepare the traditional package sent along in support of a new church and its parish.

Included into this package were the following items:

- Altar painting: 1, to be hung above the altar
- Candlesticks for the Altar: 2 large ones made of real plate, each one holding 3 candles (no image has survived),
- Hymnals: 10 in German
- Handbooks: 4 in Finnish, 4 in Swedish, 1 in German
- Catechisms: 4
- ABC Books: 3 in German
- Bibles: 2 in Finnish, 2 in Swedish, 2 in German (one of the two German ones is preserved at the Jyväskylä University museum collection, holds Cygnaeus' dedication to Madame von Bartram) 2 in Estonian, 2 in Latvian.
- New Testaments: 15 in Finnish, 10



Fig 6 The Sitka Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran Altar painting by the Finlander Berndt Abraham Godenhjelm, signed and dated 1839, painted while the art painter resided in St. Petersburg up to 1848. Photo by unknown.

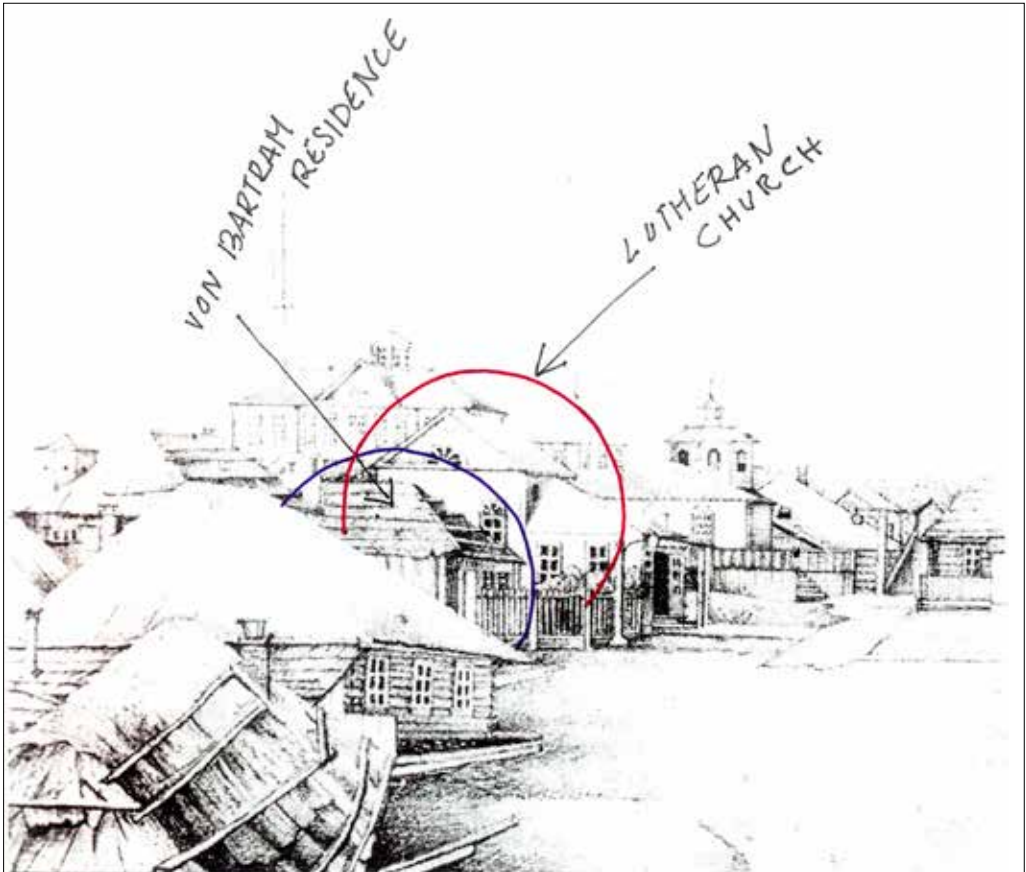


Fig 7 Russian Alaska's Evangelical Lutheran-church building, drawing by Ilia Voznesenskii, dated to about April of 1843

in Swedish, 10 in German 5 in Estonian, 5 in Latvian (Enckell 1996:1-2). By 1840 this small Russian era Evangelical Lutheran church with its multi ethnic membership, gathered under its single roof, a mirroring in miniature the following of St. Petersburg's many Evangelical Lutheran churches and their parish:

- the Finnish & Ingrian language *St. Maria* Church and parish,
- the Finnish Swedish language *St. Katarina* Church and parish,
- the German *St. Petri* & *St. Anna* Churches and parishes,

- the Estonian *Yaani Kirik* Church and parish,
- the Latvian *Jesus-Kirche* Church and parish
- Kronstadt's *St. Elisabet Church* and parish, as well as the several cadet-school parishes in this city, and not to be overlooked, all of: Finland's, Estland's, Lifland's and Kurland's Evangelical Lutheran parishes.

The ethnic, language, and cultural diversity under its single roof was both powerful as well as far from un-significant in Alaska's Russian Era History, and

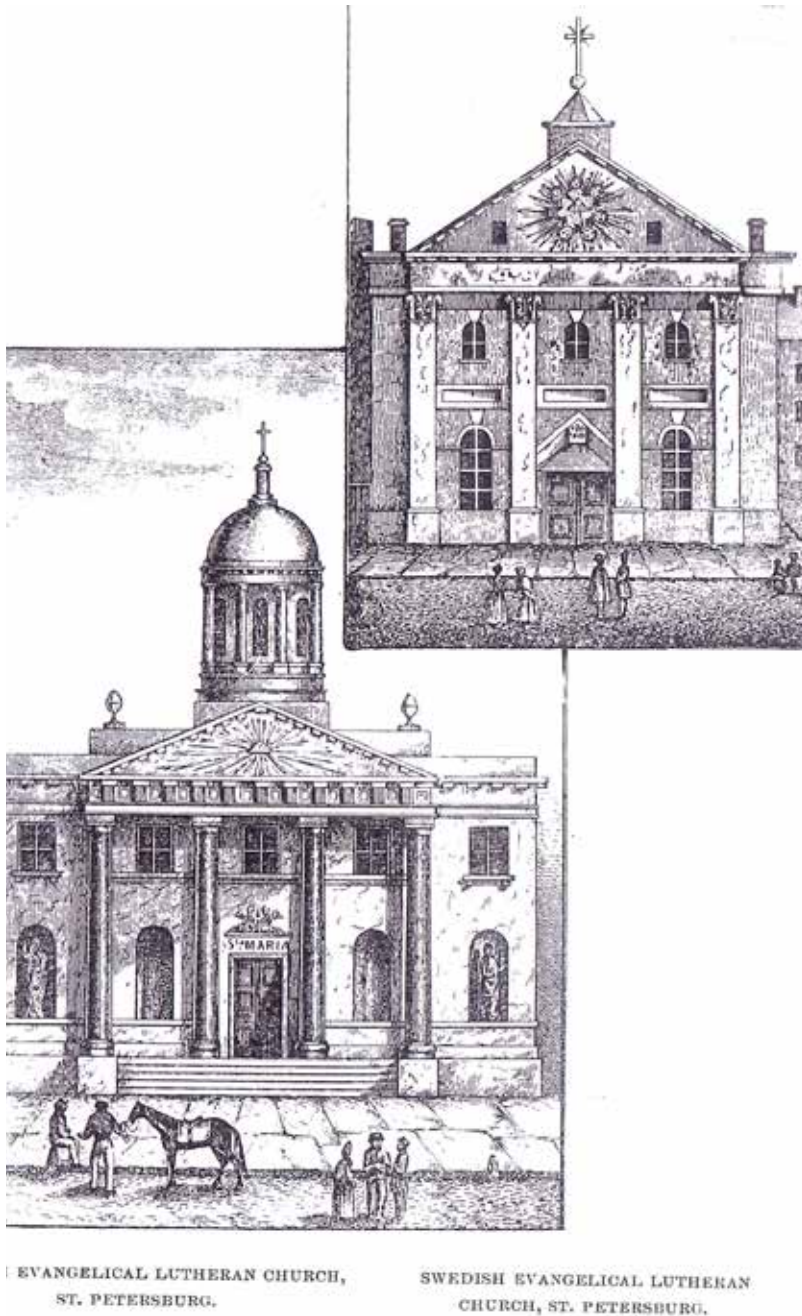
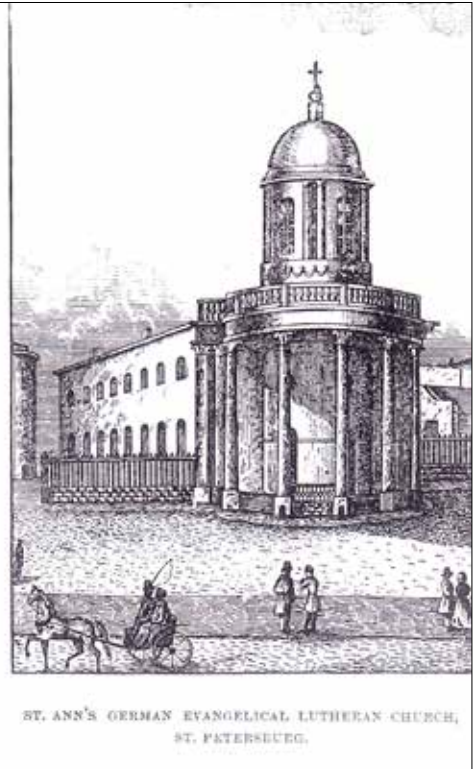
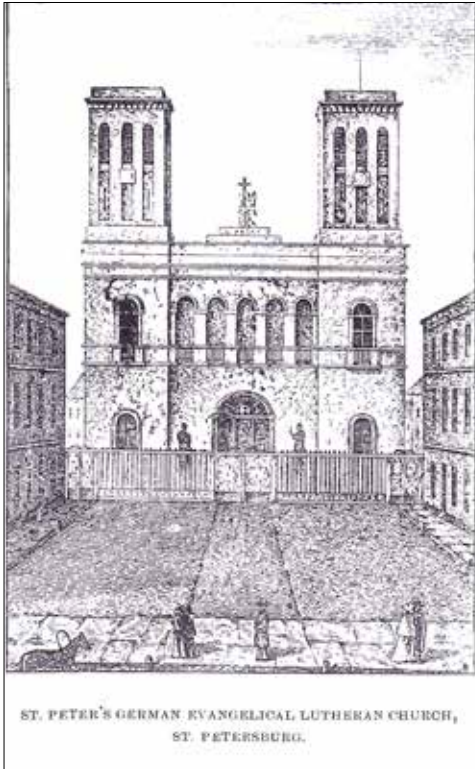
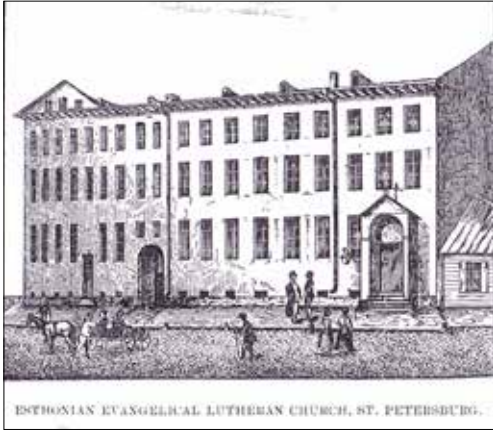


Fig 8 St. Petersburg's Evangelical Lutheran churches: 8:1) the Finnish & Ingrian language St. Maria Church, 8:2) the Finnish, Swedish language St. Katarina Church, 8:3) the German St. Petri Church, 8:4) the German St. Anna Church, 8:5) the Estonian Yaani Kirik Church, 8:6, the Latvian Jesus-Kirche Church, (Lenker 1898:430,435,452,455)



its impact on the other diverse cultures must have been significant enough to reverberate to this day.

Between 1839 and 1852 Head Pastor Zandt recruited from Finland three Evangelical Lutheran pastors to serve the Russian American Company's sparsely populated Lutherans, who were scattered throughout this by area huge Evangelical Lutheran parish:

Russian America's Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Pastors

Uno Cygnaeus, 1839-1845. The Finlander Aaron Sjöström who had arrived on the Company ship *Baikal* from Ajan to Sitka in 1839 on August 24 (Enckell 1996:40) was 1840 on May 1 appointed/ordered to serve as Cygnaeus' initial valet, and did so up to November of 1841 (Enckell 1996:47). Sjöström is fully identified, although his place and year of death is yet unknown. Who then replaced Sjöström as the pastor's valet from end of November 1841 up to Cygnaeus' departure in May of 1845 is yet unknown (Enckell 1996:35-47,48). Pastor Cygnaeus is fully identified and his years in Russian America are well documented in the profusion of letters (from where my quotes are taken) Cygnaeus sent out of Sitka, nowadays preserved at Finland's National Archives.

Gabriel Plathán, June 1845-November 1852 (Luther 2000:495-496) that is he worked out of Sitka two years longer than his predecessor. Of Pastor Plathán's valets the following is known: 1847 November 2 his third valet, an unidentified drunkard, was as unsatisfactory as the two preceding ones (unknown if none or all three were Finlander). He was re-

placed December 30 by a Russian Mushnik with a reputation of being quiet and agreeable. In the fall of 1847 this Mushnik had arrived from Ajan, and according to investigation, hadn't yet adopted those Sitka ways (Enckell 1996:23,48). Pastor Plathán departed Sitka 1853 December 8 onboard the Company ship *Cezarewich*, Captain Berend Jorjan, a Danish Citizen and a Hamburg resident. Onboard was also his Navigator 1: Carl Johann Offerdinger also a Danish citizen, as well as the Finlander, Navigator Wilhelm Severin Tengström, as documented into his professional records preserved at the Åbo Regional Archives.

Plathán is fully identified, and his years in Russian America are relatively well documented as he recorded them at Sitka into four thin note books, all of them preserved at Åbo Akademi University Library's manuscript department.

Georg Gustaf Winter, November 1853-1865 April 14 (Enckell 1996:48. Luther:481-482). Nothing is yet known of the person(s) who served as Pastor Winter's valet. Winter's stay at Sitka is the longest one, but details of his life there are least known. Less than a handful of letters addressed to his college Uno Cygnaeus sent from Sitka are preserved at Finland's National Archives.

All three pastors are documented to have made several pastoral journeys to the Company's far-flung operating sites, and on these pastoral journeys they have been accompanied by their own valet and their parish sexton-organist.

The first to serve as organist was the St. Petersburg based Balt Andreas Höppner/Hoepfener: 1839-1843 (Pierce 1990:192. Enckell 1996:39. Grinëv 209:123) arrived 1839 August 24 to

Sitka in the same group as the Finlander Aaron Sjöström on the Company ship *Baikal* from Ajan (Enckell 1996:40). Hoepfener was initially hired for the Company office and to manage the Company library at Sitka. He was considered to be a superb pianist as well as composer (Enckell 1996:38) and due to this much favored by Madame Etholén. Additionally he served as Company orchestra conductor and as its composer. Having completed his contract in 1844 he departed for California (Enckell 1996:43, 48). Unknown is if Hoepfener had the privilege of a Company assigned personal valet? Andreas Hoepfener is yet to be fully identified.

Finlanders

Aaron Sjöström: served from 1840 as parish clerk/sexton and cantor (Enckell 1996:39,42) then with Hoepfener's departure in 1844 Sjöström took over for 9 full years as the Lutheran parish church organist ending in September of 1853 (Enckell 1996:47,48), as well as orchestra violinist Company orchestra conductor and its composer, as well as the Company music school's teacher at Sitka (Enckell 1996:38,46) up to the early 1860 when he was assigned to the district of Unga as its Company manager (Grinöv to Enckell) possibly assisted there by a clerk.

Sjöström himself documented in 16 preserved letters his years in Russian America addressed mainly to brother Carl, nowadays preserved at the archives of Borgå Museum. Sjöström's detailed description of his and his companions of 40+ men's journey by horseback and raft made from St. Petersburg to East Siberia's Pacific port at Okhotsk, and from

there crossing the Pacific to Sitka (Enckell 1996:35-42) is, with different details, told as magnificently as Madame von Wrangell's own by now famous historic account of the exact same journey made a mere 10 years earlier (O'Grady 2001).

Otto Reinhold Rehn: served from September of 1853 up to 1864 April 14 when pastor Winter departed Russian America for good (Enckell 1996: 47,48), and from there Rehn is believed to have upheld Sunday church services as a lay leader, sexton and organist up to 1867 October 18 when Russian America was transferred into USA hands. Thereafter Otto Reinhold Rehn moved with his family to Vladivostok, Pacific Siberia. Rehn's family background and much of his life in Russian America has been documented.

In Search of the Parish Members, Including the Invisible Ones

Between 1817 and 1867 hundreds upon hundreds of Lutherans who for whatever the reasons, joined and/or were recruited into this Company to serve in addition to the multitude of positions the Company wished to cover, also every task, trade, and service any town populated by a rigidly held order of rank spanning from Governor all the way down to the seldom ever hinted at but existing household servants.

1817 or thereabout the earliest known Evangelical Lutherans arrived to Russian America to there join their place and rank held in the Company's labor force.

1964: a huge and absolutely essential register containing 16000 names covering Alaska for the years 1816-1866, wherein even Lutherans who married

into the local Orthodox community, most of them believed to have remained Evangelical Lutherans. Searching for names therein can be frustrating as this material was originally in Russian, and then translated into English, and the names appear in numerous spellings (Doroch, Elisabeth & Doroch, John).

1981: the 1870 US Army census of Sitka was published. It contained all of 5 individuals identified as Finlanders and 4 additional ones mentioned in the text itself (DeArmond 1981).

1990: the first limited biographical dictionary appeared attempting to cover the population of some note in Russian America (Pierce 1990), a most valiant effort. Much is quite accurate, but much therein is also inaccurate, and nowadays considered to be somewhat unreliable.

1995: Sitka's 1839-1865 all Evangelical Lutheran church's birth/baptism records were located. Included with each baptism record were also the witnesses /godparents listed for each child (Enckell 1996:51-57). This record shows that 50 children are listed as born and baptized at Sitka's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran church between 1839 and 1865 April 14 when the third pastor left Russian America for good. Of these children 21 were of Baltic Evangelical Lutheran parentage, 1 was Danish, 1 was of Swedish-German parentage, 2 were undefined and the rest were considered to be Finlanders. Six children died as infants, two of them stillborn. Others were born onboard ship and baptized either at Sitka or at Port Ajan. The find of this authentic church record was magnificent as it totally busted the myth held by a majority of scholars on Alaska's Russian Era history that there

were no Evangelical Lutheran families engaged in the Russian American Colonies, and that historically speaking, the small Lutheran church held no significance at all, and therefore rightly, could be bypassed and fully ignored.

Additionally attached to the birth records were 6 records of deaths, 3 for 1956, and 3 for 1859 of which one was a American from New Bedford, another a miner from Rehn, Prussia (Enckell 1996:50). Note: the next following has copied most of the names listed in my 1996 publication.

1995: a list limited to Finlanders in Russian America was published in Finland in the Swedish language. It contains a list of 790 names, most all of Finlanders, some with very scant information including occasionally the mention of home parish, age, and time of arrival, ship, as well as reference to records of passport applications. Many of the listed names are repeated in various spellings, when located in various records, sometimes up to 5 times. The identifications aren't always totally accurate, as among the many found listed are such names as *Harder*, *Whermann*, *Koskull*, *Dingelstedt*, *Jorjan*, *Ofterdinger* etc, with numerous others whose names look like they could/would be Finlanders. However the first 4 mentioned are documented Baltic Germans and the 2 latter ones are proven Danish citizens (Olin 1996:9-26).

This list can still be useful for the researcher who does possess very intimate knowledge of the actual ethnicity of the who's who among the multitude of Europeans in Russian America.

2007: a list of about 160 Finlanders including some Balts married into the

local Russian Orthodox community were identified and published on the Genealogical Society of Finland's internet site as a still ongoing work-in-progress (Enckell 2007). Here the attempt was to identify Lutherans who had chosen to marry into Russian Alaska's Russian Orthodox community, many of the brides being Creoles, Indians or Native Russians, and thereby expose the structure of families some Finlanders created for themselves, concentrated notably on Kodiak Island. Note: I have not done such a search for the Balts as I'm still unable to properly identify them by name.

2009: the Grinëv-Enckell collaboration resulted in a total of 572 documented as well as partially identified and now published Finlanders, and an additional 100+ Balts identified by name. All of them provided with short biographical data, however only indicating the year of birth and that of death if known to the author, lacking what's so very important concerning the identity of all Finlanders: the much needed information pinpointing for birth and death not only the year but also the exact day and month, rarely with any reference to the parents listing their names and their social status (Grinëv 2009). Of the 5900+ names published the Lutherans consisted of an estimated 10 per cent +. However this list does by no means include every Finlander and Balt known,

2011: a longer list of Finlanders were identified by name and professions (Grinëv 2011),

2012: a number of Finnish sea captains in the Company service have been identified with in-dept-biographical and professional records (Enckell 2012c).

2012: a list of Company hired medical doctors serving on Company ships, or stationed at Sitka and/or at Port Ajan (on the shores of the Okhotsk Sea): the majority Baltic Germans (Enckell 2012a).

If all these individuals were added together the final number of Lutherans in Russian American Company service would still be far from accurate, as new names are continuing to pop up in innumerable old records quite unexpectedly scattered in archival records at many sites around the world. And as usual, some categories/groups of individuals are as usual missing/left out in these records.

The Invisibles

In all these listings, the previously referred to rarely if ever mentioned household servants are one of those truly missing ones in most all available records. Therefore they are also of the greatest interest. Most civilian men of a certain social standing, and military officers of all ranks, had a manservant whose task was to keep his master's clothing and other personal affairs under his thumb, ready, clean and in order at any time, and at Sitka cook their master's breakfast, supper and evening tee (Enckell 1996:23). Additionally, they were expected to follow their masters as shadows wherever their masters went, including travel over land and across the seas. The same was true for women, both married and unmarried, of a certain civilian standing. These women would never dream of walking out of house alone or travel anywhere without a chamber-maid in tow.

At the time it was also quite unthinkable that a governor would himself take

care of his own clothing etc, and a governor's wife would never have been expected to clean, cook, serve, as well as do laundry, then the pressing question is who were these servants who served them, from where did they come, when and where were they hired, and the exact identity of each one and what was their own family background and ethnicity?

Why These 'Invisibles' are so Important

Household servants have always been expected to be fully invisible. However, these so called 'invisibles' are themselves vital members of any and all structures of the middle to upper class society. The services these invisibles rendered assured their employers that the vital underpinnings expected of their class, were upheld. Without these 'invisibles' society as it then was, would have literally collapsed. It is as simple as that.

Three Baltic German Governors Serving in Russian America

Concerning the identity of Ludwig Karl August von Hagemeister's valet and other household servants, nothing at all is yet known, nor who those were who cared for Hagemeister's household at Sitka.

The same is not quite true for Ferdinand Friedrich Georg Ludwig von Wrangell. He was the first of the governor elects the Russian American Company imposed their brand new rule: in order to be able to accept the appointment of governor/chief manager of the Russian American Company, every governor elect had to be married.

As the von Wrangells married in their homeland it is quite likely that Mad-

ame von Wrangell's chamber-maid was a native of that region, if not also von Wrangell's valet, as well as their believed to be several other household servants. Heading in 1838 for Irkutsk in East Siberia via St. Petersburg, and Moscow, the Norwegian scientist, Christopher Hansteen (surely with his valet), encountered the von Wrangells in 1829 on September 17 at Tomsk (Hansteen 1861:126-127).

At Irkursk in 1829 on May 27 when the von Wrangell first born was 4 weeks old the family departed Irkutsk in the company of their physician G. Meier/Meyer/Mayer appointed Chief Physician at Novo Arkhangelsk/Sitka (O'Grady 2001:119,210), as well the retinue of their servants (O'Grady 2001:58-59). Of his wife Baroness Elisabeth Nathalia Rossillon's chamber-maid/servant (O'Grady 2001:166), we only know she did have one called *Annushka* that is *Anna* who accompanied her mistress to Novo Archangelsk/Sitka (O'Grady 2001:84). How the von Wrangell household needs were met and run at Sitka, and by whom, such as the identity of the Governor's valet, their household matron, *cook* (O'Grady 2001:92), and nurse-maid nanny *Maria Ivanovna* (O'Grady 2001:93,95,119) and a maid named *Katherine* (O'Grady 2001:2009), as well as the *interpreter* (O'Grady 2001:9), and also their gardener *Master Michael* from St. Petersburg (O'Grady 2001:168) are most all still unidentified. Other necessary servants they might have brought with them, haven't to my knowledge been identified.

Of Nikolai (von?) Rosenberg's valet nothing is yet known. But was Mad-

ame Aleksandra Ivanovna Rosenberg's chamber-maid called *Maria Ivanovna* (O'Grady 2001:88)? Madame *Rosenberg* was Orthodox and believed to have been Russian? (Enckell 2007:78). It's also known she had brought along two serfs who then married at Sitka. Governor Rosenberg, an Evangelical Lutheran (Enckell 1996:46), converted at Sitka in 1852 on February 23 to Russian Orthodoxy.

Concerning the Households of the Finnish Governors

Arvid Adolph Etholén's Valet was the Helsingfors born Finlander *Carl Jacob Enberg* (often mistakenly named Carl Johan), and Margaretha Hedwig Johanna Sundwall married Etholén's chamber-maid was the Helsingfors parish-born Finlander *Henrica Lovisa Sahlström*, and the household's errand boy was the Nastola parish-born Finlander *Johannes Carlsson*, and widowed *Anna Margaretha Öhmann nee Sundberg*, the Etholén family's Finnish Helsingfors-born Household Matron, and her Lovisa city born under age daughter *Elisa (Elise) Adolphina Wilhelmina Öhmann*, Sitka's Finnish Pastor Uno Cygnaeus' greatest love of life. Instead what took place, was what her mother all along had wished for: in the spring of 1845 Sitka's Medical Doctor Alexander Frankenhaeuser married her. All of them were brought from Finland to cover the Etholén's 5 year stay at Sitka, and all of them are by now fully identified (Enckell 2002b).

Unknown is who served as Johan Hampus Furuholm's personal valet during his first 1850-1854 round of duty as a Naval Lieutenant at Sitka, Russian America, and who served as his valet

from 1854 to 1858 at Ajan, Pacific Siberia?

For Furuholm's third 1859-1864 round of duty, this time again at Sitka as Governor and Chief Manager of the Russian American Company, the Karnuna parish born Finlander *Petter Wilhelm Wikström* was in December of 1858 hired at Helsingfors to serve as Furuholm's personal valet, and in early January of 1859 Wikström took out parish moving papers from Helsingfors to Sitka in North America. By now he is fully identified (Furuholm 1832:119. Christensen 2005:162. Enckell 2015:manuscript).

However, Furuholm's wife Anna von Schoultz's personal chamber-maid has not been identified, and, although quite unthinkable, it's unsure if she ever had one during her initial leg of journey from Helsingfors to St. Petersburg. However her sister Florence von Schoultz had been invited to accompany her as far as to London, England (Furuholm 1932:118), and at St. Petersburg *Nikolai M. Koshkin*, Furuholm's secretary had joined them (Furuholm 1932:122-123. Christensen 2005:30-31).

When at Dresden Madame Furuholm's all-in-one: chamber-maid-household-matron-seamstress etc.: the remarkable *Ida Hörle* about age 40, was engaged (Christensen 2005:45,108,123), as well as their cook & pastry chef *Carl Bruno Treibe* (Christensen 2005:157) of Swiss German nationality with a hidden drinking problem (Furuholm 1932:122). At Sitka the Furuholms seem also to have engaged a Russian cook, and when communication got muddled Valet Wikström was requested to assist (Christensen

2005:85-86). Additionally Constance Furuhjelm, sister to the governor, resided at Sitka as a family member from 1859 September 14 onward. She was attended to by her personal chamber-maid *Vendla Gustava Pernell* who several years earlier had been hired at Helsingfors, Finland, and did so up 1861 November 29 when Constance Furuhjelm died at Sitka of a massive fit of Grand Mal (Christensen 2005:108,172, 213). Pernell is by now also fully identified.

During Furuhjelm's fourth 1865-1871 term now as Military Governor with seat at Nikolajefsk-on-the-Amur, Pacific Siberia, Furuhjelm's personal valet, the Borgå city born *Gustaf Adolf Lönnqvist*, hired at Helsingfors, is fully identified. But Madame Furuhjelm's chamber-maid, *Mina (Wilhelmina) _____*?, as well as Household Matron *Lotta (Charlotta) Nordström*, and the family's njanja *Greta (Margaretha) _____*? born in Finland, a former convict condemned to life in Siberia, hired at Nikolajefsk-on-the-Amur, are all yet unidentified (Furuhjelm 1932:164, 167, 169).

Johan Joachim von Bartram's and his wife Margaretha Charlotta Swartz's two household servants: von Bartram's valet the Helsingfor born *Johan Fredrik Forstén* hired 1839 at Helsingfors (Enckell 1996:43), and Madame von Bartram's chamber-maid *Helena Catharina Ruuth* born in Jorois parish, have also been identified (Enckell 2002b:103).

There is a small sun-shine story attached to the Etholén's, and the Furuhjelm's personal servants, and a sad one attached to the von Bartram one.

On the Etholén's return to Finland the former governor's valet Carl Jacob Enberg married in the spring of 1846

at Helsingfors Madame Etholén's chamber-maid Henrika Lovisa Sahlström, one of those two great female beauties at Sitka in the early part of the 1840s. Two sons were born to them before Enberg died of TB. A few years later his widow stepped into a second marriage.

In the summer of 1860? Governor Furuhjelm's valet Petter Wilhelm Wikström married at Sitka Constance Furuhjelm's chamber-maid Wendla Gustava Pernell. In 1861 on November 29 a son was born to them at Sitka (Enckell 1996:55). After the Furuhjelms' departure from Sitka in April of 1864 the young Wikström family chose to remain at Sitka up to the time Russian America was sold, and then in 1867 on October 18 was handed over to the USA. Sometimes thereafter the Wikström family returned back to Finland. Here the family prospered. After the death of Wikström's wife Wendla Gustava, Wikström remarried and had a second child born shortly before he himself died in the late 1800. Their first-born son inherited it-all and at age 30 he sold everything at auction.

Naval Lieutenant Captain von Bartram's valet Johan Fredrik Forstén married at Sitka in the fall of 1843 Madame von Bartram's chamber-maid Helena Catharina Ruuth the other one of those two great female beauties at Sitka in the early 1840s. In 1844 on March 1 the couple's first child was born at Sitka and named Helena Margaretha (Enckell 1996:52). A few days later the mother died in the aftermaths of child birth, and was buried at Sitka's small Evangelical Lutheran cemetery. Nothing sure is known about the child's where-about, beyond the fact that Madame von Bartram had valiantly cared for her, at least

while she was still living at Sitka. The child's father I believe I finally have located in 1848 at Åbo, where at widower Johan Fredric Forstén was married for the second time.

However none of this applied the Riga-born Baltic German Medical Doctor Heinrich Sylvester Tiling and his unidentified man-servant/valet, nor to his wife Elisabeth Fehrmann and her equally unidentified chamber-maid Medical Doctor Tiling mentions, however not by name in his anonymously published account covering his first term of the five years spent from 1846 to 1851 at Ajan, Pacific Siberia. (Tiling 1854. Enckell 1998). And for his second 1864-1868 engagement at the Company, this time as the most senior MD at Sitka, Russian America, his manservant/valet isn't mentioned at all, nor the chamber-maid of his second wife, the far younger Riga born Anna Elisabeth Dolch(e)'s (Enckell 1996:51). Still I expect convention demanded these indispensable servants to have been along when the Tilings as they sailed for Russian America.

Then we have the Finlander Henrik Johan Holmberg a pastor's son born 1818 on the island of Kökar on the Åland Islands, Finland. He grew up at Reval/Tallinn, was educated at Dorpat University, said to have married Catharine Peterson somewhere in Siberia. She was born 1821 October 10 at St. Petersburg, widowed, died 1901 September 25 as a member of the German parish at Helsingfors at age 79 years 11 months 15. In 1850 Mr. and Mrs. Holmbergs accompanied by *August Isac Isaacsson Renholm*, Holmberg's valet (Olin 1996:21), and his wife's yet unidentified chamber-maid, set out for a 4

years long adventure to Russian America, they were to make in the company of Fritz Franken-haeuser, brother to Sitka's Doctor Alexander Frankenhaeuser. Renholm, born 1821 August 8 at Kyrkslätt parish, had previously served as a prison ward, then supplier of meals at a mental institution. After the return of this Russian Alaska venture which had included visits to Rio, Valparaiso, Sitka, San Francisco, Sitka, San Francisco, Honolulu, Kodiak and Kenai, Sitka and from there back towards home (Enckell 2010:52-65), Renholm ventured into business as a restaurant and building owner. In 1847 prior to his departure for Alaska he had married and had 2 children. Renlund died 1875 January 29 at Helsingfors age 53 years 6 months. His widowed wife died in 1890. Still unidentified is the valet Frankenhaeuser is presumed to have accompanied him on this long journey.

Conclusion

What's the point to all above? The major point is that no community can be fully studied, examined, and finally better understood if any part of its membership is left out. In this case the community within-the-community left out are the members of those called as well as treated as 'Invisibles':

1) Alaska's Russian Era Lutheran community's household-servants, who are hard to find and fully identify.

2) Equally invisible in Alaska's Russian Era records are the Finnish seamen below the rank of navigator engaged by the Company for its Colonies, numbering around 150 or thereabout. They have been far from included, and hardly ever even been hinted at, or mentioned

in any present day publications covering the history of Russian America.

3) All those seamen, below the rank of Navigator, numbering in the hundreds, working on ships, either hired by the Company, or on the Company's own ships, sailing the rout: Kronstadt-Sitka-Okhotsk later -Ajan-Petropavlovsk - Sitka-Kronstadt are hardly ever noted, even more seldom mentioned, and even less even recognized by Alaska's Russian Era historians. Still, neither a captain nor a navigator can sail a ship without a crew. However by steadfast held tradition each crew included an older experienced seaman (easily identified by his age on most every preserved crew list found in the many seaman archives of Finland), who in a pinch was capable to sail a ship to the nearest port. In other words commanders are dependent of their crew they cannot sail without. As the household servants discussed above, these seamen are also made by will invisible, even though at any time in question, a truly significant number of these upward mobile seamen who, no matter what social standing they had in society, Noble-man or crofter's boy, all had to start starting at the lowest rung as Cabin Boys, to earn their way up the ladder, worked on whatever rung they for the moment happened to stand on, would within a few years pas the required exams for Skipper and later Sea Captain (Stenius 1874).

4) Throughout years scholars on the history of Russian America have paid scant or no attention to that OTHER church, the first Lutheran church on the North Pacific Rim, and most likely also the first around the entire Pacific rim: Alaska's Russian Era Evangelical

Lutheran Church and what it did represent from 1840 to 1867 and who this OTHER parish served there, as this ignored church-building stood there sticking up as a sore thumb smack in the middle of their scholarly sphere of study: Alaska's Russian Era's dominant Russian Orthodox community. The fact is that the membership of this OTHER church (spanned as well from lofty governors down to those Invisibles, the household-servants, as well as filled the gap in-between with most every social and professional category a community wishes for, needed or craved) has by this exclusion of interest been pushed into an invisibility equal to that of the house-servants and the seamen below the ranks of Skipper, Sea Captain and Navigator.

Long ago I had the unpardonable nerve to scold an eminent historian in my own country, telling him he just had to choose to either be a historian or a politician, as both he ethically couldn't possibly be.

Unfortunately there still seem to be ample reason to do so, as what some historians of Russian America seem to ignore is that it makes far more sense to use an inclusive approach than an exclusive one. It' seems foolish to ignore the historical fact that Sitka's Russian Era Evangelical Lutheran church and parish did only come about though the Company's own formal application for it. And the Company was only granted this request through Czar Nikolai Is documented signature, guarantying His Imperial Majesty's official approval of it (Enckell 1996:11-12). Thereafter, most all of its Lutheran parish members were recruited, through-out those

years, often quite aggressively so by the Russian American Company itself or its many agents, in the pursuit of satisfying the Company's ever ongoing need for capable professional men competent in various fields desired.

It is ironic that today Sitka's two Russian era churches, both new: the orthodox one a faithful replica of the old from 1848, the older Lutheran from 1840, by political manipulation condemned to be torn down in 1888 (later replaced by a string of less enticing modern ones, lacking both patina and soul), still stand on their original Russian Era lots so close to each other that anyone who so will chose can spit from the steps of one and have it land on the steps of the other. The former is glorified beyond imagination as the epitome of Alaska's Russian Era, the other one; historically at least equally significant to that era is still ignored by the blindness of the modern era's eminent historians. So, if Alaska's Russian Era historians do continue to avoid recognizing that Alaska's Russian Era had two equally significant parallel white communities, that of the Orthodox and the Lutheran, representing the cultures of the Orthodox East and the Lutheran West with their two markedly different outlooks on life, cultures, traditions, values, education, and structures of society, then Alaska's Russian Era history research will go on its merry way, hobbling slowly along, dragging one of its two legs; that other one ignored, unused, turned invisible and lame, yet never buried under 10 feet of soil.

The next point is a message: Please help, as I don't have access to those much needed tools I have used and still

use in my search for Finlanders in Russian America, such as church records, passport records, in- and out-moving parish records, newspaper notices, birth announcements, obituaries and the like, as I'm unable to do the same for all the really many Lutherans from Estland, Lifland and Kurland, the Russian-America Company had recruited for its many North Pacific operating sites. I hope and pray such research will pick the interest of some historian(s), as without history we stand naked without a past to look back at, without it we stand without reference points to who and what we are, and what we stand for. If we lack reference points we have no identity to call our own. And, if we don't value and hold on to our past someone else will grab hold of our past history, to then boldly proclaim it-all as their very own.

Further work is required using the same methodology and type of records as employed here for the many Lutherans from Estland, Lifland and Kurland, whom the Russian-America company recruited for its many North Pacific operating sites. This article will have been worthwhile if were to stimulate such work.

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Dreams, Returning Emigrants and Millions of Dollars – What We Get Back from Overseas

Paul-Heinz Pauseback

Have you already seen the American, the people in a little village ask each other, because someone has arrived there, coming back from the states. He has an impressive red beard, a grey hat and a dark blue overcoat, which he wears open, so that its sides fly with the wind and show the scarlet red lining inside the coat and the collar. Now I can understand, why the people are gathering in the streets where he appears and why they all – old and young – rush to the windows when he walks by ... and all the more when he begins to tell them from the land of the free, from the big cities, that mushroomed overnight, and the mighty rivers there on the other side of the ocean. And when he tells them how every work earns its good pay – then I can easily understand why they are listening to the American as if his words contained the ultimate wisdom.

This extract, from a newspaper published in 1847 in my home town of Husum, serves as a good way in to this article about remigration and the steady stream of material.¹ For this article is about remigration and the steady stream of material and immaterial goods back to Europe, to Germany, to Scheswig-Hol-

stein, to North-Frisia and to Husum. In fact this stream affected nearly every native North-Frisian family, for almost all sent family members overseas at one time or the other.

One result of this stream is the NordseeMuseum, Nissenhaus in Husum, which in the 1930s was built and equipped by the money and the art collection of Ludwig Nissen, a rich New Yorker diamond importer, who bequeathed his earthly goods to his city of birth for the building there of a museum with a library, an art gallery, and an assembly room, for the use of the people. (Pauseback, *From Bootblack*: 97-109). A more recent example is Professor Karen Moloney from the Webber State University in Utah who last year visited the Nordfriisk Instituut, where the North-Frisian Emigration Archive is located. Professor Moloney's grandmother emigrated from North-Frisia to the United States in the end of the 19th century. Her mother later married an Irishman, so the name changed from Thomsen to Moloney, but the contact with family members in Germany continued. Professor Moloney has been visiting the home area of her grandmother



Fig 1 The NordseeMuseum, Nissenhaus has been built and equipped by the money and the art collection of Ludwig Nissen, a rich New Yorker diamond importer born in Husum.
Source: NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus

since she began to research her Frisian roots in the 1970s as a young student. Now a professor of literature she has in recent years twice recorded her experiences into poetic form, as she explained to a large audience in the Nordfriisk Instituut about the *Finding of her North Frisian Self*.

The passage quoted above shows one possible reaction which the home-coming emigrant often meets with: the visitor as a celebrity, sometimes being remembered for a long time. Just a short while ago a seventy-year-old man told me about his relatives from New York visiting Germany in the 1950s. The first thing he mentioned was their big U. S.

American car with white sidewall tires and more than 100 horse power. To a boy then they were like visitors from another world. But the 1847 newspaper article from the year 1847, as it continues, gives another perspective on the visitor:

That guy knows how to show off ... with his grey hat and his coat with red lining ... but in the end he had to look for other people, who take him back with them for free – and that was shabby.²

As the author indicated, to recruit new emigrants for a free passage he had to make false or grossly exaggerated promises to encourage them to leave. The in-

tention of the article was clearly against emigration and its author was very critical regarding such visitors as well as most of the letters that were sent back when he wrote:

Oh, paper is patient [in German: “Papier ist geduldig”, the author], and the ships often carry back as big a cargo of lies as they have brought over people and goods.

As we often see in our sources, the first letters written shortly after the arrival were full of enthusiasm for the new and unknown surroundings and contained greatest exaggerations and misleading information. But nearly all emphasized one keyword, which was even mentioned in the text I quoted from, and that was Freedom – the United States as the Land of the Free.

The idea of personal freedom was and is in fact a very catching dream. In Schleswig-Holstein, as in the whole of Europe, this dream was antagonistic to the absolutist and autocratic authorities. So many arriving emigrants identified freedom with the absence of an executive power and an oppressing bureaucracy when they wrote home:

It is a free life in America, there are no judges and no police and everybody can do what he likes and nobody has to bow before a priest or a school teacher.³

This was naïve and could easily be ridiculed, as in the case of the Husum weekly. But the idea of freedom became very powerful and was seen as dangerous in the eyes of European authorities when it was defined as democracy, as «a



Fig 2 Prof. Karen Moloney, whose grandmother came from North Frisia to the U. S. and the author after she told an audience about the «Finding of her North-Frisian Self». Beside her Director Paul-Heinz Pauseback, Nordfriisk Instituut.

Photo: Harry Kunz, Nordfriisk Instituut

government of the people, by the people, for the people» as Abraham Lincoln expressed it in his Gettysburg address in 1863. So in Europe an ideal picture or a dream of the United States gradually evolved, as we find it for example when Theodor Mommsen wrote as an old man in 1901:

If I was 30 years younger I would go to America where – in spite of all its obvious misgivings – still lies the hope of the world, W(Pauseback, *Übersee-Auswanderer*, frontispiece).

Theodor Mommsen was a North-Frisian, who became a Professor of ancient history in Berlin and as such a Nobel Prize winner for literature in 1902. But not all possessed his discriminat-

ing judgment and so there would often be disappointment when the picture of the dream clashed with the «misgivings» overseas.

The picture Washington crossing the Delaware is an example of how early this development began. The event it depicts took place in the night of 25 December 1776. Our interest here is in who painted the picture, where it was painted, and who were the people for whom it was first painted. The artist was Emmanuel Leutze, a German who in 1825 came over to America as a boy with his parents. In 1841 he went back to Düsseldorf to study art and painting, and in 1849 he painted this picture. So in fact it shows not the Delaware River but the Rhine at Düsseldorf. He painted this example of endurance as a stimulus and encouragement for the German revolutionists of 1848, whose failure became obvious in those days. The success of the painting in the USA came later in 1851.⁴

But this is only aside. Let us return to North-Frisia again. Returning migrants generally came back as American citizens; as a free person, subject to no one. Self-conscious and protected by their citizenship papers and the American consuls, these visitors always appeared suspicious to the police and were often a thorn in the flesh of the Prussian military authorities, which could be very officious in their dealing with young men. As a consequence such visitors had to be controlled and out of this originate between 1867 and 1918 the records regarding the supervision of emigrants, who stayed in Schleswig-Holstein as U.S. citizens. Now these documents are in the State Archives in Schleswig and

they are an interesting and very informative source (Pauseback, *Aufbruch*, 64-74).

In the second half on the 19th century the longing for freedom joined with the hope for prosperity and together they formed that mighty magnet that pulled millions of men, women and children into the New World. Like a little piece of this big dream the returned migrant symbolized all the longings and wishes of the ones who stayed behind and his example 'magnetized' many of them who came in touch with him. And so the suspicions of the authorities were not altogether without foundation, as we learn from the article in the *Husumer* weekly newspaper:

The American – yes he once had been a poor fellow too in Germany ... but he had been courageous enough and had gone to America and now he is a prosperous man. And the poor fellow here, who hardly ever has a few cents to spare, how will the prospect rejoice his heart, when he thinks about all the dollars he will own overseas, and imagines himself wearing a grey hat and a blue coat with red lining – like the American.⁵

Efforts of the authorities to curb emigration had little effect, because official warnings or statements were generally distrusted and rejected by the common people. Their sources of information were the many letters, which went from hand to hand. Sometimes they were published in the local newspapers too and got additional publicity that way.

At the beginning of travel to America and to West- or East India most of them who left returned, if they had been

lucky enough to survive. From Schleswig-Holstein and North-Frisia at the beginning of the seventeenth century they were mostly sailors, mercenaries or merchants recruited by the great Dutch East- and West India Companies. The stories they told from the lands across the ocean cleared the way for the first emigrants leaving North-Frisia in the 1630s and 1640s, going to New Amsterdam on the Hudson River and a little later to the South African Cape too. Jan Fransse van Housen, for example, who had been a sailor with the West India Company, settled with his wife Volkje Jurians van Nostrand in New Amsterdam in 1639. He bought land from the Mohicans, but continued his voyages across the Atlantic, most likely as a merchant (Pauseback, *Übersee-Auswanderer*:23).

What he and others had to tell was of great interest back home, especially when there was one returning from the mythical orient, from the legendary rich lands and islands where the precious spices grow. And if as happened to Volquart Iversen from Husum you were seemingly coming back from the dead, because the people at home had thought that you died in a shipwreck, your story would be sure to be printed (Adam Olearius, 181-223). Volquart Iversen had been a bookbinder by profession. He left Husum because of unemployment and like many others not only from the west coast of Schleswig-Holstein he went to Amsterdam, the boom town of those days. In 1655 he enlisted as a soldier with the East India Company, a portion of his payment going back home to support his father. It took him a year to reach Batavia and then

the islands Ceram and Ambon, where he served his time. On his way back to Europe his ship sank and the surviving passengers and sailors reached Mauritius, from where they were rescued by an English ship that took them to Surat in India. There Volquart Iversen again entered employment with the Dutch Company. When his second term ended in 1667 he left East-India and this time reached Europe in 1668. He went to Husum where his father was still living, being over 80 years of age. He never had heard anything from his son after the shipwreck and had taken him for dead. It was a very emotional return when they both met again and the people seeing and hearing it were very much touched. But the story also demonstrates central problem of the returning migrant. Being in East-India for more than ten years had changed Volquard Iversen. Those changes were not only physical, for he had lost a thumb, so that he could not work as a bookbinder again. The soldier that had seen the wonders of the Orient seemed to have had difficulties in adjusting to a life in his small home town. So he left again after a few months and the same ship that brought him back to Europe carried him to East-India again, this time as a corporal. But where did this ship bring him, to his new home, back home? This time he did not return, but settled in Batavia.

Coming back as a rich man could reduce the difficulties of the returning migrant. So was the case with Sönke Ingwersen from the village Langenhorn in North-Frisia. (Pauseback, *Übersee-Auswanderer*: 35-37) A hundred years later than Volquart Iversen, he came back from Java in 1755 as an immensely



Fig 3 Sönke Ingwersen (1715-1786) the «Baron of Gelting». Source: D. Elger, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein, 1952

rich man. He had lived there for twenty years. He had arrived as a surgeon on a ship, but he was capable and so steadily advanced and later became the chief doctor of the island. In addition he made much money as a merchant with the East India Company. He married the daughter of a rich pharmacist and when she died he returned to Schleswig-Holstein. He bought a manor in the region of Angeln and as a reward for financing the plastering of the *King's New Market* in Copenhagen the Danish King made him a 'Baron of Gelting'. To his village of birth, Langenhorn, Sönke Ingwersen donated an organ that can still be seen and heard in the church of St. Laurentius. So this returning emigrant left traces that are still visible today and his life resembles the later typical story of rags to riches.

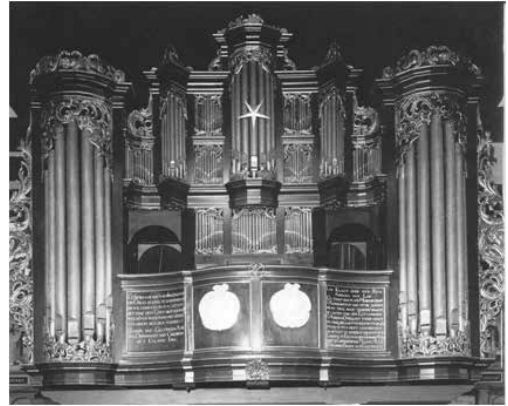


Fig 4 The organ of St. Laurentius in Langenhorn, donated by Sönke Ingwersen to his village of birth. Source: D. Elger, Die Kunstdenkmäler des Landes Schleswig-Holstein, 1952

Again some hundred years later Peter Simon Detlef Bahnsen born 1800 in Schleswig went to West-India.⁶ Being twenty years of age he tried to make his fortune on the Caribbean island St. Thomas, which then belonged to Denmark. His father Bahne Bahnsen had been born on the Frisian island Nordstrand and later became a schoolmaster and organist in Schleswig, the capital of Schleswig-Holstein. So his son Peter Simon likely received a good education which surely was useful to him as a merchant on St. Thomas. He became a successful dealer in coal owning his own ships. After ten years in the Caribbean he married Maria Elizabeth Wood, the widow of the Danish General-Governor and in 1840 the family returned to Europe. Rich enough after that, he bought the estate Hintschendorf near Hamburg, and there was enough money left for the next two generations to spend. One unmarried daughter, Maria, was called the 'Public Bank of Reinbek'. From his pay as a

soldier with the Dutch East-India Company Volquart Iversen supported his elderly father in Husum.

Here we have another illustration of how money that flows back from overseas could be useful in enabling innovations in the local area. Another example is Auguste Petersen from Westerr-Ohrstedt a little village near Husum.⁷ She did not go overseas herself, but received money from a legacy. Her uncle had been a rich brewer in the United States and he had died unmarried and childless. After his death his relatives in Germany and Denmark received regular payments from a trust. It is interesting to the author, that again it was an unmarried woman who developed in the role of a small local investor. It is said that she got angry, when she was asked for trifles, e. g. to supply the family cof-



Fig 5 Simon Detlef Bahnsen, born 1800, as a young man he emigrated from Schleswig to St. Thomas in the Caribbean and returned 1840 as a rich merchant. Source: NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus.



Fig 6 View of St. Thomas about 1840, showing the coal wharf of Simon Detlef Bahnsen. Source: Picture in oil from an unknown artist, NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus



Fig 7 Peter Paysen Petersen (1825-1889), a sailor from Tondern, left his ship in 1853 and went into the California goldfields.

Source: North-Frisian Emigrant Archive, Nordfriisk Instituut

fee party. But money for a new plough or something like that, she always liked to lend. The Second World War brought trouble to her because the heritage was held back. But in the 1950s she was able again to lend the village the money to finance a transformer station, and so it is told that *Aunt Guste* brought electric light to Wester-Ohrstedt.

Simon Detlef Bahnsen returned to Schleswig-Holstein in 1840, some ten years before the first of the three great emigration waves started overseas. Before the 1890s millions of German emigrants, hundred thousands from Schleswig-Holstein and ten thousands from what today is the district North-Frisia left for a destination mostly in North-America. (Pauseback, *Übersee-Auswanderer*, 47-66) There are statistics available for Schleswig-Hol-

stein only from the year 1871 onwards (Statistisches Landesamt, 39-40). But only during the ten years between 1880 and 1893 which mark the last and heaviest tide of emigration at least 90,000 men women and children migrated overseas, i.e. nearly 10 per cent of the population of Schleswig-Holstein at that time. The west coast with North-Frisia was among the hotspots. So around 1900 there existed a tightly-knit network that connected people from practically every part of our country and especially our region with some relatives or friends mostly in the United States but also in Argentina, Brasilia, Australia and South-Africa. This brought back a steady and thick stream of letters, parcels, money, newspapers and visitors. After a hundred years and two world wars only remnants still exists today, e.g. on the islands Föhr and Amrum, where emigration remained a tradition until the 1950s.

Nearly all emigrants wrote home and received letters in return, and surely most of them would have loved to visit home, if only it had been possible, as Peter Paysen Petersen, a Frisian from Tondern wrote home in 1859:

I would gladly give up everything I possess here – except jacket and trousers – if in return I could spend my time for at least a month between Hamburg and Tondern.⁸

He held the position of second mate when in 1853 he left his ship and went to the goldfields in northern California. The captain's offer to make him first mate could not change his mind. But what he found only secured his liv-

ing. He never got rich and advised his younger brother better to stay at home. When he became older he gave up digging and worked as a schoolmaster; he never returned to Schleswig-Holstein.

On the other hand there were many men, especially from the North-Frisian islands, who wished to return, but were not allowed to come back, because they left the country without permission before they served their time in the Prussian armed forces. Emigration and compulsory military service were connected closely, and not only because young men between seventeen and twenty-seven are the most mobile part of any population (Pauseback, *Aufbruch*, 317-33). The first law that was enacted in the new Prussian province Schleswig-Holstein in October 1866, regulated the new military service of three years for every able 21 year old man. Compulsory military service was unusual in Schleswig-Holstein, so there was a general dislike for it, intensified by the common fear regarding the strict discipline in the Prussian army. This was especially the case in the northern Danish speaking parts of the Duchy of Schleswig where Prussian rule was principally rejected, and among the inhabitants of the North-Frisian islands, who according to old privileges had been exempted from military service in times of peace. In times of war they served in the fleet, for the men mostly were sailors.

So from the very start the Prussian administration in Schleswig-Holstein suspected that many young man left the country only to avoid military service and sought for ways to prevent that. But few things can stop a young man from emigrating, if he has set his mind to it.

In 1880 it was believed by the authorities that the returning migrants gave them a starting point to act. This has to be seen in relationship with the Bancroft treaty from February 22nd 1868 between the North German Federation and the United States of America regarding the citizenship of emigrants.⁹ It said that an emigrant from the area of the North German Federation, who had become a citizen of the United States after a continuous residence of five years, will be treated as an American citizen when he returns. If he should stay longer than two years it would be regarded as an abandonment of the U.S. citizenship. This regulation became necessary because German (Prussian) citizenship ceased only after a ten years continuous residence outside Germany. So the *Bancroft treaty* was designed to avoid dual citizenship, and to make possible shorter visits up to two years, regardless of whether the emigrant had been a soldier or not. This treaty seems to give the young men the chance to leave the country before they became liable to military service, i.e. before their seventeenth birthday, and return after five years as American citizens – and the Prussian authorities could do nothing against it.

In the 1870s not many emigrants came back and those who did were not really controlled. Looking back, the head of a local district on the island Föhr wrote in 1891 that many had thought that it would always stay that way, but when visitors arrived in greater numbers at the end of the 1870s, things began to change. The authorities registered the influence they had on the population at home, spreading stories of success from

the New World. The example that was given by young men who had left before military service and then came back as U. S. citizens, were well situated in comparison to others of the same age who had stayed and done their time as a soldier, was regarded as particularly bad and undesirable. As Americans they had to remain untouched and unmolested. A hard task for many Prussian officials.

In the beginning of the 1880s the increasing numbers of visitors fell together with a new rise of emigration caused by the economic boom in the USA. Now the authorities came to recognize a connection between the returning migrants and the advancing numbers of new emigrants. Therefore in 1885, on the absolute high tide of emigration, the treatment of returning migrants and visitors was adjusted to drastically strengthened rules regarding the deportation of such persons. So if they were not allowed to force them into the army they at least were able to expel them. This measure was indeed a very 'sharp sword'. From then on every emigrant who came back as an U.S. citizen aged between 17 and 27 was allowed a stay limited to some weeks or months, even if it was not suspected that he had left to avoid military service. A visitor would be expelled within days if there was information giving cause for suspicion. In addition to that any person who came back beyond the military age has to proof that he had not left *solely* for the purpose of avoiding the military service. And that could be very tricky.

This practice caused much harm especially on the islands Föhr and Amrum. Due to their seafaring tradition the young men left the island after confir-

mation at the age of sixteen. Most of the men worked for some time in the USA, their families staying on the home island. This traditional mobility brought many of them into conflict with the new military service. As an example there is the story of the four brothers Jappen, sons of the teacher Jacob Ocke Jappen from Toftum on the island Föhr. None of them became a soldier before they emigrated.

Otto Christian, the oldest, went with a passport to New York in 1870. His brothers followed him 1873, 1878 and 1880, all at the age of 16. They all became American citizens after a residence of five years and then returned to visit home. Otto and Julius, the second oldest, did marry there. Both younger brothers, Ingwer and Johannes, just visited the island when in 1885/86 visitors in the age for military service were forced to leave or to become German citizens again i.e. to do their three years in the armed forces. Ingwer and Johannes were expelled in 1886.

Otto Christian came home the same year to take his wife to New York, because regular stays home for a longer time were not possible for him anymore. In 1874 as his passport and with it the permission to stay abroad expired, he had not returned to become a soldier. Two applications to resign the German citizenship were declined in 1872 and 1877, because it was suspected that he had left to avoid military service. On Föhr only his American citizenship saved him from punishment. Lone the youngest of the brothers Jappen, Johannes Marius, succeeded to return, because he was young enough to serve his full time as a soldier. This was generally

the prerequisite to get back the German citizenship. So in August 1891, at the age of twenty seven he became a subject of Wilhelm II, Prussian King and German Kaiser. Up to then he had lived in New York for eleven years. There he had married a girl from his home island and both had run a little shop in Williamsburg, Brooklyn's Dutchtown. They came back to Föhr with a capital of 15,000 Mark, not an unusual case in those days.

The limitation to a period of two years for a visit home, as specified by the Bancroft treaty, was regarded as discriminating by the German-Americans. Even more the rigorous practice of controlling and ordering out of visitors after 1885/86 caused bad feelings on both sides of the Atlantic. On Föhr for example together with the exodus of many potential remigrants not the least a noticeable decline of capital for future investments and innovation was feared.

The governmental edict in question from the year 1885 did not exclude exceptions and a petition for clemency to the King and Kaiser was always possible. But a harsh practice, typical of autocratic authorities caused not only on the Frisian Islands considerable individual hardships. Johann Lützen from Husum had left his home town in 1880 without a passport to go to New York. In August 1885 he became an American citizen and in November he was back home, just when the new regulations became valid. In March 1886 he was expelled and the police-authorities of the city were instructed to control strictly that he didn't hide in the house of his parents.

This instruction seemed to be neces-



Fig 8 Johannes Marius Jappen (1864-1943), a shopkeeper in Brooklyn before in 1891 he returned to Föhr.

Source: Volkert F. Faltings, ed., *Ein Föhrer blickt zurück*, Bredstedt 1988.

sary in a double sense. At least in the region the author examined it was the lower and local authorities that tended to be more generous. The documents show that official records were delayed for some weeks, that interrogations were put off for some time or that the visitors were simply neglected as long as possible. This practice caused much annoyance on the side of the chief authority of district, the very conservative Landrat Friedrich Werner Nasse (Pauseback, *Aufbruch*, 73). He wrote in his remarks regarding the planned deportation of Karl Frerksen from Husum that he was of the opinion that Karl Frerksen came back home not to recuperate



Fig 8 Ludwig Nissen (1855-1924), born in Husum and emigrated to New York in 1872 where he lived the «American Dream» par excellence. Source: Portrait in oil from Richard Creifels, NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus

from a long illness but to find a wife and had been engaged already. The reports of the police-authorities in this matter were worthless, so he wrote. He could not prove it but he was sure that they suggested to the visitors the statements which were most likely to be successful. They, so he summed up, always take the side of the people. Likely he was right. The *Landrat* came from outside, but they were natives and most of them had relatives overseas, as e.g. the head of the police in Husum, Hardsvøgt Cumme, whose son Theodor resigned his Prussian citizenship in 1887 and went to the USA – 16 days before he became liable for military service.

But in general the practice was rigid and sent a negative image across the Atlantic. This fits well with the picture of the German empire that after 1900

became increasingly prevalent in the U. S. as autocratic, militaristic and arbitrary. On the other side, the United States were identified more and more with unlimited possibilities, freedom and riches. Careers like the one Ludwig Nissen made, telling of luxury and influence in abundance, even including friendship with an American president promoted this image. After World War I Nissen organized gifts for the relief of the people in Germany and Austria as soon as possible. He had travelled to Europe and Germany annually since the late 1880s. But to his birth town Husum he returned for the first time after nearly 50 years in 1920. Neither had he nor his brothers, Fritz and Wilhelm, who did also emigrate to New York, served in the German army. But no one cared for that anymore after the war, and surely no one would ask such questions of a visiting millionaire from New York. Humanitarian aid and *Care Packets* came again across the Atlantic after the next war. So the United States remained for most Germans the land of their dreams. This positive image was furthered by rich visitors and many, many letters.

On the other hand, stories that tell about misfortunes very seldom found their way back home. As we can read in the 1847 newspaper article:

I can recall many a person who does not talk much about how they found it in America. The one who has been lucky praises his faith loudly, but the one who failed remains stock still ... because no one likes to be laughed at.¹⁰

So from the very beginning we have here a kind of self censorship. Who likes

to admit – to others or even to himself – that in the *Land of Plenty* where others used to make millions, he is unable to earn a living or make a future for himself and a good start for the rest of the family?

The ‘Red-beard’ referred to in the quotation at the start of this article is a real prototype of the newly-rich visitor. In Germany he became proverbial as the ‘rich uncle from America’ arriving, usually in big cars and with suitcases full of dollars. He was quite frequently found in Germany up to the 1950s. We can read that this figure later, in the 1960s and 1970s, was common too in Poland, east- and south east Europe and still is in Turkey (Topçu; Bota; Pham, 64, 76).

Now coming back home from Germany, Alice Bota, daughter of a migrant from Poland to Germany wrote, that everybody who had escaped the poverty in Poland in that times, had to be a glorious winner when he came back to visit relatives. Even if in Germany nothing would remain except hard work and isolation. But at home and in front of the people who stayed they boasted with their money and told stories of how much bigger and better everything was in the Reich that means Germany.

So in a letter from the year 1881 it sounded like an excuse or an apology when a young emigrant in the U.S. wrote back to his parents in Husum in North-Frisia:

If you were better off here, why should I advise you against coming over? How can father believe that his own son, doesn't tell him the truth ... I still do not earn more than one dollar a day. Maybe I will go to Texas in the winter to pick cotton.¹¹

We have heard about deriding the ones who failed. If this young fellow really went down south, the Afro-Americans there may be still today tell his story and laugh at that ‘crazy Dutchman’ who tried to make money in the cotton fields.

The sources (newspapers, letters, and official documents) show us people like him and others, and we learn some details about their trajectories. Not always nice rich uncles returned from overseas. Sometimes there also arrived other types, like a Nanning Tönissen for example.¹² He had been born on the North-Frisian island Amrum. In 1867 he emigrated to the United States and as an American citizen he came back nearly every year where he married twice. Nanning Tönissen was a very big and extraordinary strong man and when drunk, as he frequently was, he became very quarrelsome and quickly engaged in fights. Then the other inhabitants of Amrum feared to meet him. But avoiding him was not always so easy, because the island apart from the beach and the dunes rather small. This problem came to an end in 1888 when Nanning was expelled from Germany after his father in law had made it known to the authorities that he had mistreated his family. In this regard the neighboring island Föhr was luckier.

In the 1950s or 60s remigrants from New York made known the then very popular *Manhattan cocktail* at home. At first this drink was limited to their families and friends. But more and more people began to like it, and now it is present at nearly every festivity. During the last years the *Manhattan* has somewhat a comeback as *New Manhattan* in New York. But it was on Föhr that it was



Fig 10 Anna Payens from Helgoland who went to Sydney in the age of 61, wearing her traditional Halunder Frisian clothing.

Source: North-Frisian Emigrant Archive, Nordfriisk Instituut

never out of fashion. There it is liked so much that the mixture, consisting in equal parts of Bourbon, red and white Martini, and served with a cherry by the way, is manufactured, bottled and sold on the island. So in North-Frisia drinking a Manhattan became a feature characterizing people from the island Föhr.

But I do not intend to end this article with drunks or drinks but prefer a rather romantic story instead. Around 1850 the first emigration wave hit Schle-

swig-Holstein and North-Frisia. Many a man tried to find his fortune in the Sacramento goldfields in California. But Australia had its goldrush too. Oelrich Payens, a Frisian from Helgoland, then left his ship in Melbourne to dig for gold. He did not become rich but found enough gold to make a wedding ring out of it. So he came back and married his bride Anna Reimers. In those days (since 1815) Heligoland belonged to the British Empire. In 1890 it became German and Oelrich Payens took this so much to heart that he died soon after. To keep their British citizenship his widow Anna migrated to Australia in 1899 accompanied by two of her sons, taking back the ring where it comes from. Since then the golden wedding ring, as well as the traditional Frisian clothing Anna Payens was wearing and which usually is handed down in the family, traveled several times between Heligoland and *Down Under*.¹³

But whoever or whatever comes back, a bragging 'Red-beard', a good for nothing drunkard, a real dollar-millionaire, a lovesick sailor with a golden ring, or as in most cases just a dear and greatly missed member of the family, along with them travelled these stories about lucky and not so fortunate emigrants, stories about homesickness, love, extraordinary events and big fortunes that could be won by the daring only on the other sides of the oceans. This kept alive the memories of the many emigrants from our home regions who became immigrants somewhere else.

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Notes

- 1 Husumer Wochenblatt, 24. January 1847, Library of the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus, Husum
- 2 see No. 1
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 *Die Zeit*, No. 52 (19. December 2013) S. 19
- 5 see No. 1
- 6 Library of the NordseeMuseum Nissenhaus, Husum, Germany
- 7 Story told the author by the mayor of the village, who was related to "Aunt Guste".
- 8 North-Frisian Emigration Archive, Nordfriisk Instituut, Bredstedt
- 9 Bancroft treaty, in *Bundesgesetzblatt des Norddeutschen Bundes*, 1868: 228
- 10 see No. 1
- 11 Letter published in: Husumer Wochenblatt, 18. Oktober 1881, Library of the NordseeMusueum Nissenhaus, Husum
- 12 North-Frisian Emigrant Archive, Nordfriisk Instituut, Bredstedt
- 13 Ibid.

‘Migration and the Indian Ocean Rim (IOR) since 1450: the Impact of In-migration in Sustaining the European Economy and Generating Cultural Heritage in Both Regions’

Nonja Peters

Introduction

On 21 May 2014, the Council of the European Union adopted ‘Conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe’. At the EU meeting in Brussels, that day, a historic policy approach to cultural heritage was adopted - tangible, intangible or digital - recognising it as a unique and non-renewable resource and a major asset for Europe and for the entire European project (in which I include Britain). The ‘Conclusions’ also emphasized the important role that cultural heritage plays in creating and enhancing social capital. On a conference tour of Europe in 2012, that included visits to two iconic collection institutions – the British Museum (London), and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RvO) in Leiden, what impacted on me was that the volume of artifacts on display were almost exclusively ‘acquired’ from outside Europe predominantly from Rome, Greece, the Middle East and Indian Ocean Region (IOR).¹ Most of the artifacts were acquired by maritime explorers during the

‘Age of Exploration’ from the late 1400s to mid 1800s, from nations and states the British and Dutch had conquered. The colonialism and imperialism that resulted from these East India Company’s incursion into the IOR were in force until the mid twentieth century.

Although the curatorial focus of these two museums is the history of humans and culture, it could be argued given their collections and displays, that they in fact commemorate colonialism and imperialism.² Yet these two cultural institutions along with the many other museums in both countries are considered icons of cultural heritage. Viewed from a heritage tourism perspective they make major contributions to the revenue of their respective countries. For example, in 2014 the British Museum (established in London 1753) recorded its annual attendance at 6.8 million visitors.³ Visitation at (all) Dutch museums is around 20 million per annum. This noteworthy level of visitation also confirms the high level of social capital they generate.

A 600-year history in objects



The exhibitions at the **British Museum**, established in the London in 1753, are dedicated to human history and culture. Collection objects on displays are from some 8 million works, the largest and most comprehensive in existence. They reflect the UK's colonial past and its impact on European cultural heritage.



Fig 1 British Museum artifacts

Aims and Objectives

This chapter is historical. However, it is also about the past in the present as it relates to the movement of humans, goods and ideas between Europe and the Indian Ocean Region that began with the trade routes of antiquity, specific aspects of which are reflected in the artifact on display in the BM and Rijksmuseums. The research will provide a more comprehensive understanding of the factors that motivated people to explore previously unknown regions and how it benefitted their homelands? I reason that the artifacts in these museum exhibitions and collections are symbolic; that they reflect the truism that for three centuries European maritime states (I

only concentrate here on the Netherlands and Britain) 'filled their coffers' with cultural heritage artifacts from Rome, Greece, the Middle East and Indian Ocean Region including Africa and Asia. Furthermore, I assert that this was but the beginning of an uneven economic arrangement that was spawned in antiquity, developed during the 'Age of Exploration', put down roots and expanded during Colonialism, that impelled sizeable numbers of Europeans to migrate in pursuit of wealth in far-flung places and generated in part the cultural heritage that the EU Conclusion asserts is 'a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe'. I now delve into history albeit briefly to present the most significant

factors that influenced European mobility, expansion and development from the late 1400s.

The History of Ancient Trade Routes and European Development – a Brief Overview

European economic and socio-cultural expansion gained a great deal of potency from the time when the Silk Road network of trade routes began to appear.⁴ Formally established during the Han Dynasty of China (206 BC – 220 AD), the ‘Silk Road’ linked the regions of the ancient world in commerce from as early as 130 BC when the Han peoples of China officially opened trade with the west.⁵ It extended 4,000 miles from Europe through Egypt, Somalia, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Burma, Java Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam into China. This sophisticated system also sported *entrepôt* trading posts.⁶

From the 7th century BC to the 2nd century AD, the Greco-Roman world also traded along the ‘Incense route’⁷ and the ‘Roman-India routes’. Aspects of these such as the Persian Royal Road were already in existence during the Achaemenid Empire thus as early as 500-330 BC.⁸ The Incense Route served as a channel for trading Arabian Frankincense and Myrrh; Indian spices, precious stones, pearls, ebony, silk and fine textiles, and from the Horn of African rare woods, feathers, animal skins and gold. Spices such as cinnamon, cassia, cardamom, ginger, and turmeric were known, and used for commerce in the Eastern World well into antiquity. These spices found their way into the Middle

East before the beginning of the Common Era,⁹ where the true sources of these spices were withheld by the traders, and associated with fantastic tales. Opium was also imported. The Egyptians had traded in the Red Sea, importing spices from the “Land of Punt” and from Arabia. Luxury goods traded along the Incense Route included Indian spices, ebony, silk and fine textiles. The spice trade was associated with overland routes early on but maritime routes proved to be the factor, which helped the trade grow. The Ptolemaic Dynasty developed trade with India using Red Sea ports.¹⁰

Silk Road merchants traded with Europe via the Byzantine Empire with the Italian city-states of Venice and Genoa acting as middlemen through Egypt, Somalia, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Afghanistan, Central Asia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Burma, Java Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam and China.¹¹ Trade on the Silk Road was a significant factor in the development of the civilizations of China, the Indian sub-continent, Persia, Europe and Arabia. It opened long-distance, political and economic interactions between these civilizations. Arab traders eventually took over conveying goods via the Levant and Venetian merchants to Egypt and Europe. Its main traders were the Chinese, Bactrians, Persians, Romans, Armenians, Indians and Sogdians.¹²

Overland routes helped the spice trade initially, but maritime trade routes led to tremendous growth in commercial activities. In fact the Kingdom of Axum (CA 5th-century BC–AD 11th century) pioneered the Red Sea route

before the 1st century AD. During the Medieval period from about the 7th century, Islamic Arab traders became the most prominent merchants on the Silk Road.¹³ They shipped spices from India to the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea and eventually on to overland trade routes that led to Europe. European traders also bought gold from Africa and exchanged it for spices and silk in Asia. Many other goods were also traded, or bartered, as were various technologies and philosophies. It was in this period that prominent Eastern religions became known to Europeans.

Religious Interchanges

Hindu and Buddhist religious establishments of Southeast Asia came to be associated with economic activity and commerce as patrons entrusted large funds which would later be used to benefit the local economy by estate management, craftsmanship and promotion of trading activities. Buddhism, in particular, travelled alongside the maritime trade, promoting coinage, art and literacy. Islam spread throughout the East, reaching Maritime South East Asia in the tenth century Muslim merchants played a crucial part in the trade. Christian missionaries, such as Saint Francis Xavier were also instrumental in the spread of Christianity in the East. Christianity competed with Islam to become the dominant religion of the Moluccas. The indigenous peoples of the Spice Islands accommodated aspects of both religions.

However, the religious based interchanges were often as violent as the trade interactions and both at times ended in the genocide of whole cultures.

The holy wars, known as the Crusades are an example of particularly bellicose campaigns that were sanctioned by the Latin Roman Catholic Church during the High Middle Ages from 1095. These penitential war-pilgrimages that were waged against Muslims and other enemies of the Church enlisted generations of laymen and laywomen to their fight. Their objectives included checking the spread of Islam, retaking control of the Holy Land, conquering 'pagan areas', and recapturing former Christian territories. They were also seen by many of the participants as a means of redemption and expiation for sins. Crusading began a rapid decline during the 16th century in response to the advent of the Protestant Reformation and the decline of papal authority.¹⁴ Around eight official Crusades took place.¹⁵ Jonathan Riley-Smith defines the various independent states that this movement established, such as the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 'the first experiments in "Europe Overseas"'.¹⁶

Caption Routes of the First Crusades

The greatest value to Europe of the Silk Road and Crusades was thus the exchange and enriching of culture, Art, religion, philosophy, technology, language, science, architecture, and every other element of 'civilization' along with the commercial goods the merchants carried from country to country. However by mid-seventh century AD the rise of Islam closed off the overland caravan routes through Egypt and the Suez, and cut off the European trade community from Axum and India. Major changes also occurred in the mid fifteenth cen-

tury when the Ottomans took Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire was no more. The Ottoman's boycott of trade with the west by closing off the Silk Road trade routes around 1453 forced merchants to consider taking to the sea to ply their trade thus initiating 'The Age of Discovery', which led to worldwide interaction and the beginnings of a global community. These early trading encounters certainly also highlighted to the Europeans the socio-cultural and economic complexities of the trading communities with whom they formed relationships that were greatly enhancing the lives of Europeans.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the large degree to which Europe's mid-late-fifteenth century mastery over the world's ocean currents and wind patterns, had prepared Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Britain and French mariners 'scientifically' for the 'Age of Maritime Exploration'. The new advancements in knowledge about navigational technology gave European leaders the means to make these changes in trade. Europeans developed astronomical instruments and trigonometrical tables to plot the location of the sun and stars, replaced oarsmen with sails, and began to better understand wind patterns and ocean currents.

The Age of Exploration is the Catalyst for Increasing European Mobility

The growth of the Ottoman Empire and its disruption of overland trade routes to Europe mobilised the Portuguese King to commission Vasco da Gama, to find a maritime route to the East. Da Gama landed in Calicut on 20 May 1498. His

success is considered one of the more instrumental moments in the history of navigation likened by some researchers to putting a man on the moon.¹⁷ The motives of the Portuguese were essentially commercial to supplant the pre-existing network of Arab seaborne trade initiated by various Kingdoms during Antiquity.¹⁸

Vasco De Gama's travels gave the Portuguese Empire a stranglehold on Indonesia's lucrative spice trade throughout the 16th century. Other European nations accepted having to buy their spices in Portugal and on-sell throughout Europe until the 1590s. However, from a Dutch perspective, while Spain, was at war with the Netherlands, and in a dynastic union with Portugal, trade was practically impossible. Not wanting to be dependent on an expansionist, non-Christian power for the lucrative commerce with the east, other European nations also set about finding an alternate sea route around Africa.¹⁹

The Dutch could not circumvent this situation by sailing direct to Indonesia as the route was jealously guarded by the Portuguese until after 1592, when cartographer Petrus Plancius published a series of charts detailing the route to the Indies. This led to several Dutch companies organizing charters to the Spice Islands to trade for spices. The fierce competition that followed threatened to close down trade. Dutch State intervention resulted in uniting these companies under one banner.²⁰

The Generale Vereenichde Geoctroyeerde Compagnie (General United Chartered Company or VOC) was established when the States General granted the charter on 20 March 1602. They fig-

ured that one united Company could be a powerful military and economic weapon in the struggle against Spain & Portugal.²¹ The *octrooi* (charter) gave the VOC not only monopoly over Asian trade in its name in the *octrooigebied* (trade zone between South Africa and Japan, it also gave them quasi-governmental powers to wage war, erect fortifications, employ soldiers; conclude treaties with Asian rulers; keep a standing army, and appoint Governors and judges, imprison and execute convicts, negotiate treaties, coin money, and establish colonies.²² Most importantly it set them up in fierce competition against the Portuguese despite their much earlier engagement with the area, the Papal Bull of 1494 having knocked the Spanish out of the IOR equation with the Treaty of Tordesillas (see figures XX).²³

Dutch merchants enjoyed two main advantages over their Portuguese predecessors. They sailed faster, cheaper, and more powerful ships, were much more heavily armed to particularly inflict maximum damage on the Portuguese. They also offered both an economic and a military edge over their competitors. Furthermore, the joint-stock company through which they conducted trade enabled investors to realize handsome profits while limiting the risk to their investments.

Adapting quickly the Europeans learned the commercial *lingua franca* of the area and mastered the rules of the local market. European trading communities sprang up all over Asia alongside those of the Chinese, the Javanese, Tamils, Gujaratis, Armenians and others. Adapting quickly, the Europeans learned the commercial *lingua franca* of

the area and mastered the rules of the local market. They entered into (temporary) relations with local women, and many trading posts were soon peppered with their offspring. Most of these children remained in the country of their birth and were subsumed into the local community or else entered the service of the European merchants and companies.

The Dutch East India Company (VOC) made good use of such people, born and brought up locally, they could speak the language of their birth country and understood the conventions. They proved excellent middlemen for the Europeans. For the same reason, these Eurasians were also extremely useful to the Asian rulers.²⁴

Both the Dutch VOC and its British equivalent traded for 200 years and in that time brought great wealth to the Netherlands and Britain. They traded for coveted luxuries such as Asian tea, coffee, sugar, rice, rubber, tobacco, silk, decorated textiles, gold, copper & tin, textiles, porcelain, and spices such as cinnamon, pepper, nutmeg, cloves, opium, elephants and exotic plants for medicinal purposes and also gardens. Rare and unusual plant and fruits become as fashionable and expensive to acquire as porcelains and lacquer work.²⁵

However, the VOC eclipsed Britain and other rivals such as the French in the Asia trade. Between 1602 and 1796 VOC ships carried almost a million Europeans to work in Asian trade. Their efforts netted more than 2.5 million tons of Asian trade goods. By contrast, from 1500 to 1795 the rest of Europe combined sent only 882,412 people. The English²⁶ (later British) East India



Maps of the major VOC settlements along the IOR.

Company fleet – the VOC’s nearest competitor – was a distant second. Its total traffic was 2,690 ships that carried a mere one-fifth of the tonnage of goods carried by the VOC. In total the VOC fitted out some 4,785 ships (653 lost), nearly 1,785 in the seventeenth century and a good 3,000 in the eighteenth. And between 1602 and 1700, 317,000 people sailed from Europe on these ships, while between 1700 and 1795 the total reached 655,000.²⁷

Trade figures confirm the growth of the business after 1700. The expenditure on equipage, that is to say shipbuilding and outfitting as well as the money and goods that were sent to Asia, which had reached the sum of fl. 370 million between 1640 and 1700, increased to fl. 1,608 million in the years 1700-1795. In these same periods the purchase prices of the return goods shipped home

from Asia reached fl. 205 and fl. 667 million respectively; the sales prices of these return wares were fl. 577 million in the first period and fl. 1,633 in the second.²⁸ A colossal revenue for NL.

The free trade spirit of the time received a strong augmentation through the development of a modern, effective stock market in the Low Countries founded in 1602 by the VOC. And although the banking system evolved in the Low Countries this was quickly incorporated into the commercial system of the well-connected English, thereby also stimulating English economic output.

Two criteria acquired the Dutch East India Company (VOC) the nomenclature - multinational: (1) it issued shares; and (2) it operated in more than one country.²⁹ This worked well for 200 years the length of time the Dutch East

India Company remained an important trading concern paying an 18 per cent annual dividend for almost all that time. However, in its declining years in the late eighteenth century it was referred to as *Vergaan Onder Corruptie* (referring to the acronym VOC), which translates as 'Perished By Corruption'. The VOC became bankrupt and was formally dissolved in 1800, its possessions and the debt being taken over by the government to become a colony the Netherlands East Indies and expanded over the course of the 19th century to include the whole of the Indonesian archipelago. In the mid 20th century it would form Indonesia. The trade with the Spice Islands that had evolved with Europe also benefitted the economies of the great maritime nations of Britain, France, Portugal, Spain as well as the Netherlands and for the next three centuries they were in play helped engender the collections of their up coming museums with amazing and exotic artifacts.

The Dutch East India Company incursion into the IOR is also responsible for the European discovery of Australia in 1606. However, this discovery would ultimately benefit Britain most as it was Britain that colonised Australia from 1788 albeit initially as a penal colony. However, initial British economic interest was in India and that commenced around 1600. Initially in opposition to the Dutch who had established themselves securely in Indonesia, the British East India Company (1600–1874)³⁰ decided to concentrated on setting up trading posts at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The area controlled by the East India Company grew over time. Eventually, it governed directly or in-

directly an area that included modern Bangladesh, most of southern India, and nearly all the territory along the Ganges River in the north. However, from 1858 these vast areas became a British colony. Their economic activities also initiated a first wave diaspora out of Britain into the colonies that helped relieve some of the pressure on urban areas in Britain wrought by the large-scale internal migration from the countryside into the urban areas that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. The immense process of change it incurred from the late eighteenth to nineteenth centuries converted Britain from an agrarian, handicraft economy to one dominated by industry and machine manufacture.³¹ However, this was not the only change incurred, the company's wealth also helped create a wealthy British middle class that could afford to purchase some of the goods and artefacts imported into Britain by its East India Company.

The mobility of peoples that followed on from the early trading routes, Age of Exploration, and the Agrarian and Industrial Revolutions fuelled an unprecedented volume of exchange across the boundary lines of societies and cultural regions including historical objects into the cultural institutions of Europe. They included luxury items, spices biological species: plants, food crops and animals. However, this people and goods mobility is also responsible for the spread of disease pathogens and DNA into human populations and regions not previously visited. These biological exchanges had differing and dramatic effects on human populations, destroying some of them through epidemic diseases while enlarging others through increased food



Images of migrants to Australia and America 1850s- 1920s

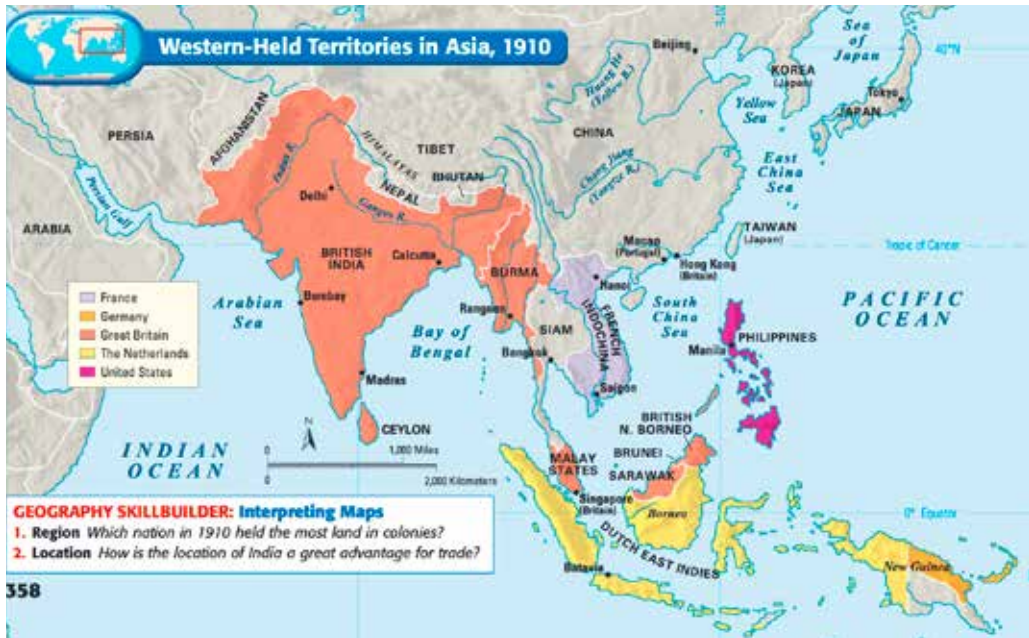
supplies, richer diets.³² The period also saw the move away from sailing ships to steam ships that were more conducive to moving sizeable populations of people.

Drew Keeling notes in his book *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States 1900-1914*, 2013 that eleven million Europe-born migrants made nineteen million ocean crossings on eighteen thousand voyages by several hundred vessels operated by two-dozen steamship lines plying between Europe and the principal ports of the USA. Keeling describes the relocation of these Europeans across the Atlantic as a human drama, a major international demographic shift, and a large-scale historical

experiment in ethnic transformation in a period of unprecedented globalization. Though smaller there were nonetheless significant diaspora populations en-route from the UK to Australia and South Africa, possibly less so from NL to the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) the Dutch despite the VOC were less likely to migrate in any sizeable numbers until WWI.

Colonisation and Remittances: A Different Flow of Revenue into Europe

The Colonial Empires that followed on from the East India Company trading activities engendered a second more intense migration out of Europe by peo-



Map of the European settlements in IOR

ple attracted initially by a job in trade or shipping but later by the possibility of acquiring great wealth following multiple discoveries of gold in the colonies. Fortunately, finding gold not being so easy to acquire, most of these mobile people were quick to turn their hand to any sort of work so long as it enabled them to financially sustain themselves and their families back home.³⁴ Many became sojourners staying in the host land long enough to save the money they needed to improve the lives of their families in the village back home.³⁵

Remittances as they were commonly known, or transfers of money between international migrants and their origin families, are therefore an important outcome of the migration process from the earliest period of European diaspora. Two forms of 'financial remittances' – personal and governmental – both were

representative of the nineteenth century. The personal ones that relied on people mobility significantly supported the lives of family members in Europe and though not central nonetheless assisted in the development of the European economy.

1. Personal Remittances

Remittances increasingly assumed an important role in the economies of numerous countries. Although the overall effects of remittance flows are not readily quantifiable. However, even if they constitute private funds, they have nonetheless had a positive impact in terms of poverty reduction, household welfare and human development of the receiving country.³⁶ The New York Post Office estimates that between 1901 and 1906, approximately 12.3 million individual money orders were sent to foreign

countries, with 50 per cent of the dollar amounts going to Italy, Hungary, and Slavic countries.³⁷ A conservative estimate of net migration remittances transferred in 1902 to Austria-Hungary (then America's largest source of migrants) amounted to \$15,000,000.³⁸ Similar amounts relatively speaking (to those sent to the homeland by America's immigrants) were also sent home by males from the same ethnic communities who emigrated to find work in Australia.³⁹

In that period capital connections remittances sent home by diaspora communities benefitted many European nations. For example, Spain, Italy and Ireland were heavily dependent on remittances received from their emigrants during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the case of Spain, in 1946 remittances amounted to 21 per cent of its current account income. The recipient countries also created policies to protect remittances. Italy had enacted such a law in 1901, while Spain was the first country to sign an international treaty (with Argentina in 1960) to lower the cost of the remittances received. The economies of Greece, the FMR Yugoslavia, Scandinavia, Germany, Portugal similarly benefitted. According to the Immigration Commission, the sum of remittances to Italy totalled \$85 million in 1907.⁴⁰

It is also possible to see the effect on a specific community. For example, between 1861 and 1985, 29,036,000 Italians migrated to countries around the world including Australia and South Africa. These figures include 16 million who arrived before the outbreak of WWI. About 10,275,000 returned

to Italy (35 per cent) and the remaining - 18,761,000 or 65 per cent settled abroad permanently. In 2011, there were 4,115,235 Italians living outside Italy and several millions descendants of Italians, who emigrated in the last two centuries around the world. Their remittances turned into a constant flow of money amounting, by some accounts, to about 5 per cent of the Italian Gross Domestic Product (GDP).⁴¹

Twenty first Century Mobility and Remittances

Over the last decades the changing ethnicity of current migrants and refugees have engendered a reverse move or remittances away from Europe. Remittances have always moved away from the 'stock immigration countries' – USA, Canada, Australia). However, the abolition of the White Australia policy in 1973 that changed the source countries of Australia's migrants from Europe to the Middle East, Indian and Pacific Ocean regions has also altered the destination of remittances. Foreign workers currently send around \$4.5 billion each year to friends and family living in Asia and the Pacific, with banks and money transfer companies pocketing around \$450 million.⁴² Money sent home to relatives often helps the poorest people to access food, education for their children and medical treatment. In Asia, these remittances play a vital role in helping people get out of poverty, while in the Pacific, experts say they keep whole nations afloat.

Every year, more than 215 million migrant workers send home US\$450 billion to developing countries (*International Fund for Agricultural Develop-*

ment).⁴³ Australia has led the way for decades in leveraging the benefits of immigration – long-term and short-term, which is driving prosperity at home and improving the financial and social economies of developing countries, particularly within the APAC region. The increasing globalisation of the work force means that many more millions of people are leaving their home countries to work abroad and sending monies home.⁴⁴ Since 2000, remittances have increased sharply worldwide, having almost tripled to \$529 billion in 2012. In 2012, migrants from India and China alone sent more than \$130 billion to their home countries.⁴⁵

The huge change in immigration into Europe that began in the late twentieth century reversed the whole financial situation. In the twentyfirst century in contrast to earlier times ‘remittances’ began to leave Europe for immigrants homelands, which more often than not were in the developing world. In 2010, the top 10 remittance recipients were Nigeria (\$10.0 bn), Sudan (\$3.2 bn), Kenya (\$1.8 bn), Senegal (\$1.2 bn), South Africa (\$1.0 bn), Uganda (\$0.8 bn), Lesotho (\$0.5 bn), Ethiopia (\$0.4 bn), Mali (\$0.4 bn) and Togo (\$0.3 bn). According to official estimates, in 2006 remittances from overseas residents and non-resident workers to households in developing countries amounted to about \$200 billion. Based on these estimates, migrants’ remittances have outpaced official development assistance and may be at levels comparable to foreign direct investment (FDI) in many parts of the developing world.⁴⁶ However, our story that began with personal remittances in colonial times is not complete without

looking at the remittances required from colonial governments to the ‘motherland’.

2. Colonial Government Remittances

Researchers claim remittances from Colonial India to Britain in the 19th century comprised one fifth of its annual revenue.⁴⁷ The impact was referred to as the ‘drain of wealth’. Tomlinson summarizes India in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as the largest purchaser of British exports, a major employer of British civil servants at high salaries and the provider of half of the Empire’s military might. Moreover these were all paid for from local revenues.⁴⁸

Government procurement of civilian goods, armaments and shipping were carried out almost exclusively in Britain, there were no efforts at developing industrial enterprises in India that could have delivered these goods at probably lower prices. Of these official payments, therefore, service charges on non-productive debt, pensions, and furlough payments can be conspired as a balance of payment drain due to colonialism. Maddison estimates that during the 1930s these home charges ranged from between £40 to £50 million a year.⁴⁹ However, “had these funds been invested in India they could have made a significant contribution to raising income levels”.⁵⁰ There were also private remittances, probably in the region about £10 million a year, and dividend and interest remittances by shipping and banking interests, plantations, and other British investors.⁵¹

It is perhaps often less complicated to follow the impact of a Colonial govern-

ment's remittances on the motherland economy by viewing them from a loss perspective. For example the loss of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) affected the Netherlands in several ways. The companies, railroads, and plantations that had been built with Dutch Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) were nationalized and mutual trade ceased.⁵² Royal Dutch Shell was excluded from being nationalized due to Indonesia's need for FDI to explore and exploit its oil. The famous catch-phrase 'Innovation is the mother of invention,' seems relevant here if the economists who predicted that the Dutch economy would not have expanded to the extent it did in the postwar era without the loss of the East Indies are to be believed. It prompted the Netherlands to overcome its losses by modernising and pursuing other business interests. These activities restored its losses as the economy globalized.⁵³

At the close of WWII, the Netherlands was not only faced with rebuilding itself and restarting the former economy, but also with constructing a new economy without the support of the Netherlands East Indies, which had helped fuel Dutch economic prominence since the 1800s.⁵⁴ The colony consisted of 40 per cent of all Dutch investment abroad, was a steady source of income from investment, and contributed up to 14 percent to the Dutch National Income. The NEI also provided raw materials for the Netherlands to manufacture and export. After the Occupation of the Netherlands by Nazi Germany it was even more important for the Dutch government in exile (in UK) to maintain control over the colony's resources such as

oil, rubber, and sugar, to aid Nazi resistance. This they managed to do until 1942 when the Japanese invaded, and Occupied, the NEI until August 1945, which cut off this particular stream of resource supplies to the allies for the remainder of WWII. The depleted state of European Economies due to the costs of war, loss of the NEI and depletion of the housing stock due to war damage and lack of building throughout the war years were the main catalysts driving an unprecedented movement of people out of Europe leading to its label mass migration era.

Mass Migration Post WWII

This research demonstrates, how the story of European economic and socio-cultural expansion gained potency from trading relationships that date back to antiquity, the 'Age of Exploration' and Age of Religious expansion. These events stimulated Europeans to move around the discovering world as explorers, skippers, merchants, evangelisers, administrators, soldiers and sailors and later as sojourners, colonists, migrants and refugees. Sometimes, singly at other times in diaspora their migration linked forever to the social, cultural heritage and economic landscape of Europeans to countries bordering the Indian Ocean Rim/Regions. The mobility of people often increases after conflicts but not to the same extent that characterized three decades that followed on from the close of WWII. Australia is my example here.

The bilateral immigration agreements Australia contracted with the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) in 1947 brought in 200,000 Displaced Persons (DPs) from Eastern and Central

Europe and the Baltic States. The agreements with Britain and various countries in Western and Southern Europe that ensued ensured the arrival of one million migrants from relinquishing countries in Europe in each of the three decades that followed.⁵⁵ These migrants assist Australia to maintain socio-cultural and economic connections with Europe via their business relationships with the homeland, heritage tourism - visits back home to see family and to undertake family history research as well as big business investment in banking and the extractive, oil and gas resources industries.⁵⁶

Australia's continuing relationships, since its discovery by the Dutch (1606) and settlement by the Britain (1788) with Britain and Europe have been influenced by changing migration patterns, changing business practices, as well as the changing global economy, technologies and education. By way of examples, it should be noted that each country has a large commercial presence in the other's country. In 2013-14, the two-way trade between UK and Australia was worth around \$20.29 billion. The UK is Australia's leading EU trade partner. In 2013 Australian exports to UK were worth \$7.85 billion and imports from the UK totaled \$12.43 billion. In 2013, the NL was Australia's fourth largest source of foreign direct investment at \$29.37 billion, and NL was the eleventh highest destination for Australian foreign direct investment abroad \$7.02 billion.⁵⁷ This illustrates the format the socio-cultural and economic relationships spawned by the 'Age of Exploration' take today.

The Past in the Present and Future: Mutual Cultural Heritage - Tourism and Diplomacy

In recent times concepts and processes focused on strengthening the economies of former colonial states and other Asian States have gained traction. A geopolitical notion to come to the fore that is growing in popularity is 'reversion to a pre-colonial historical past'. This is certainly the position currently under consideration by two of the largest IOR economies – India and China –. Both have publically proclaimed they will revive an ancient trade route lost to takeovers during the Age of Exploration and Colonialism. China is thinking to revive the Silk Road and India the 'Cotton Road'.⁵⁸

The prominence these notions are attracting becomes apparent when one notes the importance given the three-day International Conference titled 'India & the Indian Ocean: Renewing the Maritime Trade & Civilisational Linkages' held at Bhubaneswar, Odisha from 20 March to 22 March, 2015, on the eastern coast of India.⁵⁹ Here multiple experts from nine Indian governmental agencies publically announced they would recreate the 'Cotton Route' to rival China's Silk Road. The announcement came after Prime Minister Modi's key visit to three Indian Ocean states — the Seychelles, Mauritius, and Sri Lanka. Observers likened his visit there to a diplomatic pushback against rising Chinese influence. India is evidently gearing up to confront China with its own epic trade route plans, and it will be interesting to track what form this takes and which prospective (European) partners might help propel Indian

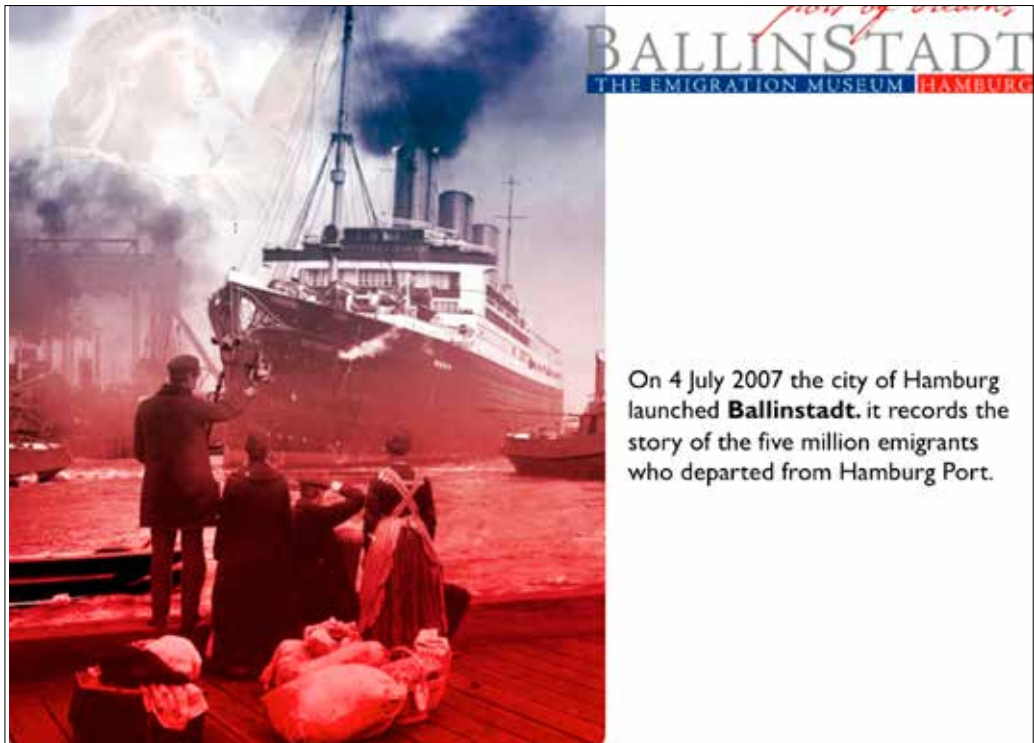


Image Emigration Museums: Auswanderer Haus Ballinstadt

success in this initiative.⁶⁰

From Antiquity, the Silk Road was a key route between China and the Mediterranean that not only promoted trade it also formed a cultural bridge between China, India, Persia, Greece and Rome. The rebirth of the Indian 'cotton route' and China 'maritime silk route' are it seems to be undertaken chiefly in an attempt to restore these earlier trade linkages in the hope they will again facilitate the potential exploitation of trade and investment they did in the past when they were still dominated by the 'Nations' and 'States' of the Indian Ocean Region.

Another distinctive turn of events related to European mobility is taking place in Europe. Driven mainly by Greece it is characterised by that coun-

try's repeated requests to relevant European States but particularly Britain to return their 'plundered heritage'. I refer here specifically to the Elgin Marbles⁶¹ that Greece claims the UK took without consent.⁶² This and similar stories prompted travel photographer and storyteller Raphael Alexander Zoren to ask 'Who owns antiquity?'⁶³ In his essay on this topic he notes further that: "If recent and ancient history is to be believed, the owners of antiquity are First-World Museums that exist merely because they have looted invaluable relics from developing countries in wars, contraband or simply using treaties and laws that were signed by corrupt officials who sold out their own heritage". Although the situation in all its complexity is of beyond the scope

of this essay, the phenomenon does however, acknowledge the substantial degree to which the sustainability of Europe's cultural heritage relied on the history and artefact related to trade routes from Antiquity; and its economies the remittances sent from colonists who went to work or settle in the foreign lands European's seized to establish Colonial States in the Middle East and along the IOR.

Other Initiatives

A noteworthy development over the last decade is the emergence of emigration museums which in Europe have begun to rival war and memory museums as attractions. These museums trace the lives of those that left their country of origin to make a better life elsewhere. It is the first time an interest of this sort has been shown. The hope is that a wealthy benefactor (self-made immigrant) will help support such museum ventures. The opening of the Auswanderer Haus (Bremerhaven) and Ballinstadt (Hamburg) are examples. In 2007, Germany opened the Deutsches Auswanderer Haus a German Emigration Center theme museum in Bremerhaven. At a cost of 21 million euros this 'stellar center' is dedicated to the seven million emigrants who gathered in Bremerhaven between 1830 and 1974 to board a ship headed for one or other of the 'new worlds' (ie Australia, America, Canada, Argentina, Brazil or South Africa).

A few months later on 4 July 2007 the City of Hamburg launched Ballinstadt. At a cost of 13 million euros, its brief is to record the story of the five million emigrants (Germans and Central and Eastern Europeans) who left

their homelands in search of a better life across the Atlantic via the port of Hamburg driven by dire poverty, hunger, hopelessness, or political and religious persecution. Like Prime Minister Modi of India the idea behind the new 'emigration' focus is to lay the groundwork to encourage and assist their sizeable diaspora communities, which in the case of the Indian diaspora is the second-largest in the world at 25 million people, will like earlier Italian communities, be an effective international tool for promoting homeland policies and serve as a catalyst for increased intra- and inter regional integration.⁶⁴

Since the demise of colonialism around the end of the 1940s, post WWII, countries such as Indonesia and India and other former colonial states have had to rebuild their trade and power structures within the context of a rapidly globalising world economy. European mobility into the IOR and other parts of the world since the Age of Exploration created the climate for their histories and heritage to intersect, thereby establishing a mutual heritage unit with the possibility of related shared culture activities. For example, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently formulated 'mutual (common) heritage policy' has generated a plethora of material and immaterial relics of the past related to the States where the VOC created trading settlements.⁶⁵ Its aims are to preserve mutual cultural heritage and utilize it as an instrument for sharing expertise, building capacity for the cultural field in the partner country(s), stimulate cultural and economical development, create public awareness and increase knowledge of this heritage.

Conservation of these historic assets is a critical step in the development process aiming at improving the aesthetic and recreational qualities of the country as well as enhancement of the local identity and character of a city or town in former colonial holdings and in Dutch diaspora countries.⁶⁶

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated the role European expansion during the age of discovery played in interconnecting the earth's peoples, cultures, economies, and politics, how our world became 'global' and the vital role states and nations from Antiquity, the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East and Indian Ocean Rim and Americas played in this history. It described the main historical events from the 1500 until the 1940s that stimulated the movements of people at various times into either colonial outposts or migration countries in the IOR and Americas and the monies, goods and services that were traded, produced or plundered that supported Europe's economic and socio-cultural development. It also noted the increased mobility of peoples during colonialism and the extent to which their remittances back home continued after the age of exploration to ensure Europe's continued growth into modern times highlighting the extent to which the 21 May 2014, Council of the European Union's adopted 'Conclusions on cultural heritage as a strategic resource for a sustainable Europe' is linked to, has at times even relied on the trade and cultural heritage of states and nations in the IOR and Americas which it doing so has created a plethora of 'mutual cultural heritage'.

I noted in addition the reverse flow of

current remittances out of Europe from migrants working at jobs in first world countries to family in the developing world that rivals, sometimes even exceeding foreign aid highlighting again the import role of human diasporas in sustaining and developing homeland economies.

References and Notes

- 1 I was born in Europe (Netherlands), grew up in Australia and was married to a UK migrant from Wales (deceased 2009).
- 2 <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/imperialism>: The Oxford Dictionary defines as 'a policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means'.
- 3 http://www.britishmuseum.org/about_us/news_and_press/press_releases/2013/a_year_of_success.aspx: The BM also attracts 27 million virtual visitors per annum; One in four overseas visitors to London and one in ten overseas visitors to the UK now visit the British Museum as part of their trip.
- 4 <http://www.silkroutes.net/SilkSpiceIncenseRoutes.htm>
- 5 As the Silk Road was not a single thoroughfare from east to west, the term 'Silk Routes' has become increasingly favored by historians, though 'Silk Road' is the more common and recognized name. Both terms for this network of roads were coined by the German geographer and traveler, Ferdinand von Richthofen, in 1877 CE, who designated them 'Seidenstrasse' (silk road) or 'Seidenstrassen' (silk routes).
- 6 To illustrate, the reluctance of ships to travel the entire length of a long trading route made them more willing to sell to an entrepôt port instead. The entrepôt port then sells the goods at a higher price to ships travelling the other segment of the route. In modern times customs areas have largely made such entrepôts obsolete.
- 7 Important trade routes, known collectively as the "Incense Route" were mostly controlled by the Arabs, who brought frankincense and myrrh by camel caravan from South Arabia. The network of routes also served as a channel for trading of Indian, Arabian, African and East Asian goods. The incense trade flourished from South Arabia to the Mediterranean between roughly the 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. This trade was crucial to the economy of Yemen. Frankincense

and myrrh trees were seen as a source of wealth by its rulers. The demands for scents and incense by the empires of antiquity, such as Egypt, Rome and Babylon, made Arabia one of the oldest trade centres of the world.

- 8 The Persian Royal Road ran from Susa, in north Persia (modern day Iran) to the Mediterranean Sea in Asia Minor (modern day Turkey) and featured postal stations along the route with fresh horses for envoys to quickly deliver messages throughout the empire. The Persians maintained the Royal Road carefully and, in time, expanded it through smaller side roads. These paths eventually crossed down into the Indian sub-continent, across Mesopotamia, and over into Egypt; The Incense trade route or the Incense Road of Antiquity (see also the spice trade) comprised a network of major ancient land and sea trading routes linking the Mediterranean world with Eastern and Southern sources of incense, spices and other luxury goods, stretching from Mediterranean ports across the Levant and Egypt through Northeastern Africa and Arabia to India and beyond. The incense land trade from South Arabia to the Mediterranean flourished between roughly the 7th century BCE to the 2nd century CE. The Incense Route served as a channel for trading of goods such as Arabian frankincense and myrrh; Indian spices, precious stones, pearls, ebony, silk and fine textiles;^[2] and the Horn of African rare woods, feathers, animal skins and gold.
- 9 Abbreviated as CE, is an alternative naming of the calendar era, Anno Domini.
- 10 <http://www.nhcgroup.com/spice-history/>
- 11 http://www.ancient.eu/Silk_Road/
- 12 Sogdiana, at different times, included territories around Samarkand, Bukhara, Khujand, Panjikent and Shahrissabz in modern Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Peoples of the ancient civilization of an Iranian peoples.
- 13 Trade on the Silk Road was a significant factor in the development of the civilizations of China, the Indian subcontinent, Persia, Europe and Arabia. It opened long-distance, political and economic interactions between the civilizations.^[5] Though silk was certainly the major trade item from China, many other goods were traded, and various technologies, religions and philosophies, as well as the bubonic plague (the "Black Death"), also traveled along the Silk Routes. In addition to economic trade, the Silk Road served as ways of carrying out cultural trade between the networking civilizations.
- 14 Edward Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. During the Reformation and Counter-Reformation of the 16th century, historians saw the Crusades through the prism of their own religious beliefs. Protestants saw them as a manifestation of the evils of the Papacy, while Catholics viewed the movement as a force for good. During the Enlightenment, historians tended to view both the Crusades and the entire Middle Ages as the efforts of barbarian cultures driven by fanaticism. By the 19th century, with the dawning of Romanticism, this harsh view of the crusades and its time period was mitigated somewhat, with later 19th-century crusade scholarship focusing on increasing specialization of study and more detailed works on subjects. Enlightenment scholars in the 18th century and modern historians in the West have expressed moral outrage at the conduct of the crusaders. In the 1950s, Sir Steven Runciman wrote that "High ideals were besmirched by cruelty and greed ... the Holy War was nothing more than a long act of intolerance in the name of God". In the 20th century, three important works covering the entire history of the crusades have been published, those of Rene Grousset, Steven Runciman, and the multi-author work edited by K. M. Stetton. A pluralist view of the crusades has developed in the 20th century inclusive of all papal-led efforts, whether in the Middle East or in Europe. Historian Thomas Madden has made the contrary argument that "[t]he crusade, first and foremost, was a war against Muslims for the defense of the Christian faith.... They began as a result of a Muslim conquest of Christian territories." Madden says the goal of Pope Urban was that "[t]he Christians of the East must be free from the brutal and humiliating conditions of Muslim rule."
- 15 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/144695/Crusades>
- 16 Riley-Smith, J., *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (Bampton Lectures in America), Columbia University Press, 2008. <http://cup.columbia.edu/book/the-crusades-christianity-and-islam/9780231146241>
- 17 Equivalent in fact to putting a man on the moon.
- 18 <https://books.google.com.au/books?id=4DU-UrDAiqIC&pg=PA14&lpg=PA14&dq=Colonial+powers+in+the+Indian+Ocean&source=bl&ots=e0G01Ma9g&sig=eEQQ7OEdg-3MIbbGLiniJQrOFcgI&hl=en&sa=X&ei=qxEwVartF4W7mAXqyIH0Aw&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q=Colonial%20powers%20in%20the%20Indian%20Ocean&f=false>
- 19 Religions – The rise of capitalism in the East – pre Max Weber
- 20 <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-2830906009.html>
- 21 It included a struggle about ownership of the

- sea. In 1610 the great Dutch legal writer Grotius wrote a book called “Mare Liberum” made a plea for freedom of the seas on grounds of justice and morality; ... but recognised that each country of necessity had jurisdictional rights within certain limits within which they could enforce those rights... outside of which he argued the sea and all its products should be free to all. He elaborated his arguments in a second book in 1625. English writer, William Selden in reply wrote *Mare Clausum* (Closed Sea) in 1629. “Thus began the great *Mare Liberum*—*Mare Clausum* argument,and led to the setting out by Bynkershoek in 1703 the doctrine of the “range of cannon” from which the 3-mile limit gradually evolved.
- 22 www.tanap.net
- 23 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/599856/Treaty-of-Tordesillas> Treaty of Tordesillas, (June 7, 1494), agreement between Spain and Portugal aimed at settling conflicts over lands newly discovered or explored by Christopher Columbus and other late 15th-century voyagers. In 1493, after reports of Columbus’s discoveries had reached them, the Spanish rulers Ferdinand and Isabella enlisted papal support for their claims to the New World in order to inhibit the Portuguese and other possible rival claimants. To accommodate them, the Spanish-born pope Alexander VI issued bulls setting up a line of demarcation from pole to pole 100 leagues (about 320 miles) west of the Cape Verde Islands. Spain was given exclusive rights to all newly discovered and undiscovered lands in the region west of the line. Portuguese expeditions were to keep to the east of the line. Neither power was to occupy any territory already in the hands of a Christian ruler.
- 24 Bosma, U, Raben, Being “Dutch” in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500-1920, Wendie Shaffer; 2008, 9.
- 25 Jardine, L., *Going Dutch: How England Plundered Holland’s Glory*, 2008, 241.
- 26 The original object of the group of merchants involved was to break the Dutch monopoly of the spice trade with the East Indies. However, after 1623, when the English traders at Amboina were massacred by the Dutch, the company admitted defeat in that endeavor and concentrated its activities in India.
- 27 <http://databases.tanap.net/ead/>
- 28 *ibid.*
- 29 While trade exchanges were common in medieval Europe, these were typically for currency, commodities and bonds – not shares. In fact by 1669, its shares were bringing a 40% return. However, buyers of VOC shares could not cash them in, only sell them on – and so share trading was born. Many investors were employees, including humble carpenters and bakers. In the early days they were paid their dividends partly in cash and partly in spices – pepper, mace, or nutmeg. Expensive items are often still referred to as being *pepperduur* (as costly as pepper). Traditionally, all partners were subject to unlimited liability of the company’s obligations. However, the VOC differed in that it was the company that was liable and not its partners. Instead, the liability of the partners was limited to the amount they agreed to pay for shares. In this way the shift from unlimited to limited liability further reduced the risk to the non-managing partners. In fact the role of VOC participants would now be called investors. Moreover, the shares they were issued became tradable at the Amsterdam stock exchange, which was probably the first of its kind in the world.
- 30 http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/British_East_India_Company.aspx
- 31 <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/287204/industrialization>
- 32 The mutual heritage impact on Australia is via visits or shipwrecks of the VOC. Around 30 VOC mariners sighted, made landfall, or were wrecked on the Australian coastline. Four wrecks have been identified in WA Batavia (1629), *Gilt Dragon* (1656), *Zuiddorp* 1712 and *Zeewijk* 1727. Around 200 of the mariners on these ships were marooned here forever, Aboriginal oral history tradition has it that the fortunate ones cohabited with them. Not confirmed as fact yet.
- 33 Drew Keeling notes in his book *The Business of Transatlantic Migration between Europe and the United States 1900-1914*, 2013 that eleven million Europe-born migrants made nineteen million ocean crossings on eighteen thousand voyages by several hundred vessels operated by two-dozen steamship lines plying between Europe and the principal ports of the USA. Keeling describes the relocation of these Europeans across the Atlantic as a human drama, a major international demographic shift, and a large-scale historical experiment in ethnic transformation in a period of unprecedented globalization.
- 34 The term *colonialism* normally refers to a period of history from the late 15th to the 20th century when European nation states established and governed colonies on other continents. In this period, the justifications for colonialism included various factors such as the profits to be made, the expansion of the power and various religious and political beliefs. The main colonial powers in the IOR were Portugal, Britain, Spain, the Netherlands and France. An in-depth analysis of Colonialism is beyond the scope of this article.

- 35 Peters, N, Trading Places
- 36 <http://diaspora.iom.int/mandasoldiacasait-first-italian-website-remittances-transfer>
- 37 Wyman, Mark, Round Trip To America (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 1993, 61.
- 38 Keeling, 34.
- 39 Peters, N., Trading Places, Italian, greek, Dutch and Vietnames Enterprise in Westen Australia, PhD, University Western Australia, 2000.
- 40 Forster, Robert, The Italian Emigration of Our Times, New York: Russell & Russell, 1919, 374.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2013-12-18/an-remittances-call/5165928>
- 43 <http://opportunity.org.au/what-we-do/microfinance-approach/remittances>
- 44 <http://www.australiancentre.com.au/News/remittances-their-role-trends-and-australian-opportunities>
- 45 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Remittance#cite_note-12
- 46 World Bank, (2006); Una Okonkwo Osili “Understanding Migrants’ Remittances: Evidence from the U.S.-Nigeria Migration Survey, Understanding Migrants’ Remittances: Evidence from the U.S.-Nigeria Migration Survey”, Department of Economics Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis
Feb 2007; <http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/pdfs/projects/african-migrations-workshops-pdfs/rabat-workshop-2008/una-osili-amw-08>
- 47 https://books.google.com.au/books?id=RD09AQAAMAAJ&pg=RA1-PA44&lp-g=RA1-PA44&dq=he+annual+drain+on+India+in+remittances+to+England&source=bl&ots=3xHyKV8umB&sig=Afewqx-suVp_s5L32GDTMNqiCrTw&hl=en&sa=X&ei=PHovVbCuK8HAMAX0soDAD-Q&ved=0CCwQ6AEwBA#v=onepage&q=he%20annual%20drain%20on%20India%20in%20remittances%20to%20England&f=false; http://www.jwsr.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Ziltener_Kuenzler_vol19_no2.pdf
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Maddison, A., ‘The Economic and Social Impact of Colonial Rule in *India of Class Structure and Economic Growth: India & Pakistan since the Moghuls*, 1971: http://www.ggcd.net/maddison/articles/moghul_3.pdf
- 50 Maddison, 20.
- 51 Madison, 1971.
- 52 Vanderheide Publishing Co. Ltd., 1995.
- 53 Zanden J. L., *Agriculture and Economic Development in Europe Since 1870*, edited by Pedro Lains, Vicente Pinilla, 1998; https://books.google.com.au/books?id=RLZ9AgAAQBAJ&pg=PA9&lp-g=PA9&dq=Zanden+J.+L.,+1998.&source=bl&ots=tXl0EUxMwE&sig=V4R4B6vWv6TqAgA0emkb-VW_46o&hl=en&sa=X&ei=l-BAVc-6JL-LCmAXM14DoDg&ved=0CB4Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Zanden%20J.%20L.%2C%201998.&f=false
- 54 <http://emergingequity.org/2015/03/31/modis-rival-to-chinas-silk-road-indias-cotton-route/>
- 55 Since October 1945, more than 7.5 million people have migrated to Australia—over 800 000 arrived under the Humanitarian Program. Australia’s population has increased from seven million in October 1945 to 23 589 200 million as at 15 April 2015. Currently, one in four of Australia’s population were born outside Australia. Australia’s economic development is on the backs of its migrants.
- 56 Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) county fact sheets: <http://dfat.gov.au>
- 57 <http://dfat.gov.au/geo/netherlands/Pages/netherlands-country-brief.aspx>
- 58 <http://emergingequity.org/2015/03/31/modis-rival-to-chinas-silk-road-indias-cotton-route/>
- 59 <http://www.dsalert.org/news-bank/press-releases/1088-international-conference-on-maritime-trade-and-civilisational-linkages-among-ior-countries-to-be-held-in-march-2015-in-bhubaneswar>
- 60 <http://emergingequity.org/2015/03/31/modis-rival-to-chinas-silk-road-indias-cotton-route/>
- 61 http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/articles/w/what_are_the_elgin_marbles.aspx: The ‘Elgin Marbles’ is a popular term that in its widest use may refer to the collection of stone objects – sculptures, inscriptions and architectural features – acquired by Lord Elgin during his time as ambassador to the Ottoman court of the Sultan in Istanbul. More specifically, and more usually, it is used to refer to those sculptures, inscriptions and architectural features that he acquired in Athens between 1801 and 1805. These objects were purchased by the British Parliament from Lord Elgin in 1816 and presented by Parliament to the British Museum. The collection includes sculptures from the Parthenon, roughly half of what now survives: 247 feet of the original 524 feet of frieze; 15 of 92 metopes; 17 figures from the pediments, and various other pieces of architecture. It also includes objects from other buildings on the Acropolis: the Erechtheion, the Propylaia, and the Temple of Athena Nike. In the nineteenth century the term ‘Elgin Marbles’ was used to describe the collection, which was housed in the Elgin Room at the British Museum, completed in 1832, where it remained until the Duveen Gallery was built; see also <http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/>

- article/0,28804,1883142_1883129_1883001,00.html
- 62 <http://journeywonders.com/museums-owners-of-antiquity/>
- 63 <http://journeywonders.com/museums-owners-of-antiquity/>
- 64 <http://emergingequity.org/2015/03/31/modis-ri-val-to-chinas-silk-road-indias-cotton-route/>
- 65 www.tanap.net: At sites across Asia, Africa, and Europe, remnants of this global past lie in wait. Kilometres of archives have survived centuries of humidity and tropical heat, and historians have only just begun to unearth their secret treasures-answers to the riddle of humankind's collective past. Only a few experts are able to decipher the handwritings of the archives or even to determine its languages. This unique collection of records has been glorified in the colonial past and despised in nationalist awakenings, but as modern historians unravel its secrets – layer by layer – they become more and more convinced the Archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the world's first multinational that operated between 1602-1796 contains the most complete and extensive source on early modern World History anywhere. The Archives of the VOC Record Groups are kept by repositories in the Netherlands, Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Malaysia and the United Kingdom that jointly make up the archives of the Dutch East India Company.
- 66 http://www.culturalheritageconnections.org/wiki/Mutual_Cultural_Heritage_Programme_2013-2016.

Baby Migration

Sarah Marijnen and Jeroen Doomernik

Introduction

Intercountry adoption (ICA) is a peculiar and often unnoted form of international migration. Its roots are found in the years immediately after the Second World War. Orphans from war-torn European countries were given loving homes in the United States (US). In Kapstein's words: 'after World War II, American families adopted European orphans, chiefly from Germany, Italy, and Greece; after the war in Korea they took in children from that devastated peninsula' (Kapstein 2003, 116). Lovelock (2000) argues that the practices of ICA in the post Second World War period can be conceptualized as having occurred in two waves. The first wave involved the placement of orphans from Europe, because finding families for children was both an international and a domestic issue in the post-war period. The second wave started after the mid-1970s until the present and has also been shaped by humanitarian considerations for children born into poverty. However, the second wave has also been driven by social and demographic changes in the receiving countries (Lovelock 2000, 908). The desire to have children took on an even stronger charitable character when many adopted orphans and aban-

doned children came from (former) war zones in Southeast Asia and later from other underdeveloped countries such as India, Bangladesh and Colombia. The sentimentalized idea of adoption, created by developed countries, had such a significant influence that it obscured reality. The increasing demand for children in developed countries resulted in a billion-dollar industry where children were being transferred without any form of regulatory mechanisms (Goodwin, 2010; Herrmann, 2010; Kapstein, 2003). This market consists of the demand (couples or singles who are involuntarily childless from developed countries), the supply (orphans or abandoned children) and the intermediaries (adoption agencies, but also corrupt (governmental) organizations and criminal networks). The adoption of a child costs between 20,000-35,000 euro and prospective parents are willing to pay even more in order to reduce the waiting time and to increase the chance of getting a child (Schaepmaker et al., 2008).

In this particular part of the migration business, adoption agencies, advertisers and attorneys can flourish and benefit from adoption. In 'The Eco-

nomics of the Baby Shortage' by Posner and Landes (1978), the market forces and financial exchanges that drove ICA were exposed for the first time. It was followed by a wave of criticism because opponents argued that when applying an economic framework to adoption, it would turn adoptable children into saleable objects in a mechanical economics analysis (Goodwin, 2010, 4). Moreover, within the human trafficking discourse, this issue received more attention and it became clearer that regulations were required in ICA in order to protect children (Meier, 2008; Smolin, 2004).

From this perspective, four international normative frameworks were established. First, the United Nations Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally, was established in 1986 and recognizes that an adopted child should not be deprived of his or her name, nationality or legal representative (art. 8). It also established the principle of subsidiarity, which means that ICA should only take place when domestic suitable adoptive parents cannot be found (art. 17).

Second, the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) entered into force in 1990 and dedicates several paragraphs to the phenomenon ICA. The most important one is Article 21 (d), which indicates that State parties should take all measures to ensure that the placement of children does not result in improper financial gains for those involved. The Convention is the most widely ratified treaty in history as 193 States are party to it.

Third, the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (from here referred to as the Optional Protocol) was adopted in 2000, came into force in 2002 and is ratified by 117 states. The first paragraph of article 3 calls on States parties to ensure that coercive adoption is completely covered under criminal law. Thus, the article criminalizes the act of 'improperly inducing consent, as an intermediary, for the adoption of a child' (art. 3 (c)). Furthermore, paragraph 5 of the same article demands that States parties should take all appropriate administrative and legal measures to ensure all individuals involved in ICA act in conformity with international legal instruments.

Fourth, the Convention on Protection of Children and Co-operation in Respect of Intercountry Adoption (the Hague Convention) was adopted in 1993 and came into force in 1995. It is considered as the major multilateral instrument regulating ICA. As chapter 1 (art. 1) describes, the Convention has three principal objectives:

- 'to establish safeguards to ensure that intercountry adoptions take place in the best interests of the child and with respect for his or her fundamental rights as recognized in international law;
- to establish a system of co-operation amongst Contracting States to ensure that those safeguards are respected and thereby prevent the abduction, the sale of, or traffic in children;
- to secure the recognition in Contracting States of adoptions made in accordance with the Convention.'

The second chapter (art. 4 and 5) out-

lines the requirements for ICAs. Authorities in the sending states are charged with the responsibility of determining whether a child is adoptable. The receiving states are responsible for determining whether prospective parents are suitable to adopt. The mechanisms for regulating ICA are outlined in the third and fourth chapter of the Convention. Each contracting state has to create a central authority that is required to undertake all measures required to prevent improper financial gains. These central authorities are charged with exchanging information relating to the prospective parents and the child and facilitating the ICA process. The central authorities in sending and receiving countries must both agree before the adoption can proceed. They too are required to ensure the safe transfer of the child.

This international legal framework was an attempt to restrict the profits and market forces in the ICA system. In spite of this, the large discrepancy between supply and demand has kept into effect powerful economic mechanisms, where children are being treated as commodities, at least by some actors. ICA is thus driven by its customers and money, and the system has become infected with a substantial degree of "child laundering". Child laundering occurs 'when children are taken illegally from birth families through child buying or kidnapping, and then "laundered" through the adoption system as "orphans" and then "adoptees"' (Smolin, 2004, 112). Therefore, one could wonder whether adoption agencies are in search of a loving family for a child or of children for homes in developed countries. This perversion of the adoption system is coun-

tered by the Optional Protocol which explicitly criminalizes such practices. Yet, as we will demonstrate, it is questionable whether this presents a sufficiently effective response to the policy issues posed by international adoption processes which are the substance and remainder of this article. First we will discuss the nature of international adoption and the ways in which it has taken on the features of a market with legal and illegal elements. With that knowledge in mind we then look at the stakeholders in this market discussing what the precise nature of their interests is.

The Structural Factors Underlying the Market for ICA

The main reasons that have been identified for the increasing demand for children in developed countries are social and demographic changes, such as the legalization of abortion, the increased use of contraceptives, higher workforce participation of women and highly regulated domestic adoption processes (Graff, 2008). However, the increased demand for ICA is mainly the result of the significant rise in infertility rates over the last decades. More than six million Americans in the reproductive-age population suffer from infertility. Between 1968 and 1980 the number of persons who sought treatment for infertility doubled (Bartner, 2000, 406). Along with the increased number of infertile individuals came a tremendous influx of money and the creation of the 'family building' industry. As Bartner further explains: 'infertile couples seem driven to incredible lengths to bring children into their lives and to create the traditional, American, nuclear family. Cou-

Table 1: Intercountry adoptions to 23 Receiving States 2003-2012

	2003-11	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
USA FY	159,180	21,616	22,884	22,728	20,679	19,613	17,438	12,753	12,149	9,320	8,668
Andorra	50	2	0	0	8	3	11	7	9	2	1
Australia	2,884	278	370	434	421	405	270	269	222	215	149
Belgium	3,657	430	470	471	383	358	364	439	388	351	260
Canada ^a	17,053	2,180	1,955	1,871	1,535	1,712	1,916	2,129	1,970	1,785	1,367 ^a
Cyprus	60	3	3	3	n/a	19	16	12	4	n/a	n/a
Denmark	4,161	523	528	586	447	429	395	496	419	338	219
Finland	1,897	239	289	308	218	176	157	187	160	163	175
France	31,136	3,995	4,079	4,136	3,977	3,162	3,271	3,017	3,504	1,995	1,569
Germany ^b	5,509	674	650	560	583	778	664	571	504	525	415
Iceland	199	25	29	41	19	18	13	17	18	19	17
Ireland	2,945	358	398	366	313	392	422	307	201	188	117
Israel	1,572	258	226	191	176	218	148	117	117	121	88
Italy	31,749	2,772	3,402	2,874	3,188	3,420	3,977	3,964	4,130	4,022	3,106
Luxembourg	352	51	56	41	45	31	28	36	40	24	14
Malta	411	23	46	39	60	54	53	34	42	50	57
New Zealand ^c	810	278 ^c	351 ^c	30	20	49	30	16	19	17	22
Netherlands	7,922	1,154	1,307	1,185	816	778	767	682	705	528	488
Norway	4,174	714	706	582	448	426	304	347	343	304	239
Spain	34,661	3,951	5,541	5,423	4,472	3,648	3,156	3,006	2,891	2,573	1,669
Sweden	7,889	1,046	1,109	1,083	879	800	793	912	729	538	466
Switzerland ^b	3,895	664	567	389	410	394	367	349	388	367	314
UK	2,475	301	333	369	363	356	225	200	175	153	120
TOTAL (23)	324,641	41,535	45,299	43,710	39,460	37,249	34,785	29,867	29,127	23,601	19,540
					(22)					(22)	

a) Provisional figures for 2012 b) Totals for Germany and Switzerland are for non-relative (nicht verwandt/non-familiale) adoptions only
c) Totals for New Zealand for 2003 and 2004 include relative adoptions from Samoa which are no longer classed as intercountry.

ples pour tens of thousands of dollars into infertility treatments in frenzied attempts to become pregnant' (Ibid.: 407). However, treatment fails for about thirty five percent of infertile couples in developed countries. Such couples may then turn to ICA as their last chance to create a family (Ibid.: 408).

In addition to the social and demographic changes in developed countries, there are long-term processes in developing nations that come into the equation. The same factors that drive irregular migration to the US and the European Union are creating significant numbers of adoptable children: a high incidence of poverty, poor governance or downright failed states, restrictive abortion regulations, high fertility rates and unplanned births. It is a great paradox of our times that the youngest migrants are welcome whereas those who seek to migrate on their own account, i.e. when they are

older, are not. In sum, the structural demand for children comes from developed countries and the structural supply from underdeveloped ones (Graff, 2008). ICA has gradually been shaped by demand and supply, which belied its humanitarian and altruistic nature especially when it became infected with large amounts of money. Thus, as Graff states, 'unless we recognize that behind the altruistic veneer, international adoption has become an industry -- one that is often highly lucrative and sometimes corrupt -- many more adoption stories will have unhappy endings' (Ibid.: 66).

Selman (2013) has analyzed the recent tendencies in ICA and identified several factors and trends behind the numbers. *Table 1* shows the ICAs from 2003 to 2012 for 23 receiving states. As *Table 1* demonstrates, the global number of ICAs peaked in 2004 with around 45,000 children.

Table 2. 15 Countries Sending Most Children for Intercountry Adoption to the 23 Receiving States in Table 1 above, 2003-2011 - TOP 5 in bold for each year; peak year for each state of origin highlighted –

	2003-11	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
China	79,577	11,226	13,409	14,493	10,744	8,748	5,975	5,084	5,480	4,418
Russia	51,142	7,743	9,379	7,480	6,765	4,880	4,140	4,033	3,395	3,327
Ethiopia	25,708	858	1,527	1,778	2,172	3,033	3,905	4,564	4,404	3,456
Guatemala	24,138	2,676	3,424	3,872	4,232	4,851	4,186	799	58	40
South Korea	14,653	2,308	2,241	2,121	1,815	1,223	1,392	1,438	1,153	961
South Korea ^a		2,287	2,258	2,101	1,899	1,264	1,250	1,125	1,013	916
Colombia	14,631	1,750	1,734	1,466	1,639	1,635	1,617	1,415	1,798	1,577
Ukraine	13,984	2,052	2,019	1,987	1,046	1,614	1,577	1,517	1,094	1,073
Vietnam	10,927	936	488	1,198	1,370	1,695	1,739	1,518	1,279	704
Haiti	10,457	1,056	1,159	958	1,096	783	1,368	1,241	2,601 ^b	195
India	7,708	1,173	1,083	873	847	1,003	759	727	615	628
Kazakhstan	6,145	863	888	843	714	779	732	659	518	149
Philippines	4,591	418	414	503	476	569	600	583	516	509
Brazil	4,106	472	478	473	518	485	490	462	380	348
Thailand	3,613	490	501	465	419	440	384	339	314	261
Poland	3,371	347	406	409	395	381	408	402	325	298
Total sent from all countries	324,641	41,535	45,299	43,710	39,460	37,249	34,785	29,867	29,127	23,609

Source: Statistics for 23 Receiving Countries ;

a) Korean figures in red are from Ministry of Health & Welfare

b) includes ISS estimate for Germany (62) and 1,090 humanitarian visas to US.

This fall was marked by contrasting factors and trends in receiving countries. For instance, in Italy, the total number of adoptions in 2010 was about 20 per cent higher than in 2004. From 2006 to 2009 the numbers of Canada have been rising as well. While most receiving countries shared the general trend of a rise in numbers up to 2004 followed by a decline since, the story is very different for sending countries where the pattern of change over the period from 2003 to 2012 varies greatly. *Table 2* shows the 15 countries from which most children are adopted.

Adoptions from China peaked in 2005 and adoptions from Russia in 2004. The reduction in the number of children sent from Russia and China is partly compensated by the continuing growth in the number of children sent by Ethiopia and the large rise in numbers from Guatemala and Vietnam. For instance, adoptions from Ethiopia rose

by 98.5 per cent and from Vietnam by 250 per cent between 2001 and 2007 (Selman, 2009, 581).

Globalization

Increased globalization has a direct bearing on ICA's supply and demand. It would have been hard for previous generations to adopt a child from the other side of the world, whereas, these days, such adoptions are "normal" and something celebrities advocate. Masson (2001) identifies three perspectives on the "normalization" of ICA. Promoters, abolitionists and pragmatists stand for three normative positions. Promoters consider ICA as a way to help individual children who are in need of loving homes. In their view, the problem of ICA is the presence of too much bureaucracy. Therefore, 'like natural parents, those seeking to adopt should not be subject to assessment or restrictions' (Ibid.: 149).

In contrast to the promoters' view about the positive impact of ICA, the abolitionists have focused on the negative impact because they stress that it is a product of neo-colonialism and ethnocentrism. Children are being adopted from poor states for the need of people in rich, powerful states. In addition, abolitionists argue that if the money spent on adopted children would be spent on children's services in the sending countries, the lives of many children could be improved. Abolitionists are in particular concerned about whether abuse is increasing to meet the demand for children, and that 'accepted practices such as requiring donations to orphanages, can easily develop into corruption, possibly even the selling of children' (Ibid.: 149).

Pragmatists accept ICA because they believe it can be controlled. It is controllable by a range of unilateral, bilateral and international measures and statements, the Hague Convention in particular. According to pragmatists, legislative action alone is not enough because it will not raise standards. Therefore, 'new practices will have to displace existing ones, challenge the beliefs of applicants, agencies, the judiciary of and immigration services, and focus on the attention of governments' (Ibid.: 150).

Consumption patterns are also being altered by globalization. The world has become a consumer society where desires and tastes have become essential parts of our lives. The ICA system also satisfies desires and tastes. An overwhelming preference for children of a certain age, sex, and ethnicity exists (Graff, 2008; Goodwin, 2010; Kapstein, 2003; Meier, 2008; Zamostny et al., 2003). As Her-

rmann notes, the ICA process is seen 'as "shopping" for a child, with parents selectively seeking a child that best fits their personal needs' (2010, 414).

In short, the ICA market is strongly related to the outcomes of globalization. It has become a global practice where in discussions three positions are present (promoters, abolitionists and pragmatists). A preference for particular children is a market element because it involves valuing and pricing, as the next section shows.

The Intermediaries

In case of a competitive market, there are many buyers and sellers exchanging the same goods. ICA is governed by such a market because the demand of its customers creates an upward pressure on the supply. This became evident at a meeting for prospective adoptive parents organized by a Dutch agency (Vereniging Wereldkinderen) we witnessed.¹ A representative explained that the staff has to be in the office at 1.30 A.M. once every month, i.e. when the list of adoptable children in China is being updated. This list is consulted by adoption agencies all over the world. Therefore, as the employee explained, it needs to be checked immediately. All the children would otherwise already been placed by the time the office opens. Thus, the children are matched to parents by adoption agencies in a split second, in order to secure the supply of children and to complete the mediation between the parents and the adoption agencies.

Completing the mediation is very important for adoption agencies. According to Professor Emeritus of Adoption Dr. René Hoksbergen², adoption

agencies have to mediate in a minimum number of adoptions in order to retain their business viability. The profit principle has become the most important concern for adoption agencies. Jan Wierenga, the former director of the Supervisory Board of Wereldkinderen, acknowledged in an interview³ that due to the competitive character, adoption agencies cannot spend sufficient time on adoption cases. Therefore, they run the risk of conducting the adoption process less accurately and thus putting the interest of the adopting parents above the interest of the adoptive children. For example, as Wierenga explains, while the best interest of a child can be domestic adoption, driven by commercial interests adoption agencies may choose not to investigate this option.

The commercial aspect is visible when we look at the costs for an adoption, which vary widely. According to Goodwin (2010), the adoption of a child costs between 20,000 – 50,000 USD. All the adoption agencies in the Netherlands are accredited under the Hague Convention and therefore required to inform adopting parents about the costs involved in ICA. An analysis of the websites of the six Dutch agencies that have a license from the Ministry of Security and Justice to mediate in ICA shows differences in fees. Different fees apply to different countries. For instance, adopting a child from China with the mediation of Wereldkinderen costs around 20,000 euro (excluding travel costs and such), while the costs of adopting a child from Morocco, South-Africa and the Philippines are no more than 13,000 euro.⁴ Fees also vary between the adoption agencies for adoptions from the

same country. For example, Vereniging Wereldkinderen charges 14,713 euro for the adoption of an Ethiopian child, while Stichting Afrika charges 16,000 euro.⁵

The price differentiation as presented above is another market feature in ICA. The Hague Convention stipulates that costs and fees should be reasonable and improper financial gains are prohibited. However, the adoption agencies that publish their costs and fees online do not specify these. Therefore, it is impossible to know where the money goes. Speaking with Vereniging Wereldkinderen, we learned that prospective parents have to donate to the orphanages a sum of money of up to 4,000 euro for the care of their child before the adoption.⁶ It is up to the sending side to ask for a certain donation and it is in their power to ask for large amounts, as prospective parents are willing to pay because of their deeply rooted wish to have children. The donation is included in the agency's fee, together with the cost of foreign salaries and operations and staff travel. This encourages corruption (Graff, 2008, 59). In the Dutch case, because of the high costs involved the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment provides a subsidy of 3,700 euro per adopted child.⁷ In this way the Dutch government is partly responsible for allowing and stimulating massive financial flows into the ICA system. According to Goodwin (2010), the donations by prospective adoptive parents to orphanages and government agencies in countries of origin create valuable contacts and therefore, it secures the supply of children for the adoption agencies.

Preferences

Prospective parents are faced with various choices to make. For instance: which sending country (or race) to choose, the age and gender of the adoptable child and whether to be open to a child with special medical needs. With such considerations adoptive parents exercise a key element of the market: the ability to make a choice (Goodwin, 2010, 10). Based on the analyzed Dutch websites of adoption agencies, parents can express their preferences, but there seems to be no variation in the price related to gender, race or age. However, Higgins & Smith (2002) and Goodwin (2010) state that in the US race-based baby valuing occurs. As Goodwin argues: 'Couples may spend upward to fifty thousand dollars to adopt a healthy white infant. Black infants, however, are adopted for as little as four thousand dollars. Adoption agencies attempt to clarify this discrepancy by explaining that black children are more difficult to place than white children' (2010, 6). This logic seems incorrect, because even if black children are harder to place, why is more work cheaper? Also biracial children attract higher prices than black babies. Graff even states that not only black babies are cheaper, but older children or special needs children can be adopted with a 'discount' (2008, 59). Thus, preferences matter in the ICA market. This could explain the fact that the US has the biggest demand for Chinese and Korean babies, because they are 'almost white' and very young (Selman, 2009). According to Dorow (2006), Chinese babies are attractive for US prospective adoptive parents because they are racially flexible. In the interviews she had with

US adoptive parents, she was surprised how several parents fantasized that their Chinese adopted children were not 'all Chinese'. Evidence for some 'whiteness' was red highlights in their hair and how they fit well into a private all-white school (Dorow, 2006:375).

Several scholars claim that in Europe racial preferences also play a role. For example, according to Herrmann (2010) and Selman (2012), European countries such as Spain, Germany and France are adopting Russian children in large numbers. This is likely because of the availability in Russia of 'Eurasian children' and that Russia is able to meet the desires of the prospective parents (Herrmann, 2010, 414). Hilbrand Westra of United Adoptees International (UAI), an organization that criticizes the adoption market and its tendency towards child trafficking, confirms in an interview⁸ that racial categorization occurs in the ICA market. The white children are most wanted, followed by the light colored Asian children, biracial children, the dark colored Asian children and last, the African children.

Conversely, there are some mechanisms involved in the ICA process that go against the idea of choice because some parents are considered as being incompetent in the ICA market. Their financial, medical and personal status defines whether they are suitable candidates or not. Especially their financial status plays a significant role (Graff, 2008). Due to the high costs involved it is impossible for persons with a low income to adopt a child. Therefore, it can be said that with market mechanisms within ICA, the (white) rich always outbid the poor or low-income

parents when it comes to the adoption of white babies. Consequently, social and economic inequalities within society are being maintained. Moreover, the whole adoption market is only possible because of, and as well reproducing, the structural inequalities between underdeveloped and developed countries. Thus, only the rich in the developed countries adopt babies from the underdeveloped or semi-developed countries and are seeking children that best fit their preferences (Hermann, 2010).

Commodification

As analyzed above, the demand by the prospective parents creates an upward pressure on the supply and on the economic value per adopted child. Thus, the value of a child is determined by the mechanisms of supply and demand. As a result its “commodification” lies just around the corner.

According to Radin (1996), commodification can be identified in terms of four characteristics; 1) exchanges of things in the world (2) for money, (3) in the social context of markets and (4) in combination with four conceptual indicators which characterize complete commodification. As previous sections demonstrated, children are being exchanged in the world for sizeable amounts of money in a market that is driven by its customers. The four conceptual indicators which characterize complete commodification, which Radin is referring to, are: objectification, exchangeability, commensurability and monetization (Ibid.: 118-120). First, objectification is taking place by adoptable children because they are being separated from ‘their holder’, which can be

defined as the biological mother or father. Second, adoptable children are exchangeable for money. Third, the value of adoptable children is being scaled, which is defined as commensurability. Fourth, this ranking involves a financial value (monetization), because adoptable children are ranked and have different prices.

This commodification of children is particularly visible in the use of advertising by adoption agencies. Several adoption agencies use a catalogue to present the availability of adoptable children to the prospective parents (Higgins & Smith, 2002). For example, the American adoption organization All God’s Children is using a catalogue for presenting their ‘waiting children’ to the audience. The catalogue contains profiles and pictures of adoptable children from all over the world. Underneath the picture are the child’s name and a profile. The profiles amount to between 200-300 words and features information about the level of affection, social skills, age, disabilities and the racial requirements of the prospective adoptive parents.⁹ By making use of these catalogues, prospective parents are in a position ‘to shop’ for a child that best fits their preferences. Higgins & Smith even claim that the marketing of adoptable children can be compared ‘to fast food, an industry where qualities of the standardized product have receded into the background, replaced with a singular concern for effective distribution’ (2002, 187).

Following from the above, it seems accurate to argue that because of the large amounts of money involved and because there is a market driven by the

demand, children are seen and treated as commodities in the ICA system (Goodwin, 2010; Kapstein, 2003; Meier, 2008).

The question we now turn to is how states are involved in this adoption market. On the surface it may seem that the practice of ICA is achieved by individuals who are motivated by their own needs and that the concerns of a nation, as manifested in policies, are somehow different from their nationals. However, as Lovelock states, 'it is misleading to conceptualize the needs and concerns of prospective parents as being somehow outside of or separate from the needs and concerns of the nation. Individuals who adopt from abroad do so within a particular domestic/international/political context' (2000, 910). Therefore, the practice of individuals often serves national purposes, especially when these individuals are powerful in terms of finance and influence.

Lovelock (2000) concludes that all three states she studied (US, Canada and New Zealand) have been prioritizing their national needs over the needs of child migrants from the underdeveloped countries for a long time. A clear demonstration of this reality is Operation Baby Lift, which refers to a large scale adoption program initiated by the US. This program airlifted more than 2000 Vietnamese babies, mainly to the US, for adoption and was considered a heroic humanitarian response to children in the war-torn Vietnam (Bergquist, 2009:622). However, the motivations of the US behind this operation became quite controversial. The operation encountered several problems. For instance, one of the helicopter

lifts crashed and all the children died. Another example is how the adoption processes were completed in a very short period of time and therefore lacked an accurate background check of the children. It turned out that some of the babies who were classified as 'orphans', still had one or two parents (Ibid.: 623). Many Americans were convinced that Operation Baby Lift was 'a cynical attempt on the part of the U.S. government and the government of South Vietnam to gain sympathy for the war' (Lovelock, 2000:923). Thus, the national concerns, in this case the domestic political concerns in the US about the diminishing support for the war, shaped the migration of Vietnamese babies.

The State: Legal Responses

Lovelock claims that the decision to ratify the Hague Convention by states was clearly shaped by the need to secure the supply of and access to adoptable children for their citizens (2000, 944). As discussed earlier, the Hague Convention seeks to take measures to ensure that ICA is conducted with respect for the fundamental rights of the child and in its best interests. In addition, it should prevent the abduction, sale or trafficking of children (Kapstein, 2003, 122). However, the Hague Convention does have a number of shortcomings and as a result it is up to the state to define, regulate and act on irregularities (Lovelock, 2000, 942). Regulating independent adoption agents and agencies, and assuring that they are not involved in any improper practices is problematic. Karin van Doorn from adoption agency Stichting Afrika explained in an interview¹⁰ that the sending states are in a position

to use the Hague Convention to their own advantage because the Convention does not include strict rules. This is not least the case while many key terms are left undefined, such as ‘non-profit objectives’ and ‘adoptability’, nor clear definitions of what constitutes a ‘reasonable fee’ or ‘improper financial gain’ are included in the Convention (Herrmann, 2010; Lovelock, 2000). The Convention’s implementing in effect is left to the political will of sending states, which is shaped by the ongoing political realities that creates the demand for ICA. Given its history, the responses to conventions and the contemporary practices of ICA, it seems ‘reasonable to question the potential implications of this reliance on ‘political will’” (Lovelock, 2000, 941). Finally, children from non-contracting states obviously are not protected in the first place. There are 32 states involved in ICA that have not ratified the Hague Convention, mostly sending states, such as Ethiopia, South-Korea and Haiti. In these states, the political will to protect children’s interests as all decisive.

The international adoption organization UAI has little faith in the political will of states to protect the interests of adoptees. It claims that only those of prospective parents are served. According to Westra of UAI, despite of all the mistakes made by adoption agencies, the Dutch government never closed any of them. Once adoption agencies have been licensed states fade into the background of the ICA system. Adoption organizations are subject to minimal inspection and mistakes are easily made. Nicolas from UAI argues that in between 60 to 70 per cent of all ICAs, the birth parents did not give permission for

the adoption of their child. Therefore, child trafficking plays a much larger role in the ICA market than states want to admit.

In sum, states may choose to prioritize the needs of their citizens over those of child migrants from underdeveloped countries. Despite the Hague Convention’s goal to protect the rights of adoptive children, in actual fact it allows receiving states to secure the supply of adoptable children for their citizens and for sending states to be the beneficiary of a billion-dollar adoption industry.

The Agencies

In order to justify the need for ICA, adoption agencies widely quote the statistics on institutionalized children and orphans by UNICEF. In 2006, this organization reported an estimated 132 million orphans in underdeveloped and semi-developed countries. However, UNICEF’s definition is different from that employed in many industrialized countries, where only a child which has lost both parents is an orphan. UNICEF’s definition includes children who have lost the father or the mother. Only ten percent of the total has lost both their parents.¹¹ In most cases these orphans are living with their extended family (Graff, 2008, 61).

Some scholars argue that because adoption agencies are in competition, their prime objective is to find adoptable children rather than to identify caring families (Herrmann, 2010; Lovelock, 2000; Schaeemaker, 2008). Although Wierenga (the former director of the Supervisory Board of Wereldkinderen) acknowledges the competition on the demand side (between adoption agen-

cies), he does not recognize competition to exist on the supply side. Yet because the agencies work in a demand-driven market, in which some children are more popular than others, this cannot but result in some kind of competition on the supply side as well (Graff, 2008; Hermann, 2010).

According to Wierenga, adoption agencies are aware of the changed nature of ICA and have become 'more businesslike'. He recalled that before ICAs became popular, there were many children available and more and more parties appeared on the adoption market. ¹²Nowadays, adoption agencies are doing everything they can to mediate in as many adoption cases as possible. This corresponds with the observations at the information meeting of Wereldkinderen.¹³ The agency's representative explained how the Dutch Council for Children's Protection (Raad voor de Kinderbescherming) is doing family research in the Netherlands. The Council investigates the needs, capacities and motivations of prospective adoptive parents. The aim of the Council is to understand the ability of the applicants to raise an adopted child.¹⁴ In addition, to be eligible for the adoption of children from China, the Chinese authorities set a number of requirements to prospective parents. For instance: an annual (combined) gross income above the modal income for Dutch households (30,000 euro). Prospective parents must furthermore have attained certain educational levels. When the agency's representative enumerated these requirements, one prospective parent expressed her concern about the fact that she and her husband might not be able to prove a combined

income of more than 30.000 euros. The representative replied that 'she does not have to worry because people can add up all their possessions' and 'also sneak in a few thousand dollars extra because of the minimum inspection'. He continued by saying that 'there is no need to worry about the educational level either, even if you only finished secondary school. Because when the prospective parents show to the Council that they finished secondary school, Wereldkinderen will make sure that their education will meet the requirements of China'.

These observations demonstrate how an adoption agency is doing everything in its power to make sure that prospective parents can proceed with the adoption. This may mean abusing its powerful position, because according to the sending country, their infant citizens should not be matched to prospective parents if these do not meet all requirements. The adoption agency makes sure that this is the case and the adoption process can be completed. The use of online marketing by adoption agencies also shows that adoption agencies are intend on selling the idea of adoption in order to have as many mediations as possible and thus to maintain their business viability.

Associations with Trafficking

The demand-driven character make adoption agencies more aware of the fact that they should not be associated with child buying practices. As Wierenga notes, 'a rumor is fatal for adoption agencies'. Nevertheless, as he argues, is it almost impossible to control everything because adoption agencies are dependent upon the authorities of the sending countries.¹⁵ These authorities are

responsible for determining if the children are orphans or not. Even when a scandal hits the news, according to Irene van Ark of Wereldkinderen, it does not always involve child trafficking. As she explains, ‘in some cases the media depict adopted children as being sold because it turns out that they were not orphans, but in fact they were living on the streets for years and maybe the mother has a better life now and therefore she wants to reclaim her child’.¹⁶

It can be concluded that adoption agencies are in a powerful position because they benefit from the ICA market, as the above stakeholder analysis has demonstrated. As market agents they do everything in their power to strengthen their market position. Even when this includes being in the shadow of, or maybe even being involved, in child trafficking practices.

The Adoption Triangle

Adoptees

Voices not often heard in academic discussions are those of the adoptees. At least in some ways they possess expert knowledge, notably of the outcomes international adoption practices. For this reason we interviewed ten people who migrated to the Netherlands in this way.¹⁷ During the interviews, most adoptees expressed their discontent about the way adoption is framed in society. According to adoptee Nadia¹⁸, adoption is wrongly seen as a way to rescue children. Adoptee Rodrigo also stated: ‘others decide that this [adoption] is right for you, however adoption is nothing more than a way to meet the demands of involuntarily childless people’.

The fact that the adoption market is

driven by the demand of involuntarily childless people in developed countries was discussed by half of the interviewed adoptees. Adoptee Iris expressed her concern about the importance of economics in the world and in ICA: ‘The market [in ICA] facilitates the demand and the supply of children, there are parties who deal with the demand and supply and this makes us the products because the demand will always be present’. Adoptee Graciella argued that ‘everything in the world is made into a commercial business, in which the demand is determinative. The adoption of children is made into a business where norms and values are not playing a role’.

The commodification of children is indeed a practice in which norms and values do not seem to matter. Children from underdeveloped countries are considered as something that is saleable. Adoptee Rogrigo noted, ‘we are living in a consumption society where people appropriate the right of having children by buying a child’. Within this commodification process the rights of adoptees are at stake because not the interest of the children has priority, but the huge amounts of money and the demand that drives this market. All adoptees that were interviewed made it clear that the rights of adoptees are at stake and could and should be reinforced.

This echo from the interviewees is not unusual. Since decades, adoptees have been making themselves heard by establishing organizations to defend their rights. Two examples are the Dutch organization Los Hijos and Arierang. Both organizations were established to improve the rights of either Colombian or Korean adoptees in the Netherlands.

In the interviews¹⁹ both organizations state that organizing 'roots travels' is one of the most important activities of their organization. Adoptees who want to search for their biological family can sign up for a 'roots travel' and during their search they receive assistance in order to find their biological families and travel with the organization and other adoptees to their country of birth to meet their family. UAI is another organization which makes itself heard on the position of adoptees by criticizing the adoption market and its tendency towards child trafficking. According to Nicolas Yoon Gelders of the UAI, the supply in the ICA market is dwindling, while the demand is rising²⁰. This results in a massive pressure on the sending countries to meet the demand and therefore corruption plays a big role on the ICA market. The financial incentives involved in the ICA market stimulate corruption. As Westra of the UAI explains: 'The intercountry adoption market is full of corruption. Especially on informal corruption there is no control and therefore children are easy victims of child trafficking practices'.²¹

(Prospective) Adoptive Parents

As already mentioned, prospective parents are responsible for the high demand for young adoptable infants. Therefore, 'prospective parents continue to contribute large sums of money into a potentially corrupt system in order to find adoptable children abroad' (Herrmann, 2010:417). Not all prospective parents are aware of the existence of corruption and have this misconception that orphanages in underdeveloped countries contain an endless supply of healthy

infants (Ibid.: 412, 427). In addition, adopting a child is an emotional experience for prospective parents and the immense need for getting children makes them not want to look to practices that do not seem to be totally legal.

Once they have become adoptive parents and a scandal is revealed with disturbing news about their little ones, adoptive parents can only say in their defense that they trusted their adoption agencies. Graff gives an example of an American mother who adopted a little Cambodian girl and her adoption agency told her that her Cambodian daughter was an orphan. However, when her daughter could speak English well enough after a year, she spoke about her mommy and daddy and her brothers and sisters, all of which have been found to be alive (2008:65).

In short, adoption agencies and (prospective) adoptive parents have motivations to ignore evidence of child laundering practices. Nonetheless, this is becoming increasingly apparent in the ICA system, and the patterns are obvious for those with eyes willing to see. Thus, 'credulous Westerners, eager to believe that they are saving children, are easily fooled into accepting laundered children -- for there is no fool like the one who wants to be fooled' (Smolin, 2005:135).

Biological Parents

Scholars have been dealing with the well-being of adoptees or with the position and demand of prospective parents in the ICA market. Unfortunately, there is a lack of research about the position of the adoptees' biological parents in this demand-driven market. Herrmann and Kasper (1992) argue that the mere ac-

ceptance of ICA overlooks the negative impact on birth mothers. They argue that in some underdeveloped countries illegal baby trade is seen as a solution to the problem of inadequate prenatal services and care. In this view, women are considered as 'breeders', who produce healthy babies for the ICA market (Ibid.: 48). The responsibility of the governments of sending states to provide for family planning services and improve the position of (teenage) mothers is avoided by participating in the ICA market.

Therefore, as Schaeemaker et al. (2008) argues, ICA often comes down to exploitation of vulnerable families who have no other choice. Parents are often persuaded by tricks to give their children away, without understanding exactly what adoption means and assuming that their children will come back (Ibid.: 33). Anthropologist Shellee Colen (1995) believes that adoption is a product of 'stratified reproduction', which refers to reproductive labor by women structured by political, economic and cultural forces and results in unequal hierarchies of race, class, place and gender in the global economy. Known from the trafficking of children for sexual exploitation are cases in which parents see themselves forced to sell one or more children in order to be able to support the remaining household members (Doomernik, 2006) and doing so for adoption would appear a humane option in comparison.

To conclude, the consequences of a demand-driven market for adoptees are painful because not only the interest of the costumers in the market are put first, the adoptees are being commodified and

therefore it is questionable whether their adoption cases were processed in a fair and legal manner. The prospective parents are responsible for the high demand but at the same time are not aware of the negative impact on the ICA market, because they are easily fooled into putting their trust in adoption agencies who again may be tricked into accepting orphans who actually are not.

Conclusions

When migration takes on market features, we can differentiate, like Salt & Stein (1997) have done before us, between legal and illegal sides of the business. Among the legal aspects of ICA we can list instances where a child is truly an orphan, cannot domestically be matched with suitable adoptive parents and therefore migrates to another country thus serving its best interests. On the other end of the spectrum we find deceptive practices and children being sold and bought in order to satisfy the needs of prospective adoptive parents abroad. In between these two positions we find a grey area in which both worlds seem to meet and in which it seems often unclear whose interests are served in what particular manner. It also has become clear that attempts to bring and keep the market in international adoption above board by means of (international) legal interventions are not easy. This appears not least to be so while policies at the receiving end (the countries of adoptive parents) aim to serve different needs that are at odds to each other, at least to some extent. Adoption should not fall under the restrictive regimes that as a rule govern migration from developing nations while it fulfills affective needs

among citizens. Otherwise a full stop to the practice and alternative protection of vulnerable orphans - in the country of origin - would be a viable consideration.

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Notes

- 1 Meeting for prospective adoptive parents at Wereldkinderen on 22-03-2014, the Hague, the Netherlands.
- 2 Interview with Dr. René Hoksbergen, Professor Emeritus of Adoption on 24-04-2014, Soest, the Netherlands.
- 3 Interview with Jan Wierenga on 05-05-2014, Gouda, the Netherlands.
- 4 www.wereldkinderen.nl/websites/implementatie last accessed on 13-05-2014.
- 5 www.stichtingafrika.nl/images/pdf/kostenethio-pie.pdf and www.wereldkinderen.nl/websites/implementatie, last accessed on 13-05-2014.
- 6 Interview with Irene van Ark, working at Wereldkinderen on 19-05-2014, using Skype.
- 7 www.agentschapszw.nl/subsidies/tegemoetkoming-adoptiekosten, last accessed on 14-05-2014.
- 8 Interview with Hilbrand Westra on 27-05-2014, using Skype.
- 9 www.allgodschildren.org/adoption/our-adoption-programs/waitingchildren (received username and password waitingchildren) Last accessed on 15-05-2014.
- 10 Interview with Karin van Doorn on 26-05-2014, using Skype.
- 11 http://www.unicef.org/media/media_45279.html, last accessed on 19-05-2014.
- 12 Interview with Jan Wierenga on 05-05-2014, Gouda, the Netherlands.
- 13 Meeting for prospective adoptive parents at Wereldkinderen on 22-03-2014, the Hague, the Netherlands.
- 14 http://www.adoptie.nl/p/1564/adoptieprocedure_stap_voor_stap/, last accessed on 20-05-2014.
- 15 Interview with Jan Wierenga on 05-05-2014, Gouda, the Netherlands.
- 16 Interview with Irene van Ark on 19-05-2014, using Skype.
- 17 The interviews with ten adoptees took place between 01-04-2014 and 20-05-2014.
- 18 Nadia is a fictitious name for an adoptee who requested to remain anonymous.
- 19 Interview with Los Hijos on 12-05-2015, using Skype. The interview with Arierang on 08-05-2015, Amsterdam, the Netherlands.
- 20 Interview with Nicolas Yoon Gelders on 27-05-2014, using Skype.
- 21 Interview with Hilbrand Westra on 27-05-2014, using Skype.

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Editor

Hans Storhaug

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The Association of European Migration Institutions Protocol of the Annual Meeting

*23 - 26 September 2015
Turin, Italy*



*Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other experts on migration issues met for a three day conference in Turin, Italy. The conference was hosted by Centro Altreitalie sulle Migrazioni Italiane, located on the premises of the Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, Via Principe Amedeo, 34.
Photo: Dario Cieol.*

Thursday, 25 September 2015

After an informal gathering in the center of the city of Turin Wednesday evening, conference members met Thursday morning in Sala Conferenze Fondazione Luigi Einaudi

Via Principe Amedeo,34. Welcome speeches by Maddalena Tirabassi (Director Centro Altreitalia, Vice Chair AEMI), Ilda Curti (Turin City Councilor), Hans Storhaug (President AEMI), Piero Bassetti (President Globus et Locus), Piero Gastaldo (General Secretary Compagnia di San Paolo) marked the official opening of the 25th Annual AEMI conference. In his opening lecture, Ferruccio Pastore, FIERI, Turin spoke about the crisis of the European migration regime: how we got here and which ways forward? His message to the audience was that the refugee crisis represented a timeshift in European history that would change the continent for ever.

The rest of the day was devoted to papers and discussions related to the theme *New European migrations*.

Session 1 and 2: New European Migrations

Chair: Marco Demarie, Compagnia di San Paolo, Turin.

Speakers:

Solange Maslowski, Center for Comparative Law of the Faculty of law of Charles Univ. in Prague, Czech Republic: *Expulsion of economically inactive European Union citizens from their host member state*

Laura Bartolini, European Univ. Institute, Florence, Italy: *Drivers of highly-skilled emigration from Southern Europe in time of crisis*

Stella Capuano, Institute for Employment Research, Nuremberg, Germany and Silvia Migali, University of Aarhus, Denmark: *The migration of professionals within the EU: any barriers left? Migration, institutions and business cycle*

Donatella Greco, University of Trieste, Italy: *New migration routes: mobility and self-perception of young Italians abroad*

Emilia García López, Head of Foreign Affairs of the Council for Galician Culture, Santiago de Compostela, Spain *New mobilities of migration in Galicia (2010-2014)*

Domenico Gabrielli, University of Rome "La Sapienza", National Institute of Statistics, Rome, Italy: *The emigration of Italian citizens in the 2000s: a special focus on the United Kingdom*

Daniele Valisena, University of Modena, KTH Stockholm, Sweden: *From migrations to new mobilities in the European Union transnational space. Italians in Berlin between anomie and multi-situated identity*

Francesca Mazzuzi, Silvia Aru, University of Cagliari, Italy: *Beyond the numbers: socio-cultural backgrounds and expectations of the new Sardinian (e)migrants in the time of the crisis*

Session 3 Old and New European Migrations

Chair: Professor Adam Walaszek, Jagiellonian University Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Krakow, Poland.

Speakers:

Federica Moretti, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, Belgium: *Old and new Italian migrations in Belgium*

Suzana Cascão, University of Rome:

'Ethnic media' The role of the leading Portuguese newspaper ("Contacto") in Luxembourg

Margherita Di Salvo, Tuscia University, Viterbo, Italy: *From Italy to England and back between histories, identities and languages*

Carlo Stiaccini CISEI; Andrea Torre Centro Studi MEDI, CISEI, Genova, Italy: *Mobility in Genoa during economy crises: from history to present times*

Maria M. Berglund, Swedish Migration Center, Karlstad, Sweden: *Father in new fatherland, mother in new mother soil. new fatherland, mother in new mother soil. Depictions of migrant-hood and parenthood in Swedish fiction 2004–2014*

Friday 25

Session 4: European Diaspora

Chair: Brian Lambkin, Mellon Centre for Migration Studies, Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh, United Kingdom.

Speakers:

Janja Žitnik Serafin, Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia: *Care for diasporic communities: the case of a bilateral agreement between Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das Relações Interculturais, Universidade Aberta, Lisboa, Portugal: *Bonding the Portuguese diaspora: secular, religious and leisure catalysts politics and practices*

Elisa Gosso, University of Turin: *Crossing Boundaries: negotiating transnational heritage and belonging in the German Waldesian Diaspora*

Session 5 and 6: Archives, Museums and Projects

Chair: Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway.

Speakers:

Brian Lambkin, Mellon Centre for Migration Studies, Ulster American Folk Park, Omagh, UK: *The Irish National Diaspora Centre*

Margaret Hills de Zárate, Queen Margaret Univ., Edinburgh, UK; Loredana Polezzi, Univ. of Warwick, UK: *Transnational Italian networks and transnational Italian studies*

Paul Pauseback, Nordfriisk Instituut, Bredstedt, Germany: *Making Europe Bottom Up: migration from and to the region of North-Frisia in Schleswig-Holstein from 1800 till today*

Sarah Clément, Génériques, Paris, France: *European citizenship through European migration history*

Maria Luisa Caldognetto, Nicolas Graf, Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaine, Dudelange, Luxembourg: *Food traditions amongst Italian migrants in Luxembourg, between the need to be faithful to the past and new future challenges*

Nonja Peters, Curtin University and University of Western Sydney, Australia: *Developing a sustainable model in mutual cultural digital heritage*

An unforgettable farewell dinner at *Villa Abegg*, hosted by Marco Demarie, Head of Research in Philanthropy at Compagnia di San Paolo, marked the end of the 25th annual international AEMI conference. The participants enjoyed Italian gourmet food and wine at this historic building, which is the surviving part of the vineyard that belonged to the regent Christine of France, daughter of king Henry IV of France.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions

The General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions was called to order Saturday 28 september 2015, 11.00 a. m. at Centro Altreitalia, in Turin, by chairman of the organisation Hans Storhaug.

Attendance Register and Apologies

Chairman Hans Storhaug conveyed apologies from Le Bois du Casier, Charleroi, Belgium; Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland; Cité de la Mer, Cherbourg, France; Musée de l'Histoire de l'Immigration, Paris, France; Ballinstadt Emigration Museum, Hamburg, Germany; Deutsches Auswandererhaus, Bremerhaven, Germany; Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Mainz, Germany, Dunbrody Famine Ship, Co. Wexford, New Ross, Ireland, Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana- CISEI, Genoa, Italy, Het Centrum voor de Geschiedenis van Migranten, Leiden, the Netherlands, National Library, Dept. for Norwegian American Collections, Oslo, Norway, Museu da Emigração e das Comunidades, Fafe, Portugal, Museo Dell'Emigrante, San Marino, House of Emigrants, Gothenburg, Sweden, Karlstad University, Department of Political, Religious and Cultural Studies, Karlstad, Sweden, Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, Riga, Latvia.

It was noted that the following representatives of 23 member institutions were present:

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément

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

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

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

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

The Swedish Migration Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr. Mathias Nilsson

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

Altreitalia-Center on Italian Migrations, Turin, Italy represented by Prof. Maddalena Tirabassi

The Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland, represented by Prof. Adam Walaszek

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

The Danish Immigration Museum, Denmark, represented by Ms. Cathrine Kyö Hermanssen and Ms. Freja Borsting, Susanne Krogh Jensen.

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

North Frisian Institute, Bredstedt, North Frisia, represented by Mr. Paul-Heinz Pauseback

Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, represented by Emilia Garcia Lopez

The Red Star Line Museum, represented by An Lombaerts

The Mellon Centre for Migration Studies represented by Brian Lambkin

The Slovenian Migration Institute represented by Janja Zitnik Serafin

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

2. Minutes of the General Assembly of AEMI, Saturday 28 September 2014, Castle of Cesis, Latvia

The Minutes of the General Assembly of AEMI Saturday 28 September 2014 at The Castle of Cesis, Latvia, were approved as accurate records.

3. Chairman's report 2014-2015

The chairman thanked the board for their work over the year, and the host for this assembly, and gave his report summarizing key points and referring to the full text at the AEMI website. He presented the report of the year and some perspectives for the year coming.

AEMI has accepted the invitation to a partnership with the *Europeans Throughout The World* - ETTW- network, which would give AEMI direct participation in many of the ETTW's operational working groups and with the European media house EURACTIV (www.euractiv.com) – publishing daily news in 12 languages. No formal meetings has yet been held and no agreements have been

signed. The President of ETTW, Niels Jørgen Thøgersen, was invited to join us at this meeting in Turin, but unfortunately they could not come. The Presiding Officer thanked the Chairman for his presentation and moved the adoption of the report. The assembly adopted the motion.

4. Secretary's Report 2014-2015

AEMI's Secretary Sarah Clement gave her report of the year focusing on the following activities:

- *AEMI Website*

The Board has invited Mathias Nilsson, director of the Swedish Migration Center in Karlstadt, to take over the responsibility of the AEMI website to make it more dynamic and interactive. Members were therefore encouraged to send him any relevant information to be published on the web.

- *Contacts and meetings*

Sarah has met with the French-German Youth Office and discussed ways to collaborate.

5. Treasurer's Report: Financial Statement and Accounts, 2014-2015

Treasurer Eva Meyer presented the 2014 financial report, and addressed the question of removing members that had not paid their subscription for many years from the member list. Members of the GA proposed to make two lists: one for paying members and another one for members who have not paid or joined the meetings for the last five years. The Presiding Officer thanked the Treasurer for her presentation and moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

6. Auditor's Report

As the Auditor Knut Djupedal was not present, the Presiding Officer read his report affirming that AEMI's accounts are in good order. The Presiding Officer then moved the adoption of the report, and the GA adopted the motion.

7. Proposed Budget 2015-2016

The GA agreed on the proposed 2015-2016 budget.

8. Editor's Report 2014-2015

The Editor apologised for the delay in publishing the Journal, and referred to both health problems and an unclarified situation at the Emigration Center. He focused on the positive development of AEMI, and encouraged all members to target new members, offering them previous editions of the Journal as a welcoming gift.

9. Admission of New Members

Ricardo Roba has applied for individual membership and was accepted.

Porta Polonica, the Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of Poles in Germany represented by Jacek Barski, has applied for membership and is accepted as member. The aims of the Centre is to research and document the traces and influences of Polish life in Germany and to make them visible on the internet via the homepage *Porta Polonica*. At the same time the Documentation Centre sees itself as a forum for Poles living in Germany.

The new members were encouraged to send information about their institutions to be published on the AEMI website.

10. Member's Project

Maddalena Tirabassi encouraged members of the GA to contribute to her project on European migrations 'Making Europe Bottom Up'.

Assier Vallejo recommended a stronger connection to *Europeans Throughout the World - ETTW* - in order to take advantage of their contacts to the European Commission.

11. Next Venues

The Galician Emigration Archives in Santiago de Compostela, Spain has been chosen as the venue for 2016. The GA discussed potential themes for upcoming conference, e.g. identity, ethnicity and multiculturalism. The GA also stressed the necessity to include topics on the European asylum and refugee policy, and how migration and cultural institutions in Europe respond to the migration crisis. The conference dates will be 28. Sept till 2. October.

In 2017 the North Frisian Institute in Bredstedt, North Frisia, will host the 27th Annual AEMI meeting and international conference. Paul Heinz Pauseback has already proposed topics related to integration and segregation.

12. Others

In order to increase the membership, Nonja Peters, Australia, moved that institutions from outside Europe that wished to apply for full membership could do so. Her motion was adopted by the GA. The GA also moved that the board should be more proactive in recruiting members by putting information on how to become a member on the website. The GA also discussed the idea to offer students scholarships for the subscription money.

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman's Report 2014 – 2015

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In opening this report on the activities of the Association over the last year, may I begin by recalling our Annual Meeting in 2014 in the city of Riga, Latvia which was hosted by the Latvians Abroad – Museum and Research Centre and the University of Latvia, Faculty of Social Science. Riga was our choice as it had been elected European Capital of Culture of the year. The meeting also included a visit to exhibits at “Stūra māja” (former KGB building) as well as the neighbouring city of Cesis, which actually was one of the candidate cities for the Capital of Culture. We again thank Maija Hinkle, Marianna Auliciema, Biaba Bela and their colleagues for welcoming us so warmly to Riga.

The Board that you elected last year in Riga for a new three-year term has been Maddalena Tirabassi, (Italy) as Vice-chair, Sarah Clement, (France) Secretary, Eva Meyer (Åland Islands, Finland) as Treasurer, Marianna Auliciema (Latvia) as representatives of last year's host institution, and myself as Editor of

the Association's Journal and Chairman (Norway). I should also mention Mathias Nilsson (Sweden) who hosted the conference in Karlstad has approved to step in as our webmaster.

Your Chairman, as last year I am afraid to say, has been distracted by other business from giving as much time as he would have liked to the affairs of the Association. However, I am very glad that our vice-chair Maddalena Tirabassi has devoted so much of her time to make preparations for the Association's 25th Annual Meeting and International Conference here in Turin. To assist her with the final details of the programme, some of the board members had a two-days meeting here in Turin in early June. During our meeting we also had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Marco Demarie, Compagnia de San Paolo, sponsor of the conference, and host of the gala dinner at *Villa Abegg*. This large complex is the surviving part of the vineyard of Madama Reale which used to belong to Maria Cristina of France (1606-1663). She was the sister of Louis XIII and the

Duchess of Savoy by marriage. At the death of her husband Victor Amadeus I in 1637, she acted as regent of Savoy between 1637 and 1648. When she died the large complex became the property of different religious congregations and remained this way until recently when it became the property of the Commune. The symmetrical villa with two entrances is surrounded by a romantic park of trees and a small lake.

As this year's meeting is the twenty-fifth in a row, I am particularly happy that the association is attracting new member institutions. Last year was very successful in that respect, as we had the pleasure of adding four new institutions to our membership list: Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), Osnabrück (Germany), The Centre for the History of Migrants (CGM), Leiden (the Netherlands), Karlstad University, Department of Political, Religious and Cultural Studies (Sweden) and the House of Emigrants, Gothenburg (Sweden).

The enlargement of our Association is part of our strategic planning, and it therefore caught my immediate interest when I was addressed by the president of ETTW - Europeans Throughout the World - Niels Jørgen Thøgesen, asking AEMI to become a partner organization. Europeans Throughout the World – Les Européens dans le Monde is a pan-European umbrella organisation, which works at a European level for all European expats. It does not replace the national and other associations of expats. It is an added-value to them – helping them to make Europe work actively for our millions of expats in Europe and all over the world.

Mr. Thøgesen contacted me shortly after the Riga meeting, on the recommendation from our Basque colleague, Mr. Asier Vallejo Itsaso, director for the Basque Community Abroad, and we have emailed regularly since. Despite many attempts, lack of resources and bad timing has prevented us from meeting. However, your board has decided to become partner, and our two organisations are now exchanging information and have linked our websites. As ETTW has members and associated members in countries where AEMI is not represented (e.g. Malta, Romania, Slovakia, Lithuania and Switzerland), I believe the network represents a great potential for further enlargement of our association.

Hans Storhaug,
Chairman

September 2015

Expulsion of Economically Inactive European Union Citizens¹

Solange Maslowski²

The freedom of movement and residence has for a long time been reserved to economically active persons (workers and self-employed persons), who represented a kind of privileged category of nationals of Member States³. Since the establishment of citizenship of the European Union by the Maastricht Treaty, economically active and inactive nationals of Member States henceforth constitute only one category, the one of Union citizens. Economically active and inactive Union citizens enjoy all the rights provided by Article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (hereinafter 'TFEU')⁴, the right of freedom of movement and residence being the first right mentioned by the article. This right is moreover enshrined in primary Union law in Article 21 TFEU⁵ and in Article 45 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights⁶. Nevertheless, economically inactive Union citizens had to wait until the adoption of Directive 2004/38/EC, referred to as the Citizenship Directive,⁷ to see their right of freedom of movement associated to the right of mobile workers in one single instrument. In-

deed, before 2004, Union secondary law was not only differentiating economically inactive Union citizens from workers but also the different categories of economically inactive Union citizens between themselves, each category being dealt with in a different directive⁸. The number of legal instruments regulating the freedom of movement of Union citizens was undermining the clarity and the legal security of this fundamental right. The Court of Justice of the European Union also played a considerable role in the recognition of the freedom of movement of economically inactive Union citizens as its decisions served as grounds for the writing of Directive 2004/38/EC.

Who are these economically inactive Union citizens? Taking into account Article 7 of Directive 2004/38/EC, we can differentiate two main categories of economically inactive Union citizens allowed to reside in host Member States:

- Economically inactive persons who are self-sufficient and in possession of sickness insurance coverage, including pensioners, first-time job seekers⁹ and

job-seekers who no longer retain the status of workers¹⁰.

- Students whose primary purpose is to follow a course of study in the host Member state.

Some doctrinal works establish a more precise categorization of economically inactive Union citizens while reminding that a single citizen can be at the same time an economically active and inactive person. Silvia Gastaldi, for example, differentiates four categories of economically inactive Union citizens: job-seekers, recipients of services under Article 56 TFEU (tourists, recipients of medical care), students and other economically inactive Union citizens (pensioners and poor citizens). She also reminds that economically inactive citizens are a kind of sub-category, economically active citizens being the main category expressly mentioned in primary and secondary EU law¹¹.

Economically inactive Union citizens are increasingly enjoying their fundamental right of freedom of movement within the territory of the Member States of the European Union. However, contrary to workers, they do not benefit from an unconditional stay in the host Member state. Their right of residence for more than three months is indeed dependent on their possession of sufficient resources and of a comprehensive sickness insurance coverage in the host Member state. Likewise their right to equal treatment with nationals of the Member States is not total (contrary to workers) as their access to social assistance and to student grants or loans is conditioned upon the length of their residence in the host Member state (at least three months for social assistance

and 5 years for student loans or grants).

This freedom of movement is nevertheless restricted by some Member States willing to protect their social assistance system or public policy in a time of economic crisis. In the last few years, a growing number of inactive Union citizens have been expelled from their host Member state and this phenomenon seems to continue.

This article will try to describe the process of expulsion of economically inactive Union citizens by quoting in the first part the main legal grounds for expulsion used by the Member States and, in the second part, tools of protection at the disposal of mobile citizens.

I. Legal Grounds used for the Expulsion of Economically Inactive Union Citizens

Directive 2004/38/EC allows host Member States to terminate the stay of Union citizens who fall under the legal grounds for expulsion, such as threat to public policy, public security and public health (Articles 27 and 29), abuse of rights or fraud (Article 35), and unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member States (Article 14). Theoretically, threat to public policy, public security and public health, abuse of rights or fraud may be used indifferently against workers and economically inactive citizens while the legal ground of unreasonable burden concerns only economically inactive Union citizens. In practice, the legal grounds of abuse of rights and threat to public policy is also regrettably targeting mostly economically inactive Union citizens as national practice shows. The first section will deal with general grounds of expulsion while

the second section will focus on specific grounds targeting only economically inactive Union citizens.

A. General Legal Grounds for Expulsion Applying to Economically Inactive Union citizens

From the four general legal grounds provided by Directive 2004/38/EC, just two are mainly used by Member States against economically inactive Union citizens: the ground of threat to public policy and the ground of abuse of rights. The two other general grounds, respectively the threat to public health and the threat to public security, despite their applicability to economically inactive Union citizens, will not be mentioned in this article because of the lack of impact of the social or economic status of the Union citizen on their operation¹².

1. Expulsion on the Ground of Threat to Public Policy

Article 27 and Recital 22 of Directive 2004/38/EC allow Member States to restrict the freedom of movement and residence of Union citizens on grounds of public policy. This legal ground is not defined in the Directive or in primary law. Each Member state is responsible for defining threats to public policy in its national legislation as far as it respects EU law and standards (Rutili C-36/75). Nevertheless, as a derogation from the fundamental freedom of movement, the concept of public policy must be interpreted strictly, so that its scope cannot be determined unilaterally by each Member state without being subject to control by the institutions of the Community (Van Duyn C- 41/74). The Commission also reminded Mem-

ber States of the necessity to clearly define the protected interest of society, and make a clear distinction between public policy and public security. Despite these safeguards against an abusive use of the concept of public policy, national practices very often demonstrate a disproportionate use of it. This has been rendered possible especially because of either a lack of a national definition giving a free hand to Member States or of an over-extensive definition exceeding the spirit of primary and secondary Union law.

As an example of an extensive definition of the concept of public policy, France has implemented Article 27 of Directive 2004/38/EC into French law by two articles, Articles 63 and 65 of the Act of 2011 on Immigration. Article 63, part of the French Code of Entry and Residence of Aliens and the Right to Asylum (CESEDA) under Article L. 521-5 repeats the terms of Article 27 to the effect that removal is justified when the personal conduct constitutes a genuine, present and sufficiently serious threat for the fundamental interests of society. Article 65, part of the CESEDA under Article L-213-1, gives the concept of breach of public policy a broader interpretation than Article 27 of Directive 2004/38/EC. According to this article, certain offenses such as drug trafficking, trafficking in human beings, robbery, exploitation of begging and illegal occupation of land are considered breaches of public policy being subject to criminal prosecution. No conviction is required, the mere suspicion of a breach of the order is sufficient to constitute a threat to French public policy. As many Bulgarian and Romanian citizens of

Roma origin illegally occupy land, beg, or steal, French authorities have, without any difficulty, been able to expel them on the ground of threat to public policy¹³. The concept of threat to public policy, normally reserved to serious threats to fundamental interests of the State, is in fact used to expel economically inactive Union citizens.

2. Expulsion on the Ground of Abuse of Rights

Article 35 of Directive 2004/38/EC and Recital 28 allow Member States to refuse, terminate or cancel rights of movement and residence of mobile Union citizens in cases of abuse of rights or fraud. Once again the concept of abuse of rights is not defined in the Citizenship Directive, which is just mentioning one example, but include marriages of convenience and leaving this concept open to other kinds of behavior. Each Member state is also responsible for transposing Article 35 according to its own vision of abuse of rights and national definitions vary from one Member state to another.

French legislators, for example, have opted for a very extensive definition of the abuse of rights comprehending two cases:

- First: The Union citizen is renewing stays of less than 3 months in order to remain on French territory while the conditions for a stay of more than 3 months are not met (self-sufficiency and health insurance).

- Second: The Union citizen is staying in France with the primary aim to benefit from the French social assistance system.

Both grounds were harshly criticized

by human rights defenders and organizations at both national and international levels¹⁴ after French authorities proceeded to expel a large number of Romanian and Bulgarian citizens in 2010. Luckily, French national courts of appeal cancelled most such expulsion orders on the grounds of lack of sufficient proof of the abusive behaviour¹⁵. Unfortunately, the right to judicial redress is not often used by the expelled persons and therefore most expulsion orders are not judicially reviewed.

B. Specific Legal Grounds Targeting Only Economically Inactive Union Citizens

Economically inactive mobile Union citizens are not equal to mobile workers and to nationals of host Member States as far as residence rights¹⁶ and access to social assistance and student loans are concerned¹⁷. But they are also being “discriminated” against as far as expulsion is concerned. Indeed, their right of residence in a host Member state is conditioned upon their not being an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member state. This particular ground is reserved to economically inactive Union citizens and does not apply to workers and self-employed persons. It is targeting non-self-sufficient mobile Union citizens who have recourse to the social assistance system of the host Member state in such a way that it affects the budgetary resources of this particular state. Recourse to social assistance in itself is not forbidden; just the “unreasonable” use of social assistance can lead to expulsion (Article 14-3).

Short-time residents up to three

months (only obligated to possess a valid ID or passport) who become unreasonable burdens on the social assistance system do not have a right of residence according to Article 14-1 and Preamble 16. They might be expelled. These provisions allow Member States to protect themselves against potential abusers while freedom of residence is not conditional during the first three months of residence. The dependency of stays in excess of three months from the possession of sufficient resources is aimed to avoid unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member state. Likewise permanent residence is offered only to economically inactive Union citizens who are legal residents, that is to say self-sufficient.

Belgium has expelled a considerable number of Union citizens on the ground of being an unreasonable burden for its social assistance system¹⁸. Three main categories of economically inactive Union citizens have been affected by the Belgian measures: poor citizens benefiting from the integration revenue of the Centres Publics d'Action Sociale (CPAS), job seekers benefiting from Belgian job-seeking allowances, and students. These measures have been strongly criticized at the national and European level because of their contradiction with the spirit of the Citizenship Directive. The first category being targeted by Belgian administration, beneficiaries of the CPAS, indeed should not be expelled on the only ground of their recourse to the Belgian social assistance system as it is prohibited by Article 14-3 of Directive 2004/38/EC. Similarly, job-seekers who have overlapped the 6 month allowance period,¹⁹ while

having worked in Belgium less than 12 months, cannot be expelled on the ground of unreasonable burden on the social assistance system as job-seeking allowances are not considered as social assistance. Moreover, Article 14-4b says that as long as a job-seeker is able to provide evidence that he or she is continuing to seek employment and that they have a genuine chance to be engaged, the Union citizen should not be expelled. Likewise, students are supposed to possess sufficient financial resources, but a simple declaration of self-sufficiency should be accepted by Member States according to Article 7-1c. Therefore Belgian authorities should not automatically doubt the self-sufficiency of foreign students.

Even a fourth category of Union citizens has been targeted: workers under Article 60-7 of the Belgian Law of 8 July 1976. It relates to social work with rehabilitation goals subsidized by the Belgian state, the CPAS being the employer of the beneficiary. The Belgian *Office des étrangers* does not consider such activities as effective and genuine economic activities²⁰ and, for this reason, puts the beneficiaries of these services into the category of economically inactive Union citizens. Surprisingly, full-time workers have been expelled on the ground of unreasonable burden on the social assistance system because of the non-recognition of their status of worker by Belgium administration.

These practices have been criticized because the necessary elements leading to a burden on the social assistance system like the total amount of the social aid, the length of the aid and the personal situation of the beneficiary

have not been checked by the Belgian authorities. The *Observatoire des politiques sociales en Europe* even talked of a simply unjustifiable and unacceptable attitude from an ethical, political and legal point of view²¹. In February 2013, the European Commission informed Belgium about its concern concerning its practices against mobile Union citizens. Unfortunately, such practices are still going on. For these reasons, many well-known Belgian academics even recommended firmer actions against Belgium²².

The Netherlands has also used the ground of unreasonable burden to expel Union citizens. It indeed considers access to emergency housing to be an unreasonable burden on its social assistance system. This gives to the Dutch authorities the possibility to expel Union citizens that are homeless and in search of housing. The management of the poorest economically inactive Union citizens is also a question that has to be addressed in the future. Non-self-sufficient, both in their home country and in their host country, they have to rely on the generosity of their state of residence. Shall we consider the temporary use of shelters or emergency care as unreasonable burdens on the social assistance system or just as a hand to a person who is temporarily unable to take care of herself?²³

Some Member States go even further by mentioning as a legal ground for expulsion the non-self-sufficiency of mobile Union citizens, in contradiction with Article 27 which says that expulsion should not serve economic ends. France and Belgium expelled economically inactive Union citizens on the ground of non-self-sufficiency during

the first three months of their stay without checking whether they were representing an unreasonable burden. This is an abuse of their expulsion powers because the only obligation for a stay up to 3 months is the possession of a valid ID or passport.

II. Protection Against Expulsion

Expulsion being the most serious sanction against mobile Union citizens, the Citizenship Directive very carefully regulates its use by Member States. Nevertheless, state practices show abuses of expulsion powers and lack of respect for the material and procedural safeguards inscribed in Directive 2004/38/EC. After a quick review of the existing system of protection of Union citizens against expulsion, some further steps aiming to limit such abuses will be proposed.

A. Existing Protection

Directive 2004/38/EC provides special protection against expulsion of mobile Union citizens through its general and procedural safeguards based on Articles 27, 30 and 31 that can be used by both economically active and inactive mobile Union citizens. Union citizens are first protected by Article 27, which states that it should not serve economic ends and should be based on the personal conduct of the individual representing a genuine, present and sufficiently serious threat affecting one of the fundamental interests of society. Article 28 protects Union citizens against expulsion by requiring the host Member state to take into account considerations of integration, such as how long the individual concerned has resided in its territory,

his/her age, state of health, family and economic situations, social and cultural integration and the extent of his/her link with the country of origin. The more integrated the Union citizen is in the host Member state, the higher protection against expulsion he will receive. Just a few legal grounds for expulsion can be used against a long-term, integrated mobile Union citizen. Indeed only serious grounds of public policy²⁴ might be used against Union citizens who have the right of permanent residence and only imperative grounds of public security²⁵ may be used against Union citizens who have resided in the host Member state for the previous ten years. Similarly, minors are especially protected against expulsion, which is only possible if based on imperative grounds of public security or if necessary for the best interests of the child according to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 20 November 1989.

Moreover, mobile Union citizens are also protected by the proportionality principle (Article 27-2), which plays a significant role for economically inactive Union citizens because it frames the intended distinction between a “reasonable” and “unreasonable” burden²⁶, the latter leading to an expulsion. Likewise, prohibiting a Member state from basing an expulsion order on purely economic ends should prevent economically inactive Union citizens from being expelled only on the ground of not being self-sufficient.

Article 30 of Directive 2004/38/EC requires the notification in writing of expulsions orders, which clearly and fully states the content and the implications of such decisions as well as the de-

tails for appeal. Article 31 on procedural safeguards guarantees to mobile Union citizens the right to judicial or administrative redress.

Besides these general safeguards available for all mobile Union citizens, the Citizenship Directive also regulates the particular protection of certain categories of economically inactive Union citizens. Two main categories of persons are supposed to be protected, despite some Member States specifically targeting them with expulsion orders:

- Those who have recourse to social assistance are protected against automatic expulsion orders (article 14-3).
- Those who have entered the territory of the host Member state to seek employment. They should not be expelled as long as they can provide evidence that they are continuing to seek employment and that they have a genuine chance to be engaged (article 14-4b).

This protection is nevertheless insufficient because of certain Member States’ abuse of their expulsion powers. For this reason, some important steps should be undertaken to better protect economically inactive mobile Union citizens. The first step should obviously be a better definition of legal grounds leading to expulsion, the second step being the exceptionality of the use of the expulsion sanction, and the last step being a European-level approach to the rights of movement and residence of economically inactive Union citizens.

B. Challenges

Economically inactive Union citizens are not protected enough against expulsion, despite the existing safeguards.

This gap results firstly from the weakness of definitions of the legal grounds on the European level allowing Member States to abuse their expulsion power. Furthermore recent events showed the necessity of a deeper reflection on the right of residence of economically inactive Union citizens as well as on their access to social assistance.

1. A Better Definition of Legal Grounds Allowing Expulsion of Union Citizens

Legal grounds allowing expulsion of Union citizens are either not defined or are defined too generally in the Citizenship Directive and in the relevant treaties. Large leeway is given to individual Member States. This leads to a multiplicity and diversity of national definitions which is endangering:

- Legal security, because there is a clear risk of abuse of expulsions powers by the Member States.
- The uniformity of application of the law of the Union, because it is not realized in practice.
- The principle of equality of treatment between Union citizens on the move, because for example, a Union citizen can be expelled in France on the ground of renewing stays of three months while he would not be expelled, for the same facts, in the Czech Republic.

In the *Chakroun* case (point 34)²⁷, the Commission submits that the discretion left to the Member States in implementing the Directive must not adversely affect its objectives or effectiveness. National practises show that national implementations are often affecting the Directive's objective and effectiveness.

For these reasons, it would be desirable to unify national definitions of legal grounds leading to expulsion orders. And if states' sovereignty does not allow such step, it would be at least desirable to establish limits to national discretion.

2. The Exceptional Use of the Expulsion Sanction

Sanctions deriving from a violation of the provisions of the Citizenship Directive can range from a simple refusal of social assistance to expulsion. Expulsion is the most severe sanction that can be used against mobile Union citizens. As Recitals 23 and 24 of Directive 2004/38/EC state, expulsions can seriously harm the migrants and, for this reason, should be used only exceptionally against mobile Union citizens. The *Observatoire des politiques Sociales en Europe* reminds us that the notion of expulsion today, which is so easily associated to the destiny of Union citizens, is really scaring because it is something so close to us all and could happen to every one of us²⁸. Likewise, as Professor Lhernoud already proposed, a clarification of the consequences of unlawful stays of Union citizens is needed, knowing that the ultimate sanction, i.e. the expulsion, should be avoided as much as possible²⁹. National practices however show the contrary: expulsion orders being used on a large scale, without attempting first to regulate the problematic situation by less severe sanctions like the refusal of social assistance.

Moreover, expulsion can only be used within the allowed scope of EU law (threat to public order or security, threat to public health, unreasonable burden on the social assistance system, abuse of

rights or fraud) and under the conditions provided for by Article 28 (protection against expulsion), Article 30 (written notification requirements), Article 31 (procedural safeguards) and Preamble 23 (respect of the principle of proportionality). Expulsions of Union citizens based on national grounds contradictory to Union law, as it is unfortunately the case in some Member States, is violating the fundamental freedom of movement of persons. As Elspeth Guild quoted in her commentary of the Citizenship Directive, free movement of persons is not available for structural reforms because it is one of the four founding freedoms of the EU. According to her, a Member state which no longer wishes to comply with the right of citizens of the Union to move, reside, and exercise economic activities anywhere in the Union beyond the very limited scope which is permitted by the Directive has no option but to consider withdrawal from the EU (unless all the Member States were able to agree on an amendment to the Treaties as regards free movement of persons)³⁰. This is particularly notable in the present challenging circumstances of the Brexit controversy.

The Court of Justice of the Union, after a very generous attitude towards economically inactive Union citizens, has recently hardened its approach, at least concerning the access of economically inactive Union citizens to social assistance in the host Member States. It complies more with the stricter derogations to the principle of equality of treatment provided in Article 24 of Directive 2004/38/EC. Nevertheless, even in the case of Ms Dano, an economically inactive Romanian citizen, visibly

not seeking employment in Germany and not having a genuine chance of being engaged, the Court opted for a less severe sanction than expulsion.

3. A Deeper Thought on the Concept of Lawfulness of the Stay of Economically Inactive Union Citizens for More Than 3 Months, Reserved Until Now to only Self-sufficient Citizens.

As the report on Union Citizenship: Development, Impact and Challenges underlines, the requirement of self-sufficiency for lawful residence of economically inactive Union citizens is one of the most controversial features of citizenship law³¹. It aims to preserve the stability of public finance of the host Member state against an abusive use of social assistance by mobile Union citizens. The question is to see whether this criterion is compatible with the limitation of Article 27 stating that expulsion should not serve economic ends.

This criterion applicable to economically inactive Union citizens residing for more than three months in a host Member state has to be eased as the level of self-sufficiency resources varies from one Member state to another. What Germany, Belgium or France consider as non-self-sufficiency would be considered as a very good standard of living in the Czech Republic, Poland, Bulgaria or Romania. By imposing on the poorest Union citizens “western” standards of living, some Member States are in fact “discriminating” against Union citizens from the poorest countries, unlikely able to reach such standards just after a stay of three months³². A Romanian or Bulgarian citizen accustomed to living

in poor conditions in his or her home Member state, has obviously less needs than a French or German citizen. The fact that he or she is living under what is considered by the host Member state as self-sufficient does not mean that his or her needs are not fulfilled³³. Should not the self-sufficiency criterion be based on the capacity of the mobile Union citizen to fulfill his or her needs without relying unreasonably to the host social assistance system rather than on national references based on the richness of the host country?

Freedom of movement of persons in the EU is also facing a growing phenomenon as a consequence of the economic crisis: the rise of the number of one particular category of economically inactive Union citizens, non-self-sufficient Union citizens, not capable of fulfilling their own needs, such as beggars and homeless people. These persons are not benefiting from a right of residence for stays in excess of three months according to Directive 2003/43/EC. National approaches towards such category of economically inactive Union citizens vary from one State to another ranging from passive tolerance to expulsion on the ground of threat to public policy or of unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member state.

The present time is not favorable for freedom of movement of economically inactive Union citizens. The recent refugee crisis is currently pulling the attention of politicians, European and national institutions and the general public away from economically inactive Union citizens. Nevertheless, we should not forget that in 2013, the Federal Minister of the

Interior of Austria, the Federal Minister of the Interior of Germany, the Minister for Immigration of the Netherlands and the Secretary of State for the Home Department of United Kingdom wrote a common letter to Commissioners Reding, Malmstrom and Andor denouncing the fraudulent and abusing use of freedom of movement by Union citizens. The reasons argued by these states were the considerable strain put upon their vital local services, their social assistance system and their national citizens. They were requiring from the Commission legal and financial measures allowing more effective sanctions, such as a ban on re-entry after an expulsion order. The European Commission answered these claims by stating that, according to figures communicated by Member States and a study published in October 2013 by the European Commission, in most EU countries³⁴ EU citizens from other Member States use welfare benefits no more intensively than the host country's nationals³⁵. Moreover, as Paul Minderhoud recalls, access to social assistance remains, in most Member States, far from being unconditional³⁶ and so just accessible to a few. Some more recent events surrounding the Brexit, such as the requirements of the United Kingdom to condition the freedom of movement of mobile workers, is much more worrisome. Such a step would destroy the fundamental right of freedom of movement of Union citizens that has existed since the foundation of the EEC for mobile workers. It is a very dangerous step that is questioning the existence of the European Union and its first version, the European Economic Community, putting into doubt the vi-

sion of the fathers of Europe. Likewise, the questioning on the Schengen agreements and their non-respect by Member States, as well as the lack of mutual solidarity between the Member States in the refugee crisis, constitute considerable breaches into the construction of the European Union. Member States of the EU seem to seek prosperity and security in a very individualistic way, forgetting the values on which the European Union³⁷ is based and their obligation of solidarity³⁸. Times of hardship are excellent opportunities for solidarity, trust in one another, and respect of fundamental rights, common vision and confidence in a nicer future.

Notes

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2 This article has been supported by the Czech Science Foundation – GACR through its project N. 15-23606S Selective Issues Deriving from the Transposition and Implementation of Directive 2004/38/EC.

3 Freedom of movement of workers and of self-employed persons today is regulated by Article 45 TFEU and Article 56 TFEU, which were already inscribed in the founding EEC Treaty as part of the four freedoms (freedom of movement of persons, of services, of capital and of goods).

4 These rights include the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in elections to the European Parliament and in municipal elections in the host Member State, the right to diplomatic protection in the territory of a third country, the right to petition the European Parliament and the right to apply to the Ombudsman, the right to write to any Community institution or body in one of the languages of the Member States and to receive a response in the same language and the right to access European Parliament, Council and Commission documents.

5 Article 21 TFEU: Every citizen of the Union shall have the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States, subject to the limitations and conditions laid down in the Treaties

and by the measures adopted to give them effect.

6 Every citizen of the Union has the right to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States.

Freedom of movement and residence may be granted, in accordance with the Treaty establishing the European Community, to nationals of third countries legally resident in the territory of a Member State.

7 Directive 2004/38/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 29 April 2004 on the right of citizens of the Union and their family members to move and reside freely within the territory of the Member States.

8 See, for example, Council Directive 93/96/EEC of 29 October 1993 on the right of residence for students, Council Directive 90/365/EEC of 28 June 1990 on the right of residence for employees and self-employed persons who have ceased their occupational activity, Council Directive 90/364/EEC of 28 June 1990 on the right of residence.

9 Directive 2004/38/EC differentiates between first-time job seekers who move to another Member state to seek a job and job seekers who retain the status of workers after involuntary unemployment (Article 7-3).

10 According to Article 7 of Directive 2004/38/EC, job-seekers who are former workers who have been involuntarily unemployed after the first twelve months retain the status of workers for no less than six months. After this period of six months, they might lose their status of workers and fall into the category of economically inactive Union citizens.

11 See Silvia Gastaldi, *Citoyenneté de l'Union et libre circulation: du critère économique au statut unique*, L.G.D.J., Paris, 2013.

12 Both grounds are not used in practise by Member States willing to expell economically inactive Union citizens. Moreover, the ground of public health is very special and totally independent of the economic status of the mobile Union citizen. It can be used only during the first admission of the Union citizen or during the first three months of her or his stay. The ground of threat to public security is the most serious ground requiring exceptional circumstances that can hardly be used against an economically inactive mobile Union citizen not committing criminal offences under Article 83-1 TFEU.

13 Regrettably, reports from the European Roma Rights Centre from 2015 state that more than 11,000 Roma migrants were forcefully evicted in France in 2015. That shows that no lesson has been learnt from the collective expulsions of Ro-

- manian and Bulgarian citizens in 2010.
- 14 For example, the French Défenseur des droits, the French Commission nationale consultative des droits de l'homme, the European Commission, the European Parliament, Commissioner for Human Rights and the European Committee of Social Rights of the Council of Europe.
- 15 See, for example, decisions of French Administrative court of appeals of Lyon of 2. 5. 2012, of 16. 5. 2012, No 1203741, No 1203740, No 1201114 as well as of Douai of 25. 10. 2012, No 12DA00853.
- 16 Indeed, workers benefit from a total unconditional freedom of movement and residence for short and long-term stays. On the contrary, freedom of movement and residence of economically inactive Union citizens is conditional to the respect of some requirements laid down by the Citizenship Directive from 2004:
- For stays up to three months, the directive reminds that they should not be an unreasonable burden on the social assistance system of the host Member state.
 - For stays more than three months, their right of residence is conditional to the fulfillment of two requirements:
 - The possession of sufficient financial resources to support themselves and their family members (Article 7-2 and Article 8-4), the aim being again not becoming an unreasonable burden for the host Member State.
 - The possession of comprehensive sickness insurance. The insurance's form (private or public) and origin (from the host Member state or another State) are not relevant as far as the insurance covers the territory of the host State and provides for a comprehensive coverage.
 - Concerning the last type of residence, the permanent residence, economically inactive Union citizens should demonstrate a first legal stay five years in the host Member State, a right which is opened just to the self-sufficient inactive residents.
- 17 If workers on the move benefit from a total equality of treatment with nationals of the host Member state, economically inactive Union citizens are not automatically entitled to social assistance:
- Generally speaking, during the first three months of their stay, the host Member state is not obliged to grant them any social assistance.
 - Then, job seekers are not entitled to social assistance during the period of active search of a job which might be longer than three months.
 - Students are not entitled to grants or loans before the acquisition of the permanent residence.
- 18 Contrary to other Member States which focus on a certain category of Union citizens, specifically Romanian and Bulgarian citizens, Belgian expulsions do not differentiate between citizens of poor or rich countries of origin: expulsion orders concern indifferently French, Spanish, Italian, Dutch, Romanian or Bulgarian citizens.
- 19 Article 7-3c retains the status of worker for a period of six months to any job-seeker duly registered who has been involuntary unemployed after having worked for less than 12 months in the host Member state.
- 20 According to case Udo Steymann v Staatssecretaris van Justitie (C-196/87), activities constitute economic activities in so far as the services may be regarded as the indirect *quid pro quo* for genuine and effective work.
- 21 See Carlo Caltarini, Les expulsions de citoyens et citoyennes européens. Un phénomène qui nous alarme, et nous mobilise, Observatoire des politiques sociales en Europe, May 2014, online http://www.osservatorioinca.org/section/image/attach/Carte_blanche_-_Open_brief_-_Lettera_aperta.pdf.
- 22 See Libre circulation des citoyens européens : du mauvais usage par la Belgique de ses banques de données sociales, 5.2.2015, online <http://www.lalibre.be/debats/opinions/libre-circulation-des-citoyens-europeens-du-mauvais-usage-par-la-belgique-de-ses-banques-de-donnees-sociales-54d36df135701001a18fe98b>.
- 23 For more details on freedom of movement of homeless people in Europe, see FEANTSA- Fédération Européenne d'Associations Nationales Travaillant avec les Sans-Abris, Libre circulation et sans-abrisme, Printemps 2013.
- 24 Permanent residents are protected against the ground of „normal“ public policy. They can be expelled on the ground of „serious“ grounds of public policy. Member States are supposed to clearly differentiate „normal“ and „serious“ grounds of public policy on which the expulsion can be taken.
- 25 Ten year residents cannot be indeed expelled on the ground of public policy or public health and not even on the ground of public security. Just imperative grounds of public security can apply to them. Member States are supposed to clearly differentiate in their national legislation „normal“ grounds of public security and „imperative“ grounds of public security.
- 26 See General Report: Union Citizenship: Development, Impact and Challenges. / Shaw, Jo; Nic Shuibhne, Niamh. Union Citizenship: Development, Impact and Challenges, The XXVI FIDE Congress in Copenhagen, 2014 Congress Publications Vol. 2. ed. / Ulla Neergaard; Catherine

- Jacqueson; Nina Holst-Christensen. Vol. 2 1. ed. Denmark: DJØF Publishing, 2014, p. 87.
- 27 See C-578/08, *Rhimou Chakroun v Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken*. This case related to Directive 2003/86/EC (family reunification for third-country nationals) and not to 2004/38/EC, but is nevertheless very useful concerning the interpretation of the concept of „recourse to the social assistance system“ by the Court of Justice. See also case C-140/12, *Pensionsversicherungsanstalt v Peter Brey*, para.71.
- 28 See Observatoire des politiques sociales en Europe, *Les expulsions de citoyens et citoyennes européens. Un phénomène qui nous alarme et nous mobilise*, May 2014, p.4.
- 29 See Lhernoud J.P., *L'éloignement des Roms et la Directive 2004/38 relative au droit de séjour des citoyens de l'UE*, *Droit social*, 2010, 1024–1036.
- 30 Guild E., Peers S., Tomkin J., *The EU Citizenship Directive, A commentary*, Oxford University Press, 2014, Introduction, p.11.
- 31 See General Report: *Union Citizenship: Development, Impact and Challenges*. / Shaw, Jo; Nic Shuibhne, Niamh. *Union Citizenship: Development, Impact and Challenges*, The XXVI FIDE Congress in Copenhagen, 2014 Congress Publications Vol. 2. ed. / Ulla Neergaard; Catherine Jacqueson; Nina Holst-Christensen. Vol. 2 1. ed. Denmark: DJØF Publishing, 2014, p. 89.
- 32 Of course, it is desirable that after a reasonable period of time, the poorest Union citizens residing in an economically richer Member State are able to reach the national level of standards of the host Member state.
- 33 This point of view is supported by the Court of Justice in the *Chakroun* case where the claimant stated that since the extent of needs can vary greatly depending on the individuals, that authorisation must, moreover, be interpreted as meaning that the Member States may indicate a certain sum as a reference amount, but not as meaning that they may impose a minimum income level below which all family reunifications will be refused, irrespective of an actual examination of the situation of each applicant (point 48).
- 34 See DG Employment, Social affairs and Inclusion, *A fact-finding analysis on the impact on Member States' social security systems of the entitlements of non-active intra EU migrants to special non-contributory cash benefits and healthcare granted on the basis of residence*, 14. 10. 2013 and C. Dustmann, T. Fratinni, *The Fiscal Effects of Immigration to the UK*, CDP No 22/13.
- 35 See Memo from the European Commission, European Commission upholds free movement of people, Brussels, January 2014.
- 36 See Paul Minderhoud, *Access to Social Assistance Benefits and Directive 20014/38*, in E.Guild, K. Groenendijk, S. Carrera (eds.), *Illeberal Liberal States, Immigration, Citizenship and Integration in the EU*, Ashgate, 2009, pp.221-238.
- 37 According to Article 2 of the Treaty on the European Union, the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail. Article 3 dealing with the goals of the EU states also that the Union shall combat social exclusion and discrimination, and shall promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child. It shall also promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States. This seems in favor of the economically inactive Union citizens and of their right to freedom of movement.
- 38 According to Article 4 TEU, pursuant to the principle of sincere cooperation, the Union and the Member States shall, in full mutual respect, assist each other in carrying out tasks which flow from the Treaties. It shall also promote economic, social and territorial cohesion, and solidarity among Member States, according to Article 3.

From Migrations to New Mobilities in the European Union: Italians in Berlin Between Anomie and Multi-situated Identity

Daniele Valisena

Introduction

*“Une ville transhumante, ou métaphorique, s’insinue ainsi dans le texte clair de la ville planifiée et lisible”*¹. (A transhumant or metaphoric city arises in the once clear text of the planned and readable city). This statement, written more than 35 years ago by Michel De Certeau, perfectly highlights the relationship between urban space and new forms of mobility in the European Union. Globalized world cities are transformed into havens of many transnational patterns.

The French historian and anthropologist individuated in the *passage dimension* (*le voyage*), the key perspective to study the links between urban spaces and life practices of these new social actors. This transnational perspective is more than ever a must for researchers who want to focus on intra-European migrations at a time in which national paradigms as well as political and ethnical networks are losing their power to gather, influence and direct human patterns.

The 2008 crisis revealed not only the economic contradictions and disparities between North and South Europe; it has also cut the bond that tied a generation of high skilled workers and globalized

multicultural people, mostly under 35 years old, to their countries, giving them the opportunity - or the necessity - to leave and to enter in a brand new pattern of life that, for its specificities can not be identified as a traditional migration flow. As Sayad wrote², they experience a double absence: they have been left behind by state welfare and work politics and their inclusion in the self-narration discourse of the immigration country is linked to the still very fragile concept of European identity. Besides they mostly do not have the opportunity or the will to participate in the internal politics of host states. On the contrary, states like Germany and the United Kingdom, and also Belgium, are actively working to re-nationalize this particular intra-European migration wave, introducing what Edith Pichler recently called new exclusive “citizenship mechanisms”³.

Furthermore, the fragmentation of the labor market, the short term future assured by most of their precarious jobs, unite with the ease with which they can move to another city or another country, can lead to a new form of anomie: no national affiliation, no welfare state polity, no social status increase through labor,

and no relation with any of the traditional local urban inclusion structures. These new migrants, whose cultural references are not set within a territory, a nation or a common political militancy, they just seem to pass without putting any roots down or leaving footprints of their passage. They don't establish Little Italys, they don't look for older compatriots and they rarely participate to the life of national or local associations. Also, they seldom have contacts with trade unions.

With regard to migration history, neither push and pull, nor political and economic paradigms can explain this new migration wave. In the same way, chain migration, melting pot or diasporic models, as well as ethnic and local analysis able to totally comprehend this new phenomenon, which, framed in a long period analysis, shows us a strong discontinuity with last century's migration paths. Referring to this new migration paradigm, researchers use the expression new mobility⁴.

Where do the roots of new mobiles lie? Which social markers do define their life patterns? Is this transnational generation the prototype of the future a-national European citizenship? Otherwise, does this fluid, glocal and rootless generation experience a state of anomie that puts in question the inner migration and integration model of the EU?

A Matter of Numbers

The first problem that researchers experience in working on new mobilities is the problem of numbers; traditional statistics in fact can no more give us the exact picture - if they ever did - of current migration routes. With no physical

borders and no customs duties, as well as with the europization of labor market, counting the numbers of EU citizens who cross the invisible borders of European States to sell their workforce in the Union simply does not have any meaning anymore. That is why most of the old statistical indicators are no more reliable. For what concerns the case of Italians in Berlin, AIRE (Register of Italians living abroad), referring to DESTATIS – Statistisches Bundesamt, states that Italians in Berlin are 25.250 (06.15)⁵. The Amt für Statistik states that on 31.12.14 in Berlin lived 31.276 Italians⁶, putting together Italian citizens and German with Italian migration background. In 2004 the same office certifies 13.800 Italians in Berlin⁷.

At the same time, the *Migrationbericht* states that in the last two years Italians immigration rate registered a positive trend of 16.343 and 23.305 people. From the point of view of new mobilities, what is interesting is not the sum, but the number of people who "passed", which is of 47.485 in 2013 and 36.896 in 2012. In 2012 only 19.489 were registered (Angemeldet), according to the Ausländerzentralregister⁸.

In the United Kingdom, AIRE states that last year more than 13.000 Italians moved to Great Britain. At the same time, 51.000 Italians asked for the social security card, following English registers: a very large discrepancy⁹.

Unfortunately, I was not able to find any data referring to the number of registration requests in Berlin which could serve as a much better mobility indicator. This data would not be 100 percent accurate, because it would not show the black work numbers, which involves a

not negligible part of young unskilled workers. Still, it is much more accurate than the AIRE and official population registers stats. In any case, what interests me here is to underline that numbers are not the right methodological instrument to follow here: numbers are misleading, because they try to freeze a phenomenon that influences the social imaginary..

In the end, glomigrants scholars, together with their own subjects should accept the impossibility to have the mathematic comfort of demographic data. Permanence is simply the wrong marker to look for when referring to new mobilities. On the contrary, this volatility is one of the main features of the whole phenomenon.

New Migration Paths and Multi-situated Identities

For many years, migration history has been thought within two big frames: economical migration and political migration. That was a methodological structure that reflected the strong politisation of society and groups, in a world permeated by division: social classes, national citizens, political actors, state socialism world, etc. As for a dantesque retaliation law, Berlin, which experienced more than any other place in the world this rift, after 1989 developed a peculiar attractiveness to people that wanted to overthrow this dichotomy.

Non l'ho cercata la sede PD, ma è un mio problema con la politica, mi piace criticare dall'esterno, magari creando un gruppo extraparlamentare, perché mi incazzo troppo. Nel 2013 è di moda essere spolticizzati...così si controllano

meglio le masse. Io vedo la parte tragica in questo, perché la spolticizzazione di un essere umano ha sempre un elemento ideologico, così facendo gli togli la possibilità di pensare a un mondo migliore...a Berlino è tutto ancora più tragico, perché ci sono tanti ragazzi che vanno lì per fuggire dalle 'menate' italiane, pur magari facendo qualche forma di resistenza...

I didn't look for the Italian Democratic Party section in Berlin, but it's a problem I have, I know, I like to criticize from outside, well, maybe creating an extra-parliamentary group. I get too angry with politicians. Being depoliticized is the new mode now; in this way it's easier to control the masses. I see the tragic in this, because by depoliticizing a human being they take away from him the possibility to think to a better world. In Berlin this is even more tragic, because many people go there just to flee from Italian blabbering, setting up eventually some sort of resistance...¹⁰

Once *fuoriusciti* used to leave Italy because of their political adhesion. In contrast contrary, at the origin of this new wave of migration we can observe a strong denial of the institutionalized political order that new mobiles experienced. At the same time, this detachment goes together with the search for new forms of militancy and adhesion. As Sam Scott stated, '*it's no more possible or appropriate to separate the cultural from the economic*'¹¹. Mobility has to be intended as a particular life strategy that _ consciously or not _ '*leads [migrants] to their appropriation of social, cultural and economic capital*'¹², as per Bourdieu.

What is also interesting is that ‘world media cities’, as Krätke stated - and Berlin is one of the more prominent in EU - are developing more and more a peculiar self-narration of ‘urbanity based on lifestyle’¹³, which is self-defining in terms of adhesion and attractiveness. In other words, world cities like Berlin are able to attract and structure communities because of their particular and self-defining ‘cultural agency’. Seen in this perspective, the decision to move to Berlin states a particular form of cultural adhesion to the city, or to what the city symbolizes.

This means that according to migration socio-history, neither push and pull nor strictly economic paradigms can really explain this new migration. In the same way, chain migration, melting pot or diasporic models, as well as ethnic analysis do not seem to be able to totally comprehend this new phenomenon.

New mobility paradigm in fact focuses on peculiar features of new migration patterns, which cannot be analyzed without a transnational perspective. Ryanair Generation moves in a transnational space more and more and rapid in its evolution. Individual and group strategies, temporal horizons and life trajectories develop in social and urban spaces that do not refer to traditional sociability structures.

A New Paradigm for New Migration

Si, mi sento un emigrato...sono emigrato “tecnicamente”, e immigrato per tedeschi. Non son partito con valigia di cartone...se mi avessero offerto un percorso differente in Italia probabilmente sarei rimasto, non è successo, eccomi qua.

Yes, I feel I am a migrant. As per the technical definition of the term, I am a migrant; immigrant for Germans. But I didn’t leave Italy with the cardboard suitcase: If they had offered me a different path in Italy, probably I would have stayed, but it didn’t happen, so, here am I¹⁴.

Migrant, but “in a different way”: the self-perception of glomigrants is built as a statement of diversity against the traditional image of the poor and desperate Italian migrant that walked through Ellis Island, Gare de Lyon in Paris, Wolfsburg, etc. This sadly famous and sort of shameful rejected path - a point of view inherited by familiar and public narration of previous Italian migration experiences - pushes new mobiles to distinguish themselves from previous Italian migrants, and this corresponds to a de-nationalization of the glomigrant figure. Europe and its unified labor market is the common horizon, which keeps in the same self-narration a generation of migrants from Spain, Greece, France, but also Poland, Portugal and so on. It is for the same reason that some migrants prefer to use the term “expat”, which does not entail the shadows and the memory of the previous economic migration of the twentieth century.

In a way new mobiles do fulfill the transnational and post-national idea that lies behind the European Union birth, but without a political or welfare inclusion policy intended to link them strongly to any locally defined social environment. In fact, they do not share any inherited narration able to link them with previous migration networks or associations, and there are no circu-

lar or straight trajectories to drive their paths.

Migrante solo a Berlino? Bella domanda, potenzialmente anche da altre parti, anche se Berlino ha caratteristiche uniche...se avessi un'offerta potrei, ma non al buio, per un periodo, ma dipende da stipendio, caratteristiche...siamo un po' una "setta" (italiani), siamo più o meno tutti nella stessa situazione, che in un modo nell'altro ci siamo ritrovati a Berlino, ci intendiamo, condividiamo analisi comuni. Europei, anche loro, francesi, fatto scelte simili, non è così diverso... nessuno dice ci starò per sempre. Tutti hanno progetti più o meno duraturi, stazione di transito, più che di arrivo, non è un paese per vecchi, nei quartieri cha conosciamo noi (Kreuzberg, etc...), ascensori, strade pulite...dopo una certa età inizia a diventare ostile [...]

Would it be possible for me to be a migrant elsewhere? Good question. It can be, but Berlin has really unique characteristics...We Italians are a bit of a sect, more or less we're all in the same situation and we found each other here in Berlin. We get along and we share common views. Also other Europeans, they made similar choices, French also...is not really different... no one says: "I'm going to stay here forever". Everyone has a longer or shorter project, but Berlin is not a place for old people...when you reach a certain age it becomes hostile¹⁵.

Once again, short-termism is the key factor in the new mobility. The national category merges within the discourse, but only to be neutralized by a compar-

ison with other national groups. Also, a sense of undefined time and durability informs the self-perception of new mobiles. In a way it is like if multiple doors were always simultaneously opened for them.

[...] fermo restando che chissà come diventerà Berlino nei prossimi anni, ma la considero, anche a lungo termine, che una caratteristica 'portuale'...disabituati in una società mobile a pensare alla durata...come si fa dire 'per sempre' ora?. Se un diamante è per sempre, non lo è il contratto di lavoro...non certo per la nostra generazione.

Anche chi compra casa là dall'Italia lo fa per idea di investimento che per idea di vita¹⁶.

[...] Who knows how Berlin is going to change in the next years? Anyway I can't help but thinking about it as a 'haven', also in the long term...In a moving society we aren't used anymore in thinking about permanency (durability?)...How can you say 'forever' nowadays? If a diamond lasts forever, the work contract doesn't...for sure not for our generation.

No permanency, no national, political or economic bond to a place or a social group, extreme volatility in self-perception of one own *da-sein*: should we assume that new mobiles are unable 'to find their place', that is to say, unable to construct their own self-narration linking it to a place and a shared social belonging? In other words, do these new migrants experience what Durkheim called anomie, the absence of any resilient link to the society they move in?

Conclusions: Between Anomie and New Multi-situated Identity

'To migrate is to migrate with one own history, traditions and one own peculiar way of thinking and feeling'¹⁷, wrote Sayad. Migration studies, especially nowadays, I think, are more about understanding this point of view that comes from below than to translate it into general defining structures. These structures are probably not yet established.

New mobilities break the former link between the spatial localization of the identity construction and migrants' agency, which previously was mediated by the state, the village, the political party or the country. We could say that they push us to re-think the relationship between space and identity.

From the point of view of economic migration paradigm, new mobilities are more a '*continuation of risky life paths*'¹⁸, as Verwiebe wrote, that can lead to a new social achievement, especially for high-educated middle class migrants.

At the same time, new mobility life patterns are risky from a social point of view, because they are not mediated by a network, like it was in the past. They create also new inequalities, socially (social advantages through nationality), politically (exclusive nationalized welfare policies) and economically (bad job for high skilled workers from the South).

So, we can see a double movement: continuation of a life-work path, but also a risk:

Here in Berlin also being a waitress is OK, because they pay you as they should and here you can manage to live with it, not like in Italy. [...] Also, it's OK because you have always the opportunity to

look for a new job, to improve, without giving up your dream, tough it's not easy and you don't know if you'll ever make it. Still, you have this possibility, while in Italy what would I do?¹⁹

The moving identities of new mobiles follow paths built on shared cultural features, common *pratiques du quotidien*, everyday life practices, and collective values that overlay inherited ethnical, national and politically structured elements. This process, which needs to be re-negotiated everyday, can easily lead to an anomic state of isolation and marginalization, shaped by the impossibility to find a belonging space, imaginary or physical.

On the other side, many mobiles find in this volatility the opportunity to grow professionally and socially, giving up the 'burden' of national belonging. Also, new, transnational practices, such as urban gardening, gender or sexual freedom, antifascist, environmental or other form of political militancy from below are spreading, creating new forms of inclusion and so new a-national, European identities. Social and private are mixed to recreate a new form of agency through an explicit adhesion that elsewhere could lead to a state of marginality and exclusion.

To paraphrase the famous D'Azeglio statement, we made the Europeans, now we need to make Europe: between moving identities and the absence of identity – anomie – it is a delicate balance.

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Notes

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- 4 I use the term "new mobility" and new mobiles because it underlines at the very best the most important characteristic of new intra-European migration: mobility. Also the term *glomigrant* envisage this feature in a similar way, that's why I'm using these expressions almost as synonym in this paper. For a deeper reflection on this theme, M. Tirabassi, A. Del Pra', *La meglio Italia. Le mobilità italiane nel XXI secolo*, Academia University Press, Turin, 20014, p.6; Z. Baumann, *Modernità Liquida*, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2001; S. Luconi, *Nuove mobilità o nuove migrazioni?*, in *Altreitalia* 43, Luglio-Dicembre 2011; M. Sheller, *The new mobilities paradigm*, in *Environment and Planning* 38, 2006, pp. 207-226; T. Faist, *The mobility turn: a new paradigm for social sciences?*, in *Ethnic and Racial studies*, 36, 2013, pp. 1637-1646; E. Recchi, A. Favell, *Pioneers of European Integration. Citizenship and Mobility in the EU*. Cheltenham, 2009
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Broken Dreams of a Dream Country: Italy Between Wishes and Disenchantment

Federica Moretti

Abstract

In the past decades – especially between the fifties and the seventies –, Italy experienced a massive migration flow; many Italians migrated from the southern to the northern part of the country and to wealthier European countries. Moreover, the ‘Bel Paese’ is currently witnessing to a new outbound flow of Italians, leaving in search of opportunities and relief from the shortcomings of a severe financial crisis. Amongst the ‘migration-target’ countries, Belgium is one of the most important. Indeed, many Italians moved to and settled in the Belgian territory, laying the foundations for what is now a large Italian community, composed by the older – first, second and third generations – and the younger Italian migrants.

The paper investigates the above-captioned issues, focusing on the experiences of young Italians currently residing in Leuven (Belgium). For the sake of analyzing how the two phenomena

– the older and the more recent migration flows –, are interconnected, the paper first describes the experiences of graduate students currently pursuing Master or PhD programmes at the University of Leuven, and second of those

of the second/third generation students enrolled at the University of Leuven. The research unfolds and compares the two groups’ conceptions of Italy, especially focusing on two issues: (1) how is Italy ‘imagined’ and (2) how do these imaginaries open up to various courses of action.

Based on an ethnographic research and through the lenses of an anthropological perspective, the research demonstrates that whilst *imaginaries* may be conceived as mere fantasies or dreams – thus as a sort of a meta-world of intangible images –, such conception would be restrictive. In fact, the empirical investigation shows that imaginaries influence the lives and the identities of the people, and the ways they behave and choose.

Key words: imaginaries, Italians, Italy, Leuven, practices

Introduction

‘It is normal that one can go growing his own dreams far away from home. [...] That’s beautiful. However, it is fundamental that people willing to come back could do it. That’s the marker of distinction,’ (Italian Prime Minister Renzi, 2014)

‘Coming back to Italy means - in my field means - to accept a job that it is not really your dream job. If you are lucky, it gets close to it. [...] I don’t want to exclude the possibility, but if I should think about my future, I wouldn’t think to come back. [...] For me, Italy is the top for vacations. For my working future it would be extremely difficult and counter-productive to go to Italy’.

(Marco)

The Internet is crowded with magazines, blogs and social networks on young Italians. They often cover the same topic, namely the *fuga dei cervelli* – i.e. the brain drain. The above quote of the Italian Prime Minister is a clear-cut example. On the contrary, the Italian second and third generations are often left aside from the debates.

Interested in capturing the movement of people, and in unfolding what triggers their (im)mobility – both physical and mental – I engaged into an ethnographic research framed by the theoretical concept of imaginaries. The investigation started indeed driven by a will to delve into the above mentioned *fuga dei cervelli*, to understand the positions *vis-à-vis* the debate of the young Italians directly involved into the process of leaving Italy. However, what I was particularly keen on uncovering was ‘the return’ addressed in the aforesaid quotes both by the Italian Prime Minister and Marco, as well as by Gloria, the daughter of an Italian emigrant who shared with me her desire to look for a job in Italy.

To this extent, the investigation was guided by the following research ques-

tion: how do the meta- and empirical worlds of people interact and set in motion? More precisely, the query was analysed following three sub-questions: For the purposes of the present paper the focus shall be on the first – how is Italy imagined? – and on the third – how do imaginaries open up to various courses of action?.

Therefore, the hereby paper addresses some aspects of the processes of envisaging and reviving Italy as emerged throughout the fieldwork and especially the interviews conducted in Leuven – Belgium – among the Italian *new first* and second/third generation of master and PhD students following programmes at the KU Leuven.³

The research, analyzing how people envisage Italy and how imaginaries influence actions, allows to shed light on the informants’ stances towards an attainable physical return to the country.

In the following pages I shall, first, briefly introduce the size of the current Italian population residing in Belgium. I shall then concisely elaborate on the underlying theoretical framework enclosing the investigation. Finally, I shall delve into the practical insights collected throughout the fieldwork to give an answer to the two above-raised questions.

Setting the Context: Italians in Belgium

The words of the Italian Prime Minister opening the hereby introduction might be an appropriate way to begin a paper on young Italians abroad. This is even more true if one considers that the data on the current Italian emigration describe the recent outbound flow as composed by highly educated people

older than 25, as it is indeed testified by the increase in the percentage of graduates from 11.9 percent in 2002 to 27.6 percent in 2011 (Istat, 2012). On top of that, since 2007, the number of Italians emigrating augmented dramatically and it further strengthened throughout the years, with 155,000 Italian citizens moving their residence abroad in 2014 (Idos, 2015) – thus reaching the amount of 4,828,279 people currently residing beyond the Italian borders (MAE, 2014).

In addition, a glance at the target countries reveals some sort of circularity in history: as in the 1950s, one of the most popular destinations today is Belgium. According to the A.I.R.E.⁴ 5.9 percent of the almost 5 million Italians living abroad are in Belgium,⁵ being 157,400 on a total Belgian population of 11,239 million (Eurostat, 2013).⁶

Considering therefore the size of the Italian population in Belgium, I could not but site my fieldwork in the country. Indeed, the research took place in Leuven, a small city about thirty kilometres east from Brussels. The decision to locate the fieldwork in Leuven rests on the fact that the Flemish city hosts the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (KU Leuven), attracting some 50,000 students every year. KU Leuven pulls indeed thousands of international students and researchers from EU and non-EU Countries. For instance, in the 2014-2015 academic year, the international students numbered for more than 10,000. Importantly, the Italians are the second European group with 595 students (KU Leuven, 2015). Evidently, being master and PhD students the research's focus, the peculiarities of Leu-

ven made the town the perfect location to site the fieldwork.

A Note on the Hereby Intension of Imaginaries

It is not our feet that move us along-it is our minds. (Ancient Chinese Proverb, Salazar, 2014:55)

In few but eloquent words the above-captioned sentence neatly depicts the scope of the investigation. Imaginaries are, in fact, the *Leitmotiv* guiding the research. After a short introduction of the *extension* of the concept, I shall move to its *intension* as understood throughout the research.

As far as the *extension* is concerned, notwithstanding the imaginary's ostensible chimerical definition within the literature (Ingold, 2013; Durand, 1999; Axel, 2003; Salazar, 2010; Strauss, 2006; Sneath et al. 2009), a deeper inquiry into the essence of the concept does reveal some meaningful reflections onto its inherent meaning (Gaonkar, 2002; Crapanzano, 2004; Appadurai, 2005; Strauss, 2006; Salazar, 2011a/b; Salazar, Graburn, 2014),⁷ which is characterized by an intertwined and reciprocally enriching dialectic between imaginaries and individuals.

Certainly, more could be said about the *extension* of this intriguing notion. However, considering the space at my disposal, I shall now turn the attention on how the underlying *intension* of imaginary is conceived in this inquiry. Drawing from the Saidian concept of *imaginative geography* (Said, 1977) and Salazar's conceptualization of imaginary (Salazar, 2010a, 2011a/b, 2012), in the research I re-elaborated the former

into a slightly different notion of *geographic imaginary*. This served the purpose of clarifying the imaginary's role in place-constructing, whereby places are conceived as phenomenological spaces around and through which narratives and practices are developed. As far as the imaginary's conception is concerned, Salazar's definition proved particularly useful to grow my own understanding of the imaginary. In his own words imaginaries are 'socially shared and transmitted (both within and between cultures) representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices' (Salazar, 2011b, p. 576). Likewise, I held utmost beneficial his reflections on the connection between imaginaries and (im)mobility. I especially shared the author's suggestion that imaginaries have the ability to trigger people's motion (*ibid.*). Evidently, this conception of imaginary overcomes the level of the mind, to foster practical consequences on the ways people (re)invent, (re)produce and (re)create places (Salazar, 2010 & 2011), and on the ways people relate to them. Bearing the above in mind, in this work I shall refer to the imaginary as a meta-empirical and dynamic concept.

As far as the meta-empirical dimension of the notion is concerned, it suffices to note that far from being just a meta-world of intangible images, the imaginary influences the lives of the young people participating in the research.

Then, imaginaries are dynamic because they are involved in a circular relationship with everyday empirical experiences. Essentially, they are protean

representational assemblages, through which people explore, escape, transform, expect, experience and make sense of the occurrences in their lives. They are, in this sense, dynamic.

None of those features is overarching vis-à-vis the others. On the contrary, they are caught in a mutually-influencing tie, epitomizing a cause-effect circular relationship. Thus, the resulting portrait shall bear a multi-coloured livery, whereby every shade fades into the other, offering a vivid picture of the mind and the world lived by the individuals.

Envisaging Italy: Between Wishes and Disenchantments

Maybe I already adjusted to the stereotype that there is here. I think about the sun – but last time that I went to Italy it was Christmas, and there was no sun. Then the sea – but Modena has no sea. One follows the stereotype. (Marco)

Envisaging is a complex phenomenon: rather than still-life drawing, minds shape images of reality that are compounds of synesthetic/unique conceptions. As a collage is composed by smaller tiles giving form to the final oeuvre, so is the imaginary of Italy. Not a homogenous, but a manifold picture emerges from the accounts, whereby intertwined bonds link the temporalities and the meta-empirical worlds. Postcards, family pictures, economic newscasts, socio-historical and culinary books are recalled in the stories, thus conjuring an image mentally and empirically lived by the Italian protagonists.

In this paragraph, I shall disclose such

manifold collage, to disentangle the first question raised, namely “how is Italy imagined?”. As shall be clear from the following pages, a double-sided *fil rouge* characterizes the narratives. Between wishes and disenchantments, Italy is portrayed both as “the place of all the beautiful things of life” (Gloria), and as a “mess”, since there are no means to settle and build a safe future there (Gloria).

As a three-sided prism, reflecting a single-coloured light beam into a rainbow, so does the question “how is Italy imagined?” refract into a multitude of colourful answers. Even when the participants’ account overlap with the most classic stereotypes – e.g. sun, food and job-crisis –, the narratives are permeated by intimate sentiments, deriving from the personal relationship they had – and/or still have – with the country. Hence, together with some postcards-like portrays, they offer unique and subjective insights into what Italy is. Thus, the imaginary conveys at the same time trite and original pictures of the country. This, however, should not come as a surprise. Indeed, the literature recognizes that “multiple narratives can sometimes render a particular place or state in a number of ways simultaneously” (Dalby, O Tuathail in Al-Mahfedi, 2011, p. 4). In other words, rather than triggering a single/universal image, places promote diverse understandings and meanings (Rodman, 1992). Accordingly, places are not passive targets of sentiments: they are caught into a mutual relationship of co-influence with people.

To describe this interesting phenomenon, the attention shall be turned on few

accounts disclosing the double-sided *fil rouge* above mentioned.

The first side of the *fil rouge* is composed by images characterized by pleasant feelings of warm and vivacity. In Italy, the food tastes better and the sun shines brighter, the Italians are radiant and friendly. Furthermore, whilst most of the narratives focus on the people, some offer an account of Italy as a place for “vacations, nature, relax, eating”, where “all the beautiful things of life” are, since “there, you have all the relaxing things. It is funny” (Gloria). Similarly, Bertino pictures Italy as a compound of bucolic landscapes, with nature – “sun, sea, beaches, and mountains”. Thus, the country appears to be the perfect place for vacation, amusement and relax.

However, a deeper investigation into the narratives reveals the other side of the *fil rouge*: a variegated and manifold picture, where, to use Anna’s words, Italy “is not always a bed of roses”. The resulting image of the country rests indeed on a fundamental dichotomy, whereby beautiful natural landscapes and troublesome social scenarios are the two sides of a same coin.

Hence, the narratives display a tendency to have wishes and hopes fading into disenchantment. Whilst a less optimistic image emerges from the analysis of the narratives, the country remains “good for family and holidays” (Carmen), and, “after all there is still a positive image of Italy” (Daniele). Thus, the newly arose picture distorts the previously drawn portrait, without however dispelling it.

In light of this paragraph it emerged that wishes and disenchantments are intertwined in the narratives of the partic-

ipants: Italy emerges both as a desired and a not-for-now country in the stories. Thus, Italy's representations display a well-recognized feature of the imaginaries, namely that they are not unidirectional, but to be read "in terms of co- and counter-imaginaries" (Salazar, 2011b, p. 578).

The same twist also reverberates on the lives of the people involved into the research. In the next paragraph I shall then focus on the relationship amidst imaginaries and reality, to investigate how the participants' conceptions reflect on their life choices.

Reviving Italy: Life Choices

The Italian language always inspired me.

It is part of me. (Carmen)

The ethnographic research revealed imaginaries of Italy characterized by several remarkable features; they are, in fact, at the same time, manifold, diverse, unique and shared, similar and stereotypical.

From the stories collected emerged that places, senses, past, present and future are all linked by the power of imagination into variegated mental conceptions. So, one might think that imaginaries are purely mental, for they solely belong to the realm of the mind and they bear no influence on the empirical lives. Such conception would however be flawed, since imaginaries do not merely concern the individuals' conception of reality; rather, they likewise shape reality itself. As protean representational assemblages, the imaginaries are involved in a circular relationship with reality: for the meta- and empirical dimensions are intertwined, and the mental images influences the

practical life of the individuals. In light of the past – as shaped/evoked through the imaginaries –, people experience the present, while building expectations about the future. Hence, imaginaries navigate through the everyday travel of life.

What should, then, be understood as the potential of imaginaries? How do they influence everyday lives, shaping the present and future choices? In this section, I shall argue that they provide people with the power to materialize their mental image.

Therefore, I shall elaborate now on the second question, thus discussing how imaginaries open up to various courses of action. Although concisely, I shall endeavour to illustrate how sharp is the influence of Italy's imaginaries on life choices.

Thereby, I shall move in the wake of Vigh (2006), and analyse the prospective scopes of the imagination to understand the role of the imaginary in people's mapping of their life trajectories (Sneath, 2009). In fact, the stories portray how Italy's imaginaries – and the thereby shaped identities – contribute directing the informants' life choices, thus determining what their future ought to have become: from moving abroad, to pursue a work/academic career, as well as the choice of not-for-now future in Italy.

To give a taste of the results, I shall focus on Sidney's narrative about how his imaginaries influenced his decisions

Sidney is a young man, is born and grew up in Palermo. As a boy, he nourished the image of Italy as a troublesome country. He saw it as a not much to offer, no-future land. His idea and

his conception of the country, however, gradually changed as soon as he moved to Belgium. He realized the immense cultural substratum of the country; he became aware of Italy's fascinating cultural traits; and his newly shaped image guided him to plan to live a life out of it. He decided to make 'the Italian culture' his life-job. So, as he explained to me, his job at the university represents a means to increase his understanding of the country, and 'to do something' about Italy's culture.

In his accounts, Sidney draws some remarkable reflections, which I could not but feel as intriguingly contradicting the Urrian idea that that too much involvement with the past can reduce the vitality of the present (Urry, 1992). Indeed, the past is for Sidney a means to understand the present. Thus, past, present and future are deeply tied in Sidney's narrative. The latter temporal dimension, however, is what I need to briefly pause the discussion on. Notwithstanding his 'hope' that Italy could be 'his future' – and not only his past –, while elaborating on his future plans, Sidney does not really appear incline to move back to his home country. As he said, "for the time being, I feel really good here [in Belgium]. I have absolutely no projects to go back living in Italy. Maybe in a far future... I don't know, you never know. But, for now, I see my life here. However, I do have this dedicated interest for my country, my culture that I consider to be the Italian one [...]"

Evidently, Sidney has made his choice. He does not want to go back. Not now, at least. What is more, however, that Sidney also took a second life-

choice based on his imaginary. In fact, he chose to pursue a career into culture, to develop and foster his knowledge about his home country. Therefore, Sidney's 'return' is, at least for now, pursued through his engagement with his work of study and research on the Italian culture. Hence, Italy's imaginary has pushed him to come back home, although not physically.

The feeling of being torn between hopes and fears, wishes and disenchantments, is recurring in the participants' stories. Often, in fact, the imaginary of Italy twistedly influences the informants' choices about their futures: pushing them both towards and away from Italy. This particularly materializes in the working and career plans. In short, as Marco said, the problem is usually phrased as: 'coming back to Italy means accepting a job that it is not really your dream job'.

Yet, as already said, whilst living in Italy may not be seen as 'a bed of roses', it is neither felt as insurmountably arduous. Feelings are torn between wishes and disenchantments, and future plans are always accordingly twisted between resolutions to come back and to stay abroad. The pleasant images of Italy and the appealing idea of going back home are indeed only one side of the coin. On the other, there is often melancholia and disenchantment. Neither side is overarching vis-à-vis the other. They are both quintessentially intertwined with life choices and decisions.

What, then, are the lessons to be drawn from the stories? How do the imaginaries influence life choices? I think there are at least a couple of points to be made. First, the participants' relation-

ship with their images of Italy does not merely occur at the meta-empirical or empirical levels; for it does, on the one hand, transcend people's practical lives, but, on the other, it likewise interferes with the everyday practices and the life choices. Italy's imaginary indeed reverberates on the participants' lives, in the relationships with themselves, the others and the environment. Second, the imaginaries have proven to connect the past, the present and the future of the participants, enabling them to take positions and decisions *vis-à-vis* their present/future in light of their past.

Therefore, in similar and different ways, the imaginaries of Italy enable the (im)mobility of the people, both physically and mentally, making them powerful – and intriguing – conceptions amenable of influencing on people's lives.

Conclusions

This whole investigation started almost two years ago when, driven by my thirst for knowledge, I decided to enrol at the KU Leuven to pursue a master in anthropology. However, as it is often the case, a prior captivation pulled me towards the study of imaginaries and how they are intertwined with the mobility of people – both physical and mental. I was puzzled by the ways people and places intertwine, and I urged to grasp and disentangle their patterns of relationship and their reciprocal inter-connections.

Therefore, the underlying rationale of my work was to capture how young Italians abroad conceive Italy. I wanted to make them subjects rather than the objects of discussion – as for instance, in

the popular debates on the brain drain issue. So, on the one hand I wanted to capture the stories of these young people. Yet, on the other, I likewise wanted to bring into the discussion other subjects, who are commonly neglected. I hereby refer, evidently, to the children of the past emigrants, the so called second and third generations.

To pursue my goal, I firstly endeavoured to capture what was most significant about the informants' conceptions of Italy, and, secondly, to disclose how the imaginaries relate to physical, geographical and temporal dimensions. Finally, I delved into how the imaginaries influence daily choices and life's perspectives.

I have soon realized how all three aspects are entangled; imaginaries are, in fact, dynamic and travelling meaning-making and world-shaping devices (Salazar, 2011a/b). Therefore, they are not mere meta-worlds of intangible images, but they influence people's lives. The imaginary of Italy thereby mediates the reality and bears practical implications on how people (re)invent, (re)produce and (re)create places, and on the ways how people relate to them.

To briefly conclude, the geographic imaginary of Italy emerges in the research as a collage of images produced/evoked through memories, sensorial experiences and projections towards the future, linking the physical, the social and the individual world(s) in a dialectic of co-influence and co-creation.

Overall Notes

The hereby paper originates from the pages of a master thesis successfully submitted in the Academic year 2014-2015 at the KU Leuven to obtain the degree of Master of Science in Social and Cultural Anthropology.

The researched community is composed by young Italians residing in Belgium. The ten participants may be classified in two sub-groups. Four (three women and one man) are the so called children of the emigration, namely the descendants of past emigrants. They are, in other words, the second and third generation of Italians in Belgium. The remaining six (one woman and five men) are, on the contrary, the new first generation. Indeed, they are born and raised in Italy, and they only recently moved to Leuven to study or work at KU Leuven. More precisely, the investigation involves master and PhD students, living aside Erasmus students, since their stay is normally short and thus strongly temporary.

To abide by the requests of some participants and by the guidelines of the anthropological Code of Ethics (AAA, 2012), I refrained from mentioning the names of those who expressed their wish to remain anonymous. I indeed either referred to them by the use of a pseudonym – personally chosen by the informants – or by the use of initials.

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Notes

¹ Personal translation

² The debate appears to be controversial for researches (Fondazione Migrantes, 2013 & 2014), the public and political debate, and people themselves do not always refer to the young emigration flow as composed by *escaping brains*. Indeed, on the one hand the political debate stresses both the provisional and permanent nature of the mobility. On the other hand, the young people I spoke with highlight that the decision to go abroad could be determined for both necessity and desire. A necessity often pushed by the desire of having recognized one's own abilities.

³ I am referring to the young people who recently moved to Belgium as the *new first* generation to acknowledge their potential to permanently settle in the country. Indeed, some of the participants seem to consider it as a possible option for the near future, and some already have a Belgian partner.

⁴ A.I.R.E. is the acronym for the *Anagrafe Italiani Residenti all'estero* (General Register Office of the Italians residing abroad).

⁵ The extent of the Italians living out of Italy may be even more. In fact, the percentages above mentioned do not take into consideration a part of the current mobility flows. Indeed, it is possible to assume that a portion of the intra-European mobility is left aside, for people recently moved to Belgium not necessarily cancel their Italian residence nor communicate their new foreign living address to the A.I.R.E.

⁶ An inspection of different sources reveals contrasting data. In fact, according to the 2014 MAE (the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)'s report, the Italians residing in Belgium amount to 266.168.

⁷ For insightful investigations and reflections on origins and developments of the notion: (Burgos, 1969), (Brann, 1991) and (Durand, 1969 & 1999).

Portuguese Language Media in Luxembourg: The Newspaper *Contacto*, a Step Towards Integration

Susana Cascao

This paper briefly summarizes the main findings of my Master's thesis, in which I studied the case of the Portuguese language newspaper *Contacto*, a weekly periodical that traces the complete history of the Portuguese speaking community in Luxembourg. Its founding coincided with the first and biggest wave of Portuguese migration to Luxembourg in the 1970's, making it particularly valuable as a tool for understanding the self-representation of the Portuguese community throughout its development. A thorough qualitative content analysis was possible thanks to full access to all of *Contacto's* archives since its inception.¹

In order to better understand the Portuguese language media panorama in Luxembourg, it is essential to first give an account of some essential structural and demographic elements regarding the Grand Duchy. It is a small country with a population of 535,000 of which almost 40 per cent are foreign residents; of those foreign residents 43 per cent are Portuguese nationals (92,100).² The country represents a reality with an unusual proportion of foreigners given its total population. The immense variety of nationalities living in the Grand

Duchy (170) and the significant weight they might translate into in terms of votes has been the source of a lively mediatic debate that has culminated in the pioneering June 2015, referendum on extending the right to vote in general elections to foreign nationals.³

Portuguese immigration to Luxembourg has its origins in the late 1960's and its flow has been uninterrupted since. In 1970, a bilateral agreement between the Portuguese and Luxembourgish governments kicked off a wave of migration towards the Grand Duchy, limited by the quotas established for workers in the construction sector. Such quotas were largely overwhelmed by a determination to immigrate born from economic push factors, opposition to the political regime then in place and the ongoing colonial war. Portuguese have been emigrating in large numbers to Luxembourg ever since, although the beginning of the 2000's has seen a shift towards professionals with higher education working mainly in the financial, IT and services sector (Berger, 2008).

The media panorama in the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg includes more and more 'ethnic media', a concept

which is neither straightforward nor unanimous and whose definition is often dependent on a given country's social context and immigration history. In this article we prefer to define ethnic media as that, 'produced by and for a) immigrants, b) racial, ethnic and linguistic minorities as well as c) indigenous populations living across different countries,' (Matsaganis, Katz and Ball-Rockeach, 2011). Ethnic media can help to understand a minority's or community's social, economic and cultural background (Matsaganis et al., 2011) as well as act as countervailing representation to the potentially negative depictions in mainstream media (Titley, 2008); they also create a self representation and fulfill the dual role of providing a space for the expression of language and culture and act as a resource to facilitate settling in a new country. Other potential strengths of ethnic media are the way in which they can support various forms of engagement with the host society, through actions that we will be seeing below, and its capacity for mediating and empowering a group's participation in the public sphere (Georgiou, 2006; Cascão, 2013).

The range of Portuguese language ethnic media in Luxembourg includes radio stations like *Radio Latina*, with a programme mainly aimed at the Portuguese speaking community, websites such as bomdia.lu, and in print the two newspapers *Contacto* (founded in 1970) and *Correio* (founded in 1999). All of the above media are addressed not only at the Portuguese nationals but also immigrants from former Portuguese colonies in Africa such as Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau as well as Brazilians.

Contacto was founded in 1970 by a Luxembourgish, Lucien Huss, and a Portuguese, Carlos Pina, both working then at the Catholic Mission, an association that provided guidance and assistance upon the arrival of immigrants to Luxembourg. Their first co-signed editorial left no doubt about the newspaper's goals: it was there to 'build bridges'⁴. In its first years, informing its readers about the political situation in Portugal was at the core of its editorial mission, understandable in light of the political turmoil Portugal was undergoing at the time. This tendency to focus on Portugal's daily affairs changed in the 1980's, when Luxembourgish affairs began to be given equal coverage, making the newspaper become more transnational. However, the core focus of *Contacto* continued to be primarily and essentially anything affecting the interests of the local Portuguese speaking community. It is currently the preferred media outlet for Portuguese in Luxembourg, with audience levels reaching 55,400 readers per week, i.e. 12 per cent of the total Luxembourg population.⁵

Theoretical Framework: Interculturalism, Integration and Intercultural Media Integration

Before introducing the key concept of intercultural media integration (Geißler and Weber-Menges, 2009), it is useful to first examine the political concept of interculturalism and the ways it approaches cultural diversity in contemporary societies. Interculturalism directs us to particular national contexts and different stands taken politically on immigration issues and assumptions on what integration should entail. In Europe,

interculturalism was officially endorsed with the publishing of its core values and policies in 2008, through the *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*⁶. The concept of interculturalism, as Barrett (2013) affirms, ‘represents a two-way process in which both majorities and minorities accommodate and take steps into knowing each other’. Among the main features of its policy implementation and core values are a recognition of the major importance of practices of intercultural dialogue, especially at school, in the workplace, in community spaces, and at the institutional level, providing training in intercultural issues to public administration, civil society and mass media workers. On the political level other key steps engage the possibility of dual nationality and increased political involvement through the extension of voting rights. Intercultural policies presume a teleology of integration, in which integration is a step towards an actual assimilation attained over at least a three generations, though more broadly integration is an ever changing and fluid concept that is often subject to politicized interpretations.

One of the main features of the principle of intercultural integration, as set out by Geißler and Weber-Menges (2009), is the attempt to balance the interests of the newcomers and the host in a more ‘human’ approach than assimilation, which foresees no choice for immigrants other than adapting to the dominant culture and ‘forgetting’ about one’s background. I argue that this notion is essential in *Contacto*’s expression of intercultural efforts, which promote local engagement without having to relinquish the community’s attachment to

the homeland. The research presented in this article attempts to show evidence of a form of intercultural integration framed through the perspective of *Contacto*’s efforts towards a mutual understanding.

Geißler and Weber-Menges’ (2009) notion of “intercultural integration” does not expect homogeneity but rather mutual knowledge and communication about the differences between the communities (host and newcomers). This integrative model of media is one in which the local host population and minorities mingle and as such intercultural communication takes place. It auspices both a proportional participation of minorities in the majority media, and formulates the ideal functions of ethnically targeted media: it expects that migrants with knowledge of the host society produce media in a way that promotes intercultural integration and in turn demands that mainstream media include minorities voices more frequently and more visibly in the interests of promoting adequate coverage of the issues the latter face. Furthermore, among its core values is the notion that ethnic minorities should take an active role in the production of mainstream media as well. Alongside such participation, the intercultural integration model as set out by Geißler and Weber-Menges attributes utmost importance to the fact that media should recognise the added value brought by immigration and promote its general acceptance. Moreover, a two way use of both mainstream and ethnic media should be part of an ideal intercultural integration; whilst it is unrealistic to expect that the host society makes use of ethnically targeted media,

if for no other reason, the lack of knowledge of the vehicle language, it is on the other hand essential that ethnic minorities make use of mainstream media in order to get acquainted with issues relating to the host country.

Contacto has been serving the community in a facilitating role that I argue represents a step towards a desired integration, regardless of further in depth reflections that can and should be made around such a multi-layered and complex concept. Its role in such efforts finds evidence in the actions outlined below, among others. I chose to highlight three of its essential actions that illustrate a clear effort toward intercultural media integration: a) the interaction with local organisations b) the demand for dual nationality and c) the open support for more political involvement of the Portuguese community:

a) Through the assistance provided to the Portuguese speaking community arrival in the new country: be it through posting jobs, advertising language courses or literally translating workers' rights by engaging into a strict cooperation with the LCGB (Luxembourg Confederation of Christian Trade Unions), one of the Grand Duchy's largest trade unions. From the 1970's and up until today-*Contacto* regularly shares information and provides advice on workers' issues in the newspaper weekly editions.⁷ This represents an example of a long lasting cooperation with one of Luxembourg's biggest organisations.

b) In its demands for the introduction of dual nationality⁸, an issue that concerned especially the second generation at a time when only *jus sanguinis* was in place, thus not allowing the children of

Portuguese citizens that had been born, raised and educated in Luxembourg to access Luxembourgish nationality until they were 18 (the right to dual nationality was introduced by law in 2008).

c) Through the request for a right to vote and be elected in municipal elections⁹ (expressed in many articles as of the late 1970's), and more recently the battle for the extension of voting rights in parliamentary elections to foreign residents (in 2015). These were themes systematically tackled and whose debate *Contacto* promoted actively. Such socio-political demands have found thorough support in *Contacto* and were eventually achieved through the European Parliament's recognition of the right to vote and be elected in municipal elections for all European citizens (1999). Such a political victory resulted however in dismay; when the right to vote was finally introduced, the involvement of the Portuguese in the local elections in Luxembourg was far from ideal (Besch, 2004). The Portuguese participation resulted in a very low rate of registrations, participation and representation, if we take into account the context of minority-majority¹⁰ of Portuguese nationals in some circumscriptions. The Portuguese community's interest in electoral politics remains relatively low, which eventually served as justification for those against extending the right to vote in parliamentary elections to foreign residents in the period leading up to the June 2015 vote.¹¹ *Contacto* openly campaigned for a 'yes' vote, with lively articles and debates beforehand and dismay in the aftermath of the referendum at the unexpected landslide 78 per cent of votes against.¹²

Conclusions: Building Bridges Between the Community and Host Society

It is undeniable that foreigners play a key role in Luxembourgish society, if they were not yet granted the right to participate in general elections they will with certainty over the generations to come become Luxembourg's future citizens.

Contacto's promotion of the interaction and mutual knowledge between both the Portuguese speaking communities and the host society is a palpable demonstration of its intercultural efforts. In view of the central role media play in this particular interpretation of integration, we consider that *Contacto* is indeed a platform where intercultural media integration has been taking place for decades. A limitation to this study lies, however, in the difficulty¹³ of verifying, in parallel, how politics and mainstream media in Luxembourg have acted to put the same model into practice. A comparison between *Contacto* and mainstream media sources would have certainly contributed to a deeper understanding of the role intercultural media plays in current processes of integration.

In *Contacto's* approach to the promotion of intercultural integration, we can trace various features of both a political and a cultural nature. On the political level, we can point to the call for dual nationality, the insistence on the need for participation in both municipal and general elections, and the raising of awareness on the rights of workers through the 40 year presence of the Trade Union LCGB in its pages. These cannot be but an expression of desirable

intercultural dynamics and highlight an approach that presumes an ideal interaction between minorities, organisations and Institutions of the host country. As for politically related landmark contents, they featured as early as 1979, with the coverage of parliamentary Luxembourgish elections, or the first of the interviews with Jean-Claude Juncker (then prime minister of Luxembourg).

On the cultural level, efforts were taken to promote intercultural integration, as seen through the above-mentioned first editorial by Huss and Pina expressing the wish to establish bridges between the Portuguese and the Luxembourgish community. As well, there have been numerous weekly articles on historic and cultural aspects of Luxembourg, and consistent coverage of matters relating to inter-ethnic relations.¹⁴

As the leading Portuguese-language newspaper in Luxembourg, *Contacto* has assumed that dual role of providing space to the group for the expression of its language and culture, while simultaneously acting as facilitator upon the settling in a new country, throughout four decades of existence. It has been the guardian of the mother tongue, promoting the affection bonds and practices that unite every immigrant with his own roots without however having gone down the road of 'ghettoization'. The analysis of 40 years of publications shows that the newspaper has not been at risk of promoting a marginalization of the Portuguese community in Luxembourg, rather the opposite. Findings revealed that although concerned with keeping strong links with its mother tongue and culture, and in perpetuating some Portuguese traditions, it was not

Contacto's intention to show merely one side, or to keep Portuguese held back in the past. *Contacto* seems to have found that balance between a minority's right to an attachment to its roots and the need to look at the future, a future that is always moving towards a more integrated life in Luxembourg. The proposed theoretical approach to this case study suggested, however, (Geißler and Weber-Menges, 2009) that the same 'mediation effort' is needed from the host country individuals, institutions, community and media. They should also pave the way to make minority communities known to the wider audience, the majority of the host society by giving them a place to be seen from the privileged perspective of the 'bigger window' that mainstream media provides. By doing so they could prepare the ground for a more active participation of such communities in their respective host societies as the occasion of the recent June 2015 referendum well illustrates.

However, further in-depth research on both ethnic and mainstream media in this and other communities is necessary, including explorations of interdisciplinary approaches, in order to fully grasp what media can do to improve the integration process of minorities. Particularly, this research is necessary to work against the spreading of ignorance, invisibility and simplification that some mainstream media promote whenever diversity issues are tackled.

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Notes

- 1 My thanks to BNL, Bibliothèque Nationale de Luxembourg for providing me with full access to *Contacto's* archives.
- 2 STATEC Le Portail des Statistiques du Grand Duché de Luxembourg. (2014). Official statistics report a population of 92.100, however real figures suggest more than 100.000, many arriving without registering themselves. Retrieved August 23, 2015 from http://www.statistiques.public.lu/stat/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=384&IF_Language=fra
- 3 The right to vote and be eligible in municipal elections, for EU nationals has been in place since 1999 .
- 4 *Contacto* (1970) Editorial. January, p.1.
- 5 Source: survey by TNS ILRES Plurimedia Luxembourg (2013-2014). Retrieved August 8, 2015, from https://www.tnsilres.com/cms/_tnsNewsAttachments/Communique_de_presse_etudeplurimedia_2014.pdf
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Crossing Boundaries: Negotiating Transnational Heritage and Belonging in the German Waldensian Diaspora

Elisa Gosso

Introduction

The case of the German Waldensians examined in this article was studied as part of my research work for a Ph.D. in Anthropological Sciences¹. This research focuses on the Waldensian diaspora and transnationalism, and the resulting return visits of the descendants of Waldensian emigrants to the homeland².

The term ‘Waldensian’ defines an Italian religious Protestant group, that originated in Lyon, France, as an heretical movement in the early Middle Ages (Tourn, 1980). In 1532 their members decided to adhere to the Protestant Reformation and, consequently, to organize themselves as a Church. Because of persecutions from both the political power and the Catholic Church they were soon banished from Lyon and scattered across other regions.

Already in the thirteenth century they had found very suitable conditions to settle in some Valleys of the Cottian Alps, in Western Piedmont, about 70 km far from Turin. Waldensians have lived in these valleys virtually since the origins of their religious movement up to the present day, and there is proba-

bly no other place in which anything similar has occurred. This is the reason why this cluster of valleys is known as the ‘Waldensian Valleys’, or, among the Waldensians, simply as ‘the Valleys’.

The very definition of the Waldensian Valleys has been gradually established both for external and internal purposes. Under the Savoy dynasty the Piedmontese government long sought to confine the Waldensian population to this area. That policy culminated around the middle of the eighteenth century in the creation of a sort of Waldensian ghetto in the Valleys. Waldensians were not allowed to live outside the boundaries of the Valleys, they could not attend high school and were forced to celebrate Catholic festivities. That condition ended in 1848, when king Charles Albert, with his Statute, granted civil rights to the Waldensians and the Jews of the kingdom. The new freedom had the effect of dissolving not only the boundary as an obstacle, but also – paradoxically – the boundary as a protective shell for Waldensian culture. The group itself, especially its intellectual and ecclesiastical components, tried in various ways

to idealize the Valleys as a point of reference for all the Waldensians (through the creation of museums as well as of celebrations and, not least, of Waldensian historic sites, with the consequent transformation of the landscape into cultural heritage).

The aim of these introductory remarks about the cultural definition of the Waldensian Valleys is to convey the importance that the Church has always assigned to cohesion and to the maintenance of a certain identity for the Waldensian community. They also allow us to fathom the constant attempt to manage migration and prevent chaotic diaspora. This is also the reason why the study of the wide variety of forms taken by Waldensian migrations and colonies provides a useful and in many ways unique testing ground to assess some of the tenets of transnationalism.

Homeland, nostalgia and return visits

From the Middle Ages to the twentieth century the Waldensian waves of migration from the Valleys were mainly due to socioeconomic causes. The only case of forced migration because of religious persecutions was the one of the German diaspora.

Based on comparative studies of diaspora histories, many social scientists have attempted to define the notion of 'diaspora'. The conceptualization proposed by Robin Cohen is helpful to understand and define the Waldensian case. Cohen (2008) identifies some common features of a diaspora that refer to the displacement from a homeland and the creation of a collective memory and a myth about this homeland, the

frequent development of a return movement (not only a definitive return, but also periodical visits to the homeland), a strong ethnic group consciousness, a sense of empathy with co-ethnic members in other countries and a feeling of tolerance for pluralism in the host country.

All these features are to be found in the case of the German Waldensian diaspora and refer to other key concepts I will use to analyze the case of German Waldensian transnationalism.

First of all, the concept of 'homeland'. The Waldensians who migrated to Germany in the late seventeenth century (de Lange et al., 1999) came all from a specific place in the Valleys: from the so-called high Chisone Valley and from a portion of the low Chisone Valley, which at that time were both under French rule, while the other Waldensian communities in the rest of the Chisone Valley and in the Germanasca and Pellice Valleys were subjects of the Duchy of Savoy.

In 1685 king Louis XIV of France revoked the Edict of Nantes, which nearly one hundred years before had conceded religious and civil freedom to the French Protestants. The French Waldensians of the Chisone Valley had to choose between conversion to Catholicism or exile. Some of them converted, but the majority decided to migrate elsewhere. They joined the stream of migration of the French Huguenots from their lands to countries of Protestant tradition, such as Switzerland and Germany. Waldensians settled in some areas of south-western Germany, in Baden-Württemberg and Hessen. The local lords eager to increase their population in order to make



Fig. 1 From the twinning celebrations in Pragelato, the homeland of German Waldensians.

their lands cultivable and improve their financial condition. This is why they accorded to the Waldensians some privileges, such as the freedom to practice their religion, or to speak French.

After the French Revolution, a period of secularization started also in Germany. One of the last laws of the Holy Roman Empire, which at that time included the German land, unified many domains that had previously been separate religious units. The result was the unification of the Protestants churches: Lutherans and Reformed. In this context, Waldensians were assimilated to the united churches: they lost their specific liturgy and began to speak Ger-

man instead of French. The end of the nineteenth century witnessed a renewed interest in the Waldensian past and the establishment of close links between the German communities and the Waldensian communities of the Valleys, that increased after World War I. In 1936 there was the creation of the *Deutsche Waldenservereinigung*, the Association of German Waldensians³, whose purposes were to support the relationship between the German Waldensians and to preserve Waldensian past and traditions.

For my research, I focused on one German Waldensian community: the *Waldensergemeinde* Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn, in Hessen, about 50 km

south of Frankfurt. The peculiarity of this group is that in 1974 it established a twinning agreement with the native land of their Waldensian ancestors, Pradelato, in the high Chisone Valley. In 2014 the two groups celebrated the 40th anniversary of the twinning, and I took part in the celebrations as part of my fieldwork.

Homeland implies another key concept: 'nostalgia'. This concept is much discussed in human geography, although the authors who have written about it are very eclectic in their researches. David Lowenthal, for example, in his *The Past is a Foreign Country*, introduces the notion of nostalgia in relation with the attitude toward the past. In this conception, it is something related with time and space that, he says, 'engulfs the whole past' (1985: 6). I think the term is particularly useful in analyzing diaspora, as it derives from the Greek *nostos*, that means 'return to native land', and *algos*, 'suffering' or 'grief', and is therefore connected with the concept of homeland and its representation. Another author who uses the concept of nostalgia is an American geographer Dallen Timothy whose studies are particularly focused on genealogical tourism. He analyzes the connection between diasporic groups and tourism to their lands of origin and he speaks of a complex of emotions and a 'sense of nostalgia', which would help to idealize the past and the places of origin and, at the same time, would help to create a desire to visit these places: 'Nostalgia implies a yearning for some past socio-spatial condition(s)' (2008: 118).

This attitude is highlighted by a notion borrowed from another geographer, Yi Fu Tuan (1974), who speaks of

topophilia, a relationship of deep affection that exists between a physical space and human feelings. According to the author, *topophilia* derives from the surrounding reality, and people pay attention to those aspects of the environment that command awe, or promise support and fulfillment in the context of their lives' purposes.

There is little doubt that the people of *Waldensergemeinde* Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn feel a deep *topophilia* for their homeland and manifest it with travels to this place of origin. I identified three kinds of travel. The first is a personal or family travel, while the second and the third are group travels: in the first case, the community visits Pradelato and the Valleys during the twinning's celebrations, while in the second case young people of the community who just did their confirmation⁴ in the church have the habit of visiting together the land of origin of their ancestors as a sort of rite of passage. David Timothy Duval, an American lecturer in Tourism studies, defines the return visit as a periodic, but temporary, sojourn made by members of diasporic communities to either their external homeland or another location in which strong social ties have been forged (Duval, 2004).

Pradelato, the homeland of German Waldensians, possesses some characteristics that attracted my attention, the most striking one being that it is now a 'Catholic town', and I observed that the religious dimension has a very significant role in the life of the community. After the Waldensian exile, the high Chisone Valley was catholicized and it was excluded from the process of creation of the Waldensian Valleys' rep-

resentation. The priest of Prigelato, with the mayor, was one of the central figures of the twinning celebrations. He organized the visit of the Germans to Prigelato in the month of September 2014. On that occasion there were two ecumenical celebrations, jointly performed by the Catholic priest, a Waldensian Italian minister and the minister of the German community.

The first celebration took place in the so-called 'places of memory': Laval and Tronca, the two highest hamlets of Prigelato. Laval is uninhabited since 1942, but in the summer the shepherds use the village as a base to reach the highest pastures. Here there is an old church, S. Giacomo, where the celebration was held. This building has a symbolic meaning for two reasons. The bell of the church is the ancient bell of the old Waldensian temple, destroyed in the seventeenth century, and the church itself was erected as late as 1698. Moreover, the small cemetery next to the church, called the 'graveyard of the miners', contains the victims of an avalanche that in 1904 overwhelmed the workers who were coming downhill from the mines of Beth, about one hundred meters above Laval. The tragedy of Beth, though painful, marks the history of the Prigelato community. The miners who lost their lives in that accident were both Catholics and Waldensians, originating from the nearby Waldensian Valleys. The episode is therefore very significant in the twinning celebration, so that the priest and the pastor mentioned it in their speeches.

Transnational Heritage in Diasporic Communities

Another feature I identified in my research is the notion of 'heritage'. David Lowenthal observed that heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes (1998). Each Waldensian transnational group I met identifies itself with a Waldensian heritage (Gosso, 2015). Some testimonies from my fieldwork are particularly significant:

We are Americans, but this is our heritage» (G. L. C., *Waldensian Presbyterian Church*, Valdeese, USA, 2014).

The doctrine and the tradition of my ancestors belong to me» (C. L., *Waldensergermeinde Robrbach-Wembach-Hahn*, Germany, 2014).

I consider myself very blessed to have a rich heritage and legacy left to me by the Waldensian people of the Piedmont Valleys of Italy» (S. G., *Cardon Families Organization*, USA, 2014).

Heritage was a word very much used by my informants to describe their identification within the Waldensian world, and it was a useful term also for me to describe them, because, as I said for the case of the Germans, Waldensians abroad gradually migrated into other religious denominations. The only exception is the case of the Waldensians who migrated to South America, where they maintained an official Waldensian Church (Geymonat, 1994). What is interesting today is that in Italy it is possible to convert and become a Waldensian, while in the cases of Germany and North America people are Waldensian by birth (Watts, 1947), which entails



Fig 2. The motto of the village: "To the Fathers, for a faithful thought. To the Children, for a constant memory."

the creation of a sort of quasi-ethnicity.

The religious community of Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn belongs to the reformed branch of the Evangelical Church in Hessen and Nassau and is identified as *Sondergemeinde*, a special community. It keeps the ancient right to choose its own pastor, whereas the other communities have their pastors automatically assigned from the ecclesiastical organization.

Heritage includes some social and cultural beliefs and practices. There is a deep bond that unifies the members of the community with their forebears, and genealogy is the element that most of all characterizes the belonging to the

Waldensian heritage. Having a Waldensian ancestor in one's own family is a strong marker of identification with such heritage. However, this feeling is not reduced to individual and family bonds: it apparently extends to the whole community. The emigrant ancestors are represented as a single body. Thus, for example, in the motto of the village the term 'Fathers' of the community is mentioned⁵. At the same time, this familial lexicon is extended to the current inhabitants of Prigelato. During my fieldwork I heard many times the locals speaking about 'brothers', 'cousins', 'children of the same mother', and so on. So, if the genealogy intervenes by



Fig 3. The focal point of the *Waldenserfest* is an historic parade where many women and children and little girls wear the typical Waldesian dress.

establishing rigid boundaries of belonging, on the other hand there are criteria of permeability that allow one to cross the boundary, even if the boundary itself remains, as noted by Fredrik Barth (1969) in his influential discussion of ethnic boundaries.

Another feature of the Waldensian heritage of Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn is a particular celebration, connected with the memory of the forebears. This celebration is called *Waldenserfest* and takes place every year at the end of June since the middle of the nineteenth century. In 2014 a delegation of Pragerlato took part in it during the twinning celebration.

The focal point of the *Waldenserfest* is

an historic parade that starts from a forest on the edge of the village, after the celebration of a religious service. Here there is a sort of cabin called *Waldenser-Schutzhütte*, where the ancestors are believed to first stopped when they arrived in Rohrbach. The parade crosses some streets of the town and arrives in the central square, in front of the temple. This procession is full of symbolic elements: there is the Waldensian emblem⁶; some people dress like ancient farmers, as their ancestors from the Valleys are thought to have done, and carry some old agricultural tools; many women and little girls wear the typical Waldensian dress⁷; there is also a torture wheel, to remember the ancestors'

persecutions. The *Waldensierfest*, besides being part of the Waldensian heritage, a ‘diacritical feature’, to use Barth’s expression (1969)⁸, is a time of ‘expanded community’: celebrations involve all the inhabitants of Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn, not only those belonging to the *Waldensiergemeinde*. During my fieldwork I came to know, for example, that the main organizer of the celebration was a Catholic inhabitant of Rohrbach.

Conclusion: Negotiating Heritage’s ‘Authenticity’ Between Diaspora and Native Land

The role of the Waldensian heritage in shaping the sense of belonging to the community allows me to introduce my last concept: the notion of authenticity. Authenticity refers to the title of the paper: ‘Negotiating transnational heritage and belonging’. I speak about negotiation for two reasons.

First of all, emigrated Waldensians had to negotiate their belonging in the host society. They always maintained a heritage, more or less strong and clear, depending on the single cases and on the different historical periods. In general, we can say that there was a revival of this heritage in the 1960s and the 1970s.

Second, the negotiation involves the Waldensian people of the Valleys, especially today. One of the testimonies that I collected during my fieldwork in the Valleys seems to assume that the Waldensians abroad do not exist, while my interviews in Rohrbach have instead emphasized a strong feeling of *valdesità* that would connote the descendants of the emigrants today.

There is apparently a disagreement in the interpretation and representation of being Waldensian. Surely the fact of talking about religion complicates this issue. During the Sixties and the Seventies, the same period in which there was a heritage revival in the transnational contexts, in the Italian Waldensian Church there was a rethinking of Waldensian history and tradition. The specific historical circumstances in which this new thought originated were characterized by specific social and political movements and led to value other dimensions of being Waldensian, such as the universality of being inserted into Protestantism or evangelization. Some Waldensian researchers argue that this attitude led to belittle Waldensian history. Bruna Peyrot, for example, observed that in the second half of the twentieth century, many Waldensians reduced Waldensian historiography to a minor, local and folkloristic history: “The ‘real’ Waldensian had to be Protestant, engaged in modern society and free from the ties with a past considered unfit to face reality” (1990: 55). The debate is still open, so it is difficult to judge. However it is likely that this thought influences the view of transnational Waldensian groups.

An essay by Debora Che, an American lecturer in Tourism and Hospitality Management, was clarifying to me. She wrote about the history and evolution of *Tulip Time*, a festival which takes place in Holland, Michigan, and celebrates diasporic Dutch heritage. Her conclusion was that this festival can be considered authentic even if it is not static and even if it incorporates unrelated features, because it does not celebrate the

homeland, but it rather celebrates the diaspora: ‘*Tulip Time* is a celebration of diasporic Dutch heritage in Michigan, not the heritage of the Netherlands. *Tulip Time* is an (emergent) authentic event that has acquired meaning for the local community through self-representation before tourists. [...] festivals like *Tulip Time* that have (emergent) authenticity can help enhance group (i.e. community) and place (i.e. regional, local) identity’ (2004: 274).

The descendants of Waldensian emigrants are also perfectly aware of their being here and now, and identify their heritage as an important component of their life. In this perspective, the adjective ‘transnational’ would seem to make the difference: Waldensian heritage abroad is made of negotiations, dialogues and exchanges with the Waldensian context of origin. Thanks to these dynamics, within which the return visits seem to play a fundamental role, it is not static and fixed process, but something in endless evolution.

I conclude by quoting a few words told me by a member of the *Waldensergemeinde*. This testimony highlights the last feature of Cohen’s prototypical diaspora: the possibility of a distinctive, creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. Waldensian transnational heritage is considered exemplary for the migratory processes and events of today and brings to light not only a feeling of tolerance, but a feeling of empathy as well: We can learn a lot from Waldensian history, this includes people seeking asylum. How did their settlement in Germany take place? How did they integrate with a different language and different methods of

working? How did their faith evolve and what is still remaining of it? How fast did they integrate with the Germans? Gripping questions [*spannende Fragen*] for which we still seek answers today (Syria, Iraq, North Africa), with openness and understanding towards foreigners. It is a commitment for me today to look back to my ancestors’ history and to carry on the Waldensian teaching’ (C. L., *Waldensergemeinde Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn*, Germany 2014).

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Notes

- 1 Doctorate in Psychological, Anthropological and Educational Sciences, Doctoral School in Human and Social Sciences, University of Turin.
- 2 Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in the Waldensian community of Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn in Germany, the Waldensian Presbyterian Church of Valdese, North Carolina, USA, the Cardon Families Organization of the United States and the Waldensian Church of the River Plate in Uruguay and Argentina (Gosso 2015). In this paper I focus on the case of Rohrbach-Wembach-Hahn.
- 3 Web site: <http://www.waldenser.de>.
- 4 It is the confirmation of the baptism received from children, that establishes the entry into the community of the church members.
- 5 The motto of the village, written on a bronze plaque situated in the central square of Rohrbach, declaims: *Den Vätern zum treuen Gedenken, den Kindern zur steten Erinnerung*, that means 'To the Fathers, for a faithful thought. To the Children, for a constant memory'.
- 6 A lighted candelabrum surrounded by seven stars with the motto *Lux lucet in tenebris*, 'Light shines in the darkness'.
- 7 The costume consists of an ankle-length dress, usually dark blue, black or purple. Around the waist a silky and colored apron is tied with long ribbons. On the shoulders it is used to wear a white or black shawl, with long fringes and floral embroidery on the back. The most characteristic element of the Waldensian costume is the precious bonnet, usually white for adults and black for the girls who are not yet confirmed.
- 8 In Barth's analysis, 'diacritics' are parameters that the members of a group develop in order to found a feeling of internal unity and to distinguish from the others.

