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Association of European Migration Institutions

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*Special Issue on*

‘Migration History Matters’

*Editor*

Hans Storhaug

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



# AEMI Journal

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# From the Editor

This year I am particularly proud to present to you our tenth volume of the AEMI *Journal*. On this occasion it may be suitable to remind you of the words of our long-serving past Chairman Brian Lambkin, who in the introduction to the first volume expressed his hope that the AEMI Journal might succeed its aim of promoting communication and co-operation between members of the Association and of raising public awareness of the activities of the Association and its members. The fact that we have succeeded in organising our annual meetings and publishing ten volumes of the *Journal* proves indeed that we have managed to bring that hope to fruition.

The tenth volume of the AEMI Journal is dedicated to the theme *Migration History Matters*. In addition to the reflections of the American Ambassador to Denmark, Laurie S. Fulton, on what it is like to be Danish- American today, the *Journal* contains ten articles more or less reflecting on how the lives of immigrants of the past have strong relevance for the understanding of multicultural Europe today.

In this regard I would like to draw your attention in particular to Bente Jensen's article '*Foreigners in Denmark-Danes Abroad*' - *Reflections on Results and Method in a Project about Migration and Identity*, in which she tells us how stories of Danish emigrants' experiences became an eye-opener and starting point for self-reflection among immigrants in Aalborg city in the 1990s.

Nonja Peters' article *Selling a Dream - Expectation versus Reality - Post War Dutch and Other Migrations to Australia 1945-1970* problematizes Dutch newcomers apparently rapid assimilation to Australia's Britishness, making them 'invisible' and developing a 'closet culture' and causing their children's loss of language which prevented many from being able to communicate with sick, ageing parents.

Also Janja Žitnik Serafin, who at the annual meeting in Stavanger in 2002 made the proposal of making a Journal for the documentation of our work, has an article on *Louis Adamic's Role in the Prehistory of Multiculturalism*. Here she documents Adamic's continuous work for equality on behalf of marginalized groups, and recognition of their languages, religion, values and cultural patterns in the United States without threatening the dominant culture. Adamic's 'recipe' from the 1930s is well worth re-consideration as we seek to meet the challenges of migration in Europe today.

Hans Storhaug,  
Editor

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

*28 September - 2 October 2011  
Aalborg, Denmark*



*Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other migration researcher met for a three day conference at the Utzon Centre in the city of Aalborg, Denmark. The conference was hosted by the Danish Emigration Archives.*

## **Wednesday, 28 September 2011**

Conference members met at the Danish Emigration Archives for registration and an informal get-together.

- Why does migration history matters?
- What is going on in your migration institutions that we should know about?
- What would you like AEMI to do in the next three years?

## **Thursday, 29 September 2011**

Chairman of association gave a short introduction to the history of AEMI, focusing on three key questions:

Welcome speeches by Deputy mayor of the city of Aalborg, Helle Fredriksen, Manager at the Utzon Centre, Anni

Walther, Director of the Danish Emigration Archives, and Chairman of AEMI marked the official opening of annual conference.

The whole day was devoted to papers and discussions as follows:

Brian Lambkin, *Introduction to Migration History Matters*

Torben Tvorup Christensen, *Digital Migration- digitizing the past in order to understand the present*

Henrik Bredmose Simonsen, *Migration History with a new focus*

Cathrine Kyøl Hermansen and Susanne Jensen, *Exhibiting Danish Immigration*

Hans Storhaug, *Migrapedia*

Mathias Nilsson, *Archival newcomers - new in inner Scandinavia*

Anton Gammelgaard, *World migration*

Laurie S. Fulton, *USA, Denmark and migration*

The day was closed with a guided tour at Utzon Center, Irish migration music, and official dinner at the Utzon Center hosted by the Danish Emigration Archives.

### Friday, 30 September 2011

The whole day was devoted to further papers and discussions.

Nonja Peters, *Selling a dram - expectation versus reality - postwar Dutch and other migration to Australia 1945-1970s*.

Metka Lokar, *Hat or cap ... does it matter? The case of Albanians in Slovenia*

Janja Zitnik Serafin, *Louis Adamic's role in the prehistory of multiculturalism*

Dietmar Osses, *Polish immigrants in Westphalia - A European case study for integration?*

Trine Lund Thomsen, *Return of the Polish peasant*

Martin Bak Jørgensen, *Representations that travel - How Turkish migrants have been perceived in Denmark*

Bente Jenssen, *Foreigners in Denmark*  
Maddalena Tirabassi, *Migration and the foundation of the Italian state*

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, *Brazil and France: A historical overview of the two main Portuguese Migratory Flows*

Nina M. Ray, *Standing on the family farm in Tysvær: How did "Kallekodt" become "Thompson"?*

Snjezana Gregurovic and Josip Kumpes, *Immigration, integration and the attitudes of Croatian citizens towards immigrants*

Brian Lamkin, *Irish Emigrants on the Titanic*

Hans Storhaug, *Norwegian Migration Today*

### Saturday, 1 October 2011

The morning was devoted to the AEMI business meeting. At noon the Danish Emigration Archives organised an excursion to Rebild Bakker (Rebild Hills), since 1912 a gathering place for Danish-Americans celebrating the American Independence Day 4 July.

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

#### Minutes of Meeting

The General Assembly 2011 was called to order Saturday 1. October 2011 at 10.00 am. by the Chairman Brian Lambkin.

### *1. Attendance Register and Apologies*

Chairman Brian Lambkin conveyed apologies from Snjezana Gregurovic, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia and Carlo Stiaccini and Fabio Capocaccia, CISEI, Genoa, Italy.

It was noted that the following representatives of 19 member institutions were present:

- Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément
- The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration (CDMH), Dudelange, Luxembourg, represented by Mr. Dario Cieol
- LWL Industrial Museum Hannover Colliery – Westphalian State Museum of Industrial Heritage and Culture, Bochum, Germany, represented by Dr. Dietmar Osses
- The Center for Intercultural Studies, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz, Germany, represented by Ms. Heike Sabri
- The Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Basque Country, represented by Mr. Benan Oregi Inurrieta
- The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamn, Åland, represented by Ms. Eva Meyer
- The Norwegian-American collection, National Library of Norway, Oslo, represented by Ms. Dina Tølfsbj
- The Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, represented by Mr. Hans Storhaug
- The Swedish American Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Mr. Mathias Nilsson and Mr. Erik Gustavson

- The Dunbrody and Ros Tapestry Project, Dunbrody Famine Ship, New Ross, Ireland, represented by Mr. Sean Reidy

- The Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia, represented by Janja Zitnik Serafin and Metka Lokar

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*2. Minutes of Annual General Assembly of AEMI 2. October 2010 at Euskalduna Congress Palace, Bilbao, Basque Country, Spain*

The Minutes of the General Assembly at Euskalduna Congress Palace, Bilbao, Basque Country, Spain 2. October 2010 were approved as accurate records.

<http://www.aemi.dk/publications/Minutes%20of%20the%20AEMI%20annual%20meeting%202010.pdf>

*3. Chairman's Report, 2010-2011*

Referring to the full text at the AEMI website <http://www.aemi.dk/publications/Chairmans%20Report%202010%202011%20Final.pdf>, the Chairman noted that it was a long report, due to the fact that he was stepping down and wanted to give a historical resume. In his presentation Brian Lambkin focused on four major issues:

- 1) The initiation of the AEMI Journal in Stavanger 2002 to keep and promote the records and presentations of the Annual Meetings. This was followed by a special thanks to Hans Storhaug.
- 2) The need to upgrade and reconstruct the AEMI website
- 3) The idea of creating portals like Migrapedia and Migraport
- 4) The project Migrations Heritage Routes, including thanks to Antoinette Reuter and a general focus on international networking and collaboration with Unesco and other associations on the theme migration.

Brian Lambkin concluded that the AEMI annual meetings all had played a strong role and held high standards. He also noted that there is still a lot be done and new challenges relating to the

major four issues he had focused on. The Chairman thanked all the Board members for their work during the years in benefit of AEMI.

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

*4. Secretary's Report, 2010-2011*

Secretary Jens Topholm noted that AEMI's secretary in 2010-11 had communicated messages to and from members and research institutions on the topic of Migration. He could also confirm that AEMI has received no new membership applications.

Regarding AEMI website the secretary has communicated with the company that developed the website. The clear advice was to create a complete new platform. The secretary could add that facebook, twitter etc. are social media that has to be part of AEMI plans for new ways of communication.

At the AEMI board meeting April 2011 in Aalborg Jens Topholm stated that he will retire as secretary this year. Due to that it seemed sensible that the ongoing work with the construction of new communicative platforms will be part of the new secretary's job. The AEMI website.dk will be archived as PDF files, so that the many documents can be preserved for further use and historical research on the work of AEMI.

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

*5. Treasurer's Report: Financial statement and accounts, 2010*

Treasurer Eva Meyer introduced the AEMI subscriptions paid and the accounts 2010 <http://www.aemi.dk/publications/Account%202010%20and%20Budget%202012.pdf>.

The Auditor Erik Gustavson confirmed that he was satisfied with the Accounts for 2010 and had signed them. There were no further comments and questions. The Presiding Officer thanked the Treasurer for her presentation and moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

*6. Appointment of Auditor for 2011-2012*

Mr. Erik Gustavson was proposed as Auditor of AEMI 2011-2012. The appointment was adopted unanimously. The Chairman Brian Lambkin thanked Erik Gustavson for his work in the year past.

*7. Proposed Budget 2012 (Treasurer)*

Treasurer Eva Meyer proposed a budget for 2012 <http://www.aemi.dk/publications/Account%202010%20and%20Budget%202012.pdf>

There were questions to the web-page cost and the amount to create a new website. It was noted that is very difficult to be completely precise. There were several suggestions from the assembly to make new incomes like raising the annual subscription, pay for AEMI Journals, and introduce a fee for participation in the annual conference. With these remarks to be considered by the new board the Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Treasurer's Proposed Budget 2012. The meeting adopted the Budget.

*8. Journal Editor's Report, 2010-2011*

Hans Storhaug, Editor of the AEMI Journal, presented the new journal 2010 and noted that 7 presentations out of 15 in Bilbao were in the Journal. It would be possible to have more presentations from the Aalborg meeting in the Journal, and Hans Storhaug had also talked with the American Ambassador Laurie S. Fulton about giving a paper. The call for papers for the next year's Journal is no later than 15. December 2011. The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his presentation and moved the adoption of the Editor's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

*9. Admission of New Members*

There had been no new official applications for membership. Sarah Clément mentioned new possibilities in Berlin and Benan Oregi Inurrieta in Spain. Heike Sabri noted an institute in Beirut and Adam Walaszek a new museum in Poland – all possible new members.

*10. Election of new Board 2011-2014*

Hans Storhaug was elected as new chairman, Maddalena Tirabassi as new vice-chairman and Sarah Clément as new secretary. Eva Meyer and Hans Storhaug continue as treasurer and editor and Jens Topholm will be board member 2011-12 as host of the 2011 Annual Meeting.

All elections were unanimously accepted and applauded by the members.

The new chairman gave a short speech confirming that he, as one of the founding fathers, would represent continuity. He also advocated new ideas, focusing on a broader European perspective and more digital communication between board and members.

### *11. Members projects*

Member projects had been discussed at the first day of the Annual Meeting in the member's workshops and plenum at the Danish Emigration Archives.

### *12. Review of Annual Meeting 2011*

There was general satisfaction with 2011 meeting, the organization, facilities, the program, the combination of the Utzon Center and the Danish Emigration Archives – and the weather! The members supported the new idea of workshops and there were suggestion to upgrade member workshops and also consider the possibility of a preconference on specific topics.

### *13. Venue, Date and Agenda of Annual Meeting 2012*

Regarding the AEMI Conference 2012 Chairman Brian Lambkin reported that The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland represented by Prof. Adam Walaszek had made an invitation to hold AEMI's Annual Meeting 2012 in Krakow. The invitation was unanimously accepted.

It was also noted that Wolfgang Grams had made a special invitation to AEMI members to join the Queen Mary 2 from Hamburg to New York and Brian Lambkin recommended the members to consider this fine offer from Routes to the Roots.

<http://www.aemi.dk/publications/QM2%20Info%20AEMI.pdf>

### *14. Any Other Businesses*

Sarah Clément suggested that next year's annual meeting should be filmed and presented at the internet and Benan Oregi Inurrieta suggested that AEMI should work for new funding. These were the last businesses announced. Janja Zitnik Serafin expressed the members thanks to Brian Lambkin for his work as chairman, and Brian Lambkin thanked all the AEMI colleagues and the Danish Emigration Archives staff for this year's Annual Meeting, which was concluded at 11.30 am.

# The Association of European Migration Institutions, Chairman's Report 2010-2011



*Chairman Brian Lambkin, flanked by Secretary Jens Topholm and Adam Walaszek, Presiding Officer of the General Assembly meeting at the Danish Emigration Archives in Aalborg, Denmark 1 October 2011.*

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is my privilege to be reporting to you as Chairman for the ninth year in succession, and since this is the final occasion on which I shall do so, I should like to begin by recalling the words of our previous Chairman, Knut Djupedal of the Norwegian Emigrant Museum, when he handed over to me at our Annual Meeting **in 2002** in Stavanger, Norway.

Having reminded us of the origins of the Association – the initial meetings in Aalborg and Stavanger in 1989 and 1990 and the first formal meeting, now twenty years ago, in Bremerhaven in 1991, he set out the philosophy by which he had sought to guide us during his period of office. Our concern, he said, is with ‘one of the central as-

pects of the human condition: the movement of individuals and groups, and the consequent meeting of peoples of different races, languages, cultures and social organizations. Coming as we do, he said, from Finland to Portugal and from Croatia to Iceland, speaking twelve different native languages, and coming from countries which occasionally have had rather frosty relations, it has been important for us to spend time 'getting comfortable with each other', and to keep in mind that a fundamental basis of the Association is 'friendly communication across boundaries, the counterweight to angry communication through violence'.

We met the following year in Lisbon **in 2003**, hosted by Professor Armando Oliveira and Professor Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and their colleagues in the Open University there. I reported that the Board had met three times that year in Luxembourg, including a trip to Strasbourg to make a presentation to the Council of Europe. I should like to pay tribute in particular to the generous support and work of Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues in the Centre des Documentations in Dudelange, not least for putting us in touch with Michel Thomas-Pennette, Director of the European Institute of Cultural Routes (<http://www.culture-routes.lu>) and his colleagues in Luxembourg.

In Lisbon, we were on the verge of submitting a major application to the EU Culture 2000 programme for the 'European Migration Heritage Route' project, which became a major topic for discussion amongst members. Also in Lisbon we celebrated the appearance of the first edition of the *AEMI Journal*,

thanks largely to the hard work of its founding Editor, Hans Storhaug.

After that meeting in Lisbon last year, a small group representing AEMI travelled to northern Portugal to lend our support to Dr Miguel Monteiro and his colleagues in the municipality of Fafe who were planning a Museum of Emigration, building on the town's particularly strong historic connection with Brazil, evident in its architecture of where the 'Brazilian Houses', built by returned emigrants, are a special feature.

**In 2004** we met in Växjö, Sweden, hosted by Dr Per Nordahl and his colleagues at the Swedish Emigrant Institute.

I reported that although the Board had not met face-to-face in the course of the year, our effort had been mainly directed towards three main objectives: completion of an application for the European Migration Heritage Route Project to the European Union-funded Culture 2000 programme, which was done in November 2003; preparation for a pilot European Migration Heritage Week programme in October 2004; and production of the second issue of the *AEMI Journal*. The anticipated results of the European Migration Heritage Route project were:

- Enlargement the Association of European Migration Institutions to include one member institution in each European state and thereby a more inclusive and effective trans-European network focused on migration heritage
- Value added to European Migration Heritage through development

- of a new on-line 'European Migration Heritage Resources Portal'
- Enhanced awareness of European Migration Heritage through establishment of a new, annual 'European Migration Heritage Week' (October), including an events programme, advertised and co-ordinated by the enlarged Association of European Migration Institutions Network
  - Improved access to European Migration Heritage through establishment of a new 'European Migration Heritage Route'

As it turned out, we were not successful with the funding application. Nevertheless, through the experience of putting together our application we learned a great deal about ourselves as an Association and our capacity and appetite for delivering such an ambitious programme and these remained our strategic goals.

In Växjö we welcomed several new members, launched the second issue of our *AEMI Journal*, heard many interesting papers on the theme of 'Connecting Contemporary Migration with the Past' and engaged in discussion.

When we met in Paris in 2005, hosted by Driss El Yazami and his colleagues in Generiques, in the splendid setting of the House of Europe, I reported that the Board had had one face-to-face meeting in the course of the year, in Luxembourg, thanks again to Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues, as part of a seminar and major conference organised by the Centre des Documentations on 'The Euro-

pean Itinerary of Migration Heritage' which showcased the achievements of the Cultural Routes programme of the European Institute of Cultural Routes. If we needed any further convincing, this excellent conference impressed upon us how successful the European Institute of Cultural Routes has been in promoting a huge range of 'routes' or 'itineraries', and how important it was for us to make sure that the theme of migration was well represented.

A most pleasant and very exciting occasion during that year was the official opening of the new Emigration Museum in Bremerhaven, Germany – the Deutsches Auswandererhaus – on Monday 8 August. I was delighted to be there on behalf of the Association along with our immediate past Chairman Knut Djupedal, Antoinette Reuter and Wolfgang Grams. The Association received distinguished mention in the speeches. So did our long-standing member Jürgen Rudloff and his colleagues of the Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum. It must have been particularly gratifying for them to see their dream realised in such an impressive new building. We should remember here with gratitude that it was Jürgen and his colleagues who hosted the meeting in 1991 at which the decision was taken to formally launch our Association. We should also remember them hosting our Annual Meeting Bremerhaven in 2000 when the announcement of funding for the new museum was made. Those of us who were in Växjö may well also remember the presentation of the new museum given to us by Simone Eick and her assurance that even though building had not even begun at that stage that it

would be ready to open in August 2005 – as indeed it was!

What I said at the time of the opening was that ‘members of AEMI throughout Europe and beyond will be thrilled that this project has come to such successful fruition and it will be a great encouragement to them. It is difficult to think of more pressing challenge in Europe today than that presented by migration. What we know from history is that rapid social change rarely takes place painlessly and there needs to be serious investment in education if people are to adjust smoothly to new circumstances. Making the link between Europe’s long tradition of emigration to its ‘New World’ and current immigration is vital to our future well being and this new museum is a splendid example of investment that helps us to make that link. ... We look forward to working with this excellent new institution in taking a leading role in the development of migration studies world-wide.’

In Paris we welcomed several new members, launched the third issue of our AEMI *Journal* and heard many interesting papers on the theme of ‘Cinema, Literature and Migration’. I remember in particular the guided tour we had round the Palais de la Porte Doré, which was under renovation as the site of the new national museum of immigration history, *Cité de l’histoire de l’immigration*, which was due to open in April 2007. I also recall the fascinating tour of Paris by bus, designed by the staff of Génériques, based on the theme of migration and our visit to the Belleville district, which was to feature so prominently in the news after riots there

few weeks later – a powerful reminder of what can happen when migration policy does not work.

This completed my first three-year term as Chairman.

**In 2006** we were in Trogir, Croatia for our Annual Meeting, hosted by Silva Meznaric and her colleagues at the Institute for Ethnic and Migration Research, Zagreb. The venue for the Annual General Meeting that year was most unusual. In keeping with our theme, the whole meeting was truly migratory, beginning in the beautiful mainland town of Trogir and then moving to the island of Vis on board the ‘Adriatic Paradise’, with the Annual General Meeting being held on the return journey, against the noise of the ship’s engines.

I reported that it had not proved possible for the full Board to have a face-to-face meeting that year but that Hennig Bender, our then Secretary and Treasurer and I had been able to meet, once more at a seminar in Luxembourg, which included a series of papers on Migration Database, thanks to the Centre des Documentations in Dudelange. One important development that I was able to draw attention to was the publication of the ‘Migration Heritage Map of Germany’ by the German National Tourist Office ([www.cometogermany.com](http://www.cometogermany.com)) with the assistance of Wolfgang Grams, which has since provide an inspiration and model to others. Another useful model was the migration tour of Paris and associated brochure developed by Génériques.

I also reported that just as we had been delighted the previous year to welcome as new members the Museum of

Emigration and Communities in Fafe, Portugal, represented by Miguel Monteiro, and the Kinship Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Erik Gustavson, we were now pleased to welcome intentions to apply for membership from representatives of the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris and the Association pour la Maison de la Memoire de l'emigration des Pyrenees at du Sud-Ouest de la France, and also to receive an application for associate membership from the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, New York. It was also a special pleasure to welcome Benan Oregi from the government of the Basque country who had visited several member institutions, including my own, that summer.

I also said that the opening of a national museum concerned with migration in France in April 2007 would be a major development in our field, like the opening of the German Emigrant Museum in August 2005. I said 'all the indications are that migration will remain an issue at the top of the political agenda for all the countries of Europe for the foreseeable future, whether as mainly receiving countries or sending countries, and the force of the argument for more investment in migration studies of all kinds is increasingly apparent. The better we understand our migration heritage, the more likely we are to make good decisions about current migration policy and respond well as citizens to the challenges that current migration brings'.

One major project that several of our member institutions were then engaged in exemplified this well. This was the Youth and Migration Project 2008, in-

volving collaboration primarily between Stavanger, Norway and Liverpool, England, in which Hans Storhaug took a leading role. Our colleagues in Dudelange were also then planning an important migration project for 2007 when Luxembourg would be European Capital of Culture.

**In 2007** the Annual Meeting took place in Finland for a second time, kindly hosted in Turku once more by Olavi Koivukangas and his colleagues at the Institute of Migration in their splendid new premises.

I reported that the Board had held one face-to-face meeting during the year 2-3 July in Aalborg, Denmark, thanks to the hospitality of the Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender. There we reviewed our Strategic Plan, noting that since the Annual Meeting in Portugal (2003), the Association has gained 7 new members (in Croatia; in Germany (Ballinstadt); in Italy (Genoa); in Portugal (Fafe); in Scotland (Scots Abroad); in Sweden (Kinship Center and Immigrant Institute). Regrettably, we had also lost 4 members in Iceland; Ireland (Dunbrody); in Germany (Hamburg); in Italy (Rome); in Denmark (Farum). We also noted that some member institutions had paid subscriptions consistently but never managed to send a representative to an Annual Meeting, and we discussed possible ways of encouraging them to do so.

We also discussed the conference on Migration Museums that was held 23-25 October 2006 in Rome, jointly organized by UNESCO and IOM with the objective of exchanging information on the role of migration museums in

promoting migration integration policies and cultural diversity. This was a major new initiative in our field and four of our member institutions were represented at the conference (Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and Miguel Monteiro from Portugal, Miguel Benito from Sweden and Agnès Arquez-Roth from France).

In Finland we noted with pleasure the announcement in May that Simone Eick and her colleagues at the German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven had been awarded the title of European Museum of the Year, 2007. Another gratifying development in July that year was the official opening in Hamburg of BallinStadt – ‘Port of Dreams – Emigrant World Hamburg’, and we were delighted that Ursula Wöst from BallinStadt was there with us in Finland to give a first-hand account of the project.

So far as the work of the Association as a whole was concerned, the main highlight of the year was the news from Antoinette Reuter in Luxembourg that our ‘Migration Heritage Route’ had been officially approved by the Council of Europe in April, and that there was to be a formal presentation of the charter at a special ceremony to be held in Luxembourg on October 5<sup>th</sup> at which the ambassadors of all our countries would be present.

As Antoinette frequently reminded us in those years, the main activity associated with the ‘Migration Heritage Route’ was ‘Migration Heritage Week’, which we designated as 4-14 October. That we have got as far as we did with this project, I need hardly remind you, was largely thanks to the initiative and hard work of Antoinette and her col-

leagues in Luxembourg in working closely with the European Institute of Cultural Routes.

Another highlight that year was the official opening in July 2007, immediately after the Board meeting in Denmark, of the Museum of Emigration and Communities in Fafe, Portugal. I am glad to have been able to attend that occasion on behalf of the Association at the invitation of Miguel Monteiro and his colleagues. As I have already mentioned, after the Annual Meeting in Lisbon 2003, hosted by Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, some of us made the journey north to the town of Fafe to be shown the ambitious plans for this new museum. Some of us wondered if they were not being overly ambitious, requiring as they did the full backing of the municipal authority. What impressed me especially at the splendid opening was how wholeheartedly not only the municipal authority but also the national government was supporting this imaginative project that daringly incorporates the evidence of migration that is to be found in the townscape, in buildings such as the so-called ‘Brazilian’ houses.

One of the benefits of attending the opening of the new museum in Fafe, Portugal, was the opportunity to meet with Luc Gruson and Agnès Arquez-Roth of the Cité Nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, Paris, and also Carine Rouah of UNESCO who was also in attendance. Carine was one of the main organisers of the Rome conference and I am delighted that she has been able to come to address us here in Finland about her project. In choosing to focus on ‘museums’, I said that I believed that this wel-

come initiative may be missing a trick: 'A main strength of our Association has been the vision of its founders in seeing the need for all institutions concerned with the documentation, research and presentation of migration to come together. As we know, migration, relatively-speaking, is an 'artefact-poor' area of human experience (unless we are prepared to take the imaginative 'outdoor' approach of our colleagues in Fafe) and our understanding of migration has to rely on the collections of libraries and archives as much as on those of museums. We see this, for example, in the way that Bremerhaven avoids the exclusive description of itself as a museum, calling itself the *Deutsches Auswandererhaus* or German Emigration Center, incorporating not only a museum but a migration archive that supports family history research.

Nevertheless, I urged that we should listen carefully to what Carine Rouah had to say to us about how she saw things developing and that 'we should be open to new initiatives and proposals from whatever direction they come, bearing in mind the strategic objectives that we have set ourselves'.

I was also privileged that year to be invited to speak about the work of the Association at the Fourth World Congress of Basque Communities Abroad in Bilbao, Euskal Herria, 9-13 July 2007. And I reported that 'if European countries are looking for models for developing the way in which they engage with their diasporas they could hardly do better than to take a close look at how our Basque colleagues manage this issue. The level of investment which goes into this and the results that are achieved are

most impressive'. We were glad to have Benan Oregi at our meeting in Finland to tell us about plans for the Basque Migration Archives project.

In Finland I also noted that the Museums Association would be debating at its annual conference later that month in Glasgow 'Does the UK need a migration museum?', and we looked forward to the official opening of a new national migration museum in France on 10 October.

**In 2008** the Annual Meeting was in Italy, hosted by Fabio Capocaccia and Silvia Martini and their colleagues at the International Centre of Italian Emigration Studies (CISEI) in Genoa in the splendid setting of the Palazzo San Giorgio, where the modern system of accounting was developed. No doubt many of us who were there have recalled it to mind in thinking about what has been happened subsequently to the world banking system!

I reported that Fabio and Siliva had not only hosted a visit by Henning Bender on behalf of the Association in October 2007, as agreed at our meeting in Turku, but also a meeting of the Board in Genoa in April 2008 – both indications of the commitment of CISEI in bringing AEMI to their new institution.

The Board meeting in Genoa was particularly valuable because we were able to bring Carine Rouah from Rome to meet with us and continue the very important discussion that we had begun in Turku in 2007 about possible cooperation between AEMI and the newly-formed International Network of Migration Museums of which Carine was the volunteer Project Manager. As

an initiative of UNESCO, originating in a conference held in Rome in October 2006, the International Network of Migration Museums aims to offer a Web interface to assist the growth of the international network of migration institutions, to support the activities of migration museums and to facilitate the interactions among them.

The main concern of the Board at our meeting in Genoa was to clarify the relationship between membership of AEMI and membership of the International Network of Migration Museums. Some but not all AEMI members were already members of this new Network. The question to be clarified was whether all AEMI members were eligible for membership of the Network. This is an important issue because AEMI includes, as its name is intended to indicate, various types of migration institutions as members: museums, libraries, archives, heritage centres and research institutions or study centres, whereas the name of International Network of Migration Museums suggests that it has an exclusive focus on migration museums, as distinct from other types of migration institution. Carine Rouah explained that so far as membership of the Network was concerned it was intended that the term 'museum' should be interpreted inclusively rather than exclusively. Institutions which are not strictly speaking museums are already members. All members of AEMI would therefore be welcome to join the International Network of Migration Museums.

We found ourselves in agreement that the special nature of migration museums is such that they depend for their success on developing archive and library col-

lections of migration records (especially passenger lists, letters, photographs, oral histories, published autobiographies and biographies) as well as museum collections of migration-related objects. The migration museum is a new kind of institution that should embody the idea of partnership between museums, libraries, archives and research or study centres. Your Board argued that it would be unfortunate if the name of International Network of Migration Museums were to give the impression that museums were being privileged to the detriment of libraries, archives, heritage centres and research and study centres which share the objectives of this Network. A powerful way of signalling that this Network is concerned to include all relevant institutions, we suggested, would be simply for it to change its name. I was pleased to report that the Network was in the process of changing its name to the International Network of Migration Institutions, with the explanatory strap line – 'promoting the public understanding of migration', see: (<http://www.migration-museums.org/web/index.php?page=home>). Members may recall how I wrote after that meeting urging all AEMI members that, given this clarification, we should all consider joining the International Network of Migration Institutions.

In Genoa we also discussed with Carine how this network might grow over the next five to ten years and it seemed likely that in expanding it would need to develop a regional structure. Institutions in different regions (such as North and South America and Australasia where there are already important groupings) may find it more practical to come together for face-to-face meetings

annually - as AEMI does at present in Europe. A meeting of the global network may then be practical only every 3-5 years.

Finally, we discussed how we might mitigate the clash in dates of the AEMI Annual Conference in Genoa and the International Conference organized by Museo de Historia de la Inmigración de Cataluña that was planned to gather members of the International Network of Migration Museums in October 2008 in Barcelona, Spain, and how best to promote European Migration Heritage Week 2008. Unfortunately it did not prove practicable to arrange a video link-up for the programmes of our two conferences.

What we managed to agree in principle was that instead of having two separate conferences the following year, the International Network would co-operate with AEMI in its Annual Meeting in 2009.

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for the programmes of our two conferences but I trust that there will have been some communication between Genoa and Barcelona during these days to our mutual benefit.

What we have managed to agree in principle is that instead of having two separate conferences next year, the International Network will co-operate with AEMI in its Annual Meeting in 2009. It remains to be determined by our Annual Meeting where exactly our meeting will take place. As last year in Turku we are in the happy position of having received firm offers from two member institutions to host our next meeting in 2008, both in Germany: the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and BallinStadt in Hamburg. I have been involved in discussions with both institutions to see if it may be practicable to combine in some way in the organisation of the programme so that we may have an opportunity to visit the splendid new facilities of both.

Another development that year that I reported on was the meeting in Brussels on 16 May which Antoinette Reuter kindly invited me to attend in order to discuss the development of the European Migration Heritage Route. Present at the meeting was Luc Verheyen, representing the Red Star Line project in Antwerp, which has ambitious plans for opening a new migration museum there in three or four years time. Subsequently, Luc sent his colleague Torsten Feys on a fact-finding mission to various other AEMI institutions, including our own in Northern Ireland, and I am glad to say that Torsten was able to be with us in Genoa on behalf of his institution with a view to joining the Association.

A second development that year was initially less happy. Members will recall the urgent appeal to the scientific community and general public made in July by colleagues in the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies in Zagreb, Croatia, who kindly hosted our Annual Meeting in 2006. This concerned the manner of the appointment of their new Director and I believe it is a case that illustrates the importance of the Association. Were our own institutions to be faced with a similar situation, to whom could we turn? The fact that the Institute was prepared to send our old friend Ruzica Cicak-Chand to attend our meeting in Genoa as its representative we took as a good sign that things there were on the mend.

The third development was altogether a happy one. I was delighted to be contacted in August by another old friend of the Association Jürgen Rudloff in Bremerhaven. As a result of his long-time dedication to the initiative of building an international emigration museum in Bremerhaven, he was awarded a medal by the Federal President, Horst Köhler. This was presented to him at a ceremony on 5 September, hosted by the Chief Magistrate of the senate of the Free Hanseatic City of Bremen.

I reported that I thought that there were signs generally that there was a growing interest in the work of institutions such as ours and their relevance to the whole question of social integration. A number of major conferences I thought bore witness to this. These included the symposium on Intercultural Dialogue in March 2007 at the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration,

Paris, which hosted our Annual Meeting in 2005. We congratulated colleagues on their successful opening on 10 October 2007. The launch of the splendid Youth and Migration website, which many members will recall having seen demonstrated by Hans Storhaug in previous years in its pilot stage of development, was launched in Norway on 25 September as part of a youth conference that brought together in a 'Global Village' over sixty young people from nine different countries, within the Stavanger 2008 programme as European Capital of Culture along with Liverpool. There was also the conference on 'Museums, Migration and Interculturality' taking place in Barcelona at the same time as our own in Genoa. Coming up later in October there were major conferences in Berlin and Bonn that were both addressing the issue of migration museums.

This was the year that Henning Bender tendered his resignation as Secretary and Treasurer of the Association having served in those posts since the initial meeting in Aalborg in 1989. He had retired that year as Director of the Danish Emigrant Archives in Aalborg. We thanked Henning warmly for all his sterling work on behalf of the Association, not least in ensuring in his inimitable way that we were all more or less prompt in the matter of our subscription.

**In 2009** the Annual Meeting took place unusually in two venues in Germany. We were kindly hosted by Simone Eick and Aislinn Merz and their colleagues at the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and Maja Berends and her colleagues at the BallinStadt Emigration Museum in Hamburg. This

was a remarkably successful effort of inter-institution co-operation. In moving between the two institutions we in fact were modelling the idea of a European Cultural Route based on the theme of Migration that has been a central concern of the Association in recent years.

In Bremerhaven and Hamburg we were joined by Carine Rouah and colleagues from the International Network of Migration Institutions (INMI). I expressed gratitude to Jens and Eva for their work in the posts of secretary and treasurer that were previously combined in the person of Henning Bender from the establishment of the Association in 1989 until his retirement the previous year. We were also grateful that our Journal Editor had been restored to full health, having had to miss the previous year's meeting and had our *Journal* back on track.

A continuing issue of concern that year had been future cooperation between AEMI and the International Network of Migration Museums of which Carine Rouah was the volunteer Project Manager. As an initiative of UNESCO, originating in a conference held in Rome in October 2006, the International Network of Migration Museums was established to offer a Web interface to assist the growth of the international network of migration institutions, to support their activities, and to facilitate the interactions among them. In order to signal more clearly that the Network welcomes to membership not only museums but also libraries, archives and research centres, it had been re-named Network of International Migration Institutions. I said that at that meeting that 'I think it is fair to say that we have

a shared understanding that the special nature of migration museums is such that they depend for their success on developing archive and library collections of migration records (especially passenger lists, letters, photographs, oral histories, published autobiographies and biographies) as well as museum collections of migration-related objects, and that the 'migration museum' is a new kind of institution that should embody the idea of partnership between archives, libraries, museums and research or study centres. We hope therefore that 'migration institutions' in both our names will help to promote this inclusive approach and spirit of collaboration'.

It was with great regret that year that I had to decline kind invitations from Erik Gustavson at the Swedish American Center in Karlstad, to attend not one but two splendid events. Nevertheless the Board was at least represented on the first occasion by our Secretary and Treasurer. I did represent the Association and speak about its work at two conferences in October last year, the first in Berlin on 'Migration in Museums – Narratives of Diversity in Europe' (23-25 Oct) and the second in Bonn where the Metropolis included a section on 'Mobility, Integration and Development in a Globalised World: Migration Museums' (27-31 Oct), to which Carine Rouah also contributed.

A particular pleasure that year was the other half of Ireland was once again represented in the Association by Seán Reidy, director of the Dunbrody and Ros Tapestry Projects of the JF Kennedy Trust.

**In 2010** our Annual Meeting took place in Bilbao in the Basque Country,

Spain -another iconic port city of transformation. There we were hosted kindly by Benen Oregi and Andoni Martin and colleagues.

I reported that apart from meeting in Bilbao immediately before the General Meeting in the grand surroundings of the Guggenheim Museum, the Board had not met together face to face that year and I warned that:

while this may be economical in terms of saving on travel expenses, it is not a good policy in the long term. If your Board hopes to give strategic direction to the Association beyond the organisation of the Annual Meeting and production of the next issue of the *Journal*, it is important that they come together to reflect on progress to date and plan for further development. The value of face-to-face meeting is apparent each year at our Annual Meeting where friendships are formed and the mutual trust necessary to sustain common projects developed. Therefore I hope that your Board will meet at least once in the coming year, probably in January or February because as we approach our twentieth anniversary year, for there is much to consider.

I am pleased to be able to report that your Board did indeed manage to meet face to face this year in Aalborg, about which more later.

The fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Swedish-American Center, Karlstad and the fifth anniversary celebrations of the German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven in 2010 were greatly enjoyed by the members who were able to attend.

A matter of regret was that the year

did not see much progress by way of closer cooperation between AEMI and the International Network of Migration Institutions (INMI). Nevertheless, a good sign of growing contact between migration institutions within and beyond Europe was the welcome presence in Bilbao of colleagues from the United States and Australia, as also were the strong connections with institutions in South America evidenced by our Basque and Portuguese colleagues.

I concluded my report by saying:

There is little doubt that AEMI has the potential to grow into a large organization. Our association continues to welcome small, medium and large-sized institutions but the onus in expanding the Association must necessarily fall on the larger institutions, which have the resources better able to support the kind of work involved. As in previous years, I would again urge members to consider that a sign that that our Association will have made the shift from a medium-size organisation to a large one will be when the general expectation is that the Chairman of the Board will not normally serve more than one three-year term. Your present Board has one more year to run before its three-year term is complete, and also my third term as Chairman and now is the time to consider urgently how best to bring on new talent while maintaining some continuity. One way of doing this may be to extend the membership of the Board (bearing in mind the need to achieve a good gender and geographical balance) to

include a vice-Chair who would in due course serve a term as Chair.

I then quoted an old Basque saying, *zenbat buru, hainbat aburu* (there are as many options as people) to make the key point:

we have an Association with considerable achievements to its name in its twenty-year life, thanks largely to the foresight and positive spirit of its founders, which we plan to celebrate in the next issue of our Journal. As we contemplate the next twenty years, and as our deliberations here have shown, we continue to be ambitious in our aspirations for the public understanding of migration mediated through our different kinds of member institutions - museums, libraries, archives and university-based research centres.

Having been indulged this far by your patience in this review of the work of your Board over the last nine years, I turn finally to what we have been doing over this last year since we met in Bilbao.

As I mentioned, the Board met this year face-to-face in Aalborg on 4-5 April 2011, thanks to the hospitality of Jens Topholm and his colleagues. As well as helping Jens to plan the programme for this meeting, we gave some thought to the composition of the new Board to be elected at this Annual General Meeting and the desirability of designating the post of Vice-Chair, which will be proposed in due course. We also gave consideration to the strategic aims that we are bequeathing to the new Board. Apart from the *Journal*, which I hope all

agree has been a most worthwhile initiative and one to be maintained, our strategic objectives remain threefold:

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

The event that brought home to me this year the importance of the work that we are about, summed up in the theme of our meeting 'Migration History Matters' was receiving an invitation to attend a seminar on 'Migrants and Intellectual Life' in London on 13 July in the London School of Economics, organised by those who are promoting the idea of a Migration Museum for Britain. Amongst the distinguished speakers was Sir Harry Kroto, who won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1996. This is how the seminar was introduced (<http://www.migrationmuseum.org/2011/05/early-evening-seminars/>)

*Migrants are often presented as a burden, but no one can deny the impact they have had on Britain's intellectual life. One quarter of Britain's Nobel Prize winners in science were born abroad. Our religious, philosophical and ideological heritage has often been inspired by migrants, from royal patrons (Prince Rupert, Prince*

*Albert) to refugees (Ralf Dahrendorf, Isaiah Berlin). It is rarely noticed on the migration balance sheet, but our science, philosophy, critical and spiritual life has been repeatedly shaped and reshaped by newcomers.*

I take this to be a sign of the urgent need, not just in Britain, for each country to have a 'focal point' for the issue of migration, such as Ellis Island has become for the United States, Pier 21 for Canada, and our own institutions, to a greater or lesser extent in our countries – the need for an institution that will promote the public understanding of migration in a globalising world that, one way or another, makes migrants of us all.

In closing my final Chairman's report I would like to return to the words of the Association's first Chairman, with which I opened. Our concern as members of the Association of European Migration Institutions is indeed with 'one of the central aspects of the human condition: the movement of individuals and groups, and the consequent meeting of peoples of different races, languages, cultures and social organizations' and the fundamental basis of the Association indeed remains 'friendly communication across boundaries, the counterweight to angry communication through violence'. It has been a great privilege for me to have been your Chairman over the last nine years. In commending to you the work of your Board over the last year I would like to thank you all for the confidence you have placed in me and for the support that you have given to the work of the Association. I believe there is no doubt about the continuing

importance of the Association in its vital work of promoting the public understanding of migration; and in carrying that work on I can only wish that you continue to give incoming Board, and the new Chair in particular, the kind of support that will enable the Association to go from strength to strength.

Thank you.

*Brian Lambkin*

Chairman, AEMI

22 September 2011



Site of the AEMI conference 2011: The Utzon Center in Aalborg, Denmark. It was the last building to be designed by Jørn Utzon, the architect behind the Sydney Opera House. In collaboration with his son Kim he planned the centre as a place where students of architecture could meet and discuss their ideas for the future. Located on the Limfjord waterfront in the city where Utzon spent his childhood, the building was completed in 2008. (Source:Wikipedia. Photo: Hans Storhaug)

# Remarks by Ambassador Laurie S. Fulton, AEMI Dinner, September 29, 2011, Utzon Center, Aalborg, Denmark



It is a privilege and honor for me to be with you tonight. I am not a migration expert or scholar, but I am pleased to have this opportunity to meet with those of you who are. Many thanks to Danish Emigration Archives for inviting me to speak at your conference today and to share with you tonight a few remarks based upon my personal experience and observation.

Emigration – immigration is a continuum. One hundred and two years ago, my grandfather emigrated from Denmark to the United States. His parents and siblings all remained in Denmark. My grandfather traveled initially to where his uncle and cousins lived in Minnesota. He followed his American Dream, owning farms and then small

businesses. At the time of his death, he had two businesses on Main Street in Madison, South Dakota. I know from conversations with my Danish relatives that to them, he was the rich American uncle. He did well financially, but by American standards, he was solidly middle class.

He learned English on-the-job. I never heard him speak Danish except for a simple question and answer when we grandkids begged him: Kan du snak Danske? Jo, kan du? He returned home to Denmark twice to visit and check on his family, once after his service in U.S. Forces Europe in World War I and another after World War II.

But did he cease to consider himself to be Danish when he became an

American citizen? My mother, his oldest child, grew up feeling a strong connection to Denmark. She was a pen pal with one of her cousins. When we were children, she read us Hans Christensen Andersen stories. We received Christmas boxes from Danish relatives for many years, and we treasured every yarn elf, silver spoon, and book about the royal princesses. I am here in Denmark today as U.S. Ambassador because of my grandfather's migration and the pull of this Danish connection.

I consider myself a Danish-American even though by bloodline, I am one-quarter Danish. If you ask my children, they will also consider themselves to be 'Danish' because of the strength of the familial bond and because as teenagers and near-adults, I brought them to visit their Danish relatives.

Recently I met a young Dane who was born here, speaks perfect Danish, considers himself Danish although his parents were born in Pakistan, where some of his extended family lives. He asked me a very tough question. Referring to all the 'hyphenated Americans' – like Danish-Americans, Indian-Americans, Asian-Americans – he asked why he couldn't be a 'hyphenated' Pakistani-Dane. He questioned why he should deny his Pakistani heritage just because he is Danish.

As one who is proud of her Danish heritage, I had to agree with his point. My understanding of the emigration-immigration continuum has been broadened by my experience as U.S. Ambassador to Denmark, both from my personal familial experience and from my interaction with young Danes whose families immigrated to Denmark

from faraway countries.

When one emigrates, she leaves her home country behind; she immigrates and becomes a citizen of the new host country. As an American, I know that my country benefitted from the knowledge, cultures and ideas of those who migrated to our shores, and that the diversity within the melting pot has enriched our nation. I observe new citizens embrace and thrive in American culture, but I also observe -- and appreciate -- that they preserve traditions, foods, and songs from their home countries. Perhaps we might consider that the emigration-immigration continuum lasts into the next generation. My wish is that others can enjoy the pride in their heritage that I find in considering myself to be a Danish-American.

### *Background*

Laurie S. Fulton was sworn in as an U.S. Ambassador to Denmark on July 15, 2009. Before being appointed, MS. Fulton was a Partner at Williams & Connolly LLP, where she had a national practice in complex litigation, internal investigations and white collar criminal defense. In 2004, she was named on of 'Washington's Top Lawyers' by the Washingtonian Magazine.

Ms. Fulton has co-chaired the Criminal Litigation Committee of the Section of Litigation of the American Bar Association. She was appointed and confirmed U.S. Senate to serve on the Board of Directors of the United States Institute of Peace from 2004 to 2008, and serves as Co-Chair of USIP's International Advisory Council. She has been active in non-profits and community organizations such as Bright Beginnings, Inc., Girl Scouts Women's Advisory Board, Alumni Admissions Interview Program at Georgetown Law School and the South Dakota Farmers Union Foundation. Prior to entering the field of law, Ms. Fulton worked on Capitol Hill and as Executive Director of Peace Links and Access, A Security Information Exchange.

Ms. Fulton holds a B:A. from the University of Nebraska at Omaha and a J.D., magna cum laude from Georgetown University.

# ‘Foreigners in Denmark – Danes Abroad’ - Reflections on Results and Method in a Project about Migration and Identity

*Bente Jensen*

## **Introduction**

This article presents the results and method of the project; ‘*Det fremmede i det danske - det danske i det fremmede*’ (*Foreigners in Denmark – Danes Abroad.*) The project was conducted in 2001 by The Danish Emigration Archives and Aalborg City Archives. It was a part of a nationwide culture ministry project: Danish identity in the Past, Present, and Future. Interviews were undertaken with Vietnamese, Palestinian, and Somali immigrants in Aalborg. The groups represent three waves of immigration in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and with Danish emigrants in the area outside Malaga, Spain’s Costa del Sol from the same period. The groups were asked identical questions about their meeting with a new culture. Focus was on how the respondents related to the ‘other’ culture. Archives were also collected from the societies of the various groups.

The aim of the project was through the gathering of new knowledge and in the processing and dissemination to be co-creator of a new culture, where values meet or encountered against each other. Focus was on documenting the alterations and adaption of Danish identity in

the meeting with a foreign culture, and the alterations and changes in the immigrants’ identities in the meeting with Danish culture. At the same time the process and the outreach of the project constituted a cultural meeting place.

The project ‘Foreigners in Denmark – Danes Abroad’ was conducted in 2000 and 2001 by The Danish Emigration Archives and Aalborg City Archives. But why present and discuss a ten year old project? The two archives wish to claim that it is still possible to learn from the project and discuss the methods used in this field of work and last but not least: the archives were happy to share the results and the perspectives of the project at the AEMI conference 2011 as a possible inspiration for similar projects where emigration and immigration are researched together as ‘migration’ with a focus on identity as a point of departure.

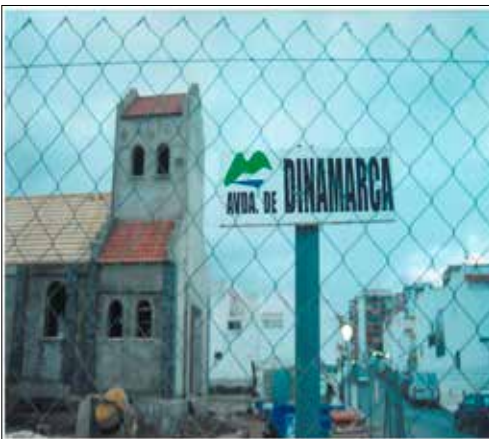
## **‘Foreigners in Denmark – Danes Abroad’**

The project ran for six months and focus was on the experience of moving to a foreign culture during the last 30 years. Among the themes were the change and

adaption of a new identity and on the participation and the integration of different groups in their new home country in general.

Four groups were selected: Vietnamese, Palestinians, and Somali immigrants/refugees meetings with Aalborg and Danish emigrants at the Costa del Sol and their meetings with the Spanish Society.

The first three groups represent three waves of immigration to Denmark in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. At the same time a considerable number of Danes emigrated from Denmark to the area outside Malaga, the 'Sun Coast' of Spain. The groups were asked identical questions about their meetings with a new culture. Focus was on how the respondents related to the 'other' culture. Beside from interviews the meeting was documented in photos and video. Traditional archival material (documents, letters, diaries, photographs etc.) were also collected from the societies of the various groups.



*The Danish Church near Malaga under construction in 2001. Photo: Anna Ørnemose Rasmussen*

The project was a part of a nationwide project supported by the Danish Ministry of Culture: 'Danish Identity in the Past, Present, and Future'. Other themes in the project framework were: Changes in local identity and national identity regarded within Denmark.

The aim of the project of Aalborg City Archives and the Danish Emigration Archives was through the gathering, processing and dissemination of new knowledge to be co-creator of a new culture, where values meet or encounter each other. Focus was on documenting the alterations and adaption of Danish identity in the encounter with foreign cultures, and the alterations and changes in the immigrants' identities in the encounter with Danish culture.

At the same time the process and the outreach of the project constituted a cultural meeting ground, which meant not only the results but also the process played an important and integrated part in the project.

## Background

The inspiration came from everyday observations at the archives connected to the junction between emigration and immigration. On one hand it seemed that the stories about the 'classical' Danish emigrants' experiences from USA, Australia, and New Zealand, in the 19th century and onwards served as an 'eye opener' for the immigrants in Aalborg in the 20th century. The encounter with the past served to initiate a discussion, and history functioned as an initiator for thoughts about one's own identity.

Parallel development and differences across time and space created debate.

Many foreigners came forward with their own immigrant experience triggered by the images of the emigrant ship, passengers on the third class, the long queues at the reception station, Ellis Island, in New York and the reports of the expectations for life in a new country from the letters and diaries in the Danish Emigration Archives.

The stories of foreigners' experiences in Aalborg over the last 150 years had the same effect. It was important for new immigrants to obtain the knowledge that they are not the first to immigrate to Aalborg. It gives a perspective in life as an immigrant or refugee in another country to know that you are part of a long string of immigrations and meetings between cultures in a Danish provincial town as Aalborg: In the 19th century German glassworkers and their families arrived to work on the local glass work and in other trades and industries which required special knowledge as for example photography, that Roman Catholics immigrated in the 1890s and established their own church, hospital, and school in Aalborg, and that in the middle of the 19th century there was a major Jewish congregation in town - just to mention some examples from the past 150 years.

This notion also had consequences on how the archives communicate their holdings: The meeting with groups with a high percentage of immigrants and refugees in combination with many Danish newcomers from other parts of Denmark to Aalborg makes it necessary to a much greater degree than before to move the focus of outreach and public programming from family history, recognition,

and nostalgia, to more general cultural aspects and topics - topics that make the history and the archives relevant to groups not familiar with Aalborg from childhood.

### Theory

The theoretical assumption behind the project was that there is not only one way to be Danish, Spanish, Somali, etc. but a wide range of ways - and consequently also many ways to relate to society in the country you live in. The encounter with a foreign culture is tackled quite differently even within the different ethnic groups.

The aim of the project 'Foreigners in Denmark - Danes Abroad' was to focus on Danish identity by illuminating the diversity of Danish values and foreign values. One central question was the importance of migration in self-understanding. Focus was on changes and adjustments in the Danish identity in the encounter with a foreign country as Spain and the foreigner adjustments and changes in the meeting with Aalborg. Culture meetings are the same private, institutional, and between sub-cultures. For that reason it is interesting to look at the cultural encounters, to look at the individual emphasis, and which cultural codes are highlighted as strange or foreign. Some differences are based on other cultural identities than just nationality and ethnicity, for example play gender, social status, class background, and age an import role. The point has been to communicate similarities and differences in how respectively the Danes, in southern Spain and three groups of foreigners in Aalborg experiencing the encounter with another

culture. What happens to people's national identity? In which situations play cultural differences a role, and in which situations does it not matter?

In 45 interviews with selected individuals from the four nationalities, we found statements about the encounter with another culture. An important premise was that the four groups had left their home countries for very different reasons. The selected foreign groups in Denmark have fled their homelands: The Vietnamese boat refugees who arrived in Aalborg in 1979, Palestinians from the 1980s and the largest immigrant group in Aalborg today, the Somali, who arrived in town during the 1990s, are all forced out because of conflict and civil wars in their homelands. In many ways it is a coincidence that it was Denmark, they came to.

The randomness was reflected in the

lack of prior knowledge about Denmark: notion that can offer a corrective to many Danes' perception of Denmark as the center of the world. For the immigrants it might not be the most obvious base for warm feelings towards the country: for example - 'I only knew Lurpak smør (Danish butter)' - and television news story about Tivoli and Danish football (Palestinian man) or 'My dad had a big business in Mogadishu, where there were some items that said 'Made in Sverige. I once asked my dad what 'Sverige' was? And he told me that it is a country in Europe. From that day on I knew that there was something called Europe' (young Somali man).

Life in Spain was a contrast for most Danes, a positive choice which can be changed if the individual wishes. Many are old, retired, and not active at work, but in good financial standing and at



From the documentation of Vietnamese immigrants to Aalborg. Photo: Anna Ørnemose Rasmussen.

the same time independent of Spanish society. A number of Danes live in Spain in winter and in Denmark in the summer and stay only half a year in a foreign culture, 'the so-called migration birds.' Furthermore, the vast majority of Danes can at any time return to Denmark, although some are forced to remain in exile because of the economic development that has made the cost of living in Spain close to the Danish in 2000. For most of the group the good climate played an important role in the decision to live permanently in southern Spain:

'...we spent some time here when it was really hot in August ... we could even tolerate that. So we said to each other - imagine if we could live down here when we become pensioners. That was why we moved down and bought a house' (Danish pensioner living in Spain).

In recent years there has been a ten-

dency for younger people to emigrate to the Spanish Costa del Sol to work. Some bring their family and children, while others travel alone:

'we just took the plunge and went down here, I think we lacked challenges. We have never discussed the possibility of returning to Denmark, although it was difficult in the beginning.'

Despite significant differences in migration background the interviews have shown that the Danes, Vietnamese, Palestinians, and Somalis had many considerations that seem very similar when it comes to meetings with a foreign culture. Considerations that center around US and THEM. At home Danes are US, in Spain the group become THEM. Immigrant Groups are defined as THEM - they are forced away from a country where they were part of a national com-



*Exhibition at the Danish Emigration Archives 2001, cultural meeting: Woman from Afghanistan listens to the life stories of Danes who have emigrated to the Spanish Coast outside Malaga. Photo: Bente Jensen*

munity. We find some topics that are repeated in life stories of the groups. They are considerations about very basic aspects of life which are put into play in the meeting with a foreign culture, whether the country is called Denmark or Spain. Examples are the contact with the host population, the interaction in one's own group, language, the future of the children and last very basically the perception of time. Some concrete examples are unfolded in an article about the project from 2002 unfortunately only in Danish.

I stated earlier that outreach was an integrated part of the project. It was also a precondition to get in contact with the various groups. Another crucial point was to inform that the archives were a democratic institution for everybody. The archives had to combine traditional archival and historical methods with ethnographic methods and ethnological life story interview techniques. The project also focused on the use of all senses, of sound, pictures, food, and tactile elements as the immigrants group did not have Danish as their first language.

One of the meeting places of the project became a festival and an exhibition – where the archives communicated through exchange of food traditions, and at the same time collected photos and memories. We created a memory box, where people could answer the questions with a tape recorder. The idea of the memory box came from a travelling exhibition in West Yorkshire Archives Services around 2000.

More lasting was a for the time a quite ambitious website very much inspired by the first Moving Here website made by the National Archives in Eng-

land. It was possible to test your knowledge in a migration quiz, to view the videos and photos from the project and listen to life stories from the four groups – all combined with information about migration history and archives.

### Perspective

The idea to mirror the immigrant's reactions to being a minority in Denmark, with the Danish reactions to being a minority in Spain had an impact on both Danes and foreigners. The experience of the study trip in Spain was continuously told in relationships with foreigners in Aalborg and worked as a somewhat liberating reflection of the fact that Danes also form associations, build churches and choose to live close to each other abroad.

The exhibition at the archives illustrated some of the thoughts which all groups had at home and abroad. The idea behind the project was to get people in Aalborg in particular, but also others to reflect on what it means to be Danish and focusing on variation in identity and culture. The role of the Danes in Spain served mostly as a mirror, but the group was informed about the results of the project through articles in the local magazines.

The overall ambition of the project was to illustrate that the Danish culture in reality is many different subcultures, and what is considered as Danish depends on the person who is asked. The project made a start – that could be continued.

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# Migration History with a New Focus - Values and Identities of Grundtvigian Danish-Americans Today

*Henrik Bredmose Simonsen*

## **Introduction**

During the first two thirds of the 20th century, historians and social scientists in the United States expected and predicted a decline of ethnicity, but this expectation did not hold true. On the contrary, during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, a wave of ethnic interest and identification swept across the United States.

Today, ethnicity in the United States remains a key area for identity. But the image of ethnicity is by no means clear. The symbolic side of ethnicity is obvious, when you for instance travel across the Midwest and see signs like 'Danish Days' and 'Æbleskive Festival' etc. But you might also find ethnic groups or sub-groups that represent continuity over generations. The so-called Grundtvigian Danish-Americans are mentioned here as an example of a sub-group with a particular group identity and particular values, which you might trace by means of interviews and personal narratives.

## **Melting Pot or Salad Bowl**

One of the most influential books on ethnic groups in the United States is *Beyond the Melting Pot* by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, which appeared in 1963. The main message of the book was that for the five main ethnic groups in New York City the image of 'the melting pot' did not fit. They were rather a sign of a 'cultural pluralism' at work. As Glazer and Moynihan wrote in the Introduction to the second edition of the book in 1970:

'The long-expected and predicted decline of ethnicity, the fuller acculturation and the assimilation of the white ethnic groups, seems once again delayed – as it was by World War I, World War II, and the cold war – and by now one suspects, if something expected keeps on failing to happen, that there may be more reasons than accident that explain why ethnicity and ethnic identity continue to persist'.<sup>1</sup>

Glazer and Moynihan also pointed out, what made the ethnic groups so durable over time:

'... ethnic groups, owing to the distinctive historical experiences, their cultures and skills, the times of their arrival and the economic situation they met, developed distinctive economic, political and cultural patterns. As the old culture fell away – and it did rapidly enough – a new one, shaped by the distinctive experiences of life in America, was formed and a new identity was created. Italian-Americans might share precious little with Italians in Italy, but in America they were a distinctive group that maintained itself, was identifiable, and gave something to those who were identified with it, just as it also gave burdens that those in the group had to bear'.<sup>2</sup>

The book *Beyond the Melting Pot* has had an enormous influence on the perception of ethnicity among historians and social scientists in the U.S. since the 1960s. You can almost talk about a before and after *Beyond the Melting Pot* because the book made people aware of the vigorous ethnicity that was embedded in many areas of society.

After 1970, a new wave of ethnic interest and identification swept across the United States. Now ethnicity was also seen as something that is experienced and given meaning through certain actions, besides being a background variable or a specific entity. Ethnicity began having two meanings - at least: a) 'something you are, or have' and b)

'something you become, or something you do'. 3) At the same time 'the melting pot' theory was hidden away, while the 'cultural pluralism' came into the foreground. And a new image – of the 'salad bowl' - was commonly used about the ever changing demographic composition of the United States.

### **Personal impressions – meeting Danish-Americans in 1981**

In 1981, I was in the United States to do research of the history of the Danish-American churches. Before coming to the U.S., I had expected to find little continuity among the descendants of Danish immigrants and their churches and congregations. Most historical works I had read in Denmark were written before books like *Beyond the Melting Pot* and had a perspective of 'a decline of ethnicity'.

But during my work in archives and especially going to local communities, I became aware of the continuity of cultural and religious traditions and social patterns in the Grundtvigian-oriented communities. I was impressed when I attended conversations here, where members of Grundtvigian congregations talked about family and friends in small towns hundreds of miles away with great confidentiality. There were clearly still strong ties within this group. In the former Inner Mission church environment the image of 'a decline of ethnicity' fitted better. And still, there were signs of a new ethnic interest here also. For instance, at Dana College, a liberal arts college in Blair, Nebraska, which had formerly been the seminary of the Inner Mission-oriented Danish

church you could find folk dancing around 1980. In the college presentation brochure printed around 1980, there were numerous references to the Danish heritage of the college.

To make the distinction between Grundtvigian and Inner Mission understandable, I must briefly introduce the two main Danish Lutheran religious denominations that were brought to America by the Danish immigrants from the 1870s and onwards.

### **Background of the Danish Lutheran churches in the U.S.**

Ministers and teachers of the Grundtvigian persuasion – that means they belonged to a religious movement in Denmark that was inspired by the Danish minister and hymn writer N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) – were of the opinion that the religious and cultural life of the Danish immigrants in America should have the Danish language and the relations with the Danish people as its basis. As they saw it, Danes in America were part of the Danish people, and the Danish language was their mother tongue, and this would hold true for the coming generations as well.

In order to implement their ideas and visions, the Grundtvigians in the United States became occupied with the founding of Danish colonies, building schools and folk high schools, running Danish societies and cooperative enterprises etc. besides the task of founding and maintaining Danish congregations.

Especially, the colonization work of the Danish church and the Grundtvigian organization, Dansk Folkesamfund, had a lasting impact on the Grundtvigian

environment in America. From the 1880s to 1918 about 10 rural colonies were organized and settled with Danish immigrants. Some of them, like Tyler and Askov in Minnesota, Dannevang in Texas, Solvang in California etc. developed into communities, where Danish culture would have a stronghold for generations.

Strongly opposed to the ideas of maintaining Danish language and culture in the USA, ministers of the Bible-oriented Inner Mission tradition argued that the Danish immigrant church had one mission only and that was to preach the Gospel to the scattered Danish immigrants. Topics like the retention of the Danish language and the cultural heritage of the old country lay in their view outside the domain of the church. The conflict culminated in a split of the Danish Church in 1894, and two different Danish churches came out of the conflict.

Meeting the Grundtvigian Danish-Americans was very interesting. These people were fully integrated into a middle-class WASP culture, but also maintained a special Danish-American social environment based on Grundtvigian traditions and values.

The meeting with these people in 1981, I described in a short paragraph in the book that came out of my work - almost just as an observation that the Grundtvigian environment existed.<sup>4</sup> I had no time then or tools, method or theory to dwell on how their environment had indeed survived, and in many ways stood as a testimony to '*the melting pot... did not happen*'.<sup>5</sup>

## A new look at the Grundtvigian Danish-Americans in 2010

In 2010, I had the opportunity to come to America and study the Danish-American history again. One goal was to meet people in the Grundtvigian-oriented environment almost 30 years after my first encounter. This time my main work tool was interviewing. Interviews make it possible to get into personal narratives, which tell about and put in context identities and values that the informants have experienced and negotiated along with others.

The mission was also to collect material about the Grundtvigian Danish-American environment for an exhibition in Denmark to be shown at Skanderborg Museum and later at five other Danish museums. An American version is planned to be displayed at the Danish Immigrant Museum, Elk Horn,

Iowa, and at other Scandinavian-Americans institutions in the U.S.

## The Danebod Folk Meeting

The Danebod Folk Meeting is a good place to start, if you want to get an idea of what the Grundtvigian environment in the United States is today. The Danebod Folk Meeting is an annual 5-day meeting, which has been held every summer since 1946 at the former Danebod Folk High School, in the small town of Tyler in southwestern Minnesota. (See picture below).

In recent years, about 130 Americans have participated in the meeting. They are almost all second, third or fourth generation descendants of Danish immigrants. Very few of the participants are born in Denmark. Most are aged over 60, but some younger participants bring the average age down. The meeting



*The Danebod Folk Meeting is an annual 5-day meeting, which has been held every summer since 1946 at the former Danebod Folk High School, in the small town of Tyler in southwestern Minnesota.*

is open to all interested. But in practice, virtually all participants are members of a congregation in the great Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, abbreviated ELCA. Needless to say, many people travel long distances to come to the meeting in Tyler.

The program for the 5-day meeting is packed. After starting Wednesday afternoon and evening, each day has this program: three lectures - morning, afternoon and evening, two singing hours, storytelling, devotion, Danish language classes - and late every evening there is folk dancing. The last evening - on Saturday - a music feature or something festive is arranged. The meeting ends on Sunday morning with service in the Danebod Lutheran Church, located beside the former folk high school, and a finishing lunch.



*Some of the participants at the Danebod Folk Meeting in 2010. The wooden building in the background has been used for gymnastics and folk dancing for more than 100 years.*

In addition to the nationwide meeting in Tyler, Minnesota, a similar meeting has been held in Solvang, California, in February every year since 1986. It is a three-day lecture event under the name *'The Farstrup-Mortensen Memorial Lec-*

*tures'*, which has the explicit intention to clarify and communicate the Grundtvigian understanding of the human and the Christian aspects of life. Both the Tyler and the Solvang meetings have participants from throughout the United States. At both events competent and knowledgeable lecturers, often recognized researchers or teachers are invited to give their view and insight to the audience.

### Family camps



*The West Denmark Parish Hall, which among other things is used in conjunction with the annual family camps.*

The former Danebod folk high school in Tyler is also the setting for another important activity within the Grundtvigian environment in the U.S. It is the so-called *family camps*, held each summer over three weeks in June, July and August. Each camp has about 150 participants - children, parents and grandparents. The participants are somewhat more mixed than at the Danebod Folk Meeting. There are people, who have grown up in the Grundtvigian Danish-American environment, and there are people without a Danish-American background, who have

got an interest in the high school practice established by the family camps.

The program of an ordinary day at a family camp includes morning gymnastics, singing, folk dancing, lectures for adults, crafts, musical features, campfire, and late at night, more folk dancing. In other words, these are the activities that have characterized the Grundtvigian communities over the years. There is no professional management of the camps. They are led by volunteers, where a family undertakes the task to run a week of camp.

In the small community of West Denmark, Wisconsin, a family camp has also been organized in recent years. It is a three day long camp held each summer and with a program which is completely in line with the folk high school tradition: singing, lectures, folk dancing, gymnastics, and arts and crafts. In recent years, about 170 children and adults have participated in this camp. Most participants come from Minneapolis and other cities in the Midwest and have some connection to the congregation and the community in West Denmark. But there are also people from other churches, including a dozen Catholics, and a small number of atheists or nonbelievers. Some participants are not of a Danish background, but as one informant noted: *'By the time they leave they are!'*

### Membership

The Grundtvigian environment in the United States has similarities with Grundtvigian-oriented environments and folk high school environments in Denmark, along with many differences.

One point where they are similar is that it is difficult to quantify how many people they include. It is not a fixed group with membership cards we're talking about, but many forms of affiliation and identification.

There is a nationwide organization in the environment which operates within the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA). It is called the Danish Interest Conference and was originally formed in 1962, when the Grundtvigian Danish church – (official name: the American Evangelical Lutheran Church (AELC)) - merged with a former German, Swedish and a former Finnish immigrant church and established the Lutheran Church in America (LCA). Later in 1988, the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) was formed by the merger of the Lutheran Church in America and the American Lutheran Church (ALC).

The monthly magazine, *Church and Life*, published by the Danish Interest Conference, has about 450 subscribers. But as we have seen here, the group of people who have some affiliation with the Grundtvigian environment and tradition in the U.S. is somewhat bigger than that.

### Voices in the Grundtvigian environment in 2010

An interesting question is how Grundtvigian Danish-Americans of today would characterize their identity and basic values. To answer this question, I interviewed about 25 people in the Grundtvigian Danish-American environment in 2010, whom I met at the Danebod Folk Meeting, at Grand View University in Des Moines, and during visits to private homes.

Several informants told me about the importance of belonging to the Grundtvigian group, while living an ordinary American middle class life. An example: A middle class woman from Houston, Texas, with a family background in the Dannevang community in Texas, tells about her relationship with the Danebod meeting. She says: 'You know, Baptists have revivals, and things like that. It (*the Danebod meeting; HBS*) is sort of a Grundtvigian revival!'

And she goes on: 'You sing songs about peace. In there (*in the lecture hall; HBS*) they are talking right now of the judicial system in the U.S. and what we can do to improve it. They talk about the environment... You just get here with people, who care about the same things you care about... It is a kind of feeling I hardly get any other place. Especially in Texas...'

Almost everyone I spoke to pointed to the community around singing and folk dancing as important. Many of the informants have been familiar with singing and folk dancing since childhood, for example, in vacation schools, and these two activities still stand as the epitome of togetherness in the group. They are also key activities at the family camps. Lessons learnt with the body - such as singing and dancing - apparently sit deep and last long! An informant had this comment to the importance of singing among the Grundtvigians: '*Singing was our first language.*'

### The Grundtvigian group and the surrounding society

The participants at the Danebod Folk Meeting and the family camps are aware that the surroundings - neighbors and

acquaintances - do not always understand what it is all about. As one informant says: 'When you explain this (*the Danebod meeting; HBS*) to somebody else, who doesn't have a clue as to what this is about. They don't understand, you know... They'll think, well, it is a church thing... But they don't understand'.

Another informant says: 'When I try to tell my friends back home what I'm doing, they will look at me, kind of like: **'You what?'**

A third informant talks about the reactions from other congregations to the Danebod Folk Meeting or family camps. They say for example: 'Why would a church have a gathering, where you sing, and you dance, and you do crafts and you don't study the Bible!?'

To this, my informant tells these wondering people that the Grundtvigian Danish-Americans have really nothing against the Bible, but that *life* is bigger than that book! This informant also mentions that people from other churches are often surprised when they hear that meetings and camps such as these are run without professional management, but by volunteers.

But there are also members of local congregations for example in West Denmark, who look with scepticism at these meetings and family camps, because in their view they confuse church and culture, and therefore do not wish to participate in them.

### What kind of Grundtvigianism do we find in the USA?

Part of the answer to this question is implied in the following statement: One informant calls herself a Grundt-

vigian, but with the explicit reference to the Grundtvigianism that has developed in the U.S. in the small Danish colonies. That is, she is not a Grundtvigian in the sense of being a student of Grundtvig or someone, who has studied Grundtvig.

The Grundtvigian environment in the U.S. today has its prominent people like theologians and teachers and has previously had some theological heavyweights. But as one of my informants said, he knows not a single minister in the ELCA, who today is occupied with N.F.S. Grundtvig's thoughts. Grundtvig is not generally known today in the academic, theological world in America, but is relatively well-known among American educationalist.

The Grundtvigianism that existed within the former Danish Church (official name from 1952: the American Evangelical Lutheran Church) until it merged with other churches in 1962, was formulated and renewed in a dialogue between theologians and laity. But after the AELC stopped existing that year, and its congregations in some cases merged with other congregations, and ministers of other national backgrounds and other theological persuasions became the norm, the Grundtvigian perception on the human and the Christian aspects of life has increasingly been 'left' for retelling and development in forums like the Danebod Folk Meeting and the annual Solvang meeting both dominated by laity, and in the monthly magazine *Church and Life*. It seems that it is not so much on the basis of theological studies and scholarly books on Grundtvig that the environment in recent years has developed and renewed its Grundt-

vigianism, but perhaps more through shared experiences and narratives.

It is important to note, though, that the Danebod and the Solvang meetings over the years have had a number of competent and inspiring people on the lecture podium, who have contributed with insights and reflections from disciplines such as medicine, social sciences, politics, theology, history etc. This has undoubtedly helped to give the Grundtvigian environment openness to the modern world that seems to go in a good hand with the cultural and religious traditions that have developed in the small Grundtvigian communities.

But what kind of values do the Grundtvigian Danish-Americans see as the hallmark of their tradition and environment? I have tried to list some of the general statements about values under the following headlines: The close relationship between the religious life and everyday life is clearly very basic. An informant says about the Danebod-meeting: '...this is part of our faith, the way we live out our faith, but it is not cloistered in a church or in a particular religion or anything like that. It is how we understand the way we live out our Christianity in that we need to educate ourselves in a wide variety of ways... That's why, I love all the variety of lectures...'

Someone else says: '...we were infused with the idea that our whole life was our faith.... We don't separate. That's why we can sing the Danish hiking songs right next to 'Gracious and Mighty God'.

A third informant says: 'I'm also happy with the singing, because all these Grundtvigian songs are, when it comes

down to it, about, what life really is.'

Finally, an informant expressed his experience with the Grundtvigian Christianity and understanding of life this telling way: 'We lived it, we never put it into words.'

### **An appreciation of ordinary life**

A statement often heard was: 'Life is good'. Someone even had a cap on his head with this text! It's about the appreciation of the beauty and value of ordinary life. An example: One informant told me about her grandfather, who was a janitor, and he was appreciated for and loved his work. This is often not the case any longer, because we no longer appreciate ordinary things and the ordinary life.

### *Non-materialistic values - as opposed to the materialism of society*

These values were worded in different ways. An example: It's different what you see as a rich life and society considers a rich life. Society thinks of wealth as something you accumulate. We look at wealth as something with people and friends, and for instance to help others.

### *The importance of education and 'life-long learning'*

The importance of education has been a key idea in the Grundtvigian environment since the establishment of the first folk high schools in the United States in the 1870s and of Grand View College in 1896. The Danebod Folk Meeting is an excellent example of 'life-long learning', which is also highlighted by several informants.

### *Participation in voluntary work - for the common good*

Several informants mentioned the participation in voluntary work as something integrated into their everyday lives, something that you do for the common good.

### *Awareness of nature and the environment*

Several informants worded statements like 'to live in close contact with nature' as something that has reference to N.F.S. Grundtvig's ideas.

### *Politically, the Grundtvigian environment is overwhelmingly 'liberal'*

Most are Democrats. One informant put it this way, what is probably a common view: 'The Democrats are not always good and right, but they are closer'. Not a few within the environment will be posted on the Democratic Party's left wing.

Finally, *tolerance* and *openness* are values that are described in several ways.

### *Tolerance*

An example: The question of ordination of homosexual ministers in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America was in 2009 the big topic of discussion within the ELCA. The decision in the form of a vote by a delegate meeting of the ELCA fell at the same time the Danebod Folk Meeting was held. Therefore, the participants at Danebod followed the vote with great interest directly via the Internet. When the decision fell and it was a yes to the ordination of homosexuals, it was received with applause and satisfaction with the vast majority of those present at Danebod.

This reception is in stark contrast to the reception which the decision was met with in a number of congregations in the ELCA that after the vote in 2009 chose to leave the church.

#### *Openness to other groups and individuals*

The Danebod Folk Meeting and the family camps at Danebod are open to all. The same applies to the annual family camp in West Denmark, and there are indeed both Catholics and non-believers and people of non-Danish backgrounds present here. But this openness also applies to the social events of the West Denmark congregation from the same motto that everyone is welcome. Therefore, one can see Catholics and other non-members participate in the activities of the congregation with the exception that the Catholics do not participate in church worship services.

#### *Openness to change*

An informant mentions that in the U.S. it has become common for people to marry and adopt children across racial and other divides. In connection to the mention of marriage across races this woman refers to her own religious tradition, namely the Grundtvigian, and then says with emphasis: 'NFS (*Grundtvig; HBS*) would be *happy* to see people exploring greater human limits'.

#### *Awareness of tradition*

There should be no doubt, however, that the awareness of tradition and the retention of traditions are core values in the Grundtvigian environment, also today. This is felt in the entire form and sentiment at the Danebod Folk Meeting that people appreciate the values and

traditions that has been inherited from previous generations, while also being open to new people and new ideas. Awareness of tradition can have many different expressions. A few examples: One informant told me that after her husband's death she had installed a bell in her Lutheran church in which the Grundtvigian key concepts were engraved: '*To the Bath, To the Table, and to the Word - I call you*'.

Likewise, at the funeral they sang some of the beloved hymns of N.F.S. Grundtvig like '*Built on the Rock the Church doth Stand*'. For the fellowship after the funeral they had to procure food from afar like *medisterpølse* (Danish type sausage) that was flown in by air from Solvang, California, because there was no one in the area, who could make *medisterpølse*. And as my informant added: '*We had to have a Danish meal*'.

#### **To conclude – different ways of being a Danish-American...**

The Danish-Americans have often been described as an easily and quickly assimilated immigrant group in the US. This is true in a lot of respects, when you compare them with other immigrant groups.<sup>6</sup> And none the less, a revival of ethnic interest has taken place among Danish-Americans in general in the last 20 or 30 years. Much of it has to do with Danish symbols and invented Danishness, but the interest and identification is there!

Among the former Inner Mission church members, (official name 1945-1961: the United Evangelical Lutheran Church), there seems to be little ethnic interest and identification. But it must be emphasized that there are no studies

done of this church environment or its members' views on their Danish-American background, or their understanding of ethnicity in general.<sup>7</sup>

When you turn to a third group among the Danish-Americans, namely the Grundtvigians, the picture changes again. They started out extremely pre-occupied with their Danish language, culture, and religious views brought with them from Denmark. But today the interest in things Danish is not very outspoken among the Grundtvigians. They cherish their Danish-American tradition, which has developed in the small rural communities and in the congregations in the bigger cities of the Midwest. But any direct influence from Denmark has been minimal for decades. The main interest of the Grundtvigians lies in the sense of community among fellow Danish-Americans and in the shared religious values in the Grundtvigian tradition.

### **Why create a museum exhibition about the Grundtvigians in the U.S. and their history?**

One answer is: To let historical experiences be made useful in the present. And let the experiences from one country be made useful in another country.

By telling a Danish museum audience about a contemporary Grundtvigian environment in the USA and its preservation *and* transformation of social relations and values through generations, you might as a Dane get some useful images and tools to understand your own present and your own society.

One must remember that N.F.S. Grundtvig has influenced Danish society in a number of areas, like for instance religion, church, school, education, views

on freedom and democracy etc. and today stands as one of the greatest national icons.

By telling the story of the Grundtvigians in the United States and their migration, integration and identity formation, as well as more 'familiar' things like the folk high schools, cooperative dairies, community halls etc. that were also brought to the USA, we may understand better, why immigrants in our own neighborhood cherish and want to maintain and transform their cultural and religious heritage. The concepts and processes of immigration and integration are very much the same as they currently take place just outside our own doorstep in Europe as when our forefathers were immigrants in the USA a century or so ago.

### **Can the American experience with ethnicity be used in Europe?**

There is no doubt that Europeans can learn a lot from the long experience with ethnicity in the United States. One thing is that we in Europe may avoid doing as they did in the United States in the first 60 or 70 years of the 20th century, namely to expect a 'decline of ethnicity'.

Now, perhaps we can see that the 'melting pot' theory was very much a rhetorical and ideological concept, which was good to put up on festive occasions and in patriotic speeches to promote a certain American self-understanding, and less a description of the real world.

So, we should rather try to understand, what ethnicity is, what it does to and for people, and that it can have many different forms. Everything seems to show that ethnicity as a key area for identification has come to stay in Europe as well.

## Notes:

- 1 Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan: *Beyond the Melting Pot. The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*. The M.I.T. Press, Second edition, 1970. xxxiii.
- 2 *ibid.*
- 3 In early discussions of the new ethnicity the concepts of the traditional 'primordialist' understanding versus an 'optionalist' interpretation of ethnicity were introduced. In the 'optionalist' interpretation ethnicity was described as '...a dimension of individual or group existence that can be consciously emphasized or deemphasized as the situation dictates'. See for example: *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, Ed. Stephan Thernstrom et.al. Harvard University Press, 1980. p. 55.
- A later two-sided definition of ethnicity, which has been used in this article, is perfectly in line with the one mentioned above: a) the sociological approach – ethnicity has to do with something you *are*, and b) the social psychological approach – ethnicity has to do with something you *become*, or something you *do*. See 'Leksikon for det 21. århundrede', 'Etnicitet' by Dorthe Staunæs, 2005. <http://www.leksikon.org/>
- 4 Henrik Bredmose Simonsen: *Kampen om danskheden. Tro og nationalitet i de danske kirkesamfund i Amerika*. Aarhus University Press, 1990. pp. 231-233.
- 5 Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan: *op.cit.* Preface to the First Edition, 1962, xcvi.
- 6 Torben Grøngaard Jeppesen: *Skandinaviske efterkommere i USA. Etniske grupper eller kerneamerikanere?* Forlaget Odense Bys Museer, 2010. pp. 187-189.
- 7 The description in this article of the former Inner Mission church in America (the United Evangelical Lutheran Church) is based on the church's early tradition of putting very little emphasis on its Danish background *and* impressions from visits to the United States in 1981 and 2010. But there are to my knowledge no studies done of the ethnicity the former Inner Mission Danish-American environment.

# Selling a Dream - Expectation versus Reality – Post-War Dutch and Other Migration to Australia 1945 – 1970

*Nonja Peters*

## **Introduction**

### *Aims and Objectives*

This paper explores the migration experience of the 160,000 Dutch who came to Australia following the close of the Second World War. It looks at how local, national and global influences and social, cultural and economic policies of the day in the Netherlands and Australia, shaped their expectations of the new land and assesses the extent to which their expectations matched the reality of their experience.

## **Background History**

Since 1945, natural increase and migration combined to result in a population rise in Australia from seven (7) million to its current 22 and a half million plus. Over 6 million of this increase is directly attributable to immigration. Immigration has fundamentally shaped the structure and nature of Australian society. Australian immigration has always been driven by the need to attract enough labour for the developing economy and recruitment policy, procedures and bi-lateral agreements, continue to heed this imperative.

To attract working-age newcomers in the colonial period Australia established an assisted passage program, offered land grants, and invoked a 'bounty system' by which free settlers already established in the colonies could pay for the passages of relatives and friends to come to Australia. A consequence of this is that chain migration and assisted passage became fundamentals of Australian immigration policy.

However, Australia's distance from Europe and its initial use as a British penal colony virtually precluded it initially from sharing in any vast movement of peoples from the continent of Europe, Asia, America and Africa, until the 20th century. Aside from during the Gold Rushes (from around the 1850s), which attracted prospectors from around the world, until the mid 1970s, Australia was viewed as a racially white society, a British outpost in outlook, customs and institutions. By the time of the Goldrushes, Australia's largely dispossessed Indigenous population resided predominantly on native settlements on the fringes of towns and cities or in outback desert camps.

The Anti-Asian attitudes that had discouraged Japanese, Chinese and Afghans from mining during the Gold Rushes and had led to the restrictive legislation commonly known as the White Australia Policy, instituted at Federation in 1901, ensured that communities of Asian ethnicity would no longer increase numerically. In addition, the dictation tests that could be administered in any number of European languages kept out all considered undesirable. The outcome of these was that by 1947 just two per cent of Australian residents were born outside of Australia, the British Isles or New Zealand. These acts and procedures, together with the doctrine of assimilation also maintained the status quo during the period of European migration that followed the war. Although the preference for Britons remained intact, recruitment elsewhere became necessary as Britain needed its people for post-war reconstruction and in any case they also had a shipping shortage, which precluded them being able to transport potential migrants to Australia.

Arthur Calwell, Australia's first Minister for Immigration, in the portfolio created in 1945, countered the (Labor)

Opposition's criticism on the change in direction of source countries – from British to Displaced Persons (DPs), with an expression of hope that immigration would nonetheless yield 'ten Britons for every migrant of other origin' to come into the country. However, this target would never again be reached although intakes into Western Australia (WA) would remain at about 45.5% British well into the 1990s. The smaller intake of British prompted the Federal Government to robustly promote the doctrine of assimilation as a way of appeasing locals' fears about feeling 'overrun' by 'foreigners'. Under this doctrine, European migrants called New Australians were expected to drop past customs and beliefs and rapidly 'Australianise'. The notion that assimilation was possible was not revised until about 1966, when the government also began to liberalize the restrictive policy. Prospective migrants were then assessed on the basis of their suitability as settlers, their ability to integrate readily, and their possession of qualifications useful to Australian industry. Migrants were now invited to 'integrate' into Australian society until the early 1970s.

Then in 1972, Australians elected their first Labor government since 1948. Al Grassby, Minister for Immigration in this new government, radically changed the official policy. He replaced the quota system, based on country of origin and preservation of racial 'homogeneity' with 'structured selection'. Migrants were now to be chosen according to personal and social attributes and occupational group rather than country of origin. A year later, in 1973, Al Grassby declared Australia now a 'multicultural' society in



which every relic of past ethnic or racial discrimination had been abolished. The Australian Citizenship Act of that year announced that all migrants were to be accorded equal treatment.

The main principles of a multicultural society are social cohesion, cultural identity and equality of opportunity. Cultural differences were now to be acknowledged and accepted as socially enriching. Issues relating to immigrants' social and economic access and equity came increasingly to command the attention of government and the general public alike. This led to further reforms in immigration selection policy plus the introduction, in 1979, of the first numerical scoring system for migrant selection designed to fit the labour needs of the country's rapidly developing service and extractive industry economy.

The new selection system gave points to prospective migrants based on factors such as family ties and occupational and language skills, which were seen to increase the probability of successful settlement. In 1989, points-testing relating to the skilled migration schedules was introduced into Australian law. Its aim was to identify 'objectively' the 'characteristics' prospective migrants would need to possess that would benefit Australia and assist with their settlement. Current immigration programs use the same criteria for applicants from anywhere in the world. As a result Australian settlers now come from over 170 countries.

The dearth of British emigrants between 1947-1952 was the catalyst that had Australia seek the assistance of the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) to recruit around 200,000 Dis-

placed Persons. This agreement was followed in 1951, with a bilateral agreement between the Netherlands and Australia to recruit trades and semi and unskilled labour from the Netherlands and the NEI (Netherlands East Indies). Later that year agreements were also signed with Italy and Germany. The ensuing mass migration program sought to increase Australia's population, to specifically overturn the flagging birth rate, for reasons of defence and to fill employment vacancies in the skilled trades and semi- and un-skilled labour areas in heavy industry, the burgeoning building and construction sectors and public utilities.

Prospective Dutch emigrants were lured to Australia at information evenings organised by the propaganda arm



*Large Dutch families, among them Nonja Peters', ready to leave the Netherlands for a prosperous future 'Down Under'.*

of the Department of Information in Australia and the Department of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands. Post-war diasporas out of Europe were at that time greatly provoked by a number of Western European countries by 'overpopulation concerns' resurrected specifically to rid themselves of 'surplus people'. The Dutch Monarchy and Government were among those utilising this 'push factor' to exert pressure on Dutch citizens to register for emigration at one of the many offices they had established around the country specifically to promote their exodus.

On the other side were the 'pull factors' conceptualised by the Australian government. Designed to lure foreigners and assist in their integration, these

comprised placards, fliers and brochures produced by the Department of Information depicting Australia as the future, as a country with booming industry, full employment, boundless opportunities and good working conditions, where an immigrant could own their own motor vehicle and a home of their own filled with countless whitegoods. This level of materialism was unheard of in post-war Netherlands. Moreover, it could be reached with passage assistance! All that was required of a prospective emigrant was that they meet race – the White Australia policy governed entry requirements - age and health criteria and remain in the type of employment for which they were selected by Australian authorities for two years.



*Placards, fliers and brochures, produced by the Department of Information, depicted Australia as the land of tomorrow.*

### **Emigration- a physical and emotional journey**

Migration is associated with uprooting the past and confronting an unknown future in a strange land that is a great social, physical, cultural and linguistic distance from the migrants' country of origin and few Dutch were really aware of the complexity involved. The impression of Australia and Australians harboured by most Dutch emigrants derived from a government that wanted to get rid of them, a government that was desperate for their labour power and a migration propaganda machine prone to sensationalising. How did the Australian government, 'who wanted them', view them? Well, as it stands, their perceptions were not formulated in isolation of the Dutch Government, which had, well before war started, been looking for a home for its surplus-farming sons. Their concerns had, in 1939, occasioned a visit

to Australia from the Director General of the Netherlands Emigration Foundation Mr J.A.A. Hartland and a Netherlands Government representative to discuss a possible intake of Dutch farmers. On 5 July 1939 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reporting on this meeting noted specifically that the Australian Government saw the proposed migration of Dutchmen to Australia as bringing to:

... the development of this country that remarkable initiative and pertinacity which they displayed in wresting the low-lying lands of Holland from the sea and transforming them into fertile fields. Sharing our tradition of democracy, and equipped, for the most part with a knowledge of English, Dutch settlers could be assimilated easily in Australian communities. In other Dominions such as South Africa and Canada they have proved strong, adaptable migrants, succeeding by their industry and thrift... They are the qualities inherent in the 'best type' of modern Netherlanders. Australia could not make a better choice of immigrants than those men who spring from the same stock as the pioneers who nearly made Terra Australis 'New Holland.'

Netherlanders were wanted for their large families as they would provide many future workforce participants. Compared to other ethnic groups, Dutch migration was overwhelmingly family oriented. Women generally accompanied their menfolk, not always out of choice but because it was considered their duty to go wherever their husbands

could best earn a living. Dutch Calvinist and Catholics - the two religions that rejected birth control both encouraged emigration. Their clergy assumed that Dutch wives would ensure their family's successful migration because they would safeguard their husband's and children's spiritual welfare by creating a gezellige (convivial) home in Australia, wherever the family had to live - reception centres, tents, garages, caravans, verandahs or a partly built house.

Although, the outbreak of WWII disrupted earlier migration plans and the Pacific War and Japan's Occupation of the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) even tarnishing the much espoused idealised vision of Dutchness. At war's end the Commonwealth Government continued to see the Dutch as potential migrants. Consequently when they could not get enough Britons to emigrate, due to Britain's post-war reconstruction program and a lack of shipping they were quick to invite the racially similar, blonde, blue-eyed, Dutch families, and confer surrogate British status on them. However, their invitation did not extend to Dutch from the NEI unless they could prove they were 51% White!

The focus on assimilation or 'Anglo conformity' by this ninety per cent Australian-born and English speaking society, and the demand that newcomers assimilate quickly and totally to its culture guaranteed that Australia's essential Britishness would remain and in doing so inadvertently asserted the superiority of Australian culture over that of migrants. Australians expected 'New Australians' to become completely absorbed, so that it would be as if they had never come at all!

### **Dutch Response to Assimilation**

'Aanpassen' (to adjust to) was the way the Dutch responded to this imperative. 'Aanpassen', or Dutch assimilation ideology and practices, are distinctive because, throughout the assimilation period, whether they considered them agreeable or not, the majority of Dutch appeared willing to conform to them - at least in the public sphere. Generally in public settings the Dutch appeared to want to get rid of or at least cover-up any social characteristics defined as 'ethnic' by Australians including language. Anglo-conformity became the hallmark of 'Dutch identity' in Australia. Most Dutch postulated that '... if people come out here to make this their new country, they should ... adapt themselves under all circumstances. 'When you are in Rome' many asserted 'You should do as the Romans do. You must fit in. After all, if you expect to further yourself economically and this country is prepared to give you a chance, then you have no right to be different'. These resettlement patterns, which soon had the Dutch heralded the most 'assimilated' and therefore 'model migrants' also had them labelled 'invisible'!

I associate the Dutch promotion of 'aanpassen' with the socialisation practices of the first generation in the pillarized society they left behind. Most had been born into a secular or religious pillar (*verzuiling*). The model of pillars, with their fairly authoritarian leaderships, relied upon powerful educated elites and provided a strictly monitored cradle to grave schematic. Only the elites interacted across pillars!

Outward conformity to assimilationist mandates such as that contained

in this quote became the hallmark of 'Dutch identity' in Australia. In the public sphere, de Longh maintains the Dutch in Australia, without exception, tried to be more Australian than the Australians. Van De Berghe associates the tendency of an immigrant group to assimilate with the advantages in doing so. He claims that one of the conditions which encourages assimilation is an environment in which ethnic groups are clearly hierarchical. Perceived from this perspective, Dutch invisibility in Australia can in addition be viewed as the way they sustained their privileged second place on the preferential ladder. Maintaining this distinctive adaptive strategy became even more effective when it appeared also to facilitate their access to the economic benefits of the Australian market place and to better treatment in the work force. Moreover, so long as the dominion governments continued to foster a larger immigration than could be supplied from Britain alone, the policy would benefit the Dutch who everywhere were rated 'second best'.

Explanations by Dutch sociologists are equally compelling. They assert that Dutch people's accomplished manner at making themselves invisible is a characteristically Dutch way of protecting their 'inner inviolability' in a society which stresses social conformity to institutionalised difference. The peculiar mode of Dutch adaptation that occurred in Australia included the Dutch norm of civility. Instilled via socialisation practices in the Netherlands, it positively evaluates a resolute commitment to hierarchy and self possession - particularly the Calvinist and Stoical values of discipline,

frugality, industry, responsibility, obedience and indefatigable allegiance to leaders regardless of circumstances. It was a combination of these socialisation practices and assimilationist dictates that eventually led many first generation Dutch migrants into developing distinct public and private persona as a stratagem for maintaining their cultural integrity. This is supported by recent research, which shows despite the first generation's sedulous Australian imitation that they remained simultaneously, steadfastly very Dutch in the privacy of their homes. This peculiar way of maintaining their culture has led some social scientists to speak of the Dutch culture as a 'closet culture'.

### Dutch Invisibility

By the 1970s Dutch invisibility was generally the accepted way to view Dutch resettlement in Australia and created some amazing stereotypes. For example, on 2 February 1978, *the Adelaide Advertiser* noted:

The typical Dutchman who came to Australia and assimilated for all his individualistic reasons, is a man without and out of history. He is 'strong willed, fast thinking, often stubborn and possessed with a fanaticism to succeed'. (1) His migration and assimilation, it seems, are natural expressions of his character. Yet, this same Dutchman has only been in Australia since the 1950s: His migration was part of historic changes happening in both Australia and the Netherlands, and was negotiated and to a large extent financed by those governments.

Although the assimilated Dutch was a persuasive stereotype not all members of the Dutch community agreed with it. Many preferred like the Dutchman quoted by *The Canberra Times* on 13 May 1978 – to believe that the Dutch were the best [of all migrants] at playing the 'assimilation' game'. Their view is supported by recent research which shows that despite the first generation's zealous 'Australian imitation', that they remained simultaneously, steadfastly very Dutch in the privacy of their homes. This peculiar way of maintaining their culture has led some social scientists to speak of the Dutch culture as a 'closet culture' and describe first generation Dutch migrants as having developed a distinctive public and private persona as a stratagem for maintaining their cultural integrity.

Can Dutch willingness to play the assimilation game be related to their satisfaction with migration? Migration sets up expectations in all its stakeholders – governments, migrants and the mainstream community into which newcomers are to be absorbed. How far did the image that Dutch migrants had gained of Australia and Australians before leaving the Netherlands actually correspond with reality? On 28 January 1950 a reporter from *De Waarheid* in an article 'The false Bait: Australia land of Tomorrow' notes after attending one of the information evenings at the local Labour Office in Amsterdam that:

It was the twenty-third evening, and the small room was full to overflowing. The 500 people present were seated not only on the seats but also on the window ledges, the stairs,

and on tables. Hundreds succeeded in obtaining standing room only. At these meetings people are told, among other things, how large Australia is and how small Holland is. It is also said our country is too densely populated. Many of the audience, already determined to emigrate visualise the Australian landscape; extensive wide fields, steppes carrying millions of sheep, mountains, primeval forests, and extensive industrial centres; skies are blue, clouds are white, the mountains are purple, and the fields green – just as on the poster. The more the listener hears about this land the more he is lured on by visions of wide-open spaces. Each of the un-or underemployed in the room hopes to be among those to leave for the vision.

These views correspond with those from the respondents of our study who

also mentioned that they expected ‘wide open spaces’; ‘an easy uncomplicated lifestyle, warm temperature, no class distinction, a country with large farms plenty of sheep and rabbits’. Although *De Waarheid* also noted ‘in the course of the evening that emigrants were told of the requirements they must fulfil, and of the avalanche of paper with which they would need to struggle to be considered for emigration to the ‘great promised land’, that the quality of debate during the course of the evening remained at a very basic level. Moreover, the fact that people were generally too shy to speak up in public, gave the propagandists the chance to sum up the discussion on an enlightened and positive note.

In effect, however, the mooted materialism was really hard to come by, if only because subsidized Dutch immigrants were forced to give up everything they had towards their passage costs. This meant many arrived at their des-



*Newly arrived immigrants were often forced to start their life in Australia at one of the Department of Immigration accommodation centres in rural or metropolitan WA. Military camps were used because they could be refurbished with minimal recourse to labour and building materials.*

tionation virtually destitute, with only landing money (which in 1950 was £10 for singles and £20 for a family) and a packing crate of household possessions measuring no more than one cubic metre. These criteria left most Dutch without the collateral they would need to access bank loans or other affordable financial support.

The plight of the newly arrived was exacerbated by Australia's building material shortage which also forced the larger families to start their life in Australia at one of the Department of Immigration accommodation centres in rural or metropolitan WA. Military camps were used because they could be refurbished with minimal recourse to labour and building materials.

### Migrant Camps

Dutch women traveling on a Nedlloyd or P & O luxury liner such as the MS *Himalaya* or the MS *Johan van Oldenbarneveldt* describe feeling especially overwhelmed by the transition from a well appointed cabin to a bare cubicle at a Department of Immigration accommodation facility in which barracks had been converted into louse-infected 'little cubicles, which offered but a semblance of privacy since the partitions were only man-high, so you shared noises, sounds and smells with everyone else in the barrack!' A Dutch girl recalls the culture shock of arrival at Bonegilla where the largest Dutch contingent were accommodated as:

From living in a three storey house in The Hague, a city of distinction, to unlined army barracks where walls were of Hessian to separate families,

the beds were hard with grey blue-striped cheap blankets. Privacy was non-existent as conversations could be heard from one end of the army hut to the other.

The Dutch and Australian governments kept pushing the idea that the 'right type' of migrant would make it in Australia despite the challenges of resettlement; and translated that meant 'persons willing to put in the hard yards'. A mass protests about conditions occasioned a visit to Bonegilla camp by Dr Pieters cultural attaché to the Dutch embassy, who (famously) advised: 'See those hills around us? At first the climb will be difficult but, once you get to the top and see the other side, you will be so happy!' The notion of having failed at migration - and there was little sympathy for migrants who returned to the Netherlands - was also a strong driving force.

After this debacle the Dutch government did, however, immediately employ 'Escort Officers' on board Dutch ships to handle further enquiries. Mr H.P. Francissen on the *Grote Beer* noted:

In my candid opinion the information these people receive in Holland is far from satisfactory. They are entirely without practical knowledge about the country in which they hope to make a new start in life.

In contrast the response from the then Minister for Immigration Mr Harold Holt, which appeared in *The Argus* on 4 August 1951, was to instruct his staff at the Department of Information to

paint a 'grimmer picture' in propaganda booklets about Australia than had been the case in 1950, because it was giving people the wrong impression. Leaving the camp was especially problematic for larger families, which typified Dutch migration, because these found it harder to access housing and their mothers had often to resort to living in tents or old tram carriages 'until the family could afford the deposit on a second-hand house or a block of land. 'Strapped for cash' the whole family was expected to contribute their earnings or time, or both, on weekends and after work or school, cleaning old bricks or making their own from the meagre weekly allocation of cement that the building material shortage allowed. When they had sufficient to erect a one-car garage or the back veranda of their future home these Dutch were forced to come up with innovative ways to cram their many children into the smallest spaces.

By this time the myth of finding 'gold nuggets lying on the streets' had been dispelled, and migrants had come to terms with the harsh reality that nothing but hard toil would buy them the quality of life and the material possessions they dreamed of.

### **How were these Dutch received by Australian society?**

Moving into Australian society induced thus a head-on encounter between the Australian and Dutch cultures. The tensions and conflicts imposed by this unbidden co-existence, initially shaped both the migrants' and the Australians' perceptions of each other. Until mass migration commenced most Australians

had never seriously considered that the presence of foreigners might necessitate changes in them. As a consequence the dynamics at the interface were, mixed. Some [Australians] viewed the newcomer's arrival with suspicion, while others found it exciting that people from half the countries of Europe were coming to live in their midst.

The expectations of Australia and the stereotype of Australians emigrants gained from both governments and the media hardly helped the transition. For example the Catholic newspaper *De Tijd* 1 September, 1950 claimed,

Only for the man and woman who have given up all ideals of a Dutch home life, and are capable of putting themselves on the level of the average Australian, is there a chance of success. The authorities in Holland should warn migrants that on arrival in Australia they have no rights but only responsibilities to become 'New Australians' in the shortest possible time.

To take on the banner of a 'New Australian one had first to appreciate what being an Australian meant. Migrants formulated their ideas about Australia and Australians from the type of information contained in information booklets such as - *Weg Naar Australië* (Way to Australia). Claiming, incidentally, to be *bevat geen verhaaltjes maar alleen feiten* (comprised of facts not fiction) and it notes that:

The greatest part of the Australian population lives in the largest cities. From this it could be said that Aus-

tralian are city dwellers. That being said the specific traits that we see as distinguishing city dwellers from country folk are not so visible in Australia. It could be said in contrast to the Netherlands that through their open friendliness, unassuming behaviour and dress that practically every Australian man displays qualities more often associated with country folk. On the other hand the social class differences that we encounter in conservative villages and towns in the Netherlands are not so discernible in Australian society. Australians are more laid back, more jovial, they gossip less, but swear a lot more, although this swearing, steeped within the language, is more jocular than offensive. The Australian is not so egotistical, although when it comes to business he prefers to deal in small circles as opposed to the cosiness we associate with the larger group. The Australian drinks much, but only before 6 p.m. in the evening, because no liquor can be sold after that time. As a result everyone that can afford it, and that is just about the entire male population, goes to one or other of the many bars around town, where they empty one glass after the other. Despite this, one could not say that Australians love nothing more than to spend all they have and hold on alcohol. Rather, apart from being a good businessman, the Australian can also be said to be decent, despite his fanatical love of all sports. However, his philosophy on life goes something like, live and let live and above all he is of the meaning that

it is better to live to work than the other way around. Although family life in Australia is not as developed as in the Netherlands, there is noticeably little use made of dining-out facilities. Even though the food there is excellent and cheap.

The Dutch will also find it strange to find Australians begin the day with such a hefty breakfast. This is not just comprised of a rusk or plate of porridge as we do it, but of large pieces of meat, fried eggs, a great deal of fruit, quality fruit of the greatest variety that is also dirt cheap. Above all they drink unbelievable quantities of tea. The use of vegetables is less. Importantly we find the Australian cuisine unexciting. Vegetables are cooked until they are almost unrecognisable and often served up without being drained first. They do have potatoes but generally speaking they are more expensive than ours. However, they eat enormously more sweet foods than we do. That being said the Dutch Housewife will have little trouble maintaining her Dutch menus although she will find it cheaper to switch to Australian cuisine.

Few Dutch were in a position to note the reality or otherwise of this stereotype, which incidentally said as much about what it was to be Dutch as it did about what being Australian meant.

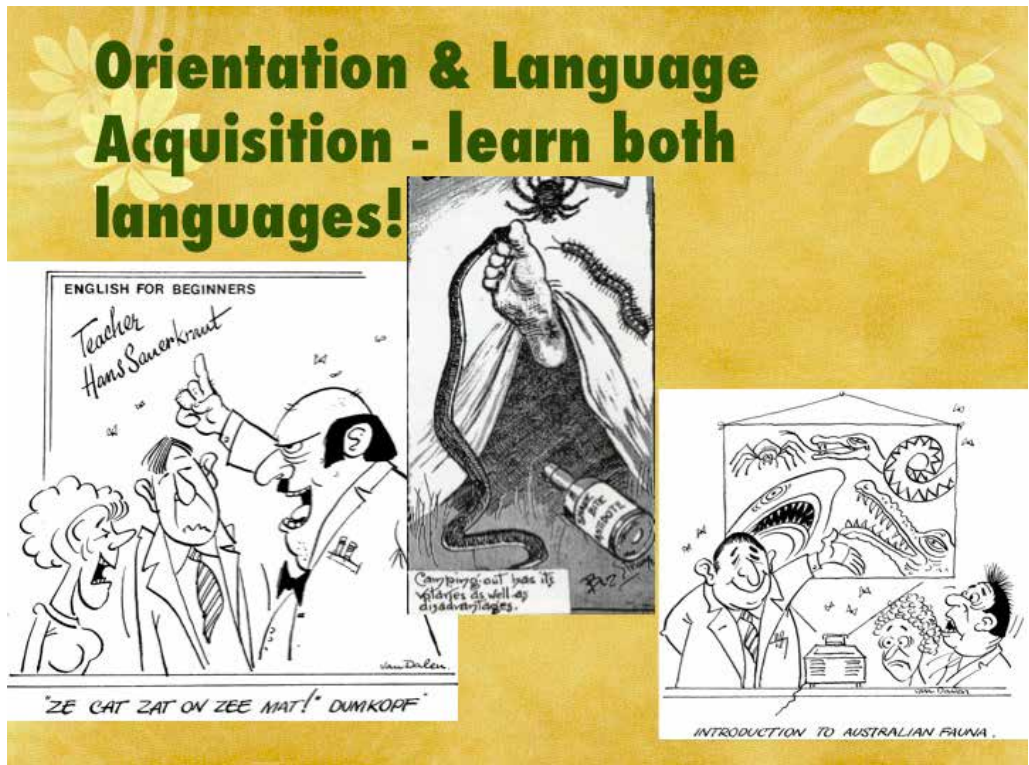
What sort of relationships emerged between the Dutch and their Australian hosts in this climate? Australians either exploited migrants economically or assisted them in a variety of ways such as selling the newcomers properties or blocks of land without first exacting a deposit. Local traders helped by extend-

ing them the credit they needed to be able to start their building program. However in the early years and really throughout their lives in Australia the closest friends of most working class Dutch were from the same church, province or town, or Dutch people they met on the ship coming across. Dutch women and men all say they liked talking to the 'Aussies' and had workmates as friends but they also say they didn't really mix their friends. The change of culture the environment and traditions having been more than many could absorb.

### Dutch Children - Language and Assimilation

The difficulties in a strange new land were different for children and young adolescents. As one child migrant notes, 'assimilation was the policy and it certainly buried many feelings of 'Dutchness', which was detrimental.' Migrant children found it most difficult because the ultimate outcome of the ideology was divided values of the old country and the new country and the veneration of everything Australian and devaluation of everything ethnic.

Between these conflicting sources of power the Dutch immigrant child was also forced to make vital decisions about 'belonging' and 'identity'. Fitting-in is



Some Australians took it upon themselves to hasten the migrants' transition by pressuring them to speak only English. As a result most Dutch failed to pass their language onto their children.

a difficult task for any novice to a social group, however it is much worse for postwar migrants who were not accepted by Australians as an Australian. Consequently, they were forced into an association with other 'New Australians' who were also labelled inferior.

Given assurances that the newcomers would not disrupt the Australian way of life, some Australians took it upon themselves to hasten the migrants' transition by pressuring them to speak only English. Dutch women complain of Australians stopping them in the street to admonish them for speaking Dutch to their children! 'You shouldn't, it is not good for the children, you should talk English to them this is the country they have to live in. As a result most Dutch failed to pass their language onto their children. And apart from the initial years when the children were young enough to celebrate St Nicholas, few Dutch invited their children to the Dutch club.

Paul Scheffer, in his book *Immigrant Nation* notes, as the most striking detail about second generation Dutch Muslims, their lack of explicit ambition to take charge of the communities to which they're assumed to belong. I have observed similar behaviour among the Dutch Australians whom Scheffer terms the in-between generation (ie born in country of origin came to Australia as a child) and among the second generation – born in Australia of migrant parents. Among the Dutch one could why would it be any different given their abandonment by the first generation! What brings many 'in-betweeners' and second generation back into the 'fold', is care of ageing parents who need a Dutch speak-

ing agency. These were established in the late 1980s when Dutch ageing started to become an issue, when it was found that many elderly migrants revert to speaking only the language of origin after serious bouts of illness. This was more drastic for Dutch migrants because they had failed to pass on their language to their children. Their language loss prevented them from being able to communicate with their sick ageing parents. After their parent(s) death many also found themselves unable to read the correspondence and documentation left behind much of which is important to their family's history. Aanpassen's success is in a certain sense, therefore also a tragedy!

### Conclusion

'Migration History Matters', the conference at which this paper was presented, highlights the impact of the political, social and cultural influences of the day in both relinquishing and receiving countries on the experience of immigration as perceived by first and second generation post-war Dutch who made Australia home between 1949 and 1970. Understanding the cultural traditions that dominated their parents' lives when they left the Netherlands also helps Dutch who came here as children, or were born here to Dutch parents, makes sense of the behaviours their parent's expected them take-on board as life directions. My research supports the notion that the heritage of the 270,000 Australians who claim Dutch ancestry increasingly 'matters' to them and to their progeny as well to their kin in the Netherlands. Family historians account for more than seventy percent of users of the internet and Family History is

only just overtaken by pornography as the most popular activity on the web. By integrating and preserving migrants' cultural heritage for posterity, and viewing it as an '...active long-term and ongoing contribution to the evolving narrative of Australian identity, Australian nationhood and the Australian politic', we achieve, a 'right' of social citizenship following theorist T.H. Marshall – 'to share to the full of the social heritage of the country'. This, in turn, increases immigrants' sense of belonging and identity in Australia, and in keeping with the philosophy of Egon Kunz, erst-while academic and Displaced Person, 'lasting loyalties flow from a deep feeling of accepting and being accepted'.

## Notes

At the beginning of September 2011 the resident population of Australia was 22,695,356. The number includes around 600,000 humanitarian programs entrants as displaced persons or refugees.

Federation was the joining of the states in 1901 to become the Australian nation.

<http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/belongings/about-belongings/australias-migration-history/>

<http://www.immi.gov.au/media/fact-sheets/08abolition.htm>

. West Australian Year Books, 1870, 1893/4, 1896/7, 1920, 1968, 1986,1993.

. J.H. Elich, 'Aan de Ene Kant Aan de Andere Kant: De Emigratie van de Nederlanders Naar Australië 1946-1986', Delft: 1987.

Nonja Peters, *Milk and Honey But No Gold*, University of Western Australia (UWA) Press, 2001.

The Sydney Morning Herald, Newspaper, 5 July 1939.

. Wendy Walker-Birckhead, 'A Dutch home in Australia: Dutch women's migration stories' in N.Peters (ed)

*The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, (Perth 2006); Elich, p. 112. Both religions encouraged the exodus of large families as these were less likely to return.

. Van Campen, *Emigratie*, 1954, p.132.

. Wim Willemsen, 'Breaking Down the White Wall: The Dutch From Indonesia' in Nonja Peters (ed). *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, UWA Press: Perth, 2006, pp.132-149.

Jeannie Martin, *The Migrant Presence: Australian Responses 1947-1977*. Sydney. George Allen & Unwin, 1978.

. Nonja Peters, 'Just a Piece of Paper: Dutch Women in Western Australia' *Studies in Western Australian History* – August 2000.

N.Peters, *Just a Piece of Paper*.

In the intervening years the Netherlands has also become a country of immigration. It is interesting to note, given this change in its status and the time-lag of 60 years since post-war migration to Australia began, to see Paul Scheffer, in his book *Immigrant Nation*, Cambridge, 2011, describe the Netherlands of 2011, as still a relatively conformist country!

. Eidheim, H. 1969. 'When Ethnic Identity is a Social Stigma'. In Barth, F. (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, Oslo: Scandinavian University Books, pp. 41-2.

. De Longh is cited in 'It's the Dutchness of the Dutch', *The Bulletin*, Sydney, 1976.

. P. van den Berghe, *The Ethnic Phenomenon*. New York, 1981, p. 259.

. J. Wilton & R. Bosworth, *Old Worlds and New Australia: Post-war Migrant Experience*, Sydney, 1984.

Sociologist Van Den Berghe associates the tendency of an immigrant group to assimilate with the advantages in doing so and one of the conditions that he believes encourages assimilation is an environment in which ethnic groups are hierarchical. Most migrants were unaware that the invitation by the Commonwealth Government for migrants to settle in Australia had 'conditions' attached in the form of 'in-built preferences'. Then again when you consider that between 1947 and 1974, 85 per cent of the British were granted passage assistance against 60 per cent of the Dutch, Germans, Maltese, Yugoslavs and Eastern Europeans and only 34 per cent of Greeks and 20 per cent of the Italians, clearly a ranking prevailed. Perceived from this perspective, Dutch invisibility in Aus-

- tralia can be viewed as the way the Dutch kept their privileged second place on the preferential ladder, a strategy that also gained them better treatment in the Australian market place.
- Hendrik K van Leeuwen, 'A Retrospective on Dutch Migration to Australia in the 1950s – a media perspective – and the reflections on selected Dutch migrants in Victoria', MA Thesis, School of Visual Performing and Media Arts, Deakin University, Victoria, 1995.
- . Walker-Birkhead, 2006.
- . ibid.
- The Adelaide Advertiser, 2 February 1978.
- Walker Birkhead 2006.
- 'The false Bait: Australia land of Tomorrow' De Waarheid. 28 January 1950.
- Proposal, Footsteps of the Dutch in Australia, for the Curtin Research Fellowship Research being undertaken with the Dutch around Australia by Nonja Peters.
- This is also noted by J. Menges, 'Geschiktheid voor Emigratie: Een onderzoek naar psychologische aspecten der emigratiebilititeit', Staatsuitgeverij, The Hague, 1959, p.1.
- Wim Blauw, Explanations of Postwar Dutch Migration to Australia, in Nonja Peters (ed), in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*, UWA Press: Perth, 2006, pp.168-183.
- Peters, Milk & Honey.
- van Leeuwen, 1995.
- ibid
- ibid
- The Argus, 4 August 1951.
- Peters, Milk & Honey. Cited by Van Leeuwin, 1995, p.44.
- Translated from the Dutch in *Weg Naar Australië (Way to Australia)* Dutch Migration Organisation, 1951, which reads:
- Het grootste deel van de Australische bevolking woont in de grote steden. Daaruit blijkt dat de Australiër in wezen een stedeling is. Niettemin zijn de specifieke trekken, die de stedeling b.v bij ons van een dorping of plattelander onderscheidt, in Australië niet te onderkennen. Door hun hartelijkheid, hun ongedwongen optreden en de verwaarloosde kleding heft practisch iedere Australische man iets van een plattelander. Aan de andere kant is het standsverschil, dat men vooral in ons land in erg conservatief dorpen en steden nog veelal aantreft, in het Australische leven lang niet zo duidelijk uitgedrukt. In Australië is men onverschilliger, jovialer, men roddelt minder, doch vloekt daarentegen weer veel meer, ofschoon dit vloeken niet ernstig gemeend is en al bijna tot de omgaanstaal behoort, De Australiër is ook niet zo egoïstisch, hoewel hij wanneer het op zaken doen aankomt, zich gaarne in een klein kringetje terugtrekt uit de gezelligheid van een grote groep. De Australiër drinkt veel, doch alleen voor zes uur in de namiddag, want daarna mag geen sterke drank verkocht worden. Voordien echter gaat iedereen die zich het kan permitteren, en dat is bijna de gehele mannelijke bevolking, naar een van de vele bars, waar het ene glas na het andere geledigd wordt. Ondanks dat, kan men weer niet zeggen dat men in Australië liever doen dan hun hebben en houden aan drank opmaken. Integendeel, de Australiër is behalve een goed zakeman ook wezen een degelijk mens, ondanks zijn fantastieke liefde voor alle mogelijke sport. Maar zijn lijfspreuk is, zoiets als, leven en laten leven, en bovendien is hij van mening dat het beter is te leven om te arbeiden dan omgekeerd.
- Hoewel men in Australië lang niet zo'n ontwikkeld gezinsleven kent als bij ons, wordt er toch merkwaardig weinig gebruik gemaakt van restaurants en eetgelegenheden. Niettemin is het eten daarin uitstekend en goedkoop.
- Voor de Nederlander zal het wel aanvankelijk vreemd zijn dat de Australiër met een zo stevig ontbijt begint. Dit bestaat niet uit een beschuitje en een bordje pap, zoals bij ons, doch uit grote stukken vlees, spiegeieren en veel fruit, fruit dat in de heerlijkste soorten en spot goedkoop te verkrijgen is. Bovendien worden er ontzaglijke hoeveelheden thee gedronken. Het verbruik van groenten is niet zo hoog. Bovendien is de Australische bereidingswijze voor ons niet zeer aantrekkelijk. De groente wordt bijna stukgekookt en met veel water opgediend. Aardappelen zijn er wel, doch over het algemeen duurder dan bij ons. Daarentegen is het gebruik van zoetigheden wederom enorm. De Nederlandse huisvrouw kan haar eigen Hollandse menu gerust aanhouden, doch goedkoper is het waanneer zij geheel naar de Australische gewoonte overschakelt.
- . H. M., interview 1996.
- Peters, Just a Piece of Paper.
- Peters, Just a Piece of Paper.
- P. Scheffer, p.127).
- They support an extensive international literature with popular journals, such as Family History, Family Tree Magazine, Your Family History, as well as Genealogy Blog sites.
- Kunz, E. 1988. *Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians*. Sydney: Australian National University Press; Voet, R. 'Women as Citizens: A Feminist Debate', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 1994, p.64).

# Hat or Cap ... Does It Matter? The Case of the Kosovo Albanians in Slovenia

*Metka Lokar*

## **Abstract:**

The article presents some points of view on creating (national) stereotypes which often are generated from a lack of knowledge about the culture, language etc. of someone that we consider as the Other. Sometimes these stereotypes are a consequence of the public's relying on some influential attitudes that mostly originate from politics. This was also the case in the shaping of general Slovenian view of the Kosovo Albanians in the past. Of course one could easily find some obvious similarities between the two nations that are apparently so different from each other. Nevertheless, stereotypes on the Kosovo Albanians in Slovenia arise even nowadays and they are mostly uncritically derived from traditional perceptions.

Keywords: Balkans, Slovenia, Kosovo, Albanians, stereotypes

## **Introduction**

An important view which was stated as one of the leading points of the AEMI annual conference in 2011 entitled 'Migration History Matters' is that past and

present migration is not always and necessarily about politics but rather about human minds and hearts and feelings and about what can we learn from it and from each other. Our intention is not to discuss why it is so difficult to accept someone in the neighbourhood who is not 'one of us' since the answer to this question is far too elusive and multifaceted for consideration here. Instead, the article will try to highlight some facts about how easily and how often we create false images about 'the others' living in our vicinity, and how quickly we make judgments and conclusions about them that often rely on the attitude of someone else that we trust maybe even without a good reason. One very telling illustration of the process of making various stereotypes is the story about relations between two of the so-called 'brotherly' nations of former Yugoslavia: Slovenians and Albanians, more precisely, the Kosovo Albanians. It tells us how sometimes the one that seems more 'other' than others is in fact much more 'the same', but we are not always aware of that or we simply do not want to see

and admit it.

In the framework of former Yugoslavia, Albanians from Kosovo used to be the largest non-Slavic nation among the Slavs in the country, and therefore by Slovenians and many others as well was perceived as a nation with a completely different language, culture and way of life. That is why at first glance they seemed more alienated from others than anyone else, and the lack of knowledge about this particular nation was one of the main reasons for creating stereotypes and images about the Albanians, as for example that they are strange and evil, or that they even nowadays when national costumes are long gone in everyday life, wear funny white caps, and that they eat *burek* – salty cheese pies – all the time. A common notion of wide-

spread corruption in the Kosovo society is also a factor that hardly contributes to a more positive general assessment of Kosovo and its people.

The stereotyped image above (Fig. 1) shows something that is of course far from reality. Actually, it is quite suitable to compare with another image (Fig. 2) according to which we could get the impression – wrong again – that the ‘typical’ Slovenian is very friendly, eats ‘*potica*’ (a special cake mixed with walnuts) and ‘*kranjska klobasa*’ (a local brand of a sausage), and drinks red wine every day, usually wears the hat on his head and walks around with sleepers on his feet. It cannot be seen, but he certainly listen to popular polka music all day long. Of course it is just a caricature suitable for various kinds of manipulation.



Fig 1: The Albanian by Anonymous as presented in 1989 in the column ‘Manipulator’ of the Slovenian weekly magazine *Mladina*.



Fig2: The Slovenian by Alenka Čuk as presented in the chapter ‘Taking Slovenia Home’ of the booklet *Pocket Slovene* (2008).

Table 1: Population by region/country of birth and sex, Slovenia, 1 January 2011

	Total	Men	Women
Total	2,050,189	1,014,563	1,035,626
Slovenia	1,821,601	883,390	938,211
Foreign Countries	228,588	131,173	97,415
Europe	223,662	128,613	95,049
• Countries of former Yugoslavia	198,242	116,651	81,591
... Bosnia and Herzegovina	96,897	60,268	36,629
... Montenegro	2,811	1,550	1,261
... Croatia	49,158	24,159	24,999
... Kosovo	9,350	6,706	2,644
... Macedonia	13,658	8,564	5,094
... Serbia	26,368	15,404	10,964
• EU Member States	21,182	10,433	10,749
• Other European countries	4,238	1,529	2,709
Non-European countries	4,926	2,560	2,366

Source: SORS

But let us return to the Kosovo Albanians. A great majority of them come to Slovenia as seasonal workers and there are not many of them who have settled permanently; according to official statistics (Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia – SORS) on 1 January 2011, there were only 9,350 Kosovo-born immigrants living in Slovenia out of about two million inhabitants in total (see the table above).<sup>1</sup>

The fact is that the immigrants from Kosovo (mostly) do not have the ambition to integrate into the new society.<sup>2</sup> This is again very fertile soil for creating stereotypes, both traditional and contemporary, proving very often how in modern societies prejudices are ‘expressed in symbolic terms in an indirect and covered way’, and also, that ‘negative observations toward the discriminated people are not expressed openly

but indirectly and in a passive way’ (Šabec 2006: 21).

Despite that, we can find some examples that show how the difference can also be taken as an advantage, something that we can learn from, and on the other hand how similar experiences can build bridges between two nations – between the people who already live in the area for a longer period of time (so called ‘native population’) and immigrants. For the start, we can just take a quick look back in time to find out that Kosovo Albanians and Slovenians have some historical facts in common. For instance, Albanians lived in the vicinity of the Ottoman Empire and were separated into four provinces called ‘vilajets’, and the situation of Slovenians was similar, they lived in the southern part of the Habsburg Empire and were divided into five ‘crown lands’. ‘Since each nation

lived in a strategically highly important area on the margin of a large empire, one in Austria-Hungary and the other in the Ottoman empire, their political leaders (unsuccessfully) tried to attain – prior to the onset of the First World War – either autonomy or a union of their nation within one province (the vilajet or crown land) within each empire’ (Lipušček 2008: 393). Albanians wanted to integrate with the independent Albania or at least become an autonomous region of the Ottoman Empire, and Slovenians were trying to unite in one joint province called ‘United Slovenia’ in the framework of the Habsburg monarchy. Neither the Albanians nor the Slovenians had powerful allies that would support their national claims (as for instance Montenegrins and Serbs were supported by Russians), so for both of them these dreams were difficult to capture. The Albanians were the first to achieve independence (in 1912, without Kosovo), whereas the Slovenians declared independence almost 80 years later (in 1991).

### Historical background

The Slovenians became aware of the Albanians (so called ‘Arnauti’) during the 1912–13 Balkan wars and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. A crucial moment that has been taken into consideration was the Albanian declaration of independence (with the help of Austria-Hungary) in November 1912.<sup>3</sup> Slovenians lived in the Habsburg monarchy at that time and their perception of Albania and Albanians was naturally influenced by the official policy of the Vienna court, and also (or even

more) by the domestic press which was under pronounced influence of the domestic conservative catholic clerical circles. The latter were critical of the (Kosovo) Albanians because of their predominant religion, Islam, which was considered as primitive and dangerous.<sup>4</sup> For some time Slovenians also saw their natural allies in the south Slavic nations, especially Serbs and Croats, and since the Albanians are not Slavic people and since they were in fight with the Serbs, the Slovenian public opinion at the time was understandably pro-Serbian.

The first significant contact between Albanians and Slovenians outside of the political background took place at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when some of the leading Slovenian linguists – Jernej Kopitar, Fran Miklošič, and Rajko Nahtigal – contributed their expertise to the development of the standardized Albanian language. Nahtigal for instance helped a well-known Albanian linguist, Gjergj Pekmezi in 1908 to develop standard Albanian grammar.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, during this period the leading Slovenian newspapers still ‘only rarely reported on events taking place in Albania, and if they did, reports were occasionally influenced by cultural stereotypes’ (Lipušček 2008: 393).

Until November 1918, Slovenia was a part of Austria-Hungary and later became (as Kosovo did) a part of the first and the second Yugoslavia. This fact brought about, as Peter Vodopivec writes, new views and relations: ‘Because of the conflicts and disagreements which were part of life in the new Yugoslavia, the enthusiasm of Slovenians about their southern ‘Yugoslav brothers’

rapidly faded away; nevertheless, nobody seriously opposed the opinion that Slovenians had been historically and geographically linked with the Balkans for some time. The most renowned Slovenian geographer of the time, Anton Melik adopted at the end of the 1920s a thesis from a leading Serbian geographer, Jovan Cvijić that in the Northwest the Balkan Peninsula extended to the Alps' (Vodopivec 2008: 397). This notion<sup>6</sup> came under question especially when the Yugoslav federation was unable to solve the national question and the process of disintegration started. Slovenian politicians, experts, and even general public realized that the future of Slovenia was now in Europe rather than the Balkans.

In this period Slovenian view on Kosovo and other south Yugoslav regions was largely marked by Europeism as a clear opposition to Balkanism.<sup>7</sup> Namely, the Balkans was considered as an underdeveloped area that suffers from a lack of culture and order, especially working habits, and Slovenians were happy to believe that they live in the civilised Europe, although the truth was somewhere in-between; because of its position Slovenia also became a part of the Balkans at a certain point of its history, first on military maps during the First World War<sup>8</sup> and later (during the first and the second Yugoslavia) also politically. It is the fact that the area of the Balkans is still not defined in precise terms. A majority of Slovenian scholars and politicians insist that the Slovenians belong to Middle Europe since they were for many centuries part of the Habsburg monarchy, which was a central European empire *per defini-*

*tionem*. It is quite intriguing to see how the American-Slovenian publicist Erica Johnson-Debeljak defines the borders of the Balkans in an unorthodox way when she as a newcomer from the West<sup>9</sup> observes the area:

It is sometimes said that the real border between Western Europe and the Balkans could be drawn along an imaginary line, on one side of which people drink espresso and cappuccino and macchiato (Italians, Spaniards, the French) and on the other side of which they drink Turkish coffee (the Ottoman hordes). Another way to define this same border would be to draw a second imaginary line, similar to the first, only this one would divide the people who maintain the Oriental practice of wearing slippers within the inner sanctum of the home from the people on the other side: the barbarous Occidentals who wear shoes or socks or flip-flops or nothing at all on their feet regardless of whether they're inside or outside, in the bedroom or the barroom (Johnson-Debeljak 2009: 87).

In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Slovenians as a small nation eagerly searched for allies in other Slavic nations, particularly in Serbia which they consider as the South Slavic Piedmont – which means the springboard for the unification of South Slavs. It was one of the main reasons for the predominantly negative Slovenian view on Kosovo Albanians at that time. Slovenians for instance also adopted from the Serb nationalists the often heard expression 'Šiptarji'

(‘Shiptars’) for the Albanians, which still nowadays – with a particular accent – is not meant to be a very kind and friendly expression. It is also somehow ambiguous. Erica Johnson-Debeljak finds it at least strange: ‘As to whether the term *šiptar* is derogatory or not, the question, when I have asked it, has been met with mystification, as if Albanians belong to some entirely separate human category in which such notions no longer apply’ (Johnson-Debeljak 2009: 106).

When in the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it became clear that Yugoslavia would not survive as a federation of equal nations and peoples, particularly because of the growing nationalism in Serbia, the political opinion on Kosovo in Slovenia radically changed. The Slovenians became the most ardent supporters of political and cultural aspirations of the Kosovo Albanians. The tendencies of Serbian politicians to create a unified Yugoslav culture, something that had never existed before,<sup>10</sup> as a cover-up for the domination of Serbia in the Yugoslav federation, was particularly strongly opposed to in Ljubljana and Pristina because this would require the disappearance of ethnic cultures and would on the long run lead to the disappearance of ethnic identities as well.

This has been obviously – and finally – a good reason for both Kosovo Albanians and Slovenians to unify against Yugoslav (mostly Serb) ultra-nationalists who tried to change radically the character of the Yugoslav federation, especially when the Milošević’s regime started the so-called ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and abolished the autonomy that Kosovo was entitled to according to the Constitution of 1974. In February

1989, some leading Slovenian political parties organised on the premises of a well-known cultural institution, Cankarjev dom in Ljubljana, a large public gathering at which Slovenians clearly expressed their strong support for Kosovo and the Kosovo Albanians, and thus became their official allies. This happened when Serbian nationalism was most aggressive and in full force.

### Reality and prejudices

In the recent past, one of the most powerful stereotyped images with negative influence on Slovenian views of Albanians in the framework of former Yugoslavia came from the popular culture. It was an imaginary picture of a train representing the federation of the republics: Slovenia as the most developed and ‘westernized’ republic was the locomotive of this train, other republics – Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia – were the railway vehicles, and Kosovo was the brake stopping the train. This image has the roots in the fact that Kosovo remained the most undeveloped part not only of former Yugoslavia but also of Europe, despite the substantial financial subsidies it got from the central Yugoslav government and especially from the most developed republic of former Yugoslavia, Slovenia. After Kosovo declared independence in 2008, Slovenia also became the leading foreign investor in the new-born country.

That is probably why the first thought that occurs to Slovenians when they hear about the immigrants from Kosovo is that they are poor and that they come to Slovenia mostly as unskilled construction workers or at most pastry-men,

fruit and vegetable sellers, bakers, etc. There are also some well-educated Albanians living in Slovenia but Slovenians hardly notice them because they are highly integrated into the mainstream society. There are some artists, scientists, engineers, doctors and successful managers etc. who came to Slovenia as students years ago, at the time of former Yugoslavia, and stayed there for good. Some of them, on the other hand, arrived only in the last decade or two and also stayed. A general rule that can also be observed in Slovenia is: the more educated the immigrant is, the more easily he/she integrates<sup>11</sup> into the society.

The number of immigrants from Kosovo in Slovenia has been increasing in the last years, presumably due to the Kosovo socio-political situation in the recent past, and is now slowing down. As to learn the language of the host country is *sine qua non* for them, the migration dynamics can be, among others, observed also through the enrolment of Albanian candidates for Slovenian language courses and exams,<sup>12</sup> and through the number of Albanian children enrolled in Slovenian primary and secondary schools. Related to this, the question of the integration of Albanians into the Slovenian society has arisen on a more extended basis than ever, and with it the need to familiarise with them closer than before.

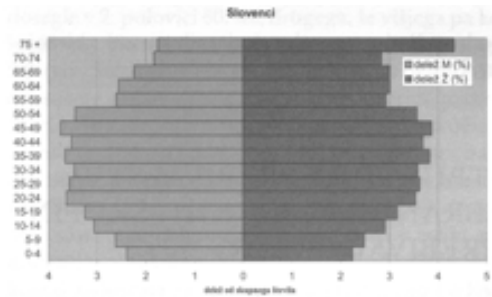
Despite the efforts to practice constructive intercultural dialogue there are still some misconceptions, or wrong interpretation of the facts. So, one of the characteristics of the Albanian population living in Slovenia<sup>13</sup> that makes a basis for another stereotypical image of them – families with a bunch of chil-

dren around – is their relatively high fertility in comparison with the Slovenian. Using the 2002 Slovenian census data, Damir Josipovič derived a special demographic indicator called ‘reproductive potential’<sup>14</sup> to assess the fertility rates of ethnic groups in Slovenia. The indicator of the reproductive potential of the (native) Slovenian population was 1.28, while the indicator of the Albanians’ reproduction potential was 2.64;<sup>15</sup> only the Roma population in Slovenia had a higher indicator of their reproductive potential, i.e. 3.72 (Josipovič 2006: 141).

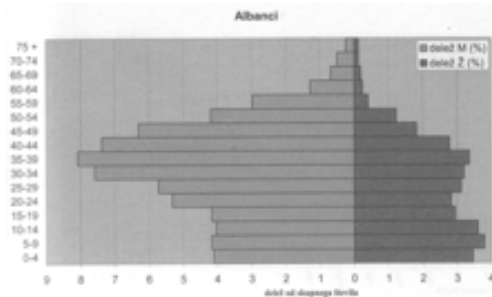
The age and sex structure of the Albanian population from Kosovo in Slovenia in comparison with the (native) Slovenian population in the last population census in 2002 was also quite particular. While the graph for the Slovenian population (graph 1) shows that the population is aging in general, the picture for the Kosovo Albanian population is reverse (graph 2); the highest percentage represents the group of people from 10 to 54 years of age, while the group above 55 is hardly represented. Besides, the women of this ethnic group in Slovenia are largely outnumbered by men. An explanation of this phenomenon which is for a change much more close to the truth than the one about the fertility is that Albanian men immigrate in much higher numbers than Albanian women due to tradition (and, of course, due to the fact that they have higher labour skills than women do).

The case of the integration of the Kosovo Albanians into the Slovenian society is rather specific not just because of the language-related issues or because the majority of them, especially men still

Graph 1: Sex and age structure of the Slovenian (native) population; left: men, right: women (Josipovič 2006: 136).



Graph 2: Sex and age structure of the Albanian population in Slovenia; left: men, right: women (Josipovič 2006: 137).



come to Slovenia on short term basis (mostly as seasonal workers) but also because they are very traditionally oriented in terms of their closed patriarchal family environment, which is still a part of the prevailing lifestyle in Kosovo. We can imagine that this really is a major reason why the Kosovo Albanians, who have great respect of their national identity, do not integrate easily into the new society.<sup>16</sup> So if we follow a definition of identity,<sup>17</sup> we can say that this determines the Kosovo Albanians who have moved to Slovenia permanently as well; they (often openly) stick to their traditional way of life, even though also in Kosovo the forms of their traditional life are changing nowadays.

## Conclusion

We can assume that since the immigrants from Kosovo mostly came from the lowest social strata and have only basic education, they are generally more dedicated to traditional forms of life than higher-educated people – and this is not necessarily bad at all. Some of the traces of the canonized Albanian traditionalism and rigorous social norms, which is otherwise quite strange to the Slovenian culture (for instance tribe community, highly patriarchal society, inequality of women, pre-arranged marriages, living in extended families, blood revenge, etc.), are to be taken into consideration when we speak about the Slovenian perception of Albanians, especially the clearly defined rule (for instance from Skenderberg's Canon, compare Berishaj 2004: 149–153), that the guest, even a total stranger, is a highly respected person in the Albanian house. Unfortunately there is a question whether it is the same with the guest in the Slovenian house.

The fact is that Kosovo as an independent state is nowadays considered in Slovenia as somewhat controversial. Slovenians sometimes still believe that the life of Albanians is full of violence, primitivism, and archaic forms of society which have not been civilised to meet European standards but are much closer to the wild Balkan mentality. Of course this is mostly no longer the fact. In former Yugoslavia, the Albanians already developed a modern way of life which largely replaced old patriarchal forms.

'In modern usage, a stereotype is a simplified mental picture of an individual or group of people who share a

certain characteristic (or stereotypical) qualities. The term is often used in a negative sense, and stereotypes are seen by many as undesirable beliefs which can be altered through education and/or familiarisation' (*Stereotype*, 2010). The question as to what extent the Kosovo Albanian immigrants living in Slovenia confirm this definition. The immigrants who often achieve only basic education and rudimentary knowledge of the majority language are mostly perceived by the majority society according to clichés. This situation will not change until the immigrants from Kosovo as a group get a higher status in society.<sup>18</sup> A precondition for a more respected treatment and successful integration is education. Those immigrants from Kosovo who are educated professionals are more respected and less prone to stereotypical judgments. But on the other hand, the majority population should also become more tolerant and respectful to them just the way they are.

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## Notes

- 1 According to SORS, '[i]mmigration from abroad, mostly from republics of former Yugoslavia, was the deciding factor for demographic and socioeconomic development of Slovenia in the last fifty years. Also after the independence of Slovenia the direction of migration flows between Slovenia and abroad did not change significantly. Migration topics remain closely connected with the territory of former Yugoslavia. Slovenia was and still is the destination country for numerous people from the territory of former Yugoslavia. The share of the residents of Slovenia with countries of birth from the territory of former Yugoslavia among all foreign-born residents was 88.9% in the 2002 Census, and on 1 January 2011, despite new migration flows from EU Member States and from non-European countries, it was still 86.7%.' (*Migration, Slovenia, 1 January 2011 – final data*, 2011)
- 2 Most of new temporary economic migrants from Kosovo are foreigners in Slovenia; only 22% of them have citizenship of the Republic of Slovenia. Men prevail among them (72%) (ibid.).
- 3 Albania was for a long time *terra incognita* for other nations, too. For instance, well-known British historian, Edward Gibbon described it in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as 'within sight of Italy but less known than the interior of America' (Todorova 1997: 45).
- 4 Religion – Kosovo Albanians are mostly Muslims – still plays a significant role in creating stereotypes, especially since the majority of Slovenians are Catholics. Besides, after the 9/11 terrorist attack, Islam became a synonym of backwardness and aggression in Slovenia as well.
- 5 This was an almost forgotten story which lately became a topic of discussion again, especially after the independence of Kosovo. It brought about the ideas of a revision of written and spoken standard language that is in use in Kosovo and is slightly different from the standard language used in Albania.
- 6 The dilemma of where the borders of the Balkans are was not limited only to the Slovenian scientists and politicians. Some German politicians for instance considered as part of the Balkans all areas south of Munich, and the British author Archibald Lyall in his 1930s travelogue entitled *Balkan Road* describes it this way: 'The Czech would be very angry if anyone suggested they were Balkan; so would the Poles, so would

- the Hungarians – and all of them with reason. But almost everywhere east of the lands of solid German and Italian speech there is a thin whiff of the Balkans in the air.’ (Michail 2011: 154) Because of its negative connotation and ‘explosive’ history nobody would like to be linked with the Balkans, even people living in the Balkans itself.
- 7 The term Balkanism has been introduced by the Bulgarian-American scientists and writer Maria Todorova in her book *Imagining the Balkans* (New York: Oxford University Press 1997). She introduced the particular pattern through which the Balkans has been viewed, especially since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the western world.
  - 8 The area where the Slovenians were the majority has been first put on the geographic map of the Balkans by the British General Staff during the First World War. The British military considered as Balkans all regions and lands east of the borderline river Soča.
  - 9 She moved from New York City to Ljubljana in 1993.
  - 10 Andrew Baruch Wachtel argues that ‘[i]t is possible that Yugoslavia could have survived as a multinational state had its leaders moved to a multinational cultural policy while simultaneously democratizing the country and transforming the basis of Yugoslav identity to an individualistic-libertarian model. But this would have entitled a cultural shift of monumental proportions and it was not attempted in Yugoslavia.’ (Wachtel 1998: 10)
  - 11 Integration of immigrants into a new society is a very complex process. It is ‘a process of inclusion and accepting the immigrants to the new social environment and adaptation of the existing social structures to the new situation which are the consequence of immigration. Integration is a multipath process which requires mutual adaptation of immigrants and the receiving society. Immigrants in this process accept certain norms and rules applicable in the new society, and majority society on the other hand has to open up its institutions, adjust them to the new situation and ensure the immigrants equal opportunities for participation in them, as are in place for other people.’ (Bešter 2007: 108)
  - 12 According to the Centre for Slovene as a Second/Foreign Language, in 2007 the number of Albanian-speaking candidates for the basic level exam increased to about a quarter of all candidates and remained the same for another two years; in 2010 it fell from 25 to 11% (Ferbežar 2011: 45).
  - 13 The vast majority of the Albanians in Slovenia come from Kosovo. There are also some Albanians from Macedonia and only few of them from Montenegro and Albania.
  - 14 The methodology of the derivation and calculation of the indicator is explained in Josipovič (2006: 118–119).
  - 15 Such a high value of the indicator is partly a result of lower presence of women in the Albanian population of Slovenia (Josipovič 2006: 137).
  - 16 Social integration is according to UN experts ‘a complex idea, which means different things to different people. To some, it is a positive goal, implying equal opportunities and rights for all human beings. In this case, becoming more integrated implies improving life chances. To others, however, increasing integration may conjure up the image of an unwanted imposition of conformity. And, to still others, the term in itself does not necessarily imply a desirable or undesirable state at all. It is simply a way of describing the established patterns of human relations in any given society.’ (*Social Integration*, 1994: [5]) But, in any case integration cannot be a hidden term for assimilation.
  - 17 Numerous definitions of identity have been elaborated in literature; for our analysis we will use the one that says that ‘the identity is the interaction between the individual’s feeling of identity, adherence to the group and willingness of the group to recognise his/her identity and to take it (or not), with attributing him/her to a certain position. [...] In addition, identities which can be understood as an inherited group identification (ethnicity, gender, race, religion, age, etc.), which are a more determining factor in the cultural-social context, have developed alternatives (education, profession, sport), the selection of which is left to the individual.’ (Milharčič Hladnik and Lukšič-Hacin 2011: 31)
  - 18 The question is also whether the worsening of the world financial and economic situation will result in faster or slower integration of the Kosovo Albanians into the Slovenian society.

# Louis Adamic's Role in the Prehistory of Multiculturalism

*Janja Žitnik Serafin*



*Fig. 1 Portrait of Louis Adamic by Božidar Jakac (The Louis Adamic Memorial Museum, Praproče, Slovenia)*

## **Introduction<sup>1</sup>**

Louis Adamic (1898–1951) was a successful Slovenian American novelist, publicist, and social critic who played a significant role in the early development of strategies relating to Ameri-

can cultural pluralism. Adamic's works point to multiculturalism's potential to foster the growth of unsentimental empathy for the experience of others, to develop personal and national identity built upon a variety of critically examined cultural influences, and to create a more progressive and integrated society. Adamic is thus a pioneer of the most engaged contemporary speakers for equal integration of immigrants – speakers who demand recognition and equal position for marginalized groups, their languages, religions, values and cultural patterns without demonizing the dominant culture. Only in this way can multiethnic nations develop the kind of multicultural identity and intercultural awareness that Adamic strove for. Without that, the implementation of some important human rights and, consequently, social stability, efficiency and internal security of any modern country may be at risk.

With his 20 books of documentary prose and fiction, some 500 articles, and his public lectures – particularly those focusing on the role of immigrants in the development of the nation, Adamic

played a prominent part not only in American ethnic literature but also in the prehistory of American multiculturalism. Scholars of Adamic have found that his works on cultural diversity, immigrant issues and social conditions in a multiethnic society are of vital importance for the current development of strategies in the area of cultural pluralism not only in the United States but also in other receiving countries today.

Adamic provided substance for his ideas through numerous study trips, visits to archives and libraries, field research, in-depth interviews and surveys with thousands of copies of questionnaires, and he acquainted the public with his findings through countless articles, lecture tours, radio broadcasts, and through his many books dealing with immigration. Adamic was also a key figure in the prehistory of American multiculturalism as the founder and editor of *Common Ground*, issued by the Common Council for American Unity, which strove for intercultural education through the inclusion of immigrant content in public education, and in the final years of his life as General Editor for nine books of The Peoples of America Series.<sup>2</sup> He was also the editor of several consecutive self-published journals,<sup>3</sup> and president or honorary president of major Slovenian and Yugoslav immigrant organizations in the U.S.

### Louis Adamic's life

Born in Blato, Slovenia, Lojze Adamič emigrated to the U.S. in 1913, at the age of fifteen. He was assistant editor of *Glas naroda* (a Slovenian ethnic newspaper in New York), served in the Army,



Fig. 2 Louis Adamic as assistant editor of *Glas naroda* in New York, 1916 (France Adamič, *Spomini in pričevanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča* (Ljubljana, 1983), 21)

traveled all over the States and worked his way through various jobs. Having improved his English, he settled in San Pedro, California, in 1923 and began to publish his articles, short stories and translations from Slavic authors either as books or in various American literary magazines and Slovenian American journals. In 1929 he became a freelance writer and moved back to New York, married a young writer Stella Sanders, and finished his first two major works: *Dynamite: A History of Class Violence in America, 1830–1930* (1931), which was later used in a number of U.S. colleges; and *Laughing in the Jungle* (1932), an anecdotic autobiographic narrative including social commentary and tragicomic portraits of people who had been



Fig. 3: Louis Adamic with his wife Stella (France Adamič, *Spomini in pričevanja o življenju in delu Louisa Adamiča* (Ljubljana, 1983), cover)

part of his immigrant experience. With both books, Adamic won a Guggenheim Fellowship for fiction. He spent his Fellowship year in Yugoslavia, met with leading Slovenian writers and public figures,<sup>4</sup> and with the Yugoslav King Alexander.

Back from his visit to Yugoslavia, Adamic wrote *The Native's Return* (1934), Book-of-the-Month Club selection for February 1934, in which he condemned King Alexander's dictatorship and predicted his assassination. When the king was actually assassinated in Marseilles, France, the same year, Adamic became a major attraction for American media overnight. His book was prohibited in Yugoslavia and an immediate success in the U.S. Adamic received some 3000 letters, set out on a cross-American lec-

ture tour, and continued his determined investigation of the United States.

His next major work was *Grandsons* (1935), one of his few works of fiction. Its topic represents a link between the American 'jungle' of his early autobiography and his later books on social and intercultural relations within the country. This novel about third-generation immigrants and their lack of a feeling of rootedness demonstrates the tragic results of their inferiority complex, imposed by the American success mentality and exaggerated individualism.<sup>5</sup>

In 1938, Adamic published *My America*, a compilation of his articles on social and interethnic issues written since 1934. During the war years, he was engaged in political activism but – with a Carnegie grant – he still managed to accomplish his major writing project, the Nation of Nations Series. The first volume entitled *From Many Lands* (1940) is a collection of portraits of individual American immigrants from various parts of the world. It won the John Anisfield Award as the most significant book of 1940 on race relations in the contemporary world. The series further included *Two-Way Passage* (1941), *What's Your Name?* (1942) on the Americanization of immigrants' names, and *A Nation of Nations* (1945).

In *Two-Way Passage*, the second volume of this series, Adamic suggested that qualified American immigrants should help the post-war Europe by spending the first post-war years in their native lands to share their know-how and democratic values. This brought him an invitation for dinner with the Roosevelts and Churchill in January 1942. Alarmed at subsequent world tensions,

Adamic published *Dinner at the White House* (1946), in which he challenged U.S. and British foreign policy. Churchill sued him for libel; Adamic lost in this lawsuit but he remained General Editor for nine of The Peoples of America Series (1946–1950). Upon the Tito-Stalin split in 1948, Adamic sided with Tito, visited his native land for a second time (1949), and wrote *The Eagle and the Roots* to clarify the split and place it in relation to the American imperialism, the armaments race and cold war. Facing a wide range of political opponents, he now also became a target of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. On September 5, 1951, Louis Adamic was found shot in his burning farmhouse. His death was proclaimed a suicide, which evoked considerable doubt in the media. His posthumously published book (1952) contains only chapters on post-war Yugoslavia and President Tito's life. A book-sized chapter on the contemporary U.S. domestic and foreign policy, the psychosis of the emerging McCarthy era, and the real U.S. motives for entering the Korean War, has – naturally – remained unpublished.<sup>6</sup>

### **Louis Adamic's role in the prehistory of American multiculturalism**

In their journal called *Spectrum*, researchers of Adamic's legacy at the Immigration History Research Center in Minnesota observed that the ethnic movement of our time had a short memory. They pointed to the fact that the editors of the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*,<sup>7</sup> which was published in the beginning of the

1980s, were well along with their work before discovering that Adamic had proposed a similar project in his book *My America* as early as in the 1930s,<sup>8</sup> almost four decades before the so called ethnic revival in the U.S. and elsewhere. How did Adamic carry out his plan in this area?

Before his first visit to his native land, i.e. before 1932, Adamic had already published a number of articles and short stories on immigrants and their position in the receiving society. Being considered one of the experts on cultural pluralism, he was elected member of the executive committee of the Foreign Language Information Service (FLIS), which had regular connections with ethnic organizations and ethnic press. Upon the proposal of his publisher he set on several cross-country lecture tours, not only in order to present his books to broader audience but also to get acquainted with daily life and needs of ordinary people in different parts the States. He encountered new ethnic groups, officials of labor and government and educational organizations, and citizens in general of varying backgrounds and employment.

He took his time to talk to people after his lectures, and he made notes on their observations and testimonies to use them later on for his articles and books. As early as in the 1930s it became clear that he did not believe in any of the existing institutional political or social programs. Adamic promoted a pluralism that did not require immigrants to surrender cultural heritage to a 'melting pot' ideal. He championed an expanding sense of American identity in which immigrants and their children as well as all other Americans are enriched

by a variety of critically examined perspectives and influences.<sup>9</sup>

Dan Shiffman, professor of literature and American studies, was the first to do a thorough research into Louis Adamic's role in rooting American multiculturalism. He published his results in 2003 in his book entitled *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic*. Shiffman observes,

Although Adamic shares contemporary multiculturalism's dedication to an inclusive America, he was not preoccupied with diversity as a goal in and of itself; Adamic's championing of cultural variety was a part of a larger project to have difference serve progressive social change. For Adamic, diversity encourages participation in a communally responsive society and allows for ideas and personalities to discourage Americans from measuring their lives against mythical narratives of unbounded upward mobility. Until the United States overcomes its narrowly individualized and isolating notions of success, according to Adamic, the nation cannot fully benefit from its multiethnic diversity.<sup>10</sup>

In spite of the fact that Adamic consistently stressed the significance of ethnic heritage, he also considered with great sensitivity the many faces of its stigma. His social criticism exposes nationwide ignorance, racism and xenophobia as tools of exploitative capitalism. Adamic argued for pluralism, for a dynamic, ever-evolving American culture that not only respects and pro-

pects its cultural diversity but also gains vitality from it. Therefore he was not simply a forerunner of the initiators of contemporary multiculturalism's documentation, recovery, and celebration of ethnic contributions and traditions. His conceptions of ethnic and cultural identities depicted the kind of complexity that current intercultural theories have only recently begun to articulate.

In Adamic's belief, a nation cannot base its identity either on a particular cultural tradition or on the sum of its various cultural traditions because its identity is in fact in a constant process of formation and reformation. Therefore, a nation and its identity cannot be something that should primarily be preserved. On the contrary: a nation should continuously try to discover, rediscover and articulate itself. As European nations today are also multiethnic nations, it is time we realized that this principle applies to all the nations of today's Europe as well.

Adamic was a forerunner of the most incisive modern social critics, who demand recognition and an equal role for marginalized groups, without demonizing the predominant culture. Only in this way can the members of multiethnic societies develop a multicultural national identity and intercultural awareness, since a lack of the former and latter can seriously threaten the implementation of some important human rights, and consequently social stability and the internal security of any country.



*Fig. 4 Postage stamp, issued in March 1998, upon the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Louis Adamic's birth*

## Conclusion

Adamic's writing reveals an author who is equally convincing in his sincere attempt to understand class violence, social change, or inner and outer conflicts relating to ethnic and cultural diversity. Throughout his lifetime, feeling simultaneously an insider and outsider, Adamic was seeking a balance between his role of a watchful observer and that of an activist. His probably most characteristic feature was that he actually managed to remain detached from stereotypes and from any pre-formulated ideology. Numerous American authors in the field of multicultural and integration studies have considered his views. The aforementioned Dan Shiffman's book is an impressive register of citations of Adamic's works in the works of other well-known researchers. Werner Sollors<sup>11</sup> uses Louis Adamic's name to epitomize those like him who have contributed to the development of cultural pluralism:

By creating new /.../ group identities and by authenticating them, they (American immigrants) may

represent individuality and American identity at the same time. Organically belonging to an ethnic group of their choice, these Adamics who are neither Adamičes nor Adamses can now proceed to fight ancient narrowness and mob spirit and do it in the name of their province and of America.<sup>12</sup>

Adamic's life is a unique experience of a boy from the Slovenian countryside, with scarcely a formal education, who became a nationally recognized, award-winning American writer and the guest of Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. His writing brought him an honorary doctorate of the Temple University, Philadelphia (1941), and the Yugoslav Order of Brotherhood and Unity (1944). He enjoyed private and public support from some most acclaimed literary figures such as Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, and Francis Scott Fitzgerald.<sup>13</sup> Slovenian historians believe that Adamic is probably the most widely known Slovenian so far.<sup>14</sup> The number of search results for Louis Adamic on the internet shows that his ideas relating to intercultural relations within a multiethnic nation which he published seven decades ago are still of considerable interest today. Time after time, permanent relevance of his multicultural and integration concepts is thus rediscovered and internationally recognized, proving once again in its own way that migration history still does matter after all.

## Notes

- 1 The paper is a partial result of the research program National and Cultural Identity of Slovenian Emigration (P5-0070). The author acknowledges the financial support from the state budget by the Government's Office for Slovenians Abroad and by the Slovenian Research Agency. This paper is a summarized version of the author's article Permanent Relevance of Louis Adamic's Social Criticism, *Studia Historica Slovenica*, vol. 10 (2010), no. 1: 231–246.
- 2 Henry A. Christian, *Louis Adamic: A Checklist* (Kent, Ohio, 1971): 75.
- 3 See also: Janja Žitnik, 'Louis Adamic's periodicals,' *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, no. 2–3 (1992): 253–263.
- 4 For Adamic's contacts with leading Slovenian writers and journalists at the time, see: France Adamič, 'The links between Louis Adamič and Slovene journalists and literary figures (1921–1941),' *Dve domovini / Two Homelands*, no. 9 (1998): 55–65.
- 5 An in-depth examination of Louis Adamic's ideas expressed in his novel *Grandsons* can be found in Carey McWilliams, *Louis Adamic and Shadow-America* (Los Angeles, 1935).
- 6 The manuscript of the unpublished chapter entitled 'Game of Chess in an Earthquake' is discussed in: Janja Žitnik, 'Louis Adamic: Game of Chess in an Earthquake,' *Slovenski koledar '88*: 203–205; same author, 'Neobjavljeno poglavlje Orla i korena Luja Adamiča,' *Književna smotra* 21, 1989, no. 69–72 (1988): 65–68; and in the following books by this author: *Pero in politika: Zadnja leta Louisa Adamiča* (Ljubljana, 1993); *Orel in korenine med 'brušenjem' in cenzuro* (Ljubljana, 1995); and partly in her books *Louis Adamič in sodobniki: 1948–1951* (Ljubljana, 1992) and *Pogovori o Louisu Adamiču* (Ljubljana, 1995).
- 7 Ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Boston, 1981).
- 8 'Louis Adamic (1898–1951): His Life, Work and Legacy,' *Spectrum* 4, no. 1 (1982): 2.
- 9 Dan Shiffman, *Rooting Multiculturalism: The Work of Louis Adamic* (London etc., 2003): 14.
- 10 Ibid: 14–15.
- 11 Werner Sollors is professor of English literature and professor of African and African American studies at the Harvard University. He is one of the most prominent scholars in the field of American multiethnic literature.
- 12 Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (New York, 1986): 206–207.
- 13 Some of their correspondence with Adamic was published in Slovenian translation by Jerneja Petrič in: *Izbrana pisma Louisa Adamiča*, ed. Henry A. Christian (Ljubljana, 1981).
- 14 Jože Pirjevec, 'Louis Adamič,' a lecture at the roundtable *Življenje in delo Louisa Adamiča: počastitev 110. obletnice rojstva Louisa Adamiča* (Ljubljana, 12 March 2009).

# Polish Immigrants in Westphalia - A European Case Study of Integration?

*Dietmar Osses*

Integration seems to be today one of the most important key words and key issues of social change in Western Europe and especially in Germany. In fact, from the middle of the 1940s on, Western Germany was a country of immigration. After the big wave of German refugees from Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War, bi-national contracts between Germany and several states of south and east Europe brought millions of foreigners to Germany. From the peak of the so called 'economic wonder' in 1955 up to the economic crisis in 1973 Germany recruited about 14 million of workers from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Morocco, Tunisia and Yugoslavia. 11 million went back to their home countries or went further to other destinations and about three million decided to stay in Germany.<sup>1</sup>

After the economic crisis in 1973 recruitment was stopped. But as a consequence of family reunion and admittance of about five million political refugees and German ethnic emigrants from Poland and Russia in the 1980s and 1990s the number of immigrants increased further. The main portion of the immigrants in Germany went to

the industrial hot spot in southern Germany, along the rivers Rhine and Main, in the Ruhr-Area and to big cities like Cologne, Hamburg, Frankfurt and Berlin.

But as recently as 2005, after more than forty years of immigration to Germany, the German government enacted the first immigration law, which made clearly defined rules for legal immigration for the first time. As a consequence, from this time on politicians have been required to face the question of cultural diversity and social challenges on a national level. In 2007 the federal government made up a national plan for integration to cope with obvious social problems of segregation and ethnic self-isolation. The main concepts are now: German language courses for new and for long-term immigrants, improved education from the early childhood on, and cultural education.

Looking back in history, the Polish immigrants are often seen as a positive example for a successful integration. Let's have a closer look at their history in Germany.

With the increasing industrialization of Germany from the 1870s on, about half a million of Polish immigrants

came to Germany until the beginning of the First World War.<sup>2</sup> We have to remember that since the third division of Poland in 1795 there was no Polish state. The country and populations was mainly divided to the Prussian state in the west, the Russian state in the east and the Austro-Hungarian Kingdom in the South. After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871 the Polish people in the Prussian part were given legal status as inhabitants of the German Empire with Polish origin. Legally, they were not treated as foreigners but as members of the Empire, so it was easy for them to migrate from the eastern provinces of the Empire to the new industrial land in western Germany at the river Ruhr, mainly part of the province of Westphalia and also Rhineland.

Due to crop failures, the inheritance law and a kind of peonage (or serfdom) which prevented many men from achieving economic independence, now thousands of Polish men, mainly poor peasants from the rural landscapes, followed the call of money and labour and migrated to the Ruhr. The coal mining companies sent out special agents to the eastern provinces to recruit men from the rural landscapes to the growing cities of the Ruhr for to work in the coal mines and iron works.<sup>3</sup> They tried to attract the workers with the high loans and fine housing in new houses built by the mining companies. In fact all mining companies had to build up settlements, called 'colonies' near their mines, because there was insufficient housing before, or none at all. The main part of the housing was built as small houses for four or five families with large gardens where the miners could plant vegetables

on their own. This was not only to improve the accommodation but also to make the former peasants feel at home.

Because of the rapid growth in industry there was an urgent need for thousands of new workers. The first ten years of Polish migration to the Ruhr brought about 38,000 Poles to the new industrial landscape. Another ten years later, up to the year 1890, their number increased to 120,000. In the year 1900 about 333,000 Polish immigrants were counted in the Ruhr, followed by the peak of 500,000 Poles in the Ruhr in 1910. In the northern parts of the Ruhr, where new mines were built in the 1880s and 1890s, Polish miners were in the majority. About the year 1910, 19 coal mines were so-called 'Polish Mines' with more than 50 percent of Polish miners, and seven of them had more than 75 percent of Poles.<sup>4</sup> But did they feel at home in the Westphalia? Were they welcomed and integrated into their local communities?

The colonies of the mining companies with lots of Polish immigrants living together in neighbourhoods like in small rural villages *could* make them feel at home. But on the other hand the 'cultural chock' of the growing cities nearby and the high number of young men brought together without the social control of a rural society was a challenge for every one – immigrants and the other inhabitants, and consequently there were many problems.

The main problem for the Polish immigrants was the question of religion and spiritual guidance in their native language. More than 90 percent of the Polish immigrants were Catholics – only the immigrants from Masuria were Prot-

estants. The native people of Westphalia were half and half Protestant and Catholic. Joining in Catholic church-services was easily possible for the Polish immigrants, but not enough for their needs. Church services, spiritual guidance and sacraments in the Polish language were extremely important to them. As an initiative of the immigrants, a first religious association was set up in 1877: the Jedność association of Dortmund (Jedność means Unity), followed by several brotherhoods of Saint Barbara, the patron of the miners, in the following years.<sup>5</sup>

In 1885 the first Polish priest, Jozef Szotowski, was sent to Westphalia. He settled in a monastery in the city of Bochum. His first aim was to increase the number of brotherhoods and religious associations and built them up in every city in the Ruhr. Until 1890 more than 20 new associations were established. The brotherhoods were allowed to bring their banners and wear their colours during the church services and processions – a sign of integration in the Catholic Church and society at large. In 1890 Szotowski was exchanged with Frantizek Liss as the new Polish priest in the Ruhr. Liss started to develop more and other kinds of associations to organize the social life and form a self-confident Polish community.

He started the foundation of a Polish newspaper, 'Wiarus Polski' as an important means of communication and initiated several meetings and events. From this strong impulse the foundation of several Polish organizations followed. One the one hand, there were not only religious associations but more and more associations for singers, physi-



Postcard in Polish, printed in Bochum/ Germany, 1900

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cal activities, education, music or lotteries founded. Only some of them acted politically like the Sokół-movement, which combined physical education with national Polish attitudes, or like the Polish Trade Union ZZP, founded in 1902 to fight for equal rights and loans for the Polish mine workers. Most of them simply organized Polish every-day life in Germany. With organisations the city of Bochum developed to the centre of the Polish cultural life - not only in Westphalia, but for the whole of the German Empire.<sup>6</sup>

In 1912, 875 Polish associations with more than 81,000 members were counted in the Ruhr. This as an indication of the well-developed self-confidence of the Polish community in the heart of Germany. But for the authorities and a part of the German com-

munity it was a signal for segregation and Polish nationalism. In fact, the young and fragile German Empire was in a state of permanent social struggle, especially in the industrial areas with the controversial ideas of socialism and communism. So the government was afraid of the Poles in the Ruhr for two reasons: for a potential Polish and anti-German nationalism on the one hand and a potential socialistic or communistic radicalism among the mine workers on the other hand. However looked at, 'Polishness' seemed suspicious.

As a consequence of the development of the Polish associations, after a big strike of the coal miners in the Ruhr in 1899 which started in one of the 'Polish-Mines' in the Ruhr, the German government set up a centre for observation of the Polish immigrants in Bochum in 1900. As German policemen were not able to understand Polish, the use of the Polish language was now forbidden during meetings of the Polish associations. Furthermore, the Polish miners were forced to use the German language – officially for the reason of safety in the mines. And in 1908 the use of the Polish language was restricted in church services. Songs and sermons had to be approved by the authorities before the services.<sup>7</sup>

We have little information about every-day life in these times. On the one hand we hear of simple living together in the neighbourhoods of the colonies. On the other hand we can see the oppression of the authorities, we know a lot of words of abuse about the Polish immigrants and we can find some negative poems and postcards with stereotypes.

With the beginning of the First World War, it was official policy to avoid any social conflict in the Empire. So step by step the situation for the Poles improved a bit. But with the end of the war and the re-foundation of the Polish state the situation changed completely. Until the midst of the 1920s the number of Polish immigrants in the Ruhr declined from more than half a million to about 160.000. One third of the Polish population, the nationalists, political activists and home-seeking Poles went back to Poland. Another third went to the coal mines of France and Belgium. The mining companies in these countries sent out agents who recruited the highly qualified Polish miners. They attracted them with the promise of high loans and lack of oppression in their countries. Only one third of the Polish immigrants stayed in the Ruhr – mainly those who had married a German or who had been born there. In short: the well-integrated Poles.

All the Polish organisations and associations were affected by this Polish mass emigration from Germany. So after the period of confirmation of the borders and transfer of parts of Silesia to Germany or Poland with hard fights there and in the Ruhr (the detail of which is beyond the scope of this article), there was a phase of reunion and consolidation of the Polish community in Westphalia.

In 1919 the Polish Emigrants in Germany were given legal status as an ethnic minority in Germany with a special protection. This status helped to develop and improve Polish culture, associations and political parties in Germany and especially in Westphalia. In 1922 an



*Transport of Polish DPs to another DP Camp, Western Germany, 1948*  
 © LWL-Industriemuseum, Dortmund

umbrella organisation of the Polish associations was founded in Bochum: The Association of Poles in Germany. With its help three new buildings were set up in the city centre of Bochum which provided rooms for the association itself, the Polish trade union, the Polish national workers party, a Polish teacher association, the newspaper and publishing company 'Wiarus Polski', the Polish commercial bank and the Polish workers bank.

The Polish immigrants developed a new and strong self-confidence and fought against oppressions and disposals – even in the beginning of the Nazi period. As an example, in 1938 an official delegation of the Poles in Germany went to Chancellor and 'Führer' Adolf Hitler and complained about several disposals against Poles.<sup>8</sup> But one year later, the sit-

uation changed again completely. With the invasion of Poland in 1939, the Poles lost all their rights, Polish associations were forbidden, officials were sent to concentration camps. In the following years, hundreds of thousand Poles were displaced by the Germans to Germany and sent to forced labour, and most of the Jewish Poles were killed in concentration camps.

After the end of the war more than two million Poles remained as Displaced Persons in Germany. Faced with the politics of the newly established communist government in Poland, most of them could not re-migrate to their home country and decided to go overseas to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. About 26,000 Polish DP remained in Westphalia. After a long odyssey through different DP camps the state



*Banner, held by Solidarność-activists at the Pope John Paul's second visit to Germany in 1987*  
© LWL-Industriemuseum, Dortmund

government of Northern Westphalia built 16 housing estates for the DPs and gave them a new home in Germany.<sup>9</sup>

During the years of the communist government in Poland, the Iron Curtain came down and there was only a short period at the end of the 1950s where Poland allowed about 50.000 emigrants to go to Germany. The breakdown of the communist governments in the 1980s and 1990s brought a new wave of immigrants from Poland to Westphalia. After the beating down of the Solidarność movement and the introduction of martial law in Poland in 1981, nearly 100.000 Poles came as political refugees to Germany. Faced with the increasing problems, political and economic crisis, only a few months later thousands of Poles decided to leave their home country. Up to 1990 more than one million emigrated from Poland to Germany. The vast majority benefitted from the possibility of obtaining legal status as an ethnic German immigrant. In those days it was easy to convince the authorities that one had German roots: in most cases it was enough to have ancestors who had lived in the former German areas, to have German ancestors, or to claim to have been practicing German

culture in the past years.<sup>10</sup>

As an ethnic German immigrant, one got free German language courses, help to find housing and jobs, and the payments to the Polish social assurances were assigned to the German social assurances. So it was very comfortable to be an ethnic German immigrant and a lot of Poles found it easy to claim to be a German. The majority of the new immigrants from Poland came to Westphalia – this was a well known country. The immigrants built up small and informal networks in a short time. But they behaved in a very silent and shy way. They brought their children with them who grew up with both Polish and German aspects to their identity.<sup>11</sup>

It is a phenomenon of the last five to ten years that the first Polish shops, companies and legal association appear again in the Ruhr. A few years ago in Bochum an association of Polish artists in Germany was established, called 'Kosmopolen'. In Festivals, concerts and exhibitions they reflect the questions of being Polish in Germany. The Polish immigrants seem to be well on their way to looking after their history and their future in Germany.<sup>12</sup>



*Polish art store, Dortmund/ Germany 2010*  
© LWL-Industriemuseum, Dortmund

In the wake of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the treaty of friendship between Germany and Poland, a few weeks ago the Federal Minister of Culture mandated our museum to undertake a feasibility study for documentation center for Polish history in culture in Germany.<sup>13</sup> We have appointed an historian and cultural manager with Polish origins to help us with the study. Our concept is to include the expertise of both, Polish and German experts for the center. Work has started and I hope to bring the first results to our next meeting.

## Notes

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# Brazil and France: An Historical Overview of the Two Main Flows in the Portuguese Diaspora

*Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade<sup>1</sup>*

## **Historical Perspective**

Four centuries of Portuguese emigration directed towards all geographical areas of the world has resulted in the present situation of over five million Portuguese rooted abroad, in comparison with a resident population of ten million living at home.

According to the Direção Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades e Comunidades Portuguesas – Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (2010), 244,780 Portuguese of Azores are living abroad, three times more than those living in the archipel and 247,161 Portuguese of Madeira are living abroad, four times more than those living in the archipel.

As seen the number of Portuguese residing abroad comparatively to those living in the country itself is very important. In these numbers are not included the countless descendants of Portuguese that centuries ago have rooted in Africa, Brazil or Asia, nor all those that, although possessing the Portuguese nationality, came to acquire another one in the term of the Portuguese de-colonization process. The numbers mentioned above only include the carriers of Portu-

guese nationality that actually reclaim it.

Portuguese history, for five hundred years now, cannot be separated from the movement that its people have been accomplishing towards the outside of the Portuguese territory, emigration being thus considered as a phenomenon that is part of its own socioeconomic structure and that in general characterizes its people. People always have and always will continue to leave; but, knowing in each historical period the basic reasons that provoked their emigration, it will be as important to locate where to the Portuguese have been leaving and what configuration has been taking their movements. The variability and the rhythm that conditioned the Portuguese emigration were, naturally, molded by factors of external nature and of circumstance, that were conjugated with the position that, at each time, Portugal was capable to maintain in the complex geopolitical picture of the international relationships.

Portugal, placed in the Western end of the European continent, limited to the small territory that constituted it, sided by the surrounding empires, suffered the right conditioning and the

probable menace caused by their presence. Not having enough natural resources, it also was incapable to establish inside of its territorial space solutions to retain a population that grew and that fought, from very early, outside its borders, for survival, improvement of their life standard, stability and social ascension for its descendants.

Throughout this uninterrupted movement that it is going to progressively spread the Portuguese in the world, the migratory flows assumes, however, several directions associated to the discovery of new spaces, to the conquest and the settlement of territories, to the colonization of the empire that was being constituted or, solely, to the transfer of workforce for other labor markets and other activities.

This movement began heading South, in direction to the Moroccan strongholds (Ceuta 1415); to the islands of the archipelagos of the Atlantic (Madeira 1420-25; Azores 1427) and to the Coast of Guinea. The 15th century can be considered as the first chronological reference that marks the beginning of a long itinerary, prolonged by the routes of Africa, through the paths of the East and posterior discovery of the new maritime routes to Americas.

The maritime routes traced by the Portuguese, when advancing its navy – “*naus*” and galleons - to the coast of the Cape of Good Hope, had established the fundamental connection bridges between the western and the eastern world, opening space for other strategic initiatives and giving place the continuous mercantile activities.

However, the subsequent decadence of the might in that geographical pic-

ture, namely in India and in the South-east Asia, would ease their heading to Brazil, the largest population contingent, consecrating colonial politics that transfers the political focus from the Indian Ocean essentially to the Atlantic.

### **Trans Oceanic and Intra-European Destinations: Brazil and France**

Begun in the previous century, the settlement of Portuguese had been especially maintained in the Brazilian Northeast, in *Pernambuco* and in *Bahía*, in the cotton and sugar cane cultures. The people’s moving would come to be directed, in a second cycle of movements, towards the center of the territory, thanks to the expansion of mining activities, increased by the discovery of great auriferous veins and of precious stones beds, that enlarged the spread of Portuguese fixation in *Goiás*, *Minas Gerais* and *Mato Grosso*. These times facilitated spectacular, quickly acquired wealth came to consecrate the stereotype of “The Miner” (*O Mineiro*). It will only disappear towards the end of the economic cycle, finished by the exhaustion of the gold and diamond mines and presents a direct connection with the strong breakdown of the people’s movement.

The last and third cycle of Portuguese emigration to Brazil only occurs in the second half of the 19th century, linked to new economic conditions (extensive coffee and cotton plantations in the area of *São Paulo*) associated to the modifications of social nature (political independence acquired in 1822 and end of the slavery in 1888).

The Portuguese emigrants flow that in

the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century arrive in Brazil, evaluated in eight hundred thousand, had stabilized, in the end of that period, in an annual average of about four thousand. However, it reached very high values again, that competed, in equality, with the immigration currents that arrived, above all, from the border of the North Mediterranean (of Spain and of Italy), in response to the immigrant politics developed by the Brazilian Government of that time.

The prominent position that Brazil continues to occupy, during a very long time, as main destiny of the Portuguese emigration maintains an impressive regularity, only interrupted during the two great world wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), until the 60's decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

Although territories of previous settling and Portuguese colonization, namely the archipelagos of Atlantic – Madeira, Azores and Cape Verde – came in the meantime to constitute sources of population shipping away that, retaking the cycle that searched for better life conditions outside national borders, also went to Brazil (it is marked, in particular, the settlement of the southern Brazilian States coast, *Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul*) and for Africa (Plateaus of Angola and Mozambique).

In the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the people of Madeira were directed to the Pacific (Sandwich Islands, actual Hawaii), as well as to English Guiana (Demerara), places only reached at the end of long and very difficult trips. Azores preferred the American continent as an emigration destiny. Employed in fisheries or, in a more reduced number, as independent operators, they also worked in factories

or in agricultural activities: the former in the East Coast (New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut) and the latter very especially in the San Joachim Valley, California (Pinho, 1978; Baganha 1990).

These flows would be instituted as geographically specialized currents, constituting a clear example of demarcation of geographical zones of destiny, later on continued for decades.

In the beginning of the second half of the last century, the countries of Center and Northern Europe, surpassed the sequels of the great conflict finished in 1945, know a period of explosive economic development, shown by the creation of new employments, mostly in the industry (namely the civil construction) and services sectors. The local labour began accessing larger qualification and better paid jobs, a vacuum was created in the labor offer that would come to be filled by incoming foreign workers from the Mediterranean countries.

In competition with others, the Portuguese found, mainly in France but also in Germany and in other European countries, an open market, avid of a manpower of low professional qualification, capable to carry out heavier tasks and to accept lower salaries.

Except for Germany, where officially only legal immigration was accepted, as “*Gast Arbeiter*” in many other countries immigrants were received without documents, having passed the borders illegally.

In the 60s and 70s, a more than a million Portuguese emigrated, having more than half of their destinies been European countries, with predominance of illegal emigration.

The middle of the 70's decade radically modifies this panorama: a recession in the world economy determined an almost complete closure of legal emigration, mostly to Europe, already its main destiny.

Nevertheless, at the same time the European borders became virtually close to immigration (except for situations of family regroupment and of temporary and seasonal immigration), other destinies became more significant for the Portuguese: Canada, United States, Brazil, Venezuela, Australia and South Africa, taking advantage of the Portuguese communities already established therein. The table in attachment indicates the populations of Portuguese origin living in foreign countries (2009-2010).

The characteristics that allow considering a given migratory situation as being included in our own Diaspora concept are the following: "The term Diaspora means the dispersion of significant part of a population, concentrated originally on a well-defined cultural/national space, towards different areas of the globe, away from their original territory. It goes further to assume that this dispersion stays besides several generations lives and that, despite that, those groups or expatriated communities continue to manifest the purpose of identifying themselves with its ancestors national origin and to take as reference some of the cultural lines that are their characteristics." (Rocha-Trindade, 1995:141)

Possessing the characteristics that allow its definition as a Diaspora, groups and communities of Portuguese origin dispersed through the world provide

an example of Diaspora constituted by continuous migratory flows, of essentially economic motivation. However, this character of the Portuguese emigration was only recognized in the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, for reasons that ahead will be properly explained.

### **As an Empire Falls a Broaden Nation Rises**

As the last case of resistance to the great international tendencies for the self-determination of the vast and dispersed territories that constituted the great colonial empires kept until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal maintained, until the change of political regime happened in 1974, the principle of the multi-territorial nation unity.

In the previous official discourse, based on very explicit constitutional precepts, Portugal was a State *united and indivisible*, constituted by continental Portugal and the Adjacent Islands of Madeira and Azores, as well as the colonies (later on denominated by political reasons as "*Províncias Ultramarinas*" (Overseas Provinces) of Cape-Verde, Guinea, São Tomé e Príncipe, Angola, Mozambique, the State of India, Timor and the Territory of Macao.

Besides extending itself throughout the Atlantic, Africa and Oceania, the physical dimension of this empire was very significant, with an area comparable to the sum of all Western European countries.

Contrary to evidence, the Portuguese governments at that time proclaimed that this vast empire constituted a single *nation*, in spite of the enormous ethnic multiplicity, languages, religions and

historical antecedents of the people included in the Portuguese Colonial Empire.

During the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Portugal thought of the Nation concept as “the States domain” and not, as is usual today, as the result of a certain uniformity of cultural identities, applicable to an extensive group of population recognized as a homogeneous social entity. In that sense, the concept of Nation was mistaken with the concept of State, even if the existent multi-racial and the multi-territorial reality was not ignored:

“It is actually with this same concept of Nation, a differentiated social aggregate, independent, sovereign, deciding as it pleases, the organization of its territory, without distinctions of geographical situation, that we consider, administer, drive the Portuguese colonies. Just as Minho or Beiras stay, under the sole authority of the State, Angola or Mozambique or India” (Oliveira Salazar, 1939, p. 234).<sup>3</sup>

In the Portuguese primary schools the multi-territorial character of the Country was emphasized in the discipline of Geography<sup>4</sup>, presenting the compared dimension of the Portuguese Overseas Provinces with other countries with overseas territories and presenting a relatively detailed description of each one of the territories under Portuguese sovereignty. The emphasis on the total area of these possessions (23 times larger than Continental Portugal) revealed the emphasis on the territorial extension of the Empire.

The *Estado Novo* (1926-1974) attributed systematically to the concept of Nation a semantic content very close to the one of State; or, if preferred, close to the somewhat ambiguous idea of a *State-Nation*, that was not, in fact, adjusted to the case of the metropolitan Portugal and all its overseas territories.<sup>5</sup>

Through illuminated political inspiration or happy intuition, the authorities of the new democratic Portugal created a substitution mechanism for the “world greatness” associated to the lost empire, starting to grant visibility and importance to another multi-territoriality approach: the Portuguese Diaspora in the world, coming not from colonization but from emigration.

### **Portuguese Communities: An Operational Concept**

Taking advantage of some efforts that had already been developed in the past to accomplish recognition and government support for the Portuguese communities rooted in foreign countries, a major visibility was granted to them in a symbolic manner, giving the Portuguese national day (June 10) the designation of “Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities”.<sup>6</sup>

Besides this purely symbolic visibility, other measures and other practices were started having in view the reinforcement of the concept of *The Portuguese in the World*.

The arguments for the Portuguese Communities to consider themselves as an intrinsic part of the national whole, once again appealed to the idea of a single Nation, in which the value of the ancestry gets more recognition than the

true cultural identity does.

Nowadays, the concept of Nation totally disregards both the need for contiguity of population and territory and the submission to a single sovereignty, once its elements are, not just residents abroad, but also possibly citizens of other countries.<sup>7</sup> In these terms, the main requirement to be considered as a Portuguese Community member is the expressed desire of being considered as such by invoking a Portuguese origin.

With the elapsing of time the different interaction mechanisms were improved among the elements of the Diaspora and its fulcrum.

Nowadays, the Portuguese Communities are entitled to parliamentary representation with four deputies elected for the Republic Assembly; the right in the election to vote for the election of the President of the Republic and the right and audition and of emission of opinion before the Government, through their representatives chosen as members of the Council of the Portuguese Communities.

This enlarged conception of Portugal finds echo in the speech of sovereignty organs, of prominent politicians, of historians and other highlighted members of the Portuguese intelligence:<sup>8</sup>

“The men and women that left and today continue Portugal offer us the example that it is possible when the will, the intelligence and the effort of the Portuguese are conjugated with our national identity of a people open to other people.”

(Speech of the President of the Republic on the Day of Portugal, Funchal, June 1981)

“Today our great wealth is not in the multi continental territorial domain; it is fundamentally in the community’s creative capacity tied by the connections of language and blood to maintain alive a regional culture all over the world (...).”

(Helena Roseta,  
*President of the Comissão Europeia da Assembleia da República, Lisbon, 1981*)

“A cultural policy measured for a society that is not confined to its old territory, but is prolonged in uncounted of Communities spread by all the continents.”

(Maria Manuela Aguiar,  
*Secretária de Estado da Emigração e Comunidades Portuguesas,*  
Opening Speech for the 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting of the Portuguese Communities Council, Lisbon, April 1982)

“It is another appearance, it is another Portugal, not only ours in the corner of the Peninsula and in the Islands, not only of that empire that crossed so many phases, made and it tore itself, but a larger Portugal through the world: that heroic accomplishment of those who left this place to work in other civilizations.”

(Vitorino Magalhães Godinho,  
Historian,  
Speech for the day of Portugal,  
Vila Real, June 1979)

“In fact and of right, the Portuguese Homeland is not exclusively constituted by those that today inhabit this beautiful peace of earth planted on the seashore, but for everybody who took the option, based on the *jus san-*

*guinis*, to have a Portuguese nationality, which is explainable because, in each one of us, old or young, rich or poor, literate or illiterate, living anywhere imaginable, all of us here are, as well as the emigrated, receive, throughout successive generations, a little bit of blood of our largest ones, that Luís de Camões so frequently underlined.”

(José de Azeredo Perdigão,  
President of the *Fundação Calouste  
Gulbenkian*,  
Speech for the Day of Portugal,  
Figueira da Foz, June 1982)

Improvements of our knowledge about Diasporas and on the diversity of cultural characteristics between their separate communities have generated a growing interest of scholars for this research field. On the other hand, from a political perspective, decision-makers in both origin and destination countries of migrations are interested in a better understanding of consequences of their initiatives related to promoting a economic integration of immigrants. As to immigrants themselves, it is important to know how they developed their sense of belonging to the culture of origin and to identify the corresponding cultural marks they may want to display at public celebrations.

The Portuguese Diaspora spread on most countries in the world, is an interesting case to analyze; the presentation from different sides - in the context of both the receiving and the origin countries - and following different scientific approaches (historic, demographic, social, economic...), taking migrant's civil or religious celebrations and other col-

lective initiatives as a common feature, given their importance in the study of cultural diasporas.

The fact that most of these migrants, in the different receiving countries, namely in Brazil and France, make a significant effort in keeping the traditions, memories, beliefs and values of their ancestors define the whole of them as a coherent Portuguese Diaspora, a fact that Portuguese governments recognize and cherish. The connections between groups and communities in Portugal and abroad lead to different kinds of achievements that can be directly identified as direct consequences, of cultural or economic, of the existence of the Portuguese Diaspora.

As a kind of epilogue for this theme, that represents the aim of Portuguese Governments after restoring democracy and achieving the descolonization process, in the reinforcement of its interaction with the Portuguese of the Diaspora, what may be considered the happy end of the relationship between Portugal and its former colonies.

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## Notes

- 1 CEMRI – Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das relações Inter-Culturais – Universidade Aberta, Uab.
- 2 Although movement into France began slowly it grew steadily, and in 1963 overtook emigration to Brazil.
- 3 Salazar’s speech: “The Nation in the Colonial Politics” (“*A Nação na Política Colonial*”), June 1933, National Assembly.
- 4 Vd. *Geografia* (3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Grade), s/d.
- 5 However, the same President of the Minister’s Council, Salazar’s successor, Marcello Caetano, in his Constitutional Law lessons a couple of decades before, did not leave the least ambiguity when referring to the rigid contents of the notions of State, Population, Nation, Territory and Sovereignty (Caetano, 1963:102-115).

- 6 The association of the three references is very appropriate: the Country as the major one; *Camões*, the poet of glorious discovery ages and Portuguese expansion; and, linked to these, the people and the Communities of the present time.
- 7 Subject to a number of clauses, namely the definite proof of Portuguese ascent, the possibility exists that emigrants (or their descendents) can obtain or keep the Portuguese nationality beside the one of the host country.
- 8 The following quotations were taken from the article "*O Diálogo Instituído*" (The Instituted Dialogue), by the present author.

**PORTUGUESE LIVING ABROAD\***  
**2009/2010**

<b>Countries / Territories</b>	<b>n°</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Countries / Territories</b>	<b>n°</b>	<b>%</b>
<b><u>EUROPE</u></b>			<b><u>AMERICA</u></b>		
Germany	113 208	2,22 %	Antilles Dutch	3022	0,06 %
Austria	1 928	0,04 %	Aruba	500	0,01 %
Belgium	33 084	0,65 %	Bermuda	10 000	0,20 %
Denmark	1 086	0,02 %	Brazil	860 000	16,85 %
Spain	142 520	2,79 %	Canada	410 000	8,04 %
France	843000	16,50 %	Chile	271	0,00 %
Greece	599	0,01 %	Ecuador	180	0,01 %
Holland	15 364	0,30 %	United States of America	1 444 527	28,27 %
Italy	8 843	0,17 %	Mexico	483	0,01 %
Luxembourg	80 951	1,58 %	Panama	375	0,01 %
Norway	1043	0,02 %	Uruguay	1 700	0,03 %
United Kingdom	250 000	4,89 %	Venezuela	124 000	2,44 %
Russia	67	0,00 %	Other Countries	-----	-----
Sweden	2 561	0,05 %			
Switzerland	220 256	4,31 %	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2 874</b>	<b>56,25 %</b>
Other Countries	-----	-----		<b>306</b>	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1 733 585</b>	<b>33,93 %</b>	<b><u>ASIA</u></b>		
<b><u>AFRICA</u></b>			Saudi Arabia	321	0,01 %
South Africa	200 000	3,91 %	Bahrain	65	0,00 %
Angola	91 854	1,80 %	Un. Arabs Emirates	332	0,01 %
Botswana	175	0,00 %	Hong-Kong	10 700	0,20 %
Cape Verde	1 281	0,03 %	India	22 538	0,44%
Congo, Rep of	110	0,00 %	Israel	447	0,01 %
Congo, Rep. Dem. (ex-Zaire)	800	0,02 %	Japan	534	0,01 %
Guinea-Bissau	1368	0,03 %	Pakistan	35	0,02 %
Lesotho	14	0,00 %	Thailand	3	0,00 %
Malawi	394	0,01 %	Other Countries	-----	-----
Morocco	600	0,01 %			
Mozambique	20 387	0,40%	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>159 204</b>	<b>3,12 %</b>
Namibia	1500	0,03 %	<b><u>OCEANIA</u></b>		
Kenya	366	0,01 %	Australia	18 235	0,36 %
S. Tomé e Príncipe	1500	0,03 %	New Zealand	195	0,00 %
Swaziland	1162	0,02 %			
Zimbabwe	1171	0,02 %	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18,430</b>	<b>0,36%</b>
Other Countries	-----	-----	<b>GRAND TOTAL .....</b>	<b>5 109524</b>	<b>100,00 %</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>324 000</b>	<b>6,34 %</b>			

Source: Direcção Geral dos Assuntos Consulares e Comunidades Portuguesas - Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (Portugal)

# The Challenges of Migration Policies in Croatia: Migration History, Trends and Prospects

*Snježana Gregurović  
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## **Summary**

Traditionally a country of high emigration, with labour and political emigrants to overseas and western European countries, Croatia is expected to experience considerable changes in migration trends. Such a development will presumably include a reduction in emigration flows and gradual increase in immigration and transit flows after Croatia's accession to the EU. Homeland war (1991-1995) introduced new types of migrants in the area such as refugees or displaced population while recent processes of the EU accession open up space for labour immigration to Croatia and broader circular, transit and illegal migrations. Neighboring Central East European and South East European countries recorded similar migration trends after they joined the EU. These changes of migration trends along with the anticipated immigration surplus require the adjusting of Croatian migration policies to EU standards. Furthermore, they also urge the implementation of social measures in order to

prepare Croatian citizens for an increasing number of immigrants as a precondition for broader public acceptance of cultural and ethnic diversities, especially insisting upon the multiple benefits of immigration flows for Croatian society. Higher immigration will be most probably initiated by expected positive economic expansion in Croatia but also shaped by the extent of openness or closeness of receiving society towards new immigration groups with all the cultural varieties they can offer.

**KEY WORDS:** migration, migration policies, immigrants, Croatia, EU

## **Introduction**

From the second half of the 20th century migration became more important issue in Europe, in both EU members and non-EU members. Aside from traditional and „old“ immigration countries like Great Britain, France or Germany, southern European countries and Central-East European Countries after the EU enlargement also transformed from

strictly emigrant to immigrant destinations. They recorded numerous and diverse movements of migration groups in recent two-three decades, with increasing heterogeneity in their ethnic, cultural or religious origin (European Council, 2001). Croatian accession to the EU will probably influence the changing of migration trends with gradual decrease of emigration and increase of immigration and transit movements.

All these changes will probably face Croatia with challenging implementation of new migration policies. While migration, namely emigration trends in Croatia in historical perspective will be analyzed at the beginning of this article, recent migration trends (2000-2010) and the development of migration policies is the core of this presentation. Special focus is put on net migration, labour migration, asylum seekers and illegal migrations.

Will migrations, as stated by Massey et al. (1997) develop the social relations in terms to act as a catalyst of overall changes? It will depend not only on migration policies and legal framework but also on some other factors, related on openness/closeness of receiving countries towards immigration flows. However, each country and its national policy is affected by public opinion, which resulted with immigration policies adjusted to country's own national interests.

### **Croatian (e)migration<sup>1</sup> history**

Having a specific geo-strategic position between Central Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans, and being the bordering region in cultural, ethnic and

confessional way, Croatia has been a traditional emigration country for centuries on the one hand as well as the immigration destination on another. The intensity of Croatian emigration<sup>2</sup> during that time significantly marked Croatian society as a transnational one. Dating from the fifteenth century onward<sup>3</sup>, Croatian emigration can be divided into an "old" and "new" stage, i.e. the phase before World War I and the one afterwards. Historically speaking, the ambiguous pattern of Croatian emigration primarily concerned citizens of Croatia or other political units/states on the territories of present-day Croatia (Heršak, 1998: 78). In both periods economic migration dominated, primarily made up of labourers from the rural areas, forced to migrate due to crisis in farming and increasing rural over-population, and to a lesser degree by working forces from urban centers (Lakatoš, 1914: 65, Nejašmić, 1991: 64). Under-populated territories of America and Australia were inviting destinations for poor Croatian labourers, who were recruited by mining companies, shipyards and factories before the implementation of the immigration quota in the USA in the early 1920s took place. Generally, the unskilled population, usually men from 15 to 40 years of age, migrated mostly to overseas countries, while later on labourers sought employment in the countries of Central and Western Europe (Germany, France and Belgium) (Heršak, 1998: 88, Nejašmić, 1991: 68). However, during the time of the open door policies in the USA there was no significant Croatian emigration to European countries. Moreover, some European countries like Germany also

limited and restricted the labour influx on the basis of labour contracts and organised recruitment. The capacity and attractivity of the receiving destinations varied through time and depended also on entry policies shaping the profile of emigrants. On the time-scale, 1930's brought a change of direction for overseas migrants from Croatia, when the USA lost its previous "top" position among other destinations, while Argentina, Chile, Canada, Australia and New Zealand became new immigrant destinations. Besides new destinations, a new type of emigration and new motives occurred after the WW II. Along with economic migration, war-related migrations included also political migration, composed partly of displaced persons, refugees, defeated collaborators and ethnically "cleansed" ethnic groups. Comparing to first overseas migrants, who had been employed by steel and mining industries, latecomers in 1950-es turned to agriculture and trade. As to the various statistics and estimates<sup>4</sup> about the number of emigrants from the Croatian lands until World War I, one cannot reliably determine a specific number, however according to some estimates this total is somewhere between 300,000 and 500,000 (Telišman according to Heršak 1993: 269). After the Second World War, especially in the first two decades after the war, the greatest emigration wave from Yugoslavia occurred between 1955 and 1958, when the annual outflow included between 40.000 and 57.000 persons. In spite of being mostly illegal, random, unorganised and spontaneous, net migration in the inter-census period 1948-1961 may have amounted to about 500,000

people. Croatia, in relation to the other Yugoslav republics at that time, had the largest emigration flows, and in 1960 accounted for 56% of all external migrants from Yugoslavia (Baučić, 1973: 43). After 1963/4 the attitude towards external migration began to change with the removal of travel restrictions to labour migrants. These so called "pasošari" (i.e. migrants with a passport) were not officially considered "emigrants", since they were expected to return. No matter whether they were seasonal workers or permanent emigrants, they were denominated as "workers on temporary work abroad" (compatible to the notion of *Gastarbeiter*). The Yugoslav political system was no longer able to solve accumulated economic problems and the growing rate of unemployment, and thus labour migration abroad became an "escape-valve" (Mežnarić, 1991) and a necessary evil to alleviate labour market pressure. In mid 1960's there were about 400,000 workers from the former Yugoslavia in Western Europe. From 1968-1981, according to some estimates, about 293,000 persons from former Yugoslavia were employed abroad. The political regime enabled the migration of workers. That was seen as an important "comparative advantage" of the Yugoslav system in regard to other communist systems. Reaching its peak in early 1970-s, emigration from former Yugoslavia was a combination of two factors: the relative openness of borders and also the inability of the socialist development model to achieve growth that could absorb labour surpluses. The labour contingent that migrated was significantly larger in number and also different in its structure and distribution. It was

not consisted only of low-skilled labour force, but rather of qualified workers and professionals (Baučić, 1973: 121, Živković et al., 1995: 15). These migration waves started to decrease after the oil crisis and recession in 1973/4, with the implementation of immigration and recruitment restrictions in the Western European countries. Among other parts of the former Yugoslavia, Croatia had one of the largest shares in terms of emigrants per head of total population. Specifically, migrants from Croatia made up 39 per cent of all Yugoslav migrant workers, while Croatian population was not larger than 22 per cent of total Yugoslav population (Baučić, 1973: 59, 116). Therefore, Croatian migrant workers represented the majority of Yugoslav migrants in overseas countries, Western Germany and Switzerland (Baučić, 1973: 94-95). The number of emigrants from Yugoslavia, namely Croatia, attracted bigger concern of Croatian intellectual but also political elites at the beginning of 1980-s. Besides, this issue started to be perceived as negative economic and socio-political phenomenon, causing drainage of educated people, demographic and multiple losses in human capital and weakening of domestic labour market (Grečić-Jovanović, 1978: 280-286).

Since the early modern Ottoman wars, besides being an emigration arena, Croatia was also an attractive destination for neighboring population, especially for migrants from other republics of the former common state.

The war events of 1991-1995 (i.e. the Homeland War) and the dissolution of Yugoslavia resulted in both emigration but also massive immigration flows to

Croatia. This particular wave of mass emigration included economic migrants and victims of forced migrations, namely of specific ethnic origin (Serbs and some other national minorities). On the other hand, during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later in Kosovo, as well as during the crises in Macedonia, great numbers of refugees came to Croatia, and this, along with the presence of hundreds of thousands of displaced persons from occupied areas of Croatia itself, produced a burden for the state that it could barely support. Additionally, knowing that recent emigration waves engaged mainly young people, despite simultaneous immigration, emigration from Croatia led to a decrease in population growth (Lajić, 2002: 135-149). Last decade revealed economic security and political stability as the most important factors for making decision to migrate, with increasing importance of quality of life and career pathways, especially for highly educated people.

Given Croatia's geographic location along the so-called "Balkan route", numerous migration flows from the East to the West have passed through the country, owing to its long and indented border-line 2374,9 km (length of the land boundaries only)<sup>5</sup> which are often difficult to control in order to prevent illegal crossings. Croatia, as a candidate country for EU accession, is becoming an increasingly more interesting destination for a number of immigrants who are attempting to find employment in the country and settle in it. It is certain that when Croatia gains its membership to the EU, migration to Croatia will receive a new dimension, character

and importance. In this context we can expect that spatial mobility and existing trends in numerous types of migration, which are already visible, will become even more emphasized, along with some new emerging migration issues. They are applied through the retention of possible emigrants, regulation of international retirement migration, improvement of the labour migrants' status in their host countries, social and political integration of labour and other kinds of immigrants to Croatia. All these problems require additional attention from researchers and also policymakers (Božić, 2007: 40).

### The recent migration flows

A key feature of contemporary migration flows is variety. This variety is related to the country of origin of the migrants as well as their social, economic and cultural origin. Much more countries are participating in migrations but recent migration flows in those countries are different. However, the majority of contemporary worldwide migration flows is recently manifested with some general features defined by Castles and Miller (2003: 8) as general migration tendencies which are revealed primarily in the aspects of *globalization of migration, acceleration of migration, differentiation of migration and feminization of migration*.

Although to a smaller degree than in some "old" immigration countries, a trend towards increasing migration movements can be noticed in Croatia too.

From 2000 right until 2009 Croatia had a positive net migration. This means that the number of persons arriving was greater than the number departing from

*Table 1*  
*International migration of the population of the Republic of Croatia, 2000 to 2010*

Immigrants	Emigrants	Net migration
29 385	5 953	23 432
24 415	7 488	16 927
20 365	11 767	8 598
18 455	6 534	11 921
18 383	6 812	11 571
14 230	6 012	8 218
14 978	7 692	7 286
14 622	9 002	5 620
14 541	7 488	7 053
8 468	9 940	-1 472
4 985	9 860	- 4 875

Source: [www.dzs.hr/Hrv-Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02\\_012011.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv-Eng/publication/2011/07-01-02_012011.htm)

the country.<sup>6</sup> From 2009 up until now this trend changed, and Croatia had a negative net migration. The number of immigrants in relation to 2008 and the previous years fell by more than 40%. The reduction in the number of immigrants in Croatia was primarily due to negative trends in the economy, since the demand for labour was reduced in such sectors as the construction industry, the hotel industry and tourism, which traditionally employed foreign workers. The gradual reduction of the number of arriving foreigners was partially also the result of the new *Aliens Act* which entered into force in 2008, and prescribed restrictive requirements for granting residence permits to foreigners.

In 2010 out of the total number of immigrants in Croatia, 51,8% were persons who had migrated from Bosnia and

Herzegovina. The largest proportion of emigrants departed for Bosnia and Herzegovina (36 %) and Serbia (30,9%). Therefore, we can conclude that the migration trends in Croatia have a *regional* character, given that most migration movements take place between neighboring countries.

The new *Aliens Act* which has been implemented since January 1<sup>st</sup> 2004, has tightened the conditions for granting the permanent residence of foreigners.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in the period from January 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2009 only 6,148 permanent residence permits have been issued to foreigners, whereas this number was much greater before enactment of the Act, and in 2004 amounted to 21,830.<sup>8</sup> The most important reason for seeking permanent residence in Croatia is family reunification.

### Illegal migration

The implementation of the Schengen regime on the Croatian borders after Slovenia and Hungary became the EU members increased the issues of illegal migrations to a significant extent. According to the evidences of the Public Relations and Media Office of the Slovenian government, the majority of illegal immigrants to Slovenia entered this country across the Slovenian-Croatian border. The number of illegal state border crossings began to increase from 1996, and notably increased in 2000. In recent years the number of illegal border crossings or transit illegal migrants through Croatia has significantly declined. In illegal state border crossings during those years were in most cases citizens of Albania, Macedonia, Turkey, Moldavia and Romania. In general, cit-

izens of South-East European countries (except for Greece), make up over 90% of all illegal migrations in the Republic of Croatia. The reduction in the number of illegal border crossings was primarily the result of the involvement of the Croatia police force in regional cooperation, aimed at securing better border control. The number of illegal border crossing suddenly fell in 2007 with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to EU membership and continues to fall until 2010 when it recorded a slight increase.

Table 2  
Number of Illegal Border Crossing, 2000 to 2010.

Year	Number of Border Crossings
2000	24,180
2001	17,038
2002	5,415
2003	4,311
2004	4,438
2005	5,169
2006	5,665
2007	3,527
2008	2,119
2009	1,823
2010	2,221

Source: <http://www.mup.hr/UserDocsImages/statistika/2012/pregled%20211.pdf>

### Labour migration

International migrations depend on economic circumstances in receiving countries, like the economic growth, labour market structure, employment rate etc. Among the other neighbouring

countries which are still not EU members, Croatia is economically the most developed one with the lowest unemployment rate.<sup>9</sup> Therefore Croatia became a traditional destination country for certain labour categories from the neighbouring countries.

According to the data of the *Croatian Employment Bureau*, the largest numbers of work permits in the period 1994–2003 were issued to citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia and Montenegro, Macedonia and Slovenia. In recent years there has been also a gradual increase in the number of work permits issued to citizens of other European countries: Austria, Germany, France, Italy and Great Britain. One of the reasons is certainly the growing number of multinational corporations, namely commercial firms entering Croatian market, with significant number of professionals in its' management structures. The qualification structure of foreign citizens to whom work permits have been issued has gradually changed. Whereas at the beginning of the 1990's most applications for work permits pertained to scarce (i.e. deficient) occupations requiring middle or low professional qualifications, from the mid-1990's there has been a gradual increase in the number of work permits issued to foreigners with higher or high professional qualifications, including university-level qualifications (*Migration policy strategies of the Republic of Croatia for 2007/2008*).

In accordance with the *Aliens Act*, authority to issue work permits from January 1st 2004 has passed from the Croatian Employment Bureau to the Ministry of the Interior, and an obli-

gation has been introduced to establish annual quota of work permits. The Government implemented its *Decision to Determine Annual Quotas of Work Permits for the Employment of Foreigners* for the first time in 2004. During the first three years of its application it turned out that work permits for particular occupations listed in the quota system were not utilised, whereas, on the other hand, in some activities a sufficient number of work permits was not foreseen. Most work permits to foreigners with middle qualifications (secondary school education) were issued for work in the construction industry, shipbuilding, tourism and the hotel sector. Most foreign employees with higher and university qualifications were employed in activities in management structures of commercial firms, in foreign branch offices, as professors in the education sector, and in jobs as foreign language lecturers and translators, cultural workers, etc.

As mentioned before, most foreign workers in Croatia arrive from neighbouring Bosnia and Herzegovina, where the unemployment rate is exceptionally high, reaching even 40%. The latter is the reason for the high mobility of Bosnian workers towards Slovenia and Croatia. Other foreign workers in Croatia come from Serbia and Montenegro, Turkey, Macedonia, Slovenia and Austria (the HZZ, 2007)

In comparison to the EU-27 countries, Croatia has the lowest rate of employment, which in 2007, while the economy was still registering a positive growth rate, amounted to about only 55.6% (the HZZ, 2010). This, however, only partially explains why a very small

*Table 3*  
*Annual quotas for foreign workers in Croatia<sup>10</sup>*

Year	Annual quotas for foreign workers in Croatia <sup>10</sup>
2004	2,589
2005	1,800
2006	1,037
2007	2,613
2008	8,397
2009	4,677
2010	968

Source: Croatian Employment Bureau (<http://www.hzz.hr/>)

number of work permits were approved to foreigners.

The reduction of the annual quota for 2010 definitely is the result of the economic crises which in Croatia was most strongly felt in the sectors of construction, shipbuilding and to a lesser extent in tourism, i.e. precisely in the sectors which employed the largest number of foreign workers.

The annual quotas of work permits for newly employed foreigners in the period 2004-2008 were not adjusted with the real needs of the labour market. Until 2007 not one work permit was issued in the field of computing, although employers each year have been increasingly seeking IT specialists. However, in Croatia, apart from highly educated profiles, there is also a large deficiency of low-skilled and semi-skilled workers, especially of seasonal workers, in the tourist sector and in shipbuilding and in the construction industry (Obadić, 2008).

A large number of employers have

emphasized how it is increasingly difficult for them to find, on the Croatian labour market, highly qualified labour, an educated work force in suitable occupation groups. In the period 2004-2007, for instance, registered requests for construction engineers were five times greater than the number of newly registered unemployed, whereas the demand for doctors was twice greater than the newly registered unemployed (Obadić, 2008: 108). Labour shortages were also affected by negative demographic trends, the depopulation process and ageing of the population, which have reached alarming dimensions.<sup>11</sup>

### **Asylum Seekers**

As in other Central-East European (CEE) countries, Croatia was attractive destination for asylum seekers primarily as a transit country. By its direct borderline with the EU members and due to the fact it tends to become an EU member in relatively short time, Croatia is growing into a desirable destination to asylum seekers. The majority of those are using Croatia primarily as transit route, whilst their final destinations are still North-Western European countries. Usually, these are economic migrants with not legal ground for assigned asylum status, since they have not been subject to some form of persecution, due to which their lives were endangered. However, some of these persons did come to Croatia under justified suspects indicating that they were experiencing classical persecution. Since January 1st 2008 the new Asylum Act has been in force, which has been adjusted to EU regulations. According to this law, asylum seekers can count on

receiving access to the instrument of so-called subsidiary protection, which offers them protection from persecution in their countries of origin.

By the new law, the process of resolving applications has been accelerated and asylum seekers have received the right to employment (beginning one year after presenting their applications for asylum, if in that period the legal process has not been completed). The new law has also extended their right to education to the secondary school level, and definitions of family members have also been extended, as has been family reunification among asylum seekers and foreigners under temporary protection.

*Table 4*  
*Asylum Application, from 2004 to June 2011*

Year	Asylum applications
2004	162
2005	186
2006	94
2007	195
2008	155
2009	146
2010	290
until June 2011	326

Source: [http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled_2011.pdf)

The first registered case of recognised refuge status was recorded in the middle of November 2006. Until today, 22 persons have succeeded in gaining such a status, and 20 are under subsidiary protection, see *Table 5* and *Table 6*.

Despite the progress achieved and the advancement and standardisation of the

process of attaining asylum, or else regulation of the status of asylum seekers in Croatia, as yet little has been undertaken in the area of social integration of asylum seekers. The number of persons that have received protection is increasing, but the number with recognised status is not in accord with the measures and activities linked to their integration, based on satisfactory standards of reception, and to the integration of refugees into the social, cultural, educational and economic life of the society. It is necessarily to develop high-quality institutional mechanisms and to improve practices which will allow for a comprehensive and long-term integration of asylum seekers. It is also necessary to increase cooperation between government institutions and institutions at the local level, and non-governmental institutions, so as to develop the practice of an all-inclusive integration of asylum seekers into community life.

### **Migration policies**

The majority of European immigration countries are receiving migrants of different economic, social and cultural origin. Besides, recent migration grows in quantity resulting with urgent measures and migration regulations (policies) by national governments. Contemporary migration policies are far developed in the North-Western than in the South European Countries, while migration policies in the Central-East European Countries<sup>12</sup> are still to be implemented. This development is further accelerated by the volume and structure of immigrant population, which does not contribute to the balance and programmed structure of migration and integration

**Table 5**  
*Recognized Refugees in the Republic of Croatia, from 2004 to June 2011.*

Country of Origin	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	until June 2011	Total
AFGHANISTAN					1	1		1	3
ARMENIA						1			1
CONGO							3		3
MOLDOVA							2		2
RUSSIAN FEDERATION						5			5
TURKEY					1				1
SOMALIA					1				1
SUDAN			1						1
ZIMBABWE								1	1
UKRAINE						1			1
UZBEKISTAN						3			3
Total	0	0	1	0	3	11	5	2	22

Source: [http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled_2011.pdf)

**Table 6**  
*Persons under Subsidiary Protection, from 2004 to June 2011*

Country of Origin	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	until June 2011	Total
PAKISTAN					3				3
IRAQ							1		1
AFGHANISTAN						1	2	5	8
GEORGIA							4		4
UNKNOWN CITIZENSHIP								1	1
UKRAINE								1	1
SUDAN							1		1
KOSOVO							1		1
TOTAL	0	0	0	0	3	2	8	7	20

Source: [http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled\\_2011.pdf](http://www.mup.hr/UserDocImages/statistika/2012/Statisticki%20pregled_2011.pdf)

policies While *programmed policies* provide responses for economic, political or social problems caused by more extensive migration movements, *ad hoc policies* acts upon migration pressures of the moment without further strategies

(Mármora, 1999: 47). We can divide migration policies into immigration and integration. While the immigration policies are usually involved in regulating entry, sojourn and employment of the immigrants, integration policies try to

provide a conceptual and organisational framework for including the newly-arrived groups of immigrants in society (Castles, 1995; Penninx, 2004).

Concerning its historical, cultural and socio-political background Croatia is to a great extent similar to Central-East European Countries. By the end of the 1980's CEECs were facing totally new challenges in their migration policies. After having been primarily migrant-sending countries, they suddenly became transit, as well as destination countries – and a new phase of development began following their incorporation into the EU (Laczko, 2002, Iglicka, 2005).

It can only be presumed that migration policy that still to be implemented in Croatia will follow the experience of related countries, especially having in mind that Yugoslav migration policy, namely relating to the emigration from Croatia during the Socialist Regime was comparatively much more „open“ than in neighboring states. After entry into the EU, Croatia will become a border EU country, with greater possibilities of controlling migration flows. The similar situation was with the CEECs too, since in a certain sense they became a tampon zone between CIS countries and the EU (the Wallace et al., 1996). Mentioned countries have been involved in different forms of migration: returnee migrations, transborder migrations, temporary and transit migrations and permanent labour migrations. Although most immigrants do not see Central-East European countries as attractive destinations, some immigrants remain in these countries because they cannot enter “older” EU member states (Kreienbrink,

2004). The selective measures that Central-East European countries apply in their immigration policies make them variously attractive to different groups of immigrants. Similarly as to the CEEs' experience, the majority of Croatian immigrants are coming from the neighbouring countries with the lower economic growth and higher unemployment rate than in Croatia.

Questions regarding migration issues, have not received much attention in Croatian society. During the Homeland War, and immediately after it, the topic of migration was to a great deal reduced to the problems of refugees, displaced persons and expellees that had been the result of forced migrations of very many people on the territory of Croatia and in neighbouring countries.

Apart from these refugee issues, migration policy and the public political debates were also focused on the question of emigrants in the Croatian diaspora, and the possibilities for their return to their homeland. From the time that Croatia became a candidate country for full EU membership, the need arose to adjust the legal framework in the area of migration with the EU *Acquis Communautaire*. The Government, therefore, had to begin elaborating a *Strategy of migration policies* in relation to: the policy of managing migration flows, asylum policy and immigration policy (integration of immigrants). The development of migration policies in Croatia has not proceeded equally in all these areas, but a legal framework has been achieved. The fundamental acts that the *Croatian Parliament* passed, and which form the new legal framework, were the *Act on Croatian Citizenship* and

the *Act on the Movement and Sojourn of Aliens* (i.e. *Aliens Act*).

Due to the adjustment of Croatian immigration legislation with a series of EU directives and other regulations, in July 2007 a new *Aliens Act* and a new *Asylum Act* were passed. The new *Aliens Act* came into effect on the 1st of January 2008, and it reveals more and more the tendency of the legislator to view Croatia as an immigration country. Thus, foreigners are explicitly and very precisely guaranteed certain employment rights, as determined by the regulations of the Republic of Croatia, collective agreements and arbitral judgements. The new act stipulates that temporary residence for the purpose of family reunification shall not be approved if the marriage has been concluded out of interest, and it provides a very detailed listing of circumstance which may indicate that a marriage was concluded out of interest, i.e. for the purpose of gaining legal status in Croatia.

In Croatia the subject of asylum is regulated by the *Asylum Act* (NN no. 103/03) which entered into force on July 1st 2004. The current law is based on the 1951 *Convention on the Status of Refugees* and the 1967 *Protocol on the Status of Refugees* (i.e. the *Geneva Convention*). The Act was mainly adjusted to EU directives and regulations in this area. However, adjustment with the EU *acquis* required further changes, and thus the enactment of a new law was suggested. This law was passed in 2007 and entered into force on the 1st of January 2008.

## Conclusion

Due to specific geopolitical circumstances and its position on the crossroads of Central Europe, the Mediterranean and the Balkans, Croatia became a traditional emigration country with an expanding society of transnational type. The mass emigration of labour and political migrants from Croatia to overseas and western European countries reached its peak in 1970s, introducing new types of war emigrants in the 1990s (refugees and ethnically motivated). Croatia was at the same time an inviting (labour) destination to neighbouring population from socialist Yugoslavia as well as to refugees and displaced persons, with high potential for transit, especially on the routes of illegal migrations.

Starting from 2009, a negative net migration in Croatia is recorded, primarily due to negative economic trends in both Croatia and the EU countries and the weakening of the (i)mmigration flows to Croatia. Expecting Croatian EU membership would open the possibility for increase of incoming migration flows to the country that could become an attractive destination for emigrants on their way to the core of the EU. Simultaneously, if Croatia does not improve economic conditions for its citizens and decrease unemployment rate one can expect increase of emigration from the country. However, higher mobility of labour forces is highly expected to occur, especially among younger population, along with increase of circular, and transit migration.

According to current trends in the most EU countries, we can assume that migrations will be less permanent and increasingly flexible, with a gradual shift

toward circular and transnational mobility. Besides the necessity for coherent and long-lasting migration policy that would stabilize Croatian economic and demographic growth and brings economic and cultural prosperity in the society, it is also required to prepare Croatian citizens to possible increasing immigration as a result of such a complex migration strategies. It is therefore important to raise awareness in society about the mobility of labour since the population and labour force in Croatia are small. On the other hand domestic populations should be educated about the importance and benefits of cultural diversity that immigrants bring with them.

In order that Croatia's role after accession to the EU will not be reduced only to one of guarding the borders of „fortress Europe”, it is necessarily that Croatia along with other South European and Central-East European countries take an active role in the negotiation and adoption of a new common European migration policy.

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## Notes

- 1 In a respectable number of historical, demographic or economic researches on Croatian emigration (that was usually called Diaspora) made in the last five decades the importance of emigration communities and even more the number of Croatians emigrants has been quite a delicate political issue, engaging the public interest as well as the interest of policy makers. Due to specific political circumstances during the socialist regime in Yugoslavia and even in the post Yugoslav Croatia all these debates revealed the potential of migration becoming a politicized topic (Mlinarić, 2008:169).
- 2 Since their ethnic identification had changed through process of integration in their new home countries, counting emigrants of Croatian origin was highly speculative. Some migration records count all people who left Croatia, other record only ethnic Croats, making the definition of who the „Croatian emigration“ is rather vague. The practice of counting descendants of emigrants, who were born abroad, within the number of emigrants inflated the total size of the Croatian emigration (Škvorc, 2005: 26,181). This aspect of quantification was particularly used in politically motivated debates.
- 3 Early-modern Hapsburg-Ottoman wars initiated first emigration waves leaving region. These early migrations were the origins of the present-day Croatian ethnic minorities in Italia, Austria (Gradišće/Burgenland), Romania, Slovakia and Czech Republic. These wars also resulted with immigration of other ethnic groups, that have been invited as craftsmen (e.g. Germans) or soldiers (Ottomans refugees, including Serbs) on present-day Croatian lands, namely on the constantly war-engaged territory of the Military Frontier, under the direct Hapsburg rule (Roksandić, 1988).
- 4 Evidence on migration is one of the most poorly documented demographic phenomena in Croatia due to the lack of uniform official statistical records of emigration for all Croatian territories that were previously under different state jurisdictions. Moreover, Croatia still does not have a *Population Register*, which would be the most complete data base on migration (Mišetić, 2008: 83). This uneven empirical base resulted with a number of very different estimations about the number of Croatian migrants (Lakatoš, 1914; Nejašmić, 1991; Lajić, 2002).
- 5 The sea borderline is additional issue, since the length of the sea coast of the Republic of Croatia is 5835,3 km. Source: State Geodetic

Administration, according to. *2011 Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Croatia*, Croatia Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, 2011: 40.

- 6 Migration statistics in Croatia are still undeveloped. The exact number of persons that moved abroad is not known, since there is no legal obligation for persons leaving the country for a longer period to register his/her departure at the authorised institution (the Ministry of the Interior). Furthermore, Croatia still does not have a population register and stock data is available only every 10 years. It is necessarily, therefore, to develop migration statistics, or to revise existing statistical research according to international recommendations as well as to improve the quality and the volume of data on migrations and ensure international comparability.
- 7 Permanent residence shall be approved to a foreigner which at the time of applying has had continuous temporary residence for a period of 5 years, or who has been married for 3 years to a Croatian citizen, or a foreigner with approved permanent residence, or condition of fulfilling other legal requirements.
- 8 Source: <http://www.mup.hr>
- 9 The officially registered rate of unemployment in Croatia in 2011. was 17,9% (<http://www.hzz.hr/default.aspx?id=6191>)
- 10 The numerical sum of the quotas also includes work permits for seasonal work, which were issued as follows: for the year 2005: 400 permits, for 2008: 1,845 permits, for 2009: 410 permits and for 2010: 20 permits.
- 11 The Croatian population today is among the top ten oldest populations in the world. In 1999, according to the UN data, in Croatia the average age of population was 38.5 years, which would place it in ninth place on the scale of the oldest populations of world. Due to depopulation trends (an increasingly smaller proportion of young people and increasing proportion of the older population) and a negative net migration Croatia's indigenous population does not even have the biological strength to assure mere reproduction. In addition, during the 20th century 1.269 772 more persons left the country than settled in it. Emigration flows dominated over immigration flows in as many as eight inter-census periods in the 20th century (Mišetić, 2008).
- 12 Here we are referring to Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Poland, which became part of the EU on January 5<sup>th</sup> 200

# Irish Migrants and an Irish Migrant Object aboard *Titanic*

*Brian Lambkin*

This article reports on a temporary exhibition in 2012 at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, 'Titanic: Window on Emigration'. It focuses on the migration story of one of the Irish emigrants highlighted in the exhibition and

the unusual 'migration object' which she was carrying with her. It is argued that this case study helps to advance our understanding of the importance of collecting, preserving and interpreting migrant objects.



Fig. 1: 'Titanic: Window on emigration', a temporary exhibition at the Ulster-American Folk Park (NMNI), 2011

Part of the contribution of the National Museums of Northern Ireland to the centenary commemoration of the sinking of RMS *Titanic* on 14 April 1912, was a temporary exhibition at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh (where the Mellon Centre for Migration Studies is based) entitled '*Titanic: Window on Emigration*' (see Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup>

The first panel of the exhibition, which opened on 28 February 2012, set the explanation of its purpose in a broad European context:

More than one million people left Europe for North America in 1912. Forced from their homelands by poverty and religious intolerance, they were attracted to America by the promise of a better life.

Everyone travelled by ship, as this was the only way to cross the Atlantic. In 1912 there were over 1,280 scheduled transatlantic crossings carrying passengers and mail between Europe and North America. This traffic flourished despite shipping lines being officially banned from promoting emigration. One of the most successful of the 28 companies operating the route was the White Star Line.

In this exhibition you will travel with some of the Third Class passengers who left Ireland on the White Star Line's new, Belfast-built flagship, *Titanic*.

One of these passengers, Mary McGovern, and the 'migration object' that she was carrying, a sample of 'St Mogue's clay', is the focus of the present article. Its purpose is to develop an

aspect of the theme of 'migrant objects' raised in a previous article in this *Journal* (Lambkin 2006).

Most if not all of the Third Class Passengers on board *Titanic* can be considered as migrants and the diversity of their European origins, and relative proportions, are indicated by the table shown in Fig. 2.<sup>2</sup>

The migration stories of those in Third Class have been studied by Richard Davenport-Hines in *Titanic Lives: Migrants and Millionaires, Conmen and Crew* (2012, 107-128).<sup>3</sup> At Southampton, where the voyage commenced, 497 third-class passengers embarked; at Cherbourg 102 embarked; and finally at Queenstown (near Cork, Ireland) 113 embarked. The total number of third-class passengers accounted for 70 per cent of capacity, making it fair to describe *Titanic* as an 'emigrant' ship. This is how Davenport-Hines explains the complexity of the multi-cultural mix in third-class:

The estimate of forty-four Austro-Hungarians includes about twenty Croatians. The figure of eighteen Russians includes people from Poland and the Baltic states, but excludes Finns, who were also subject to Czarist autocracy. Over sixty Finns [fifty-five in third class] had steamed from Hanko, a little port on the southerly tip of Finland, across the Baltic and North seas to Hull, from whence they entrained for Southampton ... At Cherbourg the embarking third-class passengers were mainly Christians from Armenia and the Lebanon seeking to escape Turkish-Muslim persecu-

Fig. 2 Third Class Passengers aboard Titanic (source: derived from <http://www.ithaca.edu/staff/jhenderson/titanic.html>)

Nationality	Total	Third Class		Percent Survived
		Survived	Died	
Irish	113	41	72	36
Britsih	118	18	100	15
Swede	104	23	81	22
Syrian	79	31	48	39
Finn	55	17	38	31
Austro Hungarian	44	7	37	16
American	43	12	21	28
Bulgarian	33	0	33	0
Norwegian	25	8	17	32
Russian	18	6	12	33
Turk	8	2	6	14
Chinese	8	6	2	75
Danish	7	1	6	14
Canadian	5	0	5	0
French	5	0	5	0
German	4	1	3	25
Greek	4	0	4	0
Swiss	4	0	4	0
Italian	4	1	3	25
Portuguese	3	0	3	0
South African	1	0	1	0
Australian	1	1	0	100
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>708</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>25</b>

tion and privation ... The largest category of foreigners in third-class, outnumbering the British, was Scandinavians. There were few voyagers from *Mittleuropa* ... Czechs, Slovaks and Poles, or 'Hunkies' as they were contemptuously called ... (2012, 225-6).

The occupations of *Titanic's* third-class passengers included 'farmers, farm labourers, foresters and farriers; miners, machinists and print-compositors; engi-

neers, stone masons, bricklayers, plumbers, carpenters, a miller's lad, potters, tinsmiths, locksmiths, blacksmiths, wire makers, a fur cutter, a leather worker, a picture framer, boxers, chemists, jewellers, bakers, tailors, dressmakers, servants, shop salesmen, door-to-door pedlars, seamstresses, a laundress, cooks, barmen, grooms and waiters' (2012, 227).

The distribution of the Irish passengers in third-class according to place of residence in Ireland is shown in Fig. 3

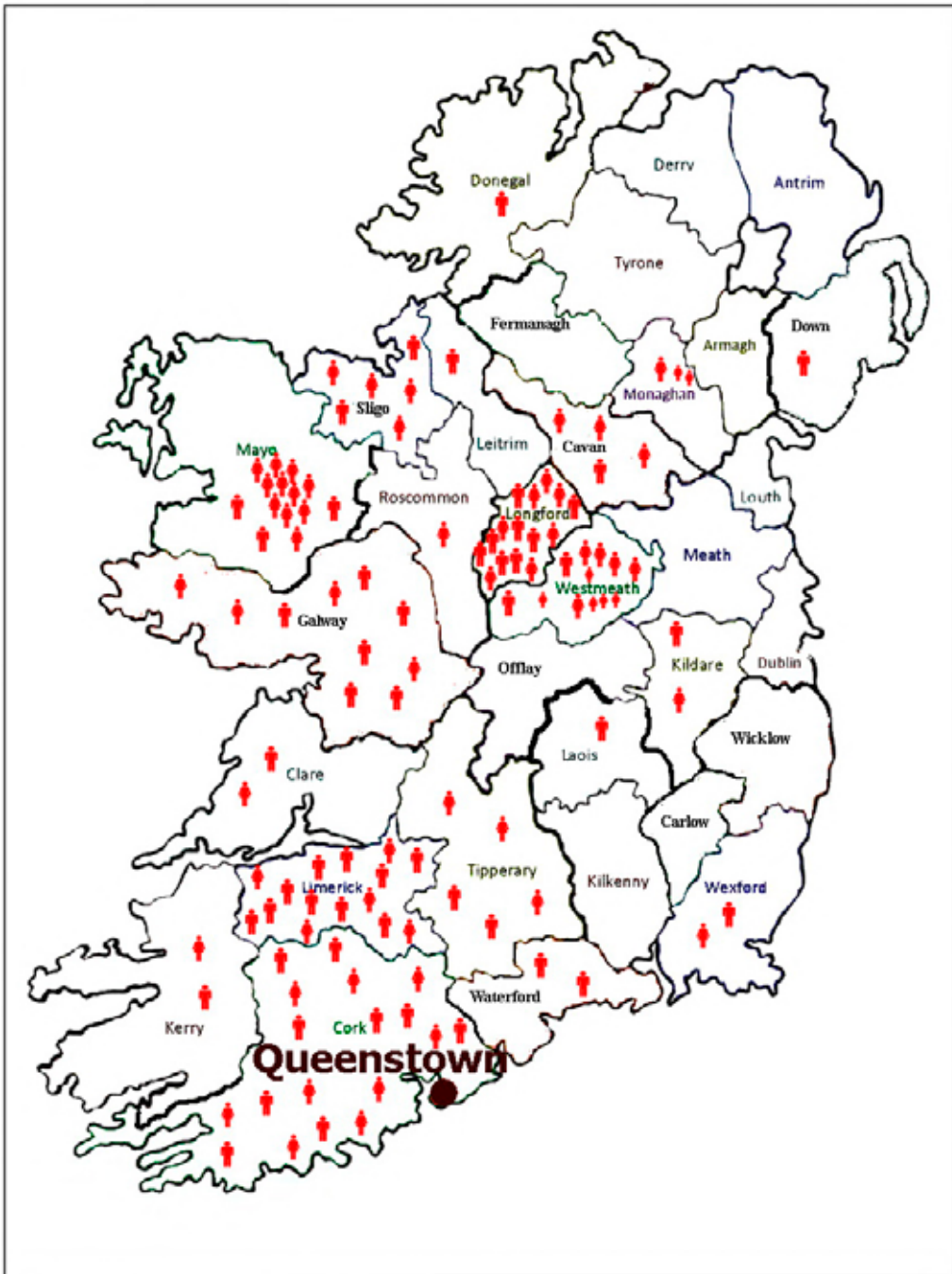


Fig. 3 Irish passengers in third-class aboard Titanic by place of residence (source: Liam Corry, UAFF).

As may be seen the distribution is concentrated in the southern and western counties of the island. Only eight third-class passengers came from the nine counties of the northern province of Ulster, and only one from the six counties of Ulster which were to become the present Northern Ireland in 1920. This is accounted for by the tendency of transatlantic migrants from the northern and eastern parts of Ireland to leave from the more convenient ports of either Londonderry (Moville) or Liverpool. Not unusually for this period, about a third of all the Irish passengers were 'returned emigrants', having been in America at least once before (Liam Corry pers.comm; see also Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2008, 215-216)

The migration stories of the Irish in third-class have been studied by Senan Molony in *The Irish Aboard Titanic* (2000; 2012). It was the following observation by him about 'migrant objects' that prompted the present interest in Mary McGovern and the sample of 'St Mogue's clay' that she was carrying:

An enormous industry had grown up on the back of Irish emigration. Every town of any consequence had its own shipping agents or sub-agents. One such outlet, O'Connor's of Ennistymon, sold tickets, steamer trunks *and religious statuary* [emphasis added]. The operators reported that almost every intending emigrant also bought *some religious item to accompany them on their journey* – and Irish bodies taken from the sea would have *rosary beads or protective scapulars*.<sup>4</sup> Some brought *relics*. Mary McGovern had *a sample of clay from a*

*saint's grave which promised protection against death by fire or drowning*. She was saved (Molony 2000, 18).

Here it is important to distinguish between religious (Christian) and non-religious 'migrant objects' (both often presented as gifts shortly before departure).<sup>5</sup> Among the non-religious migrant objects noticed by Molony were a knife, a 'lucky' Norwegian fishing cap, a watch, a picture and a photograph. The knife, belonging to Margaret Devaney (aged 20 from County Sligo) was a 'parting gift' from her teenage brother John, which proved useful in saving her and a boatload of others by enabling ropes binding oars in the boat to be cut. She remembered later 'how she had earlier been so happy peeling apples with John's knife and chatting with friends in the *Titanic's* third class common room after an evening meal of ragout beef and potatoes', and that 'it was a lucky thing she had the knife when the call came to prepare to abandon ship' (2000, 61).<sup>6</sup> It is known that Frank Dwan (aged 67 from County Waterford) was wearing his 'lucky' Norwegian fishing cap when he boarded *Titanic*; however he was lost and his body never found (2000, 71). Bertha Mulvihill (aged 25 from County Westmeath), who was saved, had with her a portrait of Robert Emmet, which was lost. She had acquired it after seeing an amateur performance of a play about Emmet (a dashing Irish rebel, executed in Dublin in 1803) which included many family friends in the cast (2000, 161).<sup>7</sup> Patrick O'Keefe (aged 21 from County Waterford), who was saved, had had his photograph taken in a professional studio before his departure and

this survived (2000, 181).

While non-religious objects might be regarded as ‘lucky’ prospectively (the Norwegian hat) or retrospectively (the knife), the religious migrant objects which Molony specifically relates to individual migrants (holy-water bottle, Bible, St Mogue’s clay) were regarded as having a ‘protective’ function. A holy water bottle, containing a message was found washed upon the shore of Ireland in 1913 is believed to have belonged to Jeremiah Burke (aged 19 from County Cork). His mother claimed that it was the same holy-water bottle that she had given her son on the day of his depar-

ture. His grandniece commented later that ‘he wouldn’t have thrown away a bottle of holy water his mother gave him. There was an element of panic to it’ (2000, 36-7). A niece of Bertha Mulvihill (who lost her picture of Robert Emmet) reported that as her aunt jumped into the lifeboat she ‘clung to a tattered damp Bible which she had recently been given by my father’ (2000, 161).

It is the third religious object, St Mogue’s clay, which is of particular interest here. It belonged to Mary McGovern (aged 22 from County Cavan), who was saved (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4 Mary McGovern and Saint Mogue’s clay on display in ‘Titanic: Window on Emigration’ (source: Fiona McClean, Pat O’Donnell, UAFP)

Displayed in the exhibition is a sample of St Mogue's clay – the grey material in the saucer at the foot of the Sacred Heart statue (Fig. 4). The caption reads: 'Saint Mogue is another name for Saint Aidan.<sup>8</sup> He was born in County Cavan. *Titanic* passengers Mary McGovern and Julia Smyth believed that clay from an old church at his birthplace would protect them from drowning'.

Mary McGovern (1890-1957) worked in New York as a housekeeper but returned to her homeplace in Ireland in 1920. The following year she married Peter McGovern, who lived in the townland of Tullytransna, next to her native townland of Clarbally. In 1952, on the fortieth anniversary of the sinking, she explained the significance of St Mogue's clay in an interview with the *Sunday Independent* newspaper (21 September):

We left Cobh on Wednesday for New York, and everything was grand. I was fast asleep in my cabin, a three-tiered affair, which I shared with two others from Virginia, County Cavan. On Sunday night we were awoken and thrown out of our bunks by the shock of the collision ... Next day we were picked up by the *Carpathia*. ... *Sewn in my clothes* from the time I left my native Corlough here in Cavan, I have carried *a little locket of St Mogue's clay*. I still have it *hidden in the rafters of my home* (Molony 2000, 138; emphasis added).<sup>9</sup>

Clearly, Mary McGovern attributed her survival, and that of her two friends

from County Cavan, Julia Smyth (aged 17) and Kate Connolly (aged 23), at least in part, to the 'protection' of St Mogue, provided because she was carrying 'a little locket' of his 'clay', which was 'sewn' into her clothes. Unlike the case of Margaret Devaney's 'lucky' knife, which she was fortunate to have with her at the time of the collision, Mary McGovern had ensured that her 'locket' of St Mogue's clay would be with her at all times having sewn it into her clothes (probably an undergarment).

Fieldwork by the author in August 2011 found the 'cult' of St Mogue to be strong still in the part of County Cavan in which Mary McGovern lived. The Lake Avenue Guest House (Bed and Breakfast), which offers 'picturesque views down over Templeport Lake and St Mogue's Island (<http://www.lakeavenuehouse.com/bed--breakfast-page.html> last accessed 21/08/12)' also has a link to the Templeport Development Association's website, and associated book, which explains:

The clay from St. Mogue's Island is renowned for its legendary properties in keeping safe the people and places on which it is stored, and there are a number of stories in this book to illustrate this. It is also widely known that Mary McGovern, a survivor of the *Titanic* disaster, was carrying some of the clay given to her by her mother before she left Corlough in 1912, and Mary's story is told in the book in her own words. The use of clay from the island is as popular today as it has ever been (<http://www.templeport.ie/pages/sales.html>; Rofé 2011, 14).

The front cover of the book published by Templeport Development Association in 2011 (see Fig. 5) shows the island which according to tradition is the birth place of the sixth-century Irish saint Maadhóg (anglicised ‘Mogue’), better known now as Aidan (Ó Riain 2011, 432; Doherty 2002).<sup>10</sup>

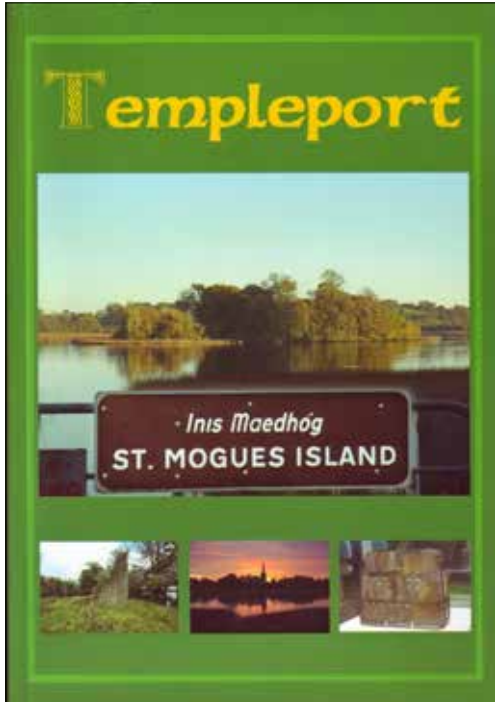


Fig 5. Inis Maedhóg, St. Mogue's Island, Templeport Lake, Bawnboy, County Cavan, birth place of Saint Mogue (front cover of *Rofé* 2011)

The island is the site of a medieval church, now ruined, and surrounding graveyard. St Mogue's 'clay' is mortar taken by pilgrims from the seams in the remaining stone walls of the church, as shown in Fig. 6.

Evidence of the cult of Saint Mogue was collected in the neighbouring county of Fermanagh in 1972 by the eminent American folklorist Henry



Fig. 6 Local historian Oliver Brady, Cloneary (foreground), collecting St Mogue's clay on Saint Mogue's Island (Inis Breachmhaighe) on Brackley Lough in the parish of Templeport, County Cavan, August 2011 (Photo: Brian Lambkin)

Glassie. One informant, Joe Flanagan, told Glassie that 'clay from the grave of Saint Mogue near Bawnboy in Cavan was collected and thrust up in the thatch ... to prevent lightning from blasting the home'.<sup>11</sup> His brother, Peter Flanagan, explained its particular importance for emigrants:

Saint Mogue, he was a wonderful saint, they say. Saint Mogue. He was in the diocese of Clogher. Saint Mogue is buried on a wee island this side of Bawn. And all the emigrants ever went to America, even me sisters, they brought Saint Mogue's clay with them. It's a whitish color, more like chalk, or like putty, that nature. It's wee crumbly stuff. It's interestin that when they'd be going to America longgo, they'd chip a wee bit of it, like that, into the sea. And the sea would be at its roughest and it would drive the waves back. I

heard that now. I'm only just tellin as I heard. I wasn't an emigrant meself, nor had nothing to test it or anything, but I heard that about Saint Mogue's clay. It was always took be all the emigrants and specially when there was the ould sailin ship, when it was *more hazardous* goin away out on the ocean (Glassie 1982, 174, emphasis added).

Peter Flanagan's general comment here on how the 'hazard' of the transatlantic crossing was perceived to have been much greater in the age of sail than in the age of steam was confirmed by a specific case given by Joe Flanagan:

There was an uncle and aunt of ours, and they set out (that would be a brother and sister of me father's) and it took them four months to go to America. A storm riz and blew them out of their course altogether, do ye know. They had to wait then for the storm to cease. They were ould sailin ships at that time (1982, 174).<sup>12</sup>

Notwithstanding the much shorter crossing times in the age of steam, the 'hazard' in terms of danger of sea-sickness and drowning, was clearly still perceived as significant, as evidenced by the use of Saint Mogue's clay by Mary McGovern in 1912 and Peter and Joe Flanagan's sisters when they emigrated in the 1940s.

We are dealing here with a migrant 'coping strategy' that has deep roots in Irish history (and probably one that was shared across Europe before the Reformation). The motif of emigrants using

religious objects as a 'safeguard' against drowning at sea can be traced back at least to the early seventeenth century. Perhaps the most famous historical example – one of which many Irish emigrants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may have been aware – is part of the story of the Flight of the Earls in 1607, when Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, who had opposed Queen Elizabeth I during the Nine Years War (1594-1603, departed in haste from Ireland to mainland Europe (Fitzgerald and Lambkin 2008, 23-4). The account given of the use by emigrants of St Mogue's clay given to Henry Glassie bears strong resemblances to the following contemporary account of the behaviour of Hugh O'Neill's men in response to a threatening storm on their voyage:

After that they spent thirteen days at sea with excessive storm and dangerous bad weather. It gave them great relief when they placed in the sea, trailing after the ship, a cross of gold which Ó Néill had, [and] in which there was a portion of the Cross of the Crucifixion along with many other relics (Ó Muraíle 2007, 52-3).

In using their gold cross in this way, Hugh O'Neill's men may have had in mind as a precedent for calming a stormy sea not only the miracle of Jesus (Mark 4: 35-41; Luke 8: 22-25; Matthew 8: 23-27) but also many other similar miracles, traditionally believed to have been performed by Irish saints, including Colmcille – the archetypal Irish emigrant, and near contemporary

of Mogue in the sixth century, who was sent into exile from Ireland to Iona, off the west coast of Scotland (Lambkin 2007b, 133-4; Lacey 1998, 175). The actions of trailing the gold cross after the ship and chipping a piece of St Mogue's clay into the sea during a storm may be considered as ways of invoking or even mimicking the kind of protective actions performed directly by these saints.<sup>13</sup>

If this 'coping strategy' in relation to the hazard of drowning, exemplified by Mary McGovern taking with her Saint Mogue's clay, can be traced back in the Irish migration tradition at least to the early seventeenth century, we may ask to what extent, if any, it persists in the present. There are reports of the effectiveness of Saint Mogue's clay in relation to protection against fire (including a bomb explosion in Belfast during the Troubles), on land rather than on sea, as recently as the 1970s (Rofé 2011, 78, 116). However, Mary McGovern's use of Saint Mogue's clay can be seen as part of a more general religious approach in Ireland to the dangers of travel on land, sea and air. Judging from a recent statement by the Catholic bishops of Ireland, now the most urgent danger to life while travelling is to be encountered on the island's roads. Speaking on behalf of his fellow bishops, Bishop Liam McDauid of Clogher said 'up to 2 August 2012 road fatality figures stood at 109 for the Republic and 24 for the North', and he concluded his statement by recommending 'the following dedicated prayer for motorists which may be recited before driving'

[\(http://www.catholicbishops.ie/2012/08/02/bishop-macdauid-urges-road-users-safe-recommends-prayer-motorists-2/\)](http://www.catholicbishops.ie/2012/08/02/bishop-macdauid-urges-road-users-safe-recommends-prayer-motorists-2/):

*Before I take my place behind the wheel  
I pray, O Sacred Heart – Guide me on my way.  
Virgin Mary, Morning Star, from every danger guide this car.  
Thou dear Lord who gave it to enjoy,  
Grant that its purpose be to save and not destroy.  
Amen.*

The form of this prayer, with its emphasis on 'guidance' to safety, is strikingly similar to the prayer to Saint Mogue that was also given to Mary McGovern by her mother before she set sail on the *Titanic*:

*May the Almighty God be a Father to you,  
The Mother of God a Mother to you,  
And your Guardian Angel and Patron Saint Mogue  
Guide, guard and protect you night,  
noon and morning,  
Lying and rising, asleep and awake  
(Rofé 2011, 15).<sup>14</sup>*

Thus, within the exhibition 'Titanic: Window on Emigration', the case of Mary McGovern provides a 'window' on the value of migrant objects in helping the migrants who carried them (and those in the old home who may have presented them) cope with the hazards of migration, especially religious migrant objects, like Saint Mogue's clay, in coping with the hazard of an ocean crossing. In particular this case helps us to understand the attitude of Irish migrants who shared Mary McGovern's Catholic faith and local tradition. At the

same time it challenges us to understand better the coping strategies of those who did not, such as her fellow passenger Thomas Morrow (Molony 2000, 153-4). The only Presbyterian, Orangeman from Ulster aboard *Titanic*, he was lost; and about his migration objects nothing is known.

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## Notes

- 1 I am grateful to my colleagues in the Ulster-American Folk Park and the Mellon Centre for Migration Studies for assistance and suggestions, particularly Liam Corry, Fiona McClean, Catherine McCullough, Pat O'Donnell, Patrick Fitzgerald, Christine Johnston, Johanne Devlin-Trew, and fellow field-worker Kay Muhr.
- 2 Precision with regard to numbers of passengers and crew aboard *Titanic* remains a difficult and contested issue, as the Ithaca website acknowledges.
- 3 It may be of particular interest to readers of this edition of the *AEMI Journal*, which contains an article on Louis Adamic, that Davenport-Hines makes particular reference to the work of Adamic in this regard (1912, 109-10, 112, 229).
- 4 Scapular: 'an article of devotion composed of two small squares of woollen cloth, fastened together by strings passing over the shoulders, and worn as a badge of affiliation to the religious order which presents it' (OED).
- 5 Molony makes clear that 'farewell parties' or 'American wakes' were held in honour of many of the departing emigrants and that some were presented with their 'parting gifts' on these occasions (2000, 27, 32, 97, 108, 121). For more on the Irish ritual of departure known as the 'American wake', see Lambkin (2007, 154-8).
- 6 Knives were popular as gifts in Ireland not only for their practical value but also as a protection

- against evil (being made of iron against which fairies were believed to be powerless). Traditionally, a coin would be given in return (to avoid 'cutting' the friendship). The knife as a protection for fishermen against storms and the danger of drowning is the central motif of Ó Canáinn and Watson (1990). I am grateful to Kay Muhr for this reference.
- 7 For more on the image of Robert Emmet as a popular Irish migrant object see Lambkin (2006, 27).
  - 8 The connection between Maedhóg (English Mogue) and Aodhán (English Aidan) is the Irish name Aodh: Maedhóg means 'my little Aodh' and Aodhán means 'little Aodh' - 'óg' and 'án' being diminutives (Ó Riain 2011, 71).
  - 9 Mary McGovern also gave an interview to the *Sunday Press*, 21 September 1952, which appears to be the source of the account given in Rofé (2011, 14) Here there is a slight textual difference in the last two sentences: '... I had carried a little of the earth from Saint Mogue's grave. I have it still hidden in the rafters of my home'.
  - 10 According to written tradition, the burial place of Saint Mogue is at Rossinver, on the shore of Lough Melvin in the neighbouring county of Leitrim. In oral tradition in both Cavan and Fermanagh, there appears to have been a conflation of the saint's birth place and burial place, at least so far as Mary McGovern (see note 6 above), the Flanagan brothers and Henry Glassie were concerned (Glassie 1982, 627).
  - 11 Catherine Reilly, landlady of the recently-built Lake Avenue House Bed and Breakfast accommodation, informed us that her mother-in-law had taken care to ensure that an amount of Saint Mogue's clay was placed in its foundations.
  - 12 Glassie comments that this emigration would have taken place 'about 1880' and that 'they were never heard from again'. He also comments that when Peter and Joe's sisters emigrated sixty years later they also 'took a pinch of Mogue's clay' (1982, 175).
  - 13 There is a tradition, still current, that clay from a special grave blessed by Saint Colmcille on Tory Island, off the west coast of County Donegal, like Saint Mogue's clay, was used by emigrants as a protection from drowning (Gwynn 1898, 160; Glassie 1982, 813). Similarly, it was believed about 'sand' taken from beneath the monument to Saint Murriagh O'Heaney in the old graveyard of Banagher, County Londonderry, that 'the house in which any of the above sand is deposited can never burn by accident, in that it is a barrier and safeguard against burning, drowning, the spells of witches or necromancers, as well as against phantoms or evil spirits' (Day and McWilliams, 71). Regarding the use of a 'scapular' to still a storm, McGowan (2001, 28-29) reports an incident involving a group of fishermen from County Sligo who during a storm were in danger of drowning: 'An old man, acknowledging they were beyond human help, tried one last desperate measure. "There's only one thing left," he said, taking off his scapulars and throwing them on the heaving water. ... Soon afterwards, the winds calmed and the storm cleared. By starlight, they steered the boat to a safe landing at the mouth of the Duff river. Barton, the local landlord - and a Protestant - was one of those on board. As they pulled the boat ashore, he spoke to the skipper. "Look here", he said, pointing to the water, "what you threw out on the sea is still here floating alongside!" I am grateful to Johanne Devlin-Trew for this reference.
  - 14 The most famous prayer of this type is St Patrick's *Lorica* (Breastplate), which dates from the eighth century.

# Norwegian Immigration Policy and the 22 July 2011 Terrorist Attacks in Oslo

*Hans Storhaug*

In 2010 Norway experienced the highest immigration numbers ever. Although it was Polish and Baltic citizens that contributed the most, there was a growing skepticism about immigration in general. With the Arab Spring the fear of new waves of asylum seekers and radical Islam became hot topics in the political debate prior to the 2011 municipal elections. With the terrorists attack on the government building and the killings at the Island of Utøya 22 July the debate silenced.

## **Norwegian immigrant population**

In 1665, Norway's population was 440 000. It had grown to one million by 1822, two million by 1890, three million by 1942 and four million by 1975. By July 2012 the fifth million was reached.<sup>1</sup> With a birth rate less than 2.1 in the last decades, the population growth is due to immigration, and the following key statistics summarise the present situation:

- Norway's immigrant population consists of people from 219 different countries and independent regions. They have come as

refugees, as labour migrants, to study, or to join family living in Norway.

- Immigrants and those born in Norway to immigrant parents constitute 655,000 persons or 13.1 per cent of Norway's population, among which 547,000 are immigrants and 108,000 are born in Norway to immigrant parents.
- Broken down by region, 294,000 have a European background, 163,000 persons have a background from Asia, 60,000 from Africa, 18,000 from South- and Central-America and 11,000 from North America and Oceania. 57,100 of those born in Norway to immigrants parents have an Asian background, 29,000 have parents from Europe, 19,500 from Africa and 2,600 have immigrant parents from South- and Central America.
- The majority of the immigrants are from Poland, Sweden, Germany and Lithuania. Thirty-three per cent of the immigrants have Norwegian citizenship.
- Between 1990 and 2010, a total of 471,000 non-Nordic citizens immigrated to Norway and were granted residence here. Of these, 22 per cent came as refugees, 28 per cent were labour immigrants and 11 per cent were granted residence in order to undertake education. Twenty-three per cent came to Norway due to family reunification with someone already in Norway, and 15 per cent were granted residence because they had established a family.

- Statistics Norway has published figures on those born outside Norway since the Population Census of 1865. Back then, 1.2 per cent of the total population of 1.7 million were born abroad; the majority in Sweden. By 1920, the immigrant share of the total population had increased to 2.8 per cent. During the interwar period there was little immigration, and by 1950 only 1.4 per cent of the population was born abroad. Today 11.4 per cent of the whole Norwegian population is born outside the country. In Oslo, the capital of Norway, the foreign born population is 27 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

The distribution of the immigrant population is reflected in table 1.

*Table 1. Immigrant groups in Norway, 2010*

Polen	52125
Sweden	31193
Pakistan	31061
Iraq	26374
Somalia	25496
Germany	22859
Vietnam	20100
Denmark	19298
Iran	16321
Turkey	15998
Bosnia-Herzegovina	15198
Russia	14873
Sri-Lanka	13772
The Phillipines	13447
United Kingdom	12843
Kosovo	12719
Thailand	12268
Afghanistan	10475
Lithuania	10341

*Source: Statistics Norway*

As we have seen, the largest immigrant groups in Norway come from our

neighbouring countries and the Western world. Still both the authorities and the public in Norway have become increasingly concerned about the pressure on welfare resulting from the immigration of people with low skill levels from countries in the South – particularly from Africa and Somalia. A large proportion of these newcomers have proven difficult to integrate in a labour market characterised by high demands for skills and a compressed wage structure that makes lowskilled labour comparatively expensive.

From 2007 to 2011 public expenditure on immigration and integration more than doubled, from 6,7 to 13,7 billion and in the wake of the Arab Spring, starting in Tunisia in December 2010, more asylum seekers reached Norway. In May 2011 859 persons applied for asylum, the second highest number ever, most of them from Somalia and Eritrea.<sup>3</sup> To meet the crises in Africa, the UN High Commissioner on Refugees visited Oslo, urging Norway along with the rest of Europe to take its share.

In addition to these newcomers, 29,000 asylum seekers were waiting for their applications to be processed. Some had waited for years. The government therefore increased the staff handling administration to shorten the process. The government also introduced a stricter return policy towards those who could not document their need for protection. Many were returned by force, despite heavy protests from organisations like Amnesty International and critical remarks from the UN High Commissioner of Refugees.<sup>4</sup>

There was also a special focus on those who had their applications rejected be-

cause they lacked identification papers, but who refused to return voluntarily. Over the years many have left the the reception centers - unofficially the number is more than ten thousand – and became illegal immigrants.

A 25 year-old Maria Amelie, real name Madina Salamova, gave these illegal immigrants a face by publishing her book *Illegally Norwegian*, where she describes her fleeing the Russian republic of North Ossetia as a child and going underground with her parents when their asylum application was rejected. Maria Amelie somehow managed to evade Norway's immigration authorities for eight years while learning fluent Norwegian, getting a university degree and then writing her best-selling book. A weekly news magazine awarded her the title 'Norwegian of the year' in 2010.<sup>5</sup>

Maria Amelie called herself a paperless immigrant - someone whose asylum application has been denied and con-



25 year-old Maria Amelie, real name Madina Salamova, gave illegal immigrants in Norway a face by publishing her book "Illegally Norwegian" in 2010. Source: [www.nettavisen.no](http://www.nettavisen.no)  
Photo:Poppe, Cornelius (SCANPIX)

sequently has no papers and no civic rights. On 12 January 2011 she was arrested, put in custody while waiting for deportation. Many of the people demonstrating against her deportation argued that paperless immigrants should be granted the right to work, pay taxes and access Norway's public health service while they wait for their situation to be resolved. For many in the same situation "Hers was a voice for the voiceless - those who are living in hiding themselves and living in a very, very difficult situation."

Yet Norway's Prime Minister, Jens Stoltenberg, stood firm. Speaking on national television, he said he understood why people were demonstrating., but added:

"... my task is to make sure we execute a fair refugee and asylum policy, so we have to treat people on an equal basis, [so] that those who are in need of protection are the ones who are allowed to stay."<sup>6</sup>

But critics said the government need not have bent any rules to allow Maria Amelie to stay. John Peder Egenaes, head of Amnesty International Norway pointed to the fact that "Norway is one of the few countries that never had any kind of regularization of these people's situations, while this has happened to six million people in Europe. "It basically means their status as illegal is changed to legal. And this has never happened in Norway. We are just creating a paperless underclass right now."<sup>7</sup>

This was a difficult situation. The Labour Party faced a right-of-centre opposition ready to attack any sign of weakness on immigration. The government's minority partner, the Socialist

Left Party was keen to ease immigration laws, which led to serious tensions within the government. However, Maria Amelie was deported to Moscow where she applied for a work permit and later returned as a legal Russian immigrant worker.

### Norwegian Integration Barometer 2010

Although the Maria Amelie case aroused a lot of sympathy for the so-called ‘paperless’, general opinion on immigration has moved in a negative direction since 2005. According to the *Norwegian Integration Barometer 2010* (a survey on Norwegians attitude towards immigration and integration), more than half of the 1380 persons asked – 53.7 per cent – want to close the borders as compared with 45.8 in 2005. Almost half – 48.7 percent thought that integration was unsuccessful – up from 36 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

The reasons are many and complex and cannot be addressed here, but there are some aspects that might help to explain the negative trend: Public discussion on child marriages, male and female circumcision, the head-scarf for women, but also on school drop-outs, work drop-outs, exploitation of social benefits and international terrorism, have increased in recent years. Although only a tiny proportion of terrorist attacks in Europe have been carried out by Muslims, many Europeans – and Norwegians - share the view expressed in an election speech in 1987 by Carl I Hagen – former leader of Fremskrittspartiet (Progress Party) that “not all Muslims are terrorists, but all terrorists are Muslims.” So the debate about immigration has been polarized, and the media have mainly reported on

the extremes, often blaming ‘Islam’ and ‘the Muslims’. Although they only represent 1,5 per cent of the population, to many Norwegians the Muslims have become a threat to Norwegian cultural values and the Norwegian welfare state. This was clearly demonstrated in the report *Welfare and Migration. The Future of the Norwegian Model*, published 10 May 2011. The committee pointed to the fact that there is a steady flow of poorly qualified groups in Norwegian working life, and that many of them are unemployed: Somalis, Iraqis, Afghanis, Pakistanis, Moroccans, Turkey, Kosovos and Iranians – all Muslim countries. At the very bottom are the Somalis, with an employment rate of only 31.9 (2009).<sup>9</sup>

The Committee therefore strongly recommended a further development of the so-called introductory programme with a strong labour market profile – *integration through work* – and *300 hours compulsory courses* on the Norwegian language and social issues. Activation is a key word, emphasizing the need to make immigrants active contributors in society instead of passive receivers of social benefits. To reach these goals, the committee also recommended a stronger commitment by public and private sector to help integration of poor qualified immigrants in productive labour and to prevent this group from falling out of ordinary working life permanently, which would mean a substantial burden on the welfare budget.

The report created a great stir. High-profile individuals like Jens Ultheit Moe, founder of the Norwegian investment company, the Umoe Group, claimed that immigrants are a threat to

the welfare state;<sup>10</sup> Progress Party representative Per-Willy Amundsen claimed that immigrants are bad employers;<sup>11</sup> while on the other side Anna-Sabina Soggiu, leader for Norwegian social workers (Fellesorganisasjonen) claimed that the report to a great extent overlooked the reasons why many immigrants did not succeed on the labour market.<sup>12</sup> The report was, no doubt, a valuable contribution in outlining a policy for sustainable immigration, but I do not think I am too wrong saying that many of the proposals in the report were ‘adopted’ from the Progress Party’s immigration policy.

Therefore in early summer 2011 immigration was a hot political issue, with

an atmosphere of anti-Muslim feeling. And most people – myself included - expected that immigration would be the main issue in the forthcoming municipal elections in September.

### The Oslo Tragedy

Then – on 22 July Norway was struck by a double terrorist attack – the most serious one since World War II. A bomb exploded in Oslo destroying large parts of a government office block and there was a mass shooting at Utøya Island. 77 people were killed among them 68 young members of Norwegian Labour Party’s youth wing, the AUF.

Immediately after the explosion many feared an Islamic terrorist action, and



22 July 2011: A bomb exploded in Oslo, destroying large parts of a government office block.

© Reuters

some innocent Muslims were attacked in the streets. A few hours later, when the perpetrator's name and his extreme right-wing ideas were known, the first reaction among Norwegian Muslims as well as among most Norwegians was simply relief. It was an ethnic Norwegian, born and raised in Oslo. His name and appearance burned into my mind and retina: Anders Behring Breivik. In a 1,500-page "manifesto" which he published online hours before his actions, entitled *2083: A European Declaration of Independence*, Mr. Breivik explains why he committed the killings. The text rants against Marxism, multiculturalism and globalization, and warns of what he calls Islamic Demographic Warfare. He calls for a crusade to defend his idea of Europe: "What most people still do not understand is that the ongoing Islamisation of Europe cannot be stopped before one gets to grip with the political doctrine which makes it possible," he wrote. So the target that formed in his mind was not immigrant groups, but the government itself which had opened the borders for Muslims, and young people who were attached to the ruling left-leaning Labour Party.

His lawyer, Geir Lippestad, said that "he had been politically active (Fpu) and found out himself that he did not succeed with usual political tools and so resorted to violence". In his own chilling words, the killings were "atrocious but necessary". From his own tweets, paraphrasing the English philosopher John Stuart Mill, you can glimpse his twisted certainty: "One person with a belief is equal to the force of 100,000 who have only interests."

Again, quoting his lawyer: "he wanted

a change in society, and from his perspective, he needed to force through a revolution. He wished to attack society and the structure of society." But he did not succeed. In contrast to U.S. President George Bush' "we'll hunt them down" after 9/11 Norwegian prime minister Jens Stoltenberg said "we will respond to his actions with more openness, more tolerance and more democracy".<sup>13</sup>

With these words Stoltenberg gained world-wide sympathy and admiration, and in Norway people across the country gathered in churches, town halls, meeting houses in a new feeling of empathy, solidarity and unity, in Oslo 200,000 people joined in the so-called Rose March in remembrance of the victims and their families.

### **The Utøya Effect**

The tragedy also had political effects. A month before the tragedy, Norwegian voters were presented with the results from the June polls, reflecting both The Maria Amelie case and the Report on Welfare and Migration. It gave the Labour Party the lowest scores in many years – 27.8 per cent, and it was expected that the party would lose ground in the election. But the tragedy paved way for the best elections for the Labour Party in 24 years – up 4.5 per cent compared to the June polls, and 2 per cent in comparison to the 2007 elections. It is not unlikely that some of the 100,000 new voters were sympathy voters, or endorsing the way Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg had handled the tragedy. However, its coalition ally the Socialist Left Party (SV) lost even more votes after the tragedy and ended up with only 4 per cent,

down from 6 per cent in 2007. The big winners were the Conservatives, who probably took votes from the anti-immigration Progress Party once favoured by right-wing extremist Anders Behring Breivik, which lost a third of its vote, see Table 1.<sup>14</sup>

*Table 1: Municipal elections 2007 - 2011 including polls June 11*

	2011	June Polls	2007
Labour Party	31.6	27.2	29.6
Conservative Party	28.0	30.3	19.3
Progress Party	11.4	16.4	17.5
Centre Party	6.8	5.7	8.0
Liberal Party	6.2	4.4	5.9
Christian People's Party	5.6	5.3	6.4
Socialist Left Party	4.1	5.4	6.2

Source: *Regjeringen.no*

### Voluntary Work

The tragedy has also given voluntary work a new meaning. Many voluntary organisations and individuals gave a helping hand during and after the tragedy at Utøya. Particularly organisations like Red Cross and Folkehjelpen – People's Help. Since the tragedy hit so many young people, many young people have also responded to the tragedy by joining these and Amnesty International and Center for Anti – Racism. The Labour Party's youth organisation has also gained several more members than usual.

And perhaps most important, there seems to be a new and more sympathetic awareness of the Muslim presence in Norway; a great number of Muslims express their feeling of belonging and

sincere commitment to Norwegian democracy. Also Muslim young men and women were killed at Utøya. Or as one who knows most about Muslims in Norway, Kari Vogt, Researcher at the Institute of Cultural Studies at the University of Oslo says: A new "us" seems to have been created.<sup>15</sup>

### Anti-immigrant sentiments in Europe

Across Europe there is a strong and growing concern about immigration. It is partly fuelled by unemployment but also has its roots in threatened identity. Societies have been changing fast. There is mounting frustration that officials at both European and national level seem not to listen to the views of the voters.

With globalisation, national identity seems to have become more important. The nation state remains the focus of most people's identity, and so nationalist parties have made gains in many parts of Europe: the Freedom Party in Austria; the Flemish Block in Belgium; the Danish People's Party in Denmark; the National Front in France; the Hellenic Front in Greece; the Northern League and National Alliance in Italy; the Democrats in Sweden; the True Finns in Finland; the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands; the Swiss People's Party in Switzerland; and the Progress Party in Norway.

There are frequent expressions of concern about the growing influence of these parties. Others say that they provide a useful channel for the feelings of frustration and alienation.

An expert in European right-wing extremism at London's Kingston University, Andrea Mammone, says Breivik's ideas are consistent with many on the extreme right in Europe. "These ideas

of having a pure community, of having a white Europe are quite widespread across European right-wing extremism. They are against immigration and Islam, which is a very easy target. They are for an immigrant-free Europe.”<sup>16</sup>

K. Biswas from the magazine *the New Internationalist* says a tide has turned over the past decade. The extreme right may agree with much of Breivik’s outlook, but, they say, not with his tactics, and it is important to separate the two. “What is interesting to note is that these views are no longer fringe views,” Biswas noted, “These views are entering part of the mainstream”. But he also says that “linking Islamophobia, hostile anti-elite views to violent acts is wrong.”<sup>17</sup>

This anti-Muslimism, as a rule, equates migrants and Muslims, fosters intolerance towards communities whose religion is Islam and whose Islamic character, real or imagined, is the subject of prejudice. In many Western European societies multiculturalism has been transformed into an ideological battleground and has encouraged the growth of ‘identity politics’ across Europe.<sup>18</sup>

Some of Europe’s leaders, from Angela Merkel to David Cameron, have questioned multiculturalism. France’s deportations of Roma, Silvio Berlusconi and Nicolas Sarkocy debate on “enhanced security” in Europe’s visa-free Schengen area – meaning how to close their borders for people fleeing Africa, and the Norwegian Progress Party’s continuous talk about “covert” Islamization, are all expressions that migrants, and Muslims in particular, represent a threat to European countries and civilization. By claiming the superiority of Western culture and values, they also want to coerce others into accepting these values. However, a

much better chance of arriving at such values happens if other points of view get sufficient cultural self-confidence, political power, and opportunity to express themselves.<sup>19</sup>

In this respect, I believe, AEMI can make a difference. Representing a diversity of research centres, libraries, archives and museums dedicated to the research and dissemination of migration issues, past and present, our organisation has the potential to enhance public awareness of present migration and to prove that migration history matters.

## Notes

- 1 Statistics Norway/ ssb.no
- 2 All figures provided by Statistics Norway/ ssb.no
- 3 Aftenposten.no.webarchive, 7.06.11
- 4 Ibid, 7.06.11
- 5 Lars Beranger, BBC-News,30.01.2011  
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-12309321>
- 6-7 Ibid.
- 8 <http://www.bnp.org.uk/news/anti-immigration-sentiment-rises-tolerant-norway>
- 9 NOU 2011:7, Velferd og migrasjon. Den norske modellens fremtid. Oslo 2011
- 10 <http://www.abcnheter.no/penger/oe-konomi/2011/05/23/jens-ulltveit-moe-innvandrer-uthuler-velferdsstaten>
- 11 [http://178.79.186.243/artikkel/velferd\\_og\\_innvandring\\_dominerte\\_sporretimen](http://178.79.186.243/artikkel/velferd_og_innvandring_dominerte_sporretimen)
- 12 [http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/06/20/kultur/debatt/debattinnlegg/audun\\_lysbakken/brochmann-utvalget/16988438/](http://www.dagbladet.no/2011/06/20/kultur/debatt/debattinnlegg/audun_lysbakken/brochmann-utvalget/16988438/)
- 13 [http://www.norway-un.org/NorwayandUN/Norwegian\\_Politics/Our-response-will-be-more-openness-more-democracy-/](http://www.norway-un.org/NorwayandUN/Norwegian_Politics/Our-response-will-be-more-openness-more-democracy-/)
- 14 Valgresultatet 2011: <http://nrk.no/valg2011/valgresultat/>
- 15 <http://www.alsharq.de/2011/08/who-are-muslims-of-norway.html>
- 16-17 [http://www.51voa.com/VOA\\_Standard\\_English/Norway-Massacre-Highlights-Europes-Growing-Far-Right-42552.html](http://www.51voa.com/VOA_Standard_English/Norway-Massacre-Highlights-Europes-Growing-Far-Right-42552.html)
- 18 Ruzica Cicak-Chand, Ethnic and Cultural Identity of Muslim Immigrants in Western Europe in *AEMI Journal*, Vol. 2,2004: 112
- 19 Ibid. Reference to Bhikhu Parekh, Minority practices and principles of toleration in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 30:1, New York 1996.