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Association of European Migration Institutions

AEMII

J O U R N A L



Volume 12 • 2014

Special Issue on

‘Where We Belong -
Borders, Ethnicity and Identity’

Editor

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions
www.aemi.eu

Cover picture: The statue of 'Sola in Karlstad' - or Eva Lisa Holtz (1739 -1818), is a famous symbol of the city of Karlstad, Sweden. Holtz was a waitress and owner of a tavern, well known for her "sunny" mood.

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From the Editor

The twelfth volume of the AEMI Journal is now at hand for members of the Association of European Migration Institutions and others interested in migration history research – both past and contemporary. Nine articles are presented, eight from the 2013 annual meeting in Karlstad, Sweden and one left over from the meeting in Krakow, Poland in 2012. The nine articles have a time span from the sixteenth century to the present, and most of them focus on the theme *Where We Belong: Borders, Ethnicity and Identity*.

Both ethnicity and identity are explanatory factors in Kirsten Egholk and Susanne Krogh Jensen's *Greve Nord – A Changing Multi-Ethnic Public Housing Area*. Here they explain why the Danish flagship of public housing area *Greve Nord* in less than two decades changed into a multi-ethnic ghetto haunted by social problems and a high crime rate. The authors also discuss what public initiatives are taken to turn this unfortunate situation around.

In her article *No Place Like 'Home': Experiences of the Netherlands East Indies as Real, Virtual and Politically Contested Reality by Indisch Dutch and Indisch Dutch Australians* Nonja Peters describes how the traumatic experiences of the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and the following Indonesian Revolution for Independence (1945-1949) in different ways influenced the Netherlands East Indies' perception of 'home', place and belonging.

Richard Magito Brun gives in his article *The Transnational Identity: Nineteenth Century Semi-Residential Sinti and Travellers in Sweden*, an overview of the origin of the Roma people and Sinti in Sweden exemplified by acrobat and rope-dancer Friederich Eisfeld. Although given permission to perform in all parts of Sweden, and speaking the language, Friedrich Eisfeld never became a Swede, but lived a life determined by his Sinto identity and Roma traditions.

In *The Poor People of the Forest: Immigration and Integration in Värmland in the 1670s*, Peter Olaus concludes that conflicts between the landless forest Finns (and Norwegians) and the Swedish farmers in Fryksdalen, often were not ethnically based, but rather related to issues about hunting, fishing and the use of forests.

Marcin Szerle analyses memoirs about the United States in his article *How To Be a Pole Abroad - Initial Impressions from Life in the United States*. Not surprisingly he finds that most often Poles emigrated to their families and friends, creating a new life in the New World. However, for many Poles the main goal was to earn money and return to their homeland; consequently many did not even bother to learn the language.

Co-organiser of the AEMI meeting in Lisbon 2003, and a regular contributor to our Journal since then, Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade considers in her article *Portuguese Migration: Responding to the New Crisis* the challenges of present-day economic hardship in Portugal to the forefront. Due to lack of alternatives, an increasing number of young Portuguese are leaving the country, particularly graduates and technicians, bringing the country to the top of the 'brain drain' league table.

In *An Overview of the Basque Government's Diaspora Strategy* Asier Vallejo Itsaso outlines the main framework of the public programs and politics regarding the Basque diaspora as embodied in Law 8/1994. The objective of the law is to promote, support and intensify the relations between the Basque Country and the Basque communities and clubs abroad by introducing activities to disseminate, stimulate and develop Basque culture and the Basque economy.

In *Ambivalent Dutch Lifestyle Migrants in Rural Sweden*, Marco Eimermann introduces a new concept in migration research to the AEMI Journal: *lifestyle migration*. It focuses on relatively affluent Dutch families who moved from moderately, strongly, or extremely urbanised municipalities, to Hällefors in rural Sweden, seeking a better, more fulfilling life for their families, and their ambivalence towards returning.

Eimermann's article more than anything demonstrates that there are many motives for migration. The Dutch families' principal motivation is lifestyle and a gradual achievement of a better life, while millions of other Europeans migrate, desperately searching for jobs or seeking shelter and security from war and aggressive rulers.

At the risk of repeating myself, I still believe that the Journal has become a valuable asset to the Association, documenting the research of our members, stimulating existing member institutions to organise future conferences, and recruiting new members.

Hans Storhaug,
Editor

The Association of European Migration Institutions Protocol of the Annual Meeting

*3 - 5 October 2013
Karlstad, Sweden*



Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other migration researcher met for a three day conference at the Swedish Congress Culture Center in Karlstad, Sweden. The conference was hosted by the Swedish Migration Center located in the court house in the central city square (picture).

Thursday, 3 October 2013

After a reception at the Swedish Migration Center, generously hosted by the City of Karlstad on Wednesday evening, conference members met Thursday morning at the Swedish Congress Culture Center. Welcome speeches by Mathias Nilsson, director of the Swed-

ish Migration Center (until 13 September 2013 named the Swedish American Center), Kenneth Johansson, Governor of Värmland, and AEMI chairman Hans Storhaug, marked the official opening of the annual conference. In his keynote speech Paul Lappalainen, Senior Advisor, Swedish Equality Om-

budsman, talked about structural discrimination and institutional racism, and highlighted equality as the key to democracy, human rights and inclusion.

The rest of the day was devoted to papers and discussions related to the themes of transnationalism, ethnic identity, migration theory and integration:

Session 1 Including diversity: National self-images in a multicultural society, chaired by Marianna Auliciema.

Kirsten Egholk and Susanne Krogh Jensen: *Integration in Public Housing - from the Flagship of Housing in the Danish Welfare State to Problematic Neighbourhoods*

Sverre Mørkhagen: *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation Pressure*

Kristin Mikalsen: *Long Way Home - on the Use of Personal Stories in the Migration Exhibit 'Home'*

Session 2 and 3: Transnational ethnic groups - national identity, chaired by Adam Walaszek and Eva Meyer

Nonja Peters: *No Place like Home: Experiences of the Netherlands East Indies as real, virtual and politically contested reality*

Marco Eimermann: *I Felt Confined- Narratives of Ambivalence among Dutch Lifestyle Migrants in Rural Sweden*

Maddalena Tirabassi: *Italy's Europe, Europe's Italy*

Richard Magito Brun: *The Transnational Identity: Nineteenth Century Semi-Residential Continental Sinti and Indigenous Travellers in Sweden*

Gur Alroey: *Between History of Immigration and History of Immigrants: the Case of Jewish Migration at the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries*

Peter Olausson: *The Poor People of the Forest: Immigration and Integration in Värmland in the 1670s*

Session 4 Migration Research Institutions and Exhibits chaired by Erik Gustavsson.

Brian Lambkin: *Migration Museums in Ireland and Britain: Some Recent Developments*

Nina Ray: *Dead Bodies Migrate Too: An Exploration of the Help Migration Institutions Could Provide to War Monument Sites*

Tifenn Hamonic: *How to Build an Internet Portal on the History of Immigration: the Example of Odysseo.*

A reception at the Governor's Mansion followed by dinner at the Swedish Migration Center, both hosted by Governor Kenneth Johansson, made a perfect end to the first day of the conference.

Friday, 4 October 2013

Friday opened with some remarks by Catarina Segersten Larsson, Vice President, Region Värmland. Then followed session 5 and 6 focusing on theory, terminology and methodology used in lexicon and practise. The sessions were chaired by Maddalena Tirabassi and Sarah Clement.

Janja Zitnik Serafin: *Some Terminological Issues in Migration Studies*

Marijana Ajsa Vizintin: *The Cooperation of Slovenian Migration Institute with Educational Organizations: Common Projects on Developing Intercultural Competance*

Patrick Fitzgerald: *Crossing Borders: Reflecting Upon New Ways of Exploring Human Migration*

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade: *The Portuguese Migratory Phenomenon: the New Crisis Induced Settings*

Elisa Gosso: *Waldensian Migrations and the Role of the Church: A Historical - Anthropological Study in Cultural Boundaries and Religious Transnationalism*

Heike Spickermann: *Discourses about the National Self-Image by the Example of the Exhibition 'Germany for Beginners'*

The very last session addressed the theme Ethnic Identity and Integration, chaired by Brian Lambkin.

Dietmar Osses: *'Two Hearts are Bumping in My Breast': Identity and Feelings of Belonging of Second Generation Immigrants in the Ruhr*

Emilia Garcia Lopez: *Second and Third Generation Galician Immigrants in Europe Today*

Asier Vallejo: *An Overview of the Basque Government's Diaspora Strategy*

After a long, but very fruitful day, former director of the Swedish Migration Center, Erik Gustavsson welcomed all conference delegates to a wonderful reception and dinner at the restaurant 'Båten' (the Boat) on the River Klaraälven.

Saturday, 5 October 2013

The morning was devoted to the AEMI business meeting.

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

Minutes of Meeting

The General Assembly of the Associa-

tion of European Migration institutions was called to order Saturday 5 October 2013, 9.00 a. m. at the Swedish Migration Center, Karlstad, Sweden by Chairman Hans Storhaug.

1 Attendance Register and Apologies

Hans Storhaug conveyed apologies from Ms. Antoinette Reuter, The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration (CDMH), Dudelange, Luxembourg.

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

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Ms. Sarah Clément and Ms. Tiffen Hamonic

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 Centre for Documentation of Human Migration (CDMH), Dudelange, Luxembourg, represented by Denis Scuto

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

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

The Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway, Oslo, represented by Ms. Jana Sverdljuk Bentze

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

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

The Slovenian Migration Institute, Ljubljana, Slovenia, represented by Ms. Janja Zitnik Serafin and Ms. Marijansa Ajsa Vizintin

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

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

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 Sinne Fuglsang Klitgaard

The Danish Immigration Museum, Denmark, represented by Ms. Cathrine Kyö Hermanssen and Ms. Susanne Krogh Jensen

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

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

Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, Riga, Latvia, represented by Ms. Marianna Auliciema

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

Consello da Cultura Galega, Santiago de Compostella, Spain, represented by

Emilia Garcia Lopez

Gdynia Emigration Museum, Gdynia, Poland, represented by Marcin Szerele

Ms. Nina M. Ray, Boise State University, Boise, Idaho, USA

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

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

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

3. Chairman's Report, 2012-2013

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

In addition to frequent internet communication, the board held one face-to face meeting in Paris, France 18 - 20 June 2013. Unfortunately, Adam Walaszek and Eva Meyer were prevented from coming. The board discussed the framework of the upcoming Annual Conference and who to invite as key-

note speaker. In that respect, the board agreed to make a request to the Global Forum of Migration and Development, the European Fund for Integration, the High Commissioner of National Minorities, and the Open Society Foundation.

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

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

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

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

4. Secretary's Report, 2012-2013

AEMI's Secretary Sarah Clement noted that she had communicated messages to and from AEMI members, particularly on the development of the AEMI website. The new website offers functions like Facebook and Twitter, but they are not frequently used. In order to make the website more informative for both members and potential visitors, Secretary Clement requested more detailed information about each member institution. The Secretary also noted that she had actively tried to recruit new

members, and had invited Paul Lappalainen, senior advisor with the Swedish Equality Ombudsman and member of the advisory board of the Open Society Foundations to the Karlstad conference.

5. Treasurer's Report 2012-2013

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

6. Auditor's Report 2012-2013

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

7. Appointment of Auditor for 2013-2014

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

8. Treasurer's Proposed Budget 2014

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

9. Journal Editor's Report 2012-2013

Hans Storhaug, Editor of the AEMI Journal, presented volume 11 of the Journal based on the theme of the Krakow conference *Shaping Europe's Identity - European Internal Migration*. The Journal counted nine articles based on papers delivered at the Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Jagiellonian University, Krakow, Poland. The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his presentation and moved the adoption of the Editor's report. The meeting adopted the motion.

10. Admission of New Members

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

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

11. Member's Projects

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

Maddalena Tirabassi encouraged the Assembly to contribute to the project *Making Europe Bottom Up: European Migration History* by sending her statistics, photos and articles on migration from their own countries. Maddalena Tirabassi also urged the Assembly to make a public announcement supporting the victims of the Lampedusa catastrophe.

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

12. Future venues

Representatives from several member institutions have expressed their wish to host the AEMI conference in the years to come. The 2014 Annual AEMI meeting will take place in Riga, Latvia which that year has the status as European Capital of Culture. Ms. Marianna Auliciema,

representing Latvians Abroad Museum and Research Centre, announced that the theme for next year will have a special focus on refugees.

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

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

Another alternative might be Santiago de Compastella in Spain.

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman's Report 2012 - 2013

Ladies and Gentlemen:

In reflecting on the events of the past year, I would like to begin with recalling our Annual Meeting last year which took place in beautiful and historical Krakow, Poland. We again thank Adam Walaszek, Agnieszka Stasiewicz and Jan Lencznarowicz at the Institute of American Studies and Polish Diaspora, Jagellonian University for their warm welcome and generous hospitality. Both conference venues - The Institute and Dom Polonii were conveniently located at The Rynek Glowny, the heart and soul of Krakow, the focal point of everything that happens in the Stare Miasto (Old Town). From the early 13th Century, this was the site Krakow merchants came to sell their goods. It might also be of interest to know that the Jagellonian university is the oldest university in Poland. Established in 1364 it is also the second oldest university in Central Europe and one of the oldest in the world.

As ever, we rely on the Annual Meeting as our most important tool for renewing old friendships and making new ones, but also to take farewell with people we have known for years. In that respect I will particularly thank Ms. Dina Tolsby, curator of the Norwegian-American Collection at the National Library

of Norway and a long time member of AEMI, for attending most of the Annual Meetings.

As usual, there has been frequent communication between members of the Board, mainly by e-mail, in preparation for the Annual Meeting, and in this regard I would like to pay tribute in particular to Mathias Nilsson, our host in Karlstad, Sweden. I will congratulate him on his new position as director of the Swedish-American Center, which just recently changed its name to Svenska Migrationscenteret (Swedish Migration Center). I will also use this opportunity to thank the former director for many years, Eric Gustavsson, whom I have known since the late 1980s, for his conscientious job as auditor of AEMI, and for patiently waiting to host the Annual Meeting.

Your Board, for the second year of this current three-year cycle, has been Maddalena Tirabassi (Italy) as vice-chair, Sarah Clement (France) as Secretary, Eva Meyer (Åland/ Finland) as Treasurer, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor and chairman, Adam Walaszek (Poland) as representative of last year's host institution, Mathias Nilsson (Sweden) representing the host institution of

2013. The Board held one face-to face meeting this year 18 - 20 June in Paris, France, thanks to the hospitality of Secretary Sarah Clement. Unfortunately, both Adam Walaszek and Eva Meyer were prevented from coming. However, it turned out to be a good meeting, although Paris welcomed us with heavy rain and thunderstorms. The Paris meeting coincided with the General Assembly meeting of Generique, and we were invited to join them at the dinner buffet closing their meeting. Obviously, the main reason for our meeting was to discuss the framework of the upcoming Annual Conference and who to invite as keynote speaker. Mathias suggested a representative from the Global Forum of Migration and Development since the government of Sweden has assumed the chair-in office for 2013 - 2014, represented by Ambassador Eva Åkerman Börje. Hans mentioned the High Commissioner of National Minorities Meeting, Knut Vollebæk, who had been keynote speaker at the opening of the digital learning program of migration history (YAM) developed as part of the Stavanger 2008 European Capital of Culture program. Sarah mentioned Klaus Dik Nielsen from the Soros foundation, or Patricia Renoul from the French Ministry of Interior who works for the European Fund for Integration. The Board agreed to address these people, but realised that the chance for having a positive response was relatively small due to the late request.

The Board also suggested to make space for a five minute presentation of each AEMI member at the General Assembly, and to make the following proposals for the General Assembly at

the Karlstad meeting: 1) revitalise the European week of migration heritage by encouraging all members to select three places of memories/ histories of migrants as a common AEMI project, 2) modifications of the new website to make it more user friendly (thanks to our Secretary Sarah Clement, and here colleague Claire Tomasella at Generique for all there hard work) 3) introduce editorial guidelines for the Journal for future publications and make an iBook publication as replacement or complementation, 4) intensify the work on the book project Making Europe Bottom Up: European migratory history (1800-2010). I will come back to this later on. Mathias Nilsson also reported that there will be no conference fee, and that all meals (lunches and dinners) will be provided for by the Swedish Migration Center thanks to generous support by the City of Karlstad and the Region of Värmland.

As mentioned in last year's report, I was invited by Virgine Beaufriere, Head of Cultural Department of La Cité de la Mer, Cherbourg, France to speak at the Titanic and Emigration Meeting 8-10 November 2012. The conference was a follow-up on the opening of the new permanent exhibition dedicated to the Titanic and the theme of migration that had taken place 10 April that year, exactly 100 years after the Titanic's legendary stopover in Cherbourg. Aizlinn Merz, associate director of the German Emigration Center in Bremerhaven and Ms. Nicola Buonassorte and Dr. Pierangelo Campodini representing Museo Naval del Mare, Genoa, Italy and Marie-Charlotte Le Bailly, representing Red Star Line Museum, Antwerp, Bel-

gium were among the speakers known to AEMI members. Unfortunately, our friend and associate member Diana Pardu, Chief of the Museum Services Division, Ellis Island Immigration Museum, New York, USA could not come due to heavy destructions on the museum buildings caused by the storm Sandy. The majority of participants represented «The Titanic Cities Network», - and affiliation of maritime and city museums in Belfast, Southampton, Liverpool, Halifax NS, Cobh and New York.

This family attraction was truly an outstanding experience, and so was the meeting with Bernard Cauvin, President of La Cité de la Mer and his staff: Ms. Sylvie Brieu, Mr. Pierre Contentin, Ms. Laure-Anne Fortiemarthe and Ms. Beatrice Legoupil. During our conversation we touched upon the question how the Cite de la Mer and our Association could cooperate in the most beneficial way, and in that connection the question of EU funding soon became an issue. As part of the program was also a visit to the city hall and the mayor of Cherbour - Octeville, Bernard Cazeneuve. Mr. Cazeneuve (a friend of Mr. Cauvin) was also Deputy Minister for European Affairs at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he expressed a sincere interest in AEMI. He generously invited us (Mr. Cauvin, his staff and me) to a meeting in Paris to discuss matters of common interest. Due to this, I suggested that the Board should meet in Paris as soon as this meeting was settled. Unfortunately, before that happened, Mr. Cazeneuve was appointed the new Minister of Finance and replaced by Mr. Thierry Repentin. Consequently, there

was no meeting with Mr. Cazeneuve, but the Board finally met anyway.

As the dreams of the Paris meeting were about to fade, they were recently brought to life again by an email from Virginie Beaufrere stating that the new French Minister of European Affairs (Mr. Repentin) have asked Ms. Lhayani (in charge of the relationships with European Parliament and the civilian society) and Ms. Wernert (in charge of the budget, the home market, the Europe 2020 strategy, the social Europe, the Justice and the Internal Affairs) to make arrangements for receiving me in Paris.

The key issues to be discussed at the meeting will be the same four as those I prepared for the meeting with Mr. Cazeneuves, and that were discussed at the Board meeting in Paris. Three of them are recurring themes at AEMI meetings: the book on European migratory history (*Making Europe Bottom Up: European migratory history 1815-2015*); the digital learning programme on migration history, (*You and Me*) and the *European Migration Heritage Route*.

The fourth idea is to make an exhibition on European migration that could tour the major cities of Europe connected to migration. This was discussed with Mr. Bernard Cauvin and his staff during the Cherbour meeting, and also at the Board meeting in Paris. The travelling exhibiton named *From the Congress of Vienna to Fortress Europe. 200 years of European migration 1815 - 2015*.

It will take too long to give an detailed description of all the projects here, but a short version is given below.

Making Europe Bottom Up: European migratory history 1815-2015, was launched by vice-chair Maddalena Tirabassi and presented at the Annual Meeting in Krakow 2012. The aim of the project is to write a history of European migrations from the different countries' perspectives in order

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

You and Me is a digital learning program on migration history that was launched by your chairman in 2008, and has been presented to AEMI members at several meetings. The many French teachers that attended the Titanic conference in Cherbourg expressed a great interest in the program, and the idea is still to make it available in the European schools - including France.

Primarily on the initiative of Antoinette Reuter, a European Migration Heritage Route was granted reconnaissance in 2007 by the Council of Europe under the auspices of the 'European Institute for Cultural Routes' (EICR). This project was promoted by an informal association, in which some AEMI-members took an active part by helping to settle a 'European Migration Heritage

Week' (1st week in October). In 2009 the Council of Europe issued new requirements for the routes stipulating that each itinerary needs to be legally founded by statutes and independent accounting. This development, exposed to AEMI members at the Genoa annual meeting meant of course the end of the loose organisation described above. It also made clear that a "cultural route" cannot just be a working group within an association. The step had to be made to create a legally founded association with own statutes and budget. A second issue will be to re-launch the "European Migration Heritage Week" in October 2014 in order to offer a transnational awareness for migration heritage.

From the Congress of Vienna to Fortress Europe. 200 years of European migration 1815 - 2015

Through a combination of text, audio, still images, animation, video and interactivity the travelling multimedia exhibition *From the Congress of Vienna to Fortress Europe* aims to show why emigrations from Europe to America and other parts of the world in the hundred years after the Napoleonic Wars constituted the most important global scale human migrations, and why approximately 210 million people worldwide today live outside the country they were born. The exhibition also stimulates debate between young people from the various European cultures and other parts of the world, and in that respect contribute to better understanding, openness and tolerance between the native inhabitants and the immigrants of Europe.

I believe many of our members will

be glad to support this idea and pour from their rich resources to make the exhibition a showcase for their own institutions. A full version of the document can be uploaded from our website www.aemi.eu.

As enlargement and funding of our Association are two of the Board's main targets, I hope that a meeting with the French Ministry of European Affairs will open the door(s) to many EU offices and give us the opportunity to make ourselves better known among EU delegates and hopefully trigger EU funding. Until then we have to rely on our internal networking, which this year has given us one more member - Emigration Museum in Gdynia, Poland and one potential At Home in Europe, which is part of the Open Society Initiative for Europe, 'conducting research and advocacy to ensure equal rights and social cohesion in a climate of political tension, global recession, and rapidly expanding diversity'.

In closing, I would like to draw your attention to another matter that needs discussing. Your Board is now entering the final year of its three-year term so elections are due to be held next year. That means that you need to think about who to elect next that have the talent and energy to take the organisation a step forward. I would like to thank again Adam Walaszek, Agnieszka Stasiewicz-Bieńkowska and their colleagues for hosting the Annual Meeting in Poland in 2012. And we also thank Mathias Nilsson and his colleagues for making their preparations to host us for the first time in Karlstad.

Hans Storhaug
Chairman

September 2013

Mass Migration versus Specialized Migration: Basque Immigrants in China in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twenty-First Centuries

Oscar Alvares Gila and Benan Oregi Inurieta

Abstract:

Research on Basque migration abroad has been focused almost exclusively on the study of massive migratory processes that took place since the second half of the 19th century--mainly to several American countries. The attractiveness of their large numbers has obscured the significance of less impressive migrations in which Basques were also involved during this time. The latter, instead of entailing movements, were more modest and were confined to certain professionally specialized sectors of Old-World Basque society. The main goal of this paper is to present food for thought on several issues related to the implementation and continuity of such small-size migratory movements, considering the specific example of both the historical and the present-day migrations from the Basque Country to China

Introduction¹

In 2004, a small group of Basque residents in Shanghai, China, following the lead of other Basque immigrant communities during the last two centuries in different countries, decided to create their own association in order to 'join all the Basque people living in or coming to China in a homely environment.'² The birth of the new *euskal etxea*³ was greeted by the Basque mass media as an outcome of the new long-term trends within Basque migration abroad, even though this new destination was 'unexpected' or even 'exotic' (Douglass, 2012: 27). The members of the growing community of Basque professionals and business people living in China would

be nothing less than 'the true conquerors of this new century' (Aldama, 2006), pioneers of a virgin territory for Basques. Furthermore, the annual report for 2004 of the Basque Institute of Public Administration on the foreign action of the Basque Autonomous Government joyfully echoed the announcement of the inception of the new club by including it within the catalogue of officially-recognized Basque institutions of the diaspora (Ugalde Zubiri, 2005).⁴ This recognition served to highlight the recent establishment of new commercial connections between the Basque Country and China. Consequently, anything related to the Basque presence in China seemed to be of fresh and compelling interest.

However, could anyone state with certainty that there is no clear evidence of Basque immigration in China prior to the first decade of the 21st century? Must we consider the Basque presence in China to be a new phenomenon, as it has been treated over the last few years? Can we endorse the widely accepted assumption that there has been no Basque emigration to China until the end of the 20th century? (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 92).

Actually, in light of what has been published about Basque migration history, it would seem that we should answer all those questions affirmatively. The scientific research on the history and present-day evolution of the migratory movements from and into the Basque Country has mainly, if not exclusively, focused on the study of the so-called massive migrations, that is, those that entailed or are involving significant numbers of people. Even though Basques were present from the beginning of the 16th century in remote places as the Americas or East Asia, usually as a result of internal movements of population within the Spanish and French overseas colonial empires, it was not until the third decade of the 19th century that the period known as that of 'massive emigration' began in the Basque Country - initially in the northern, or French, side of the border, and, since the 1840s, also from the southern, or Spanish Basque region. For more than one hundred years, or up to the beginning of the second half of the 20th century, several American countries such as Argentina, Cuba, Uruguay, Mexico, the United States and, finally, Venezuela received remarkable flows of Basque immigrants (Álvarez Gila, 2012). While quantification of them is deficient,

given that the category 'Basque' is not always employed in data collection for the international registries of migratory flows, it has been estimated that about 200,000 Basque emigrants left Europe between 1830 and 1970. This is quite noteworthy, given that the current population of the Basque Country is only about 3 million people.

The attractiveness of studying large numbers of actors has indeed had an influence upon the main lines of Basque migration research. But this has somehow glossed over other migratory movements in which Basques were also participating during this time - ones that have been 'less' but not least. They simply seem not to exist. In contrast with the relatively large bibliography available on Basque emigration to, for instance, Argentina or the United States, there has been almost no investigation of internal migration of Basques within Spain,⁵ or from the Basque Country to other places in Europe.⁶ It is only just recently that we have become even aware of the small Basque migratory currents that emanated in the late 19th century from the Basque Country to other European countries, usually composed of small groups of skilled workers (for Wales, see Llewellyn and Watkins, 2001; Murray, 2011). The case of Basque migration to China must be included among these 'invisible migrations'.

The First Contacts: Conquerors and Missionaries

The first contacts of Basque people with China came hand in hand with the process of exploration, conquest and colonization of East Asia by Europeans, a *long-durée* process that started in the early 16th century. The first European colonies in the region, established by

the Portuguese and Castilian crowns, pursued (among other aims) the objective of being used as bases for the implementation of commercial, political and religious contacts with China. At the very beginning there was enormous European ignorance about the reality and dimensions of this country. That explains the erroneous assessment made by the Basque governor of Manila, Diego de Arteaga, in a letter sent to the king of Spain in 1573 stating that 'he would only need a couple of hundred good Castilian soldiers to subjugate the Empire of the Chinese' (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 71).

Needless to say, that plan was totally unrealistic, although Spain could take control of the island of Taiwan (renamed *Fermosa*, that is, 'the Beautiful') from 1626 to 1642. During this time there were Basques, such as Governor Juan de Alacarazo (1629-1632), acting as members of the governing body of that territory. Some missionaries also tried to enter China's mainland in order to spread Christianity among the Chinese, but all their attempts failed.⁷ At the same time, some Basque merchants based in Manila were more successful, obtaining the right of direct commerce with China through the ports of Guangzhou and Xiamen (Martínez Robles, 2007: 47-48). Those rights were increasingly activated during the second half of the 18th century when the former members of the *Guipuzcoan Company of Caracas*, after its dissolution, decided to create a new one, the *Company of the Philippines* (1785), to monopolize Spanish trade between East Asia and Spain (Lamikiz, 2012).

Nonetheless, during the first three

centuries of the Basque presence in China, the relationships were always based on the principles of non-interference (with the strict prohibition of any permanent foreign settlement in Chinese territory) and limited commerce. Contacts were restricted to short-term commercial expeditions; and so we cannot speak of a real migratory movement until the 19th century.

The Second Missionary Effort

The interest of European powers in China was renewed in the wake of the new wave of colonialism that began in the last decades of the 18th century and was directed to all of Asia. By the mid-19th century, China had lost the two Opium Wars against a coalition of European nations, and was thus obliged to open several ports to European trade. Foreigners were now not only allowed to operate businesses and reside in China without any restriction, but were also granted jurisdictional exemptions by means of the so-called 'unequal treaties' that accorded the European consular authorities extraordinary control over Chinese customs, the army and its political stability (Rodao, 1989).

One of the main consequences of this development was that Christian churches were also granted the right to create missions throughout the country. No Chinese authority could therefore prevent or obstruct the activities of Christian priests, who, like the rest of foreigners, were placed under the protection of their nation's representatives. After the end of the Napoleonic Wars in Europe, the Catholic Church renewed its interest in spreading 'the knowledge of God' among non-Christian people

(Corrigan, 1938). This 'second missionary effort'⁸ led to an increase of the proselytizing, not only by the Catholic Church, but of all the Christian denominations (Álvarez Gila, 1998: 23-24). European churches became involved in a race to disseminate Christianity to the rest of the world. All these processes coincided in time, and were promoted by the same common mentality that underpinned colonialism. When explaining the reasons for the expansion of Catholic missions until the decade of 1920, Streit and Bernini wrote:

Because of its position in the world (the) white race has been assigned a special role with regard to the rest of races and people...

The white race must defend and teach its sisters; this obligation is higher when colonies and protectorates are acquired. But the white race must remember that its prosperity comes from Christianity...

To bring them a culture without Christianity equals to kill their souls.

(Streit and Bernini, 1928: 45).

Africa and Asia were the first and most important targets of this process. In the case of China, French Catholic priests were the first to arrive in the country, driven by a mixture of both church and state interests, since the latter considered that the conquest of the souls (by priests) could be a first step in the subsequent conquest of the bodies (by the army and state officers). As a result, public funds were granted to the recently founded *Seminaire des Missions Étrangères* of Paris, whose main goal was to prepare missionaries to be sent to any remote place in the world-

but preferably to French colonies. The first cohorts of student missionaries from this college were sent to China and Indo-China—both critical to the foreign interests of France. Basque participation in the establishment of these first French missions was still quantitatively small, but relevant. One of the most renowned Basque missionaries to China in this period was Father Armand David. Born in Bayonne, he was sent to proselytize China and Mongolia at the beginning of the 1860s. David lived in China until 1875, when he was brought back to France (Altonaga, 2001).⁹

The presence of Basques from Spain came a short while later. Even though the treaty of 1864 between China and Spain prohibited the Chinese authorities from harassing the activity of Spanish priests spreading Catholicism in the country, until the end of the 19th century almost no missionaries went from Spain to China. There were some attempts to extend the range of action of the Spanish missionaries from the Philippine islands into the nearby region of Viet-Nam; but after the bloody killing of the so-called 'martyrs of Tonking' in 1861, whose leader was the Basque Valentín de Berriotxoa,¹⁰ there were no further initiatives. By 1870, only a handful of priests were registered by the Spanish consulate in Shanghai, along with some non-resident merchants living in the country (Martínez Robles, 2007: 87). Among the latter was the Biscayan Manuel Otaduy, with his ship *Bilbatino*. He was one of the few Spaniards allowed to participate in the opium trade from India to China-- otherwise under the protection of British companies (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 80).

This situation changed abruptly several decades later. In 1915, when Europe was struck by the first phase of the First World War, Pope Benedict XV issued the encyclical *Maximum Illud*, in which he encouraged Catholics all over the world, and especially those from neutral nations not involved in the war, to fill the void left by the missionaries from contending nations. The Pope differentiated political colonization from proselytization. Prior to that moment, it had been the usual practice to make these two processes somehow concurrent: the routine was to reserve the lands conquered by any European colonizing-country for the settlement of new missions placed in charge of priests and nuns of the same nationality. Some Catholic nations, such as Spain, by this time without a vast colonial empire, had therefore directed their missionaries to other areas like Latin America. Thus from 1915 on, the gates of a myriad of missions in Africa and Asia were opened to the Spanish Catholic Church; including for hundreds of Basque priests.

One of the first outcomes was a true penetration of Spanish missionaries in China. Being the Basque Country one of the most productive reservoirs of religious vocations within Spain, no fewer than three missionary territories were placed in charge of Basque friars between 1920 and 1930. In 1929, according to a survey ordered by the directive of the Spanish Catholic Church for the *Big Exhibit on the Progress of the Missions* that was held in Rome, 145 Basque priests and 43 nuns had been sent to China by that year; and another 14 friars to the island of Taiwan, at that time under Japanese administration

(Apalategui, 1930). Among the male orders, we can highlight the Basque Jesuits from the 'province of Castile',¹¹ that were settled in the region of Wuhu;¹² the Capuchins from the 'province of Navarra-Cantabria-Aragón' at Xinjiang, with the seat of the diocese in Pingliang; and Franciscans from the 'province of Cantabria' at Shanxi, with their main residence in Yunan (Arrilucea, 1918: 87).¹³ Among the female orders, we can highlight the figure of Margarita María López de Maturana, who turned her convent of contemplative nuns into an active congregation for the support of missions: the Missionary Mercedaries of Berriz, in 1923.¹⁴ 'It seemed as if a new era was opening for us,' said Margarita when, three years later, she was able to send the first group of nuns to assist the Basque Jesuits in Wuhu (Unciti, 2012: 5-6). Until 1950, China and Japan were the two main destinations of this Basque religious order.

The entry of missionaries into China had profound impact within the campaign of the Catholic Church in the Basque Country (since the decade of the 1890s) to attract economic support and personnel for them. Exoticism and authenticity were the two main features of the Catholic missions in China; and thus the image of Chinese people became inextricably linked to the concept of missionary activity:

The 'live missions' were those located in regions where the Word of Our Lord Jesus Christ was unknown and there were only a few baptized [persons]. There were lots of places like this! In Africa, in Asia. But above all, there was China. China was indeed, the highest representation of the ideal

of mission. And 'the little Chinese,' was the metaphor of all the infidels, men and women, of these live missions. This metaphor was so strong that when children were sent to the streets for a public call for economic support for the missions, they stopped you asking for 'alms to help Christianize the little Chinese...of Africa.'

(Unciti, 2012: 8).¹⁵

How were the people sent to the missions selected? Even the etymology of the word mission (from the Latin *mittere*, to send) suggests that the decision was not made by the protagonists themselves, but rather by those in charge of directing the whole religious community to which the future missionary belonged. Religious orders were extremely hierarchical organizations, with a clear division between superiors (the heads) and monks, friars, or nuns--the obedient. It is true that, to a certain extent, some degree of decision-making still remained in the hands of the missionaries themselves. They had to present 'a strong desire to fulfill the will of God by performing the *opera maxima*' (the 'biggest task'--that is, to go out to the missions).¹⁶ But, in the end, superiors (not the rank and file) always had the last word, as we can see from this letter sent by an aspiring missionary when applying to his Capuchin superiors:

Ecce ego, mitte me! My happiness would be immense if the Holy Spirit would like to select me, through you My Reverend Superior, to extend the Church and go to save souls in the missions, I mean true missions, especially in countries where there are more risks and more suffering.

I unconditionally put myself in your hands to be sent anywhere you would

decide; however, as you want to know my personal preferences, I inform you that the destination that has always attracted me and still attracts me is our Mission in China. Please send me there as soon as possible.

I beg you and put my confidence that the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, our sweetest Mother, will illuminate you to either reject me, if I am unworthy for this duty, or to choose me, if it is really our Lord who is calling me to go to the Missions.¹⁷

The content of this letter offers us a quite different view of the reasons that usually informed the migration decision. It was the organization, and not the migrant, who had both the interest and the means; and therefore the pace, timing, numbers and personal features of the successive groups of missionaries were carefully decided by their superiors. But on the other hand, we can still discern other socio-cultural and psychological elements that are usually linked to migrations, like, for instance, the remembrance of the motherland and the painful feelings of abandoning one's native country:

When the young Jesuit [*Francisco Etxeberria*] was informed about the prize he had won and the honor he had been given, he had just embarked in Marseilles on a ship to China, after having been invested with the nomination of missionary unto the infidels. He is the prototype of the big-hearted man with two main ideals: the love for his own kin, for his motherland, for his mother tongue; and the love for the universe, because for the salvation of other souls he will abandon his purest and most intense devotion: the Basque Country.

(Ariztimuño 'Aitzol', 1934).¹⁸

Basque missionaries were still sent to China during times of war. For in-

stance, in 1940 four siblings of the same family, the Bolumburus from Soraluez, Gipuzkoa (three jesuits and their sister, a mercedary nun) met in the mission of Wuhu to celebrate the final religious vows of one of the brothers. But in the aftermath of the Second World War, the struggle for turning the whole of China into a Christian - and, more precisely, a Catholic - nation was encouraged by the directing boards of the Catholic Church, in order to take advantage of the new correlation of powers in East Asia after the defeat of the Japanese empire and the new set of good relationships implemented between Nanking's Chinese regime of Chiang Kai-shek and the Western allied powers. In the case of the Basque Country, this coincided with one of the sweetest moments for the Spanish Catholic Church, in a context of strong ties and support from Franco's regime that considered Spain 'an officially religious state' (Álvarez Gila, 1998: 45). Not only was Catholicism the only accepted--and compulsorily coerced--religion for the Spaniards, because of the support granted by the Church to Franco during the Civil War--defined as a 'Crusade' by the Church itself--but also the state became obliged to support with all means the action of the Church in Spain and abroad.

But China's internal situation abruptly halted the growing presence of Basque missionaries in China. In 1951, after the new Communist authorities that won the Civil war had promoted the creation of a Chinese Patriotic Church for Chinese Catholics to rid the country of any subjection to foreigners, all non-Chinese priests were expelled from the country. Basque Catholic mass media

of that time offered vivid accounts of the 'destruction of the missionary experience' due to 'rising Marxist eloquent sectarianism' (Mateos, 1964).¹⁹ By the time of the expulsion, no fewer than 320 Basque missionaries (counting both male and female religious orders) had been destined for Mainland China (Catálogo provisional, 1943).²⁰ Most of them were resettled in other missionary territories, about three quarters of them in nearby countries: the island of Taiwan and the colonies of Macau and Hong-Kong,²¹ in China; and also Japan, Korea and the Philippines (España Misionera, 1961; also García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 87).

***Jai Alai*. A Basque Sport made into a Gambling Attraction.**

Jai Alai (in Basque, 'merry festival'; 'cesta punta' in Spanish) is the internationally recognized name of one of the varieties of the sport known as Basque *pelota*. Its birth is closely linked to the process of mass migration that took so many Basques to the Americas: the first version of this game, whose main feature is that players use a basket instead of a racket to launch the ball, was introduced in the decade of the 1880s by Melchor Curuchague, a Basque living in Argentina. Basque *pelota* quickly became one of the most popular games in the city of Buenos Aires (Abril, 1971; Blazy, 1936).

By the beginning of the 20th century, *Jai Alai* had undergone a rapid expansion, first among Basque immigrant colonies (in countries such as Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay, and Argentina), and afterwards because of the close connection between this game and betting, a fact

that led to its great popularity (Urza, 1994). The game arrived in the United States via Havana and Tijuana, with implementation of *frontones* (courts for playing *Jai Alai*) in states like Florida, Connecticut or Nevada. In Asia, the game was introduced by Basque immigrants in Manila at the end of the 19th century, when the Philippines were still a Spanish colony. From there, some *frontones* were opened in nearby places like Jakarta, Macau, and several cities of main-land China. Even though there were four different attempts in the last century to include *Jai Alai* among the Olympic sports (in 1900 and 1924 in Paris; 1904 in Saint Louis; and 1992 in Barcelona), outside of the Basque Country it is more understood as a wagering opportunity than a true sporting activity.

Apart from Macau, where its *Jai Alai* Casino court was opened in 1974, two other *frontones* were built in China since 1929, one of them in Shanghai and the other in Tientsin. The 'Jai Alai Auditorium' of Shanghai was the first to be put into operation, inaugurated on February 29th, 1929, and promoted by the French businessman Felix Bouvier. Bouvier was the owner of one of the most important gambling complexes of the city, located in the middle of the 'French Concession.' Opened in 1928, the complex was composed of a track for greyhound racing, a boxing ring, and a dancing club. Five years later, an Italian entrepreneur, V. Fumagalli - closely linked to the Fascist regime's authorities in Italy - built another *fronton* in Tientsin, in the Italian Concession, called the 'Italian Forum.' Both buildings still exist (Sánchez, 2011: 77-78).

Despite the fact that both the owners and the managers of these *frontones* were not Basque, all the rest of the crew hired for running them, and especially the *pelotaris* (players), were Basques, recruited in Europe. Both *frontones* hired a renowned former Basque *pelotari*, Teodoro Jauregui, who was charged with traveling to Europe to arrange the contracts of future players.²² By 1932, the *fronton* of Shanghai had already formed a stable staff of *pelotaris* that had settled in the city with their families, as the business was flourishing and the economic returns were greater each year. About 400 employees were hired at the end of 1932, barely two thirds of them of Basque origin.

The opening of Tientsin's Forum enlarged the Basque colony in China. Most *pelotaris* were young and unmarried, but at least forty of them came from the Basque Country with their families (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 88). The case of José María Iriondo Azpiri is known. Born in Tientsin in 1936 to Basque parents, his father José María Iriondo Urquidi being one of the first *pelotaris* hired by Fumagalli, Iriondo Azpiri went on to play *Jai Alai* in the Basque Country after the return of the family to Europe (Sánchez, 2011: 78).

As in the case of Basque missionaries, the small but consolidated colony of Basque *pelotaris* in China and the *Jai Alai* business vanished abruptly after the end of the Second World War with the rise of the Communist regime. The first blow came when the Sino-Japanese War was declared. That seriously affected all leisure and gambling activities. Nonetheless, the *frontones* remained open until the end of the war (Rodao, 1988)

but were definitively closed in 1949 (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 88). Some players returned to the Basque Country, but the majority of them opted to migrate to the more profitable *Jai Alai* courts of Mexico or Cuba. At the present day, only one *Jai Alai* court is still open in East Asia: the *Jai Alai* of Macau. The Manila *Jai Alai* was closed following a game-fixing scandal in 1989 and the *Jai Alai* of Jakarta was converted into a shopping mall in 2009.

The Economic Rise of China and the Profile of the New Basque Migration

At the beginning of this 21st century, the patterns of Basque migration to Asia are radically different from what it was a century ago. Today most of this migratory current is focused on China, in a growth process that is closely linked to the economic development of that country (Euskadi en Asia, 2009: 6). As a result of globalization, the center of gravity of the World economy has moved eastwards (3 out of 4 BRICs-Russia, India and China - embody the growing importance of Asia).

While we were finishing this paper, on September 17, 2012, Basque newspapers published several articles about a Basque Government Delegation visiting the Basque companies already established in China.²³ The main goal of the mission was to support the founding of new Basque companies in the Asian giant and to follow up on the development agreements signed with the Chinese regional authorities. In fact, the commercial ties between China and the Basque Country have increased dramatically in the last years. Exports from the Basque region to China in 2012 reached

470 M €, 15.5 per cent more than in 2011.

The Chinese economy is highly industrial; during recent years, construction and services have driven the expansion. The industrial sector represents 49 per cent of Chinese GDP (Gross Domestic Product), and as many as 25 per cent of active workers are employed in it. In 2010, annual growth reached 10.3 per cent, surpassing the most ambitious goals of the Chinese Government and what international institutions had foreseen for the country. Investments by the public sector were the engine of such growth. However, the high saving rate of Chinese (51 per cent of GDP), compared with investment of 43 per cent, reflects the uncertainty of the citizenry regarding poor social benefits they receive in education, health and retirement. As a result, the Chinese Government has underscored the need for economic change and recently approved the XII Four-Year Plan 2011-2015 as the main tool to pursue that goal.

Regarding the economic relations between the Basque Country and China, in 2010 Basque exports reached 400,174 thousands of € (China is the fifteenth leading country for Basque exports), and imports climbed to 879,546 € (China is the fifth leading supplier of the Basque Country). The Basque Country represents the second Spanish region regarding exports to China, and the fourth regarding imports. Beside those figures, it is one of the regions making the most investment in China, being the leader in the period 1993-2007.

By 2008, a total of 107 Basque industries or services had entered China, representing 92 different companies. Of

that total, 49 per cent are production plants that manufacture their products there.

Most of the Basque companies are located in one of the three main industrial centres of the country:

- Shanghai and the nearby province of Jiangsu, where the Mondragon Corporation established its industrial park in Kunshan.
- The North of the country (Beijing, Tianjin)
- The delta of the Pearl River (Canton)

The case of the Mondragon Corporation is perhaps one of the most known examples of the expansion of Basque industrial companies in China. Its founding is closely linked to the activity of the Basque Catholic Church. Almost a year after the Bolumburu siblings met in China, a young priest was sent to the town of Mondragon-Arrasate; by 1959 Father Arizmendiarieta had started Ulgor, the first cooperative factory that would later give birth to the Mondragon Corporation, under the motto 'Humanity at Work'.

The expansion of Mondragon into China began in 1996, when it was decided to open a trade delegation in Beijing, even though some members of the Corporation (such as Fagor) had been operating there since the mid-80s (Fagor Electrónica and Fagor Automation). By 2012 the presence of Mondragon Corporation in China is established in the most important industrial and economic poles of the country, in cities like Shanghai, Nanjing, Shenzhen or Hong Kong. This expansion provoked a new, small but relevant wave of Basque mi-

gration to China, composed mainly of highly specialized workers (both blue- and white-collar) and managers for the newly-opened factories and delegations.

The Mondragon Kunshan Park in Shanghai is the main location for that Corporation in China, and houses ten different production plants. When this park was under construction, the leaders of the project planned to build a house to host the management offices and meeting rooms for all ten plants, patterned after a Basque farmhouse. The idea was for the Basque skilled workers and managers that were moving to China in the following years to make it their '*home away from home*'. The architecture of the house, located in the middle of modern and industrial buildings, differs but slightly from a *baserri* (farmhouse). In a certain way, it can be taken as the representation of an international Basque Country that hosts all Basques even when living abroad (in opposition to the traditional Basque farm households, with a single designated heir or heiress to the farm in each generation, that expelled the disinherited - many of whom were obliged to emigrate to America.

The Basque Club of Shanghai

The incorporation of the Basque Club of Shanghai in 2004, as we stated at the beginning of this paper, is therefore one of the most visible outcomes of this new migration. Seventeen young skilled workers gathered to found in mid-town Shanghai the first Basque Centre in Asia, *Shanghaiko Euskal Etxea*. It is an innovative Basque association - not only in terms of the young age of their members but also because it is the only

Basque club in the world where Basque companies are special members that pay extraordinary fees and in return for access of all their employees to the facility. The main purpose of the association, however, is not far from the traditional purpose of any other Basque club elsewhere: to be a gathering point for all Basques and a place where they can cook their own food and celebrate all kinds of Basque festivities.

The Basque Government includes it in the Official Registry of Basque Associations Abroad. *Shanghaiko Euskal Etxea*, in such an 'unusual' location as Shanghai, represents a new destination for Basque migration. It is also a new migration form in that it entails highly skilled workers flying to and from to China, India or whatever other developing country.

Little could the Bolumburus imagine all these Basques moving back and forth some seventy years after their pioneering religious adventure as missionaries.

Conclusions

Basque migration to China has never been a mass movement. Even today, when the number of Basque residents in China is growing, it is still a very localized, modest migration. This is actually, one of the main features that characterize all the three migratory waves that have historically departed from the Basque Country to China in the last two centuries. The other main feature is the composition of the participants in each of the waves. We can speak of the existence of successive, small, profession-based migrations.

This specific type of migration presents several differences in compari-

son with the most commonly studied Basque mass migration. First, the number of people involved in the movement is dramatically smaller: instead of thousands, we can barely speak of hundreds of migrants. Second, the migrant group presents a high level of homogeneity in its members, regarding their personal attributes and professional affiliation: migrants respond to a very definite demand within a specific career niche (missionaries, *Jai Alai* players, or highly skilled employees). Third, decision-making is not carried out in a horizontal or bottom-up fashion, as was the case in the massive migrations, but downwards because the migration is performed within the framework of a hierarchical organization (a religious order of the Catholic Church, in the earliest cases, or an entrepreneurial organization in the remainder). The organization determines the rhythms, numbers, destinations and other aspects directly related to migration. The future migrant can choose, at the outset, whether to join the organization or not; but once he/she has become a member, his/her possibilities of deciding about moving and to where is highly conditioned by the expectations and the internal balance of powers on high. This is most evident within religious orders, but is also reflected in the way business companies operate.

Finally, it is also interesting to point out that specialized migrations, because they used to be well structured, are not only liable to be better documented than freer, unorganized ones, but on the other hand, at least in the case of the Basque Country, they have usually been overlooked. We need to pay more attention to these aspects if we wish to have

a comprehensive understanding of the historical evolution and future trends of Basque migration.

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- and Araba), because of the vast impacts upon the demographics of the region that have produced changes in the economic, cultural, and political balances within it. See, among others, García-Sanz Marcotegui (1982); García Abad (2001).
- 6 The study of internal migration from the French part of the Basque Country to other regions of France, and particularly to Paris and its surroundings, can be considered the only remarkable exception.
 - 7 One of the very first ones was conducted by the Basque priest Martin de Mallea (also known as Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola), who headed up a team of 20 priests sent to Macao in 1585 with the aim of entering China. After two unfruitful trips, Mallea wrote a letter to the king Philip II and returned to Spain (Tellechea Idígoras, 1989).
 - 8 This term was coined by Catholic historians in the decade of the 1960s to denominate the florescent period of the missions, between the mid-19th century and the Second Vatican Council (Streit and Bertini, 1928).
 - 9 Father David is credited by Western science with the discovery of several animal species, among others there was the giant panda and the milou or deer, named for Father David (*Elaphurus davidianus*). In 1865, he was told by a Chinese that had recently converted to Christianity about the existence of this "mysterious" animal, whose only living individuals lived in the park of Non Hai-Tzu, inside the Prohibited City of the Chinese emperors in Beijing. David purchased the remains of some of these deer that had died. He then sent them to the Museum of Natural History of Paris. There the French zoologist Milne-Edwards described the new species in 1866; its scientific name honoring Father David.
 - 10 Fernández Aparicio et alii (1985: 169-174).
 - 11 Province is the name usually given to the internal divisions of government of the Catholic religious orders. Each province is composed of all the convents and residences that the same order has opened in a particular region. Although these religious provinces do not have to coincide with the limits of the political demarcations, in the cases we cite it happens that these provinces almost always correspond to the Basque Country.
 - 12 The first superior, and afterwards (1930) bishop of the mission of Wuhu, was Father Zenón Aramburu, a native of Urretxu (Gipuzkoa). By the time Aramburu directed this mission, there were about 5 million inhabitants in the region, of which only 41.000 had been baptized Catholics.
 - 13 Here the Basque Franciscans built a cathedral, of Gothic style, that was named after the image of the Virgin of Begoña, near Bilbao. It is said that

Notes

- 1 This article has been created within the framework of the research project "De fraternidad y paisanaje. Las Congregaciones, Hospitales y Cofradías de Originales en la Monarquía hispánica", No. HAR2009-09765, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation; and the Research Group of the Basque Science System: "País Vasco y América: Vínculos y Relaciones Atlánticas". We wish to thank our colleagues Ana de Zaballa, Alberto Angulo, Jon Ander Ramos and Stephen Murray for their comments.
- 2 See http://www.chinaeuskaletxea.com/en_quienes.asp; consulted on July, 27th, 2012.
- 3 Literally, "Basque house" in the Basque language. Recently, this term has been employed widely in the literature on Basque migration to refer to the web of associational institutions created by Basque immigrants in host countries, along with names such as "centros vascos" in Spanish or "Basque clubs" in English. On the use of this term, see Alvarez Gila (2012).
- 4 See also "El Anuario sobre la Acción Exterior 2005 saluda la creación de nuevos centros vascos en China, EEUU y Australia", at <http://www.euskalkultura.com/noticias/el-anuario-sobre-la-accion-exterior-2005>; consulted on July 27th, 2012.
- 5 Conversely, Basque historiography has shown more interest in the research of the incoming migrations from other parts of Spain to the Basque Country, and especially to the current Basque Autonomous Community (Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa,

this building was used as headquarters by the Communist army led by Mao Zedong after it took control of the region.

- 14 'Bilbao celebra la beatificación de una misionera vasca sin presencia papal', *Diario de León*, León (Spain), October 23th, 2006.
- 15 'Por misiones vivas se entendía en aquel entonces las que también se denominaban 'tierras de infieles'. Misiones en puntos del planeta donde todavía no había resonado la Palabra del Señor Jesús y los bautizados del lugar se contaban con los dedos de una mano. De esos territorios ¡a punta pala! En Africa, en Asia. Pero misiones/misiones, las de China. China era, en efecto, la más alta representación de todas las misiones. Y 'los chinitos', la encarnación viva de todos los hombres y mujeres de todas las misiones vivas. Tanto se avanzó en esta encarnación que los chiquitos que salían a las calles a pedir para las misiones, te paraban en la acera y te decían 'una limosna para los chinitos... de África'".
- 16 Álvarez Gila (1998: 200-202).
- 17 Letter of Alejandro Labaka to Father Ricardo de Lizaso; December 29th, 1945; published on http://aguarico.vicariato.net/Alejandro_Labaka.html: 'Ecce ego, mitte me! Mi alegría sería inmensa si el Espíritu Santo se dignase escogermme, mediante su Reverencia, para extender la Iglesia y salvar las almas en las misiones, que propiamente puedan considerarse como tales y, sobre todo, en países de más dificultad y donde más haya que sufrir. / Me pongo incondicionalmente en sus manos para ir a donde quiera que disponga enviarme; con todo como desea saber las preferencias personales le comunico que la que más me ha atraído y la que más me atrae en la actualidad es nuestra Misión de China. Dígnese enviarme cuanto antes. / Ruego muy de veras y confío que el Espíritu Santo y la Virgen nuestra dulcísima Madre le iluminarán para rechazar me, si soy indigno, y para escogermme, si verdaderamente es el Señor quien me llama a Misiones'.
- 18 'Cuando al joven jesuita se le notificaba que había sido distinguido con el premio de honor, acababa de embarcarse en Marsella hacia tierras de China, revestido con la altísima investidura de misionero de infieles. Es el prototipo del gran corazón enamorado por dos altísimos ideales: el amor a los suyos, concretado en la patria, por cuya lengua nacional labora la tregua, y el amor al universo, por cuya salvación abandona a su más puro e intenso cariño: a Euzkadi'.
- 19 See also the review on this book, in 'Libros nuevos', *ABC*, Madrid, August 26th, 1964, p. 41.
- 20 We say 'no fewer' because the methodology to obtain the actual count of Spanish missionaries abroad was not very accurate at the time. Moreover, this book is primarily devoted to a census of the number of missionaries that were destined to Latin America.
- 21 Basque Jesuits from Wuhu, for instance, were sent to Macau, where they have been running some colleges and residences down to the present. In 2006, the annual meeting of the Basque club in Shanghai honored Father Fernando Larrañaga, born in 1914, that had been living in China from 1936, first in Wuhu and after 1951 in Macau (See 'La Euskal Etxea se Shanghai, en China, celebra su segundo año de vida estrenando su propia página web', in <http://www.euskalkultura.com>, consulted on July 20th, 2012).
- 22 Jauregui was also a member of the Spanish fascist party, Falange Española, that provided the ideological underpinning of the regime of Francisco Franco after the Spanish Civil War. In 1939 he created the Chinese section of this party, in which he compulsorally enrolled the employees of both frontones (García-Tapia Bello, 2009: 88).
- 23 See, among others: <http://www.elcorreo.com/vizcaya/20120917/economia/exportaciones-empresas-vascas-implantadas-201209171218.html>; <http://www.diariovasco.com/20120918/economia/euskadi-china-buscan-intercambiar-201209181226.html>; <http://www.deia.com/2012/09/14/economia/unda-viaja-el-lunes-a-china-para-apoyar-la-implantacion-de-empresas-vascas>.

Greve Nord – A Changing Multi-Ethnic Public Housing Area

Kirsten Egholk and Susanne Krogh Jensen

Introduction

During the 1970s a number of public housing areas in Denmark were built – experimenting with new housing forms and building materials especially concrete elements. Originally these areas were seen as the future of housing – solving the ever increasing need for a higher population density in and around the large cities.

However, in the course of the last 40 years some of these areas have become known as socially challenged areas with a high share of residents outside the labour market, and furthermore with a high percentage of non-Danish residents. Today some of these areas are stigmatized both locally and nationally – known for violent episodes and other crimes. Therefore different social projects have sought to change this development during the last 20 years.

This article, which was presented at the yearly meeting of AEMI in Karlstad in Sweden in October of 2013, is based on an on-going research project, which explores the development of an area of public and private housing called Greve Nord, which constitutes the Northern part of Greve Municipality, 25 km south of Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark.

The research project, which is undertaken by the local museum in Greve and the Danish immigration Museum aims to determine the development of culture and identity in a multiethnic housing area from the 1970s until today. Some of the main questions of the project are: how has the characteristics of the area changed?; what has happened to the image both within and outside the area?; and which strategic and spontaneous mechanisms have been affecting the development? The project is expected to be concluded during the spring of 2014.

The research, which is focusing on the main public housing areas, is looking at four different angles. Firstly, the area has been put in a historical and geographical context. Secondly, an analysis of some of the social characteristics of the residents addresses the image as multi-ethnic, socially challenged housing areas. Thirdly, a number of semi-structured qualitative interviews covering three different groups of agents – i.e. the authorities, the social project and the residents – testify to both the strategies for and the perceptions of the areas, and finally the image will be described through national policy and the image given by local and national media.

Other than the curiosity about the formation, development and characteristics of multi-ethnic social housing areas, the project also aims at collecting physical knowledge in the form of photos and artefacts as well as engaging the local residents in the common history of Greve and of Denmark as a whole. This idea was based on the wish to preserve a different kind of cultural heritage than the one that normally ends up in Danish museum collections – as well as on the opening of a new section of the permanent exhibition at Greve Museum called ‘Dreams of Welfare’ - covering 20th century history in the local area.

The Multicultural Community

Today the area is seen as one area consisting of a number of public and private housing areas. Therefore the research project uses the ideas of the American anthropologist, Benedict Anderson, about imagined communities as a starting point¹. According to Anderson a sense of community is not necessarily dependent on fixed physical or social characteristics, but is instead built on a common perception of unity. In Greve Nord the project explores, whether a community exists, and, if so, how it is and has been promoted as well as which are the defining characteristics.

One of the characteristics, that are often mentioned, is the multi-ethnicity of the public housing areas in Greve Nord. Therefore the project applies a number of theoretical approaches to integration and multiculturalism in order to map out the significance of the multicultural aspect. The Danish sociologist Charlotte Hamburger has advocated that integration is divided into several

different dimensions such as functional integration and social integration.² In Greve Nord we want to see if and how the formal and functional integration processes – introduced by the authorities, by the architectural ideas of the actual buildings etc. – affect a social and cultural integration.

The role of the national and regional policy for housing in connection with the development of a housing area has been addressed by Troels Schulz-Larsen in his Ph.D. thesis from Roskilde University Centre in 2009.³ He states that the forming and development of socially challenged housing areas can largely be explained by the national policy of housing after World War 2. In Greve Nord the local and national policy will about social housing areas will be considered as well as the architectural ideas that led to the physical appearance of the main housing areas of Greve Nord.

Finally, we take the significance of cultural difference into account based on the theories of the Danish ethnologist Tina Kallehave, who in working with the integration of Somali refugees has stated that the process of integration has to be understood on the basis of the original culture of the newcomers.⁴ Furthermore, the researcher Mark Vacher points to the significance of the diaspora as a significant determinant for the characteristics in a multi-ethnic area and for the process of integration.⁵ These points will also be considered.

At the end of 2013 the final analysis on these theoretical points has not yet been completed and we can therefore not offer any final conclusions – although the preliminary conclusions show that the collected material offers

comments on all of the theoretical approaches mentioned here.

Greve Nord – A Flagship of Public Housing

The buildings of Greve Nord manifest two different approaches to social housing in Denmark. Within 12 years from 1958 to 1970 more houses were built in Denmark than in any previous period – app. 60,000 houses a year i.e. 30,000 apartments in large multi-storey apartment blocks, the majority for rent, and 30,000 standard one family houses. However, due to an economic boom, it became possible even for working class people to buy their own house, soon leaving the big social housing areas with a low status. As a result a new form of social housing occurred from 1970 to 1985 - the so called ‘low and dense housing’. It was characterized by lower buildings often with big terraces and put together so that it resembled one family houses put on top of each other.⁶

The housing areas in the area of Greve Nord was originally part of a larger urban planning project called ‘Køge Bugt Planen’, which was approved in 1961. The main goal of the plan was to build ten new ‘cities’ consisting of both public housing and one family houses along the coast south of Copenhagen. The ten areas should provide housing for a total of 150,000 people – the majority commuting to work in or closer to the capital. The structure of transportation therefore played an important role in the planning.

The ten areas were placed east of a number of centuries old villages, whose lands were parcelled out to make room for the new inhabitants. The area, which

is today known as Greve Nord, was thus originally known as Hundige – a name which was changed in 2008 in connection with the definition of the on-going social project of the area in order to avoid the negative image, Hundige had acquired at that time.

Greve Nord consists of a number of public housing areas plus an area with one family houses. It has a total of approximately 18, 000 inhabitants, constituting about 37.5 per cent of the inhabitants in Greve Municipality.⁷ During the 1970s two large and architecturally modern housing areas were built on either side of a big regional shopping centre. Gersagerparken with its approximately 900 apartments was finished in 1972, and Askerød with approximately 700 apartments was built in 1975. Both areas were characterized by large apartments – up to 130 m² – and they both employed new ways of constructing using concrete elements and focusing on large balconies and small gardens for the residents. A third housing area – known as Gudernes kvarter – with a total of 437 apartments was added from 1988 to 2008. In 1976 a train station was built east of the two areas providing public transportation to Copenhagen.

Gersagerparken and Askerød were originally very popular areas populated by young residents and families with children, politically belonging to the left wing. They liked the size of the apartments and the surroundings as well as the ideas of openness, democracy and social integration, which were predominant during the 1970s and 80s. However, the composition of the inhabitants and the image of the areas changed



Fig 1 Greve Nord. This overview from 2009 shows the area of Greve Nord. Askerød is the white buildings in the centre of the photo, while Gersagerparken is the buildings further to the right behind the shopping centre today known as Waves. Photo: Greve Museum.

dramatically from the beginning of the 1990s.

A Multi-Ethnic Neighbourhood

Based on area-specific data from Statistics Denmark, we have analysed some of the social characteristics of the inhabitants of the public housing areas of Greve Nord. In 1980 only 3 per cent of the Danish population was ethnically non-Danish. In Gersagerparken this applied to 2.9 per cent of the residents, while 11.2 per cent of the inhabitants in Askerød were non-Danish. Although the number of foreigners in Denmark has been steadily growing since the 1980s, the number of non-Danish res-

idents in the public housing areas in Greve Nord has constantly been significantly higher than in the rest of Greve Municipality. This is especially true for Askerød. In 1995 50.4 per cent of the inhabitants in Askerød were non-Danish, and in 2000 this applied to 66.7 per cent. In comparison Gersagerparken in 1995 had 23.7 per cent non-Danish residents and 27.6 per cent in 2000.

The relative difference between the percentage of ethnic inhabitants in the three public housing area and in the rest of Greve Municipality underlines the image of Greve Nord as the multi-ethnic area in Greve. As the number of ethnic inhabitants grew,

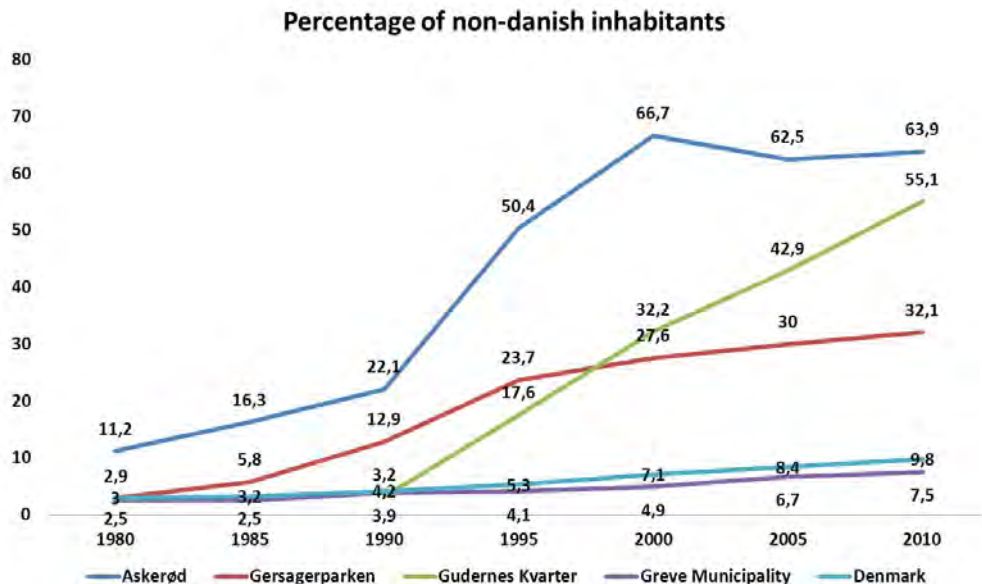


Fig 2 The graph shows the percentage of non-Danish inhabitants in the three public housing areas in Greve Nord, in the rest of Greve Municipality and in Denmark in total from 1980 to 2010. Source: Statistics Denmark.

the attitudes apparently also changed. Several of the interviewees mention a change in attitude in the middle of the 1980s – due to the growing number of non-Danish families in the area.⁸

The composition of nationalities in the housing areas of Greve Nord can largely be explained by the overall immigration to Denmark. In 1980 the largest non-Danish national groups in Askerød came from Turkey, Chile, Poland, Pakistan and Norway – corresponding with the inflow of guest-workers from Turkey and Pakistan and refugees from Chile and Poland during the 1960 and 70s. In Denmark as a whole, however, the five most common nationalities were German, Swedish, Turkish, Norwegian and Pakistani. Thus Askerød was largely a housing area for non-western immigrants and refu-

gees, and the same applied although to a lesser extent to Gersagerparken.

In 2005 the distributions of countries in Askerød and in Denmark as a whole were quite similar. In Askerød the five most common countries of origin were Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Pakistan – reflecting the inflow of refugees during the 1990s from Iraq, Lebanon and Bosnia-Hercegovina. This corresponds with the distribution of nationalities in Denmark as a whole – although Pakistan does not appear among the five most common countries – instead German was the third most common nationality.

However, the public housing areas of Greve Nord is not only known as being multi-ethnic, but also of containing a number of social problems. As shown in the graph, the development since 1985

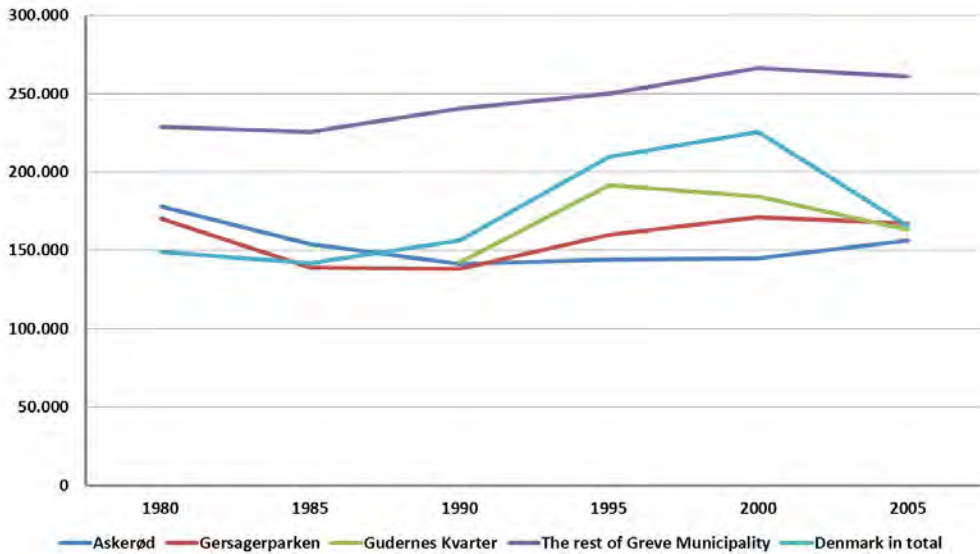


Fig 3 The graph shows the average income of the three main housing areas, of the rest of Greve Municipality and of Denmark as a whole from 1980 to 2005 in 2005-values. The average income in the public housing areas of Greve Nord has always been significantly lower than the income in the rest of Greve.

Source: Statistics Denmark

the average income in the three public housing areas has been lower than in Denmark as a whole, and significantly lower than in the rest of Greve Municipality from 1980 to 2005.

This latter difference may provide part of an explanation for the local stigmatization of the public housing areas. Since the 1980s the residents has belonged to the comparatively poor part of the residents in the Municipality.

One of our informants in the project explained, that the difference is caused by the fact that many of the households in Greve outside the three housing areas consists of two working adults with well-paid jobs, while the number of unemployed and people otherwise publicly supported is high in the public housing part of Greve Nord.

Interviewing 'the System'

In order to characterize the image of and policy pertaining to Greve Nord, we have collected a number of qualitative interviews representing three different interest groups in the area. The first group of interviewees consists of a number of representatives from the official system – i.e. the municipality, the police and other formal institutions with an interest in the area as well as the chairmen of the boards of Askerød and Gersagerparken. The goal has been to map out the administrative attitude towards the area, the 'system's' influence on the development, and the cooperation between the different agents in the area.

From the interviews we learned that Gersagerparken and Askerød originally were built as a means to provide modern housing facilities for newcomers to

Greve Municipality – meaning that the complexes were welcomed politically – providing housing for new taxpayers. However, during the 1980s especially Askerød experienced a period where it was difficult to rent out the apartments – significantly changing the composition of the residents.

The empty apartments became a way for the municipality to provide housing for the people, to whom the administration by law was obliged to help find a home. Furthermore the availability and rather low cost also attracted renters – both immigrants and Danes looking for cheap and immediate accommodation. This led to an increase in the number of social and economic problems in the areas. In order to control the combination of inhabitants, the municipality in 2000 took over the full right of assignment of apartments in Askerød – making employment and a sound financial situation a prerequisite for obtaining an apartment in Askerød. Since then this, however, has raised debate – not least in the media – due to a lack of alternative public housing in the area.

Caused by a number of incidents with arson, gang related episodes and other crimes the police also increased their focus on the area especially since the 1990s. Especially during the 1990 the police several times refused to enter into Askerød without a huge force because of repeated attacks. Today the police has built up a local force focusing on the preventive effects of talking to especially the young resident and of being visible and known in the area.

The interviews of representatives of ‘the system’ show that especially the public housing areas have caused polit-

ical and safety concerns during the last 20 years. One of the comments has been that the public housing areas are closed around themselves both architecturally and socially – preventing further interaction.⁹ The need for structural and institutional interaction is therefore widely expressed.

The Social Project

In 2008 a large scale social housing project was organized, financially supported by the City Council, Landsbygefonden (a national foundation) and the housing companies involved, who all have an interest in redefining the identity of the area. In 2012 the four-year project period was prolonged, so that the present project ends in 2016. The present project works with five different themes – i.e. safety, image and culture, health, children and jobs.

The project has assisted unemployed residents prepare for the labour market or for starting an education or in a trainee positions. Furthermore, it has arranged celebrations of cultural events like Eid and Christmas, and it has organized events focusing on the health of the inhabitants etc., in order to make people meet across cultural borders. Finally the social project has been focusing on publishing positive stories about the areas – especially in the local media.

Many of the initiatives have been successful – especially the ones about health. This is explained by the employees of the project by the fact that it doesn’t take any cultural prerequisites to have your blood pressure measured. One of the goals has been to active resources within the areas, and to make it so attractive to live in Greve Nord, that there are waiting lists



Fig 4 The social project in Greve Nord has arranged a number of different initiatives to bring the residents closer together. Here a group of residents is gathered in Askerød in the summer of 2012.
 Photo: Greve Nord Projektet

for obtaining the apartments. This has to some extent been accomplished today.

The social project basically resembles other projects known from similar housing areas in Denmark, although the Greve Nord Project also tries to include the private one-family houses in the area. The goal of the project is to create a common sense of unity. This task is, however, proving to be challenging because of the different needs of the residents in the different areas.

According to the former director of the social project, one of the challenges of integration today in public housing areas is that it is often left to socially disadvantaged residents to integrate newcomers from different cultures, who settle in the affordable public apart-

ments. By promoting a sense of community in a larger area and by promoting the use of the internal resources the process of both social and cultural integration would be facilitated making social projects superfluous in time. However, this requires that all parties involved see the value of the participation, which is not always the case.

The Inhabitants

Finally we have collected interviews with former and present inhabitants in the area. Our goal was to talk to people covering the most common ethnic and national groups in the area, but the process of getting in contact with informants has proved challenging – not least because it soon became clear that we

want to talk to them much more than they want to talk to us.

At the end of 2013 we have talked to residents from Denmark, Iraq, Lebanon, Rumania, Italy, Afghanistan and Iran. However, the most common nationality in the area is Turkish, a group that we not yet have been successful in contacting. The reasons for this have been many – one of which has been cultural difference with respect to making appointments.

The inhabitants that we have interviewed have predominantly been resourceful, well-integrated and engaged in the area or moved away from it. Therefore we have also conducted some participant observation and through the employees of the social project gained insight into some of the work done with the not-so resourceful residents – such as for instance the husband-supported women, who do not speak Danish.

From the preliminary analysis of the interviews with the residents, they generally seem to be satisfied with their apartments. Many are drawing attention to the size and to the balconies, playing down the negative aspects of the areas by saying that they personally have not seen it as that bad. There are local identities connected to the particular housing areas, but there is no common identity in Greve Nord. Furthermore, there is a clear tendency to move out – if given the possibility. The daughter of one of the informants, a refugee from Iraq, explains that even if she has no problems about living in Askerød, she would still like to move out of the area, because owning a house gives status. It is thus not necessarily the bad image of the areas that makes the residents want

to move you – but also the low status of living in public housing creates a wish to move out.

The Official Ghetto

National policies undoubtedly play a part in the development of specific housing areas – as well as the media also play a crucial part in forming and maintaining an image. One of the recent political determinants for the image of Greve Nord has been the creation of the national list of so called ghettos among housing areas with more than 1000 inhabitants. In 2010 the Danish government defined three criteria for a ghetto.

The first criterion is that more than 50 per cent of the inhabitants have a non-western background. The second criterion is that more than 40 per cent of the inhabitants between the age of 18 and 64 are not part of the labour force or enrolled in an education. The third criteria is that more than 2.7 per cent of the inhabitants have a conviction for violation of the Criminal Code or other similar legislation. Fulfilment of two out of three criteria put the housing area on the official ghetto list meriting that special action should be taken an money given in order to resolve the challenges of the area.¹⁰ The criterion has from the beginning been highly controversial and has been subject to continuous debate. In 2013 two additional criteria concerning income and education has been proposed but not yet implemented. Askerød was placed on the ghetto list in 2010, and while the chairman of the board in Askerød sees the designation as a ghetto as a way to apply for public funding for projects, other of the informants in this project mention the negative effect of



Fig 5 Askerød is one of the few housing areas in Denmark, where some of the buildings were removed in order to obtain a more open area in order to increase the feeling of safety between the buildings. This photo shows the demolition of one of the buildings in 2012. Photo: Greve Nord Projektet.

branding the area causing housing prices to drop and the sense of safety to vanish.

A preliminary analysis of the articles in written in a number of local and national newspapers since 1970 also reveals a growing negative focus on the public housing areas of Greve Nord. During the 1970s Askerød was mentioned as the modern dream of housing, while the area – especially since 2000 – has been continuously mentioned in connection with violence, gangs, arson, theft etc.

From 2008 especially the local newspaper, Sydkysten, has published a growing number of stories about the areas – both focusing on positive and on negative aspects. However, according to the communications worker at the social worker in Greve Nord, the constant mentioning of Askerød as a former ghetto still taint the whole area and is very difficult to change with positive press. A further analysis of the collected material is still impending.

Conclusion

The on-going analysis of the collected data in Greve is scheduled to be concluded in the spring of 2014. However, the preliminary findings testify to the complexity of multi-ethnic public housing areas as research fields. Historically the areas were thought of as the frontier of modern housing, but over time the areas have been challenged both because of political development, because of their architecture and due to a change in the demand for housing models over time. Furthermore, it seems as if the negative development perhaps has been neglected for a time.

Today social projects, like the one in Greve Nord, try to turn the development around for instance by creating a common identity among the residents in a larger area. However, in some ways it is difficult because of the difference in needs and expectations of the involved parties. Also the negative image of parts of Greve Nord and the low status of the public housing areas are challenging for reaching a positive development.

As a research field for museums and archives, both public housing from the 1970s as well as multi-cultural housing areas are challenging, upcoming topics, that need to be dealt with both theoretically and practically in the work of cultural institutions.

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Interviews and Webpages

23 qualitative interviews collected – hereof 18 collected in 2013, while 5 has been found in the collection of Greve Museum collected in connection with previous research. Archives of Greve Museum no. 500i0099, 500i103, 500i0105, 500i182, 500i186, and 1857B0001 to 1857B0018.

www.grevenord.dk

The web-page of the Social Ministry listing the criteria for being termed a ghetto in 2010. www.sm.dk/Nyheder/Sider/Vis%20Nyhed.aspx?NewsItem=

Notes

- 1 Anderson, Benedict: *Imagined Communities*, 1991
- 2 Hamburger, Charlotte : 'Etniske minoriteter og social integration', in Lilli Zeuner (ed) : *Social integration*, SFI 97:9, Copenhagen, 1997:135-168.
- 3 The thesis has been summarized in the article 'Med Bordieu i felten – almene boligområders storhed og forsømmelse', i John Andersen og Kristine Samson (eds.): *Byen i bevægelse : mobilitet - politik – performativitet*, Copenhagen, 2013.
- 4 Kallehave, Tina : 'Immigration – udfordringer til analyse af stat, subjekt og transformation' i *Nordisk Udkast* nr. 1, 2004.
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- 7 According to information from Statistics Denmark, Greve Municipality had 47,980 inhabitants during the first quarter of 2013. The number of inhabitants in Greve Nord has been estimated by informants both from the social project as well as from politically active inhabitants in the area.
- 8 One of the informants, who came to Denmark from Turkey in the middle of the 1980s and started school, describes the difference she experienced between being the only foreigner in the school at the beginning of her school-years and being one of a number of Turkish pupils after some years. Interview no. 500i186.
- 9 This conclusion was expressed by a member of the City Council in Greve. Interview no. 1857B0008
- 10 www.sm.dk/Nyheder/Sider/Vis%20Nyhed.aspx?NewsItem=516

No Place Like 'Home': Experiences of the Netherlands East Indies as Real, Virtual and Politically Contested Reality by Indisch Dutch and Indisch Dutch Australians

Nonja Peters

Introduction

This paper is about perceptions of 'home', place, identity and belonging as they are perceived by Dutch Refugees from the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) banished from their homeland by political conflict (The Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949). All have a connection to Australia. The NEI Dutch Australians adults interviewed chose to re-migrate to Australia after repatriation to NL preferring to live in a warmer climate closer to their country of origin. Their experiences are juxtaposed to NEI Dutch who were children evacuated to Australia in 1945 for rehabilitation from internment and the revolution before being repatriated to the NL where they stayed.

The paper is based on the data gathered from semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires and life histories. The common feature in these various methodologies is their emphasis on 'memory of the past' both individual and collective. Memory, according to philosopher James Booth 'is centered on an absence, tries to make it

present, and in the endeavour answers the call of the trace.¹ Traces are markers that point to 'a past that dwells in the hollows of the forgotten.'² Archivist, Eric Ketelaar calls these traces 'memory texts'. Memory texts can be a map, a story, a landscape, a building, a monument, a ritual, a performance or a commemoration.³ For Ketelaar, 'memory texts' are also 'a space' of contestation, because invariably, "it is a space that different people have different perceptions of...that they want to focus on different historical truths or myths about."⁴

Most Netherlands East Indies Dutch described their life in pre-WWII Java or Sumatra, and their relationship with Indonesians in idyllic terms. The following statement is representative:

Those carefree years are still accompanied by memories of gentle people, the unforgettable landscape and its exotic plants, as well as the ever-present air of spicy aromas.

Universally these NEI Dutch also de-



Fig 1 The good life in Java 1920, then the Netherlands East Indies. Courtesy: N. Peters

clare the Japanese Occupation and Indonesian Revolution for Independence and especially the very violent months October 1945 to June 1946, known as the *Bersiap* period by the Dutch who experienced them, as the events that most transformed their lives forever. What is it about these happenings that influenced their existence so profoundly?

The Pacific War 1942-1945

When war broke out in the Pacific the Allies (American, British, Dutch Australian (ABDA) Alliance) were ill-prepared. On land, they were no match for the Japanese armies, battle-hardened since 1931. At sea, they were powerless in the face of the Japanese navy. As a consequence, the Netherlands East Indies (NEI) Dutch Administration had no

option but to capitulate, which they did on 8 March 1942.

Unlike the German Occupation of the Netherlands, where life went on as before but under Occupation Forces, in the Netherlands East Indies, former Dutch military and bureaucratic personnel, including Ambonese and Mendonese, were interned at once as Prisoners-Of-War (POWs). In the following six months, throughout the region Dutch civilians, including women and children, were also herded into separate camps where they were starved and ill-treated. Some Dutch teenage females were taken to separate houses to serve as comfort women for the Japanese military. Males from as young as 10 years of age were taken from their mothers and placed in boys camps and treated like men.

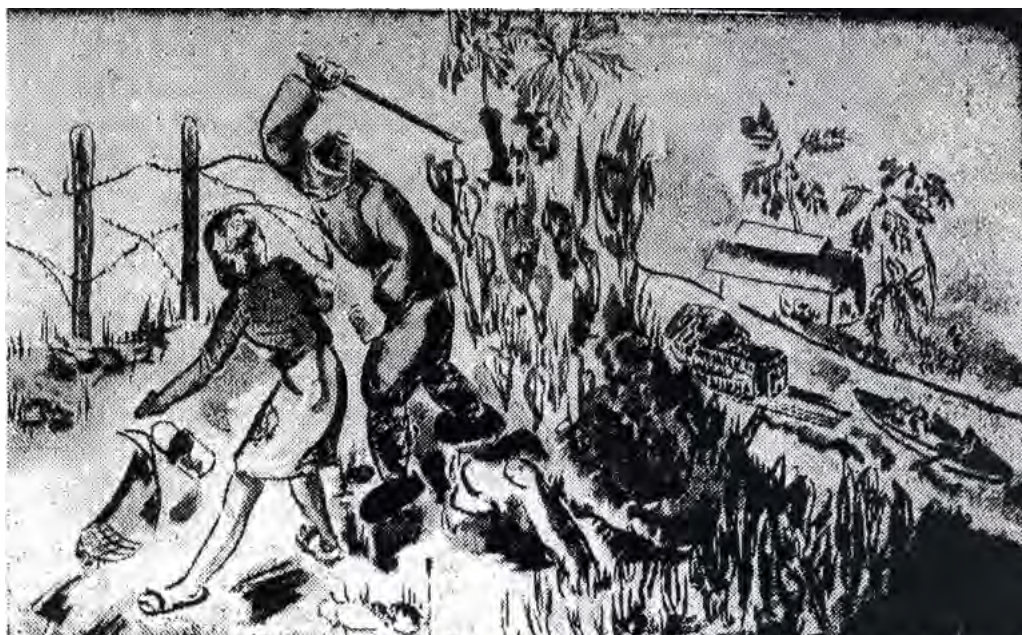


Fig 2 Life in an interment camp. Courtesy: *Western Mail*

From the onset of the Japanese Occupation, the Dutch language and culture were no longer visible in the Netherlands East Indies. Instead an intense Japanisation of the population took its place. However, since few Indonesians could speak Japanese most adopted Bahasa Indonesia as their lingua franca. Also Indonesian lesser bureaucrats were immediately promoted three or four ranks higher to run government departments now without their Dutch heads; and schools were directed to teach pupils to be loyal to Japanese symbols and ideology. The Japanese were out to extinguish all European influence in Asia and establish a 'Greater Asia Co-prosperity Sphere' with Japan as supreme leader.

The Japanese catered for the large number of Dutch internees by transforming whole residential districts of Batavia into a vast camp by encircling

the area with barbed wire fences surrounded by bamboo cladding. There was little food on offer, sanitation was poor, overcrowding and acts of violence were the order of the day. The Japanese had specifically set out to humiliate the white man, in full view of the indigenous peoples of the region, to make it clear that the days of European domination were over.⁵

During the Japanese occupation 1942 – 1945, 42,000 Dutch were placed in forced to labour POW camps; a further 80,000 civilians were interned; and 172,000 Dutch of mixed blood stayed outside the camps (*buiten-kampers*). However, their lives too were severely compromised. The majority lost their job as soon as they had trained an Indigenous Indonesian to take it on. In fact, most Eurasians were only able to survive by selling their furniture, clothes and



Fig 3 *Bowling to the Japanese*. Courtesy: Frances Larder

jewellery to generate money for food-stuff.⁶

After Japan capitulated on 15 August 1945, a period of unrest began with guerrilla warfare following Sukarno's declaration of Independence on 17 August 1945. Groups of Indonesian nationalists youth freedom fighters armed with improvised weapons (like bamboo spears and machete's) but also firearms attacked internees and killed many in the most grisly manner. An estimated 3,500 Europeans were killed and 20,000 went missing presumed to have befallen the same fate. Many mass graves have been discovered.⁷

The increasing intensity of fighting and violence over the months of October and November 1945 became known as the *Bersiap* period, from the warning cry "*Bersiap!*" (Stand prepared) with which the young nationalists used

to summon their members to do battle with an approaching force considered hostile. This was followed by the nationalist salute "*Merdeka*" their ferocious war cry for freedom, which they would shout as their fighters entered a street, accompanied by noisy beating of iron stakes against fences and light poles before surrounding the houses of their victims who they would torture and murder. Consequently, instead of the freedom they longed for, the Dutch were confronted with extreme unrest, guerrilla warfare and macabre killings.⁸ For many *Indisch* Dutch, the Indonesian Revolution changed forever their sense of security in the land of their cultural heritage, many say more than the Japanese Occupation had done. Around 300,000 NEI Dutch were repatriated to the NL, some after a short year of rehabilitation in Australia or NZ. Around



Fig 4 Merdaka. Courtesy: Newspaper

10,000 came to Australia from the late 1950s.

Hall has proposed a theorization of identity as 'a form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak'.⁹ For example, whereas first generation Dutch most often derive their meanings about sense of place, self, identity and belonging from the socio-economic conditions and relations of dominance in the cultural milieu they left behind,

the second generation, who were children at the time of their arrival in the new country; and therefore not as firmly anchored in one culture as their parents, formulate their conclusions with reference to both the Dutch and new countries (Australian) cultural domains.

Drawing on the 'transnational'¹⁰ perspective' of Basch et al. (1994:7), I define the *Indisch Dutch* diaspora a continuous cultural process – not a single act of relocation - by which migrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social

relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. In which people, termed trans-migrants 'take actions, make decisions, and develop subjectivities and identities embedded in networks and relationships that connect them simultaneously to two or more nation states'.

Place/Homeland

Why research place or 'homeland'? In the wake of the great voyages of exploration, discovery and colonisation - 'homeland' became a contested reality. Over time 'sense of place', came to be conceived of as an organic progressive connection between inhabitants to their particular territory.

John Hughes contends that in Australia we do a lot of thinking and talking about 'home' because... 'our personal heritage and sense of identity includes a place and a history not really our own, not really accessible to us. The fact that our sense of self-discovery and self-realisation takes place in foreign lands is the [uniquely] rich and complex ironies of being Australian.'¹¹

His views resonate with those of Indisch Dutch Australians.

Why is it that we become attached to a place? Bender (2001:4) argues that we are only capable of understanding the world around us, at least initially, from what we have learned, what we have been exposed to, and what has been passed onto us in the way of narratives, traditions and beliefs.¹²

Experiencing 'place' through the body in this way is also the central idea of de Certeau's philosophy. He argues

that "the body ... in movement, gestulation, walking, taking its pleasure, is what indefinitely organises a 'here' in relation to an abroad, a 'familiarity' in relation to a 'foreignness'."¹³

The NEI Adults in Australia

In the late 1980s, NEI Dutch or 'other Dutch' (as they call themselves) began to establish *Bambu social clubs* not associated with those established by Netherlands Dutch. The quotes from oral interviews with NEI Dutch Australians below are representative:

When I first went to a meeting with other people from the Indies I straight-away felt at home. The people were familiar, the accent, everything was familiar. It feels like we are related. We have the same background, we went to the same schools, we like the same kind of food, tell the same kind of jokes. The first time was a sort of a 'homecoming'.

You know what is so lovely about meeting another *Indisch person*? They know what I mean when I say *pisang*, *babu* or *bottle tjebok*... We don't have to explain our past to each other, we share our past. That is what makes it so special.

These expressions support Hall's reasoning that, '... identification is constructed on the back of a recognition of some common or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with the natural closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation'.¹⁴ These clubs were based on and sustained by the shared experience of *tempo doeloe* - collective nostalgic imaginings of 'the good old times' which many researchers may designate the impact of Colonialism.



Fig 5 Andreas Flach. Courtesy:Flach family.

The long-term impact of *tempo doloe* is also evident in the following narrative by Nell van de Graaff's (1994:120) that describes her first visit back to the NEI, her birthplace, after 30 years of exile. It is powerful and representative:

The plane landed in Jakarta at sunset. It had been raining heavily, the tarmac, was glistening, and the dark clouds drifted by as the setting sun glowed on the western horizon. The warmth and humidity enveloped me as I emerged from the aircraft and the sounds and the smells of Indonesia made me feel I was coming home. In a flash I realized how much I had missed all this since I had left the country more than twenty years ago. I felt emotional, close to tears, and I could suddenly understand the grand gesture of expatriates who, returning to their homeland, kissed the ground on which their first falter-

ing steps had fallen...I smelt the Chinese bread in the basket and the freshly brewed coffee, and I heard the distant calls of street vendors selling sateh and other delicacies from their mobile stalls. The sweetness of it all was almost too much to bear. How I loved this country – I felt I had come home...I sighed and felt blessed, and asked the [taxi] driver to take me next pass the house I had lived in as a girl and the church where my father had been a minister. They were both still there, although in need of repair.¹⁵

The following extract from Andreas Flach's life story that he wrote for his Dutch Australian children to tell them about the long-term impact of his earlier life in the Netherlands East Indies, portrays a deep lasting attachment:

...the brutal Japanese Occupation of the NEI and ...'The Bersiap period' are the darkest episodes in my life. A time I like to forget not only because of the many intense and traumatic experiences I had to go through but also in the light of the, hard to accept, fact that I, and with me most of the *Indische* people, have lost forever our country of birth, a country I grew up in, a country and a people where part of our blood comes from. I had to write this paragraph to let you know my hidden deepest feelings, may be you understand your father now when he asks in his will that his ashes be returned to **his** [Andreas' emphasis] country of birth, Indonesia, my 'mother country'.¹⁶

Andreas and Nell's sentiments, are full of de Certeau's 'familiarity' and how childhood bonding with the NEI continues to impact on all their senses despite their forced abandonment from its shores.

However, what is interesting with reference to Bender as mentioned earlier is how many *Indisch* Dutch Australians, post-migration, went on to develop feelings of attachment for aspects of Australian life as the two following quotes detect:

Gerarda:

My love for the Australian bush deepened during the many bush walks we did with the children in the Blue Mountains, where we settled.¹⁷

Ineke:

Who had left the NEI fifty years before notes revisits to both Holland and Indonesia – but now – ‘Australia will always be my home’.¹⁸

These comments follow Norberg-Schulz, (1979) ideology. He notes although throughout history, humans have been adapting the natural environment to suit their needs, that it is the process of creating the man-made environment - nodes, paths, edges and districts that marks out a sense of place, for it creates an understanding of one’s environment, that at least in navigational terms, engenders a “sense of emotional security”.¹⁹ Therefore, it can be said that the concept of place is defined more by its ability to serve as a ‘habitat’ for its residents than by its physical properties. This lead Norberg-Schulz (1979:5) to describe the connection between humans and their homeland as more spiritual in essence, as relying more on ephemeral notions, such as senses, memories and beliefs! Since experiencing places, with all our senses provides us with an opportunity to bond with a place, to develop con-

nections, emotional attachments and meanings that are relevant in regards to developing one’s sense of belonging and identity.²⁰

The Children

A number of NEI Dutch children evacuated to Western Australia were taken to Fairbridge Farm School for rehabilitation before repatriation to the Netherlands 1945-1946. These children draw on images from three countries to describe their sense of self, identity and belonging. The response from Ernst, a boy of eleven-years-old when his family fled the NEI, is based on his ‘assumptions’ about what it means to be a ‘real Dutch person’:

In my feelings I am a Dutchman from Dutch East Indies origin (*Ik voel me Indisch*). How does that appear in daily life? I am less nationalistic as the common Dutchmen. I am feeling myself more as a world-citizen with Dutch nationality. Maybe this originates from having my roots in Dutch East Indies and having lived a long time abroad. In many situations I recognise the same habitats in...[others] of the Dutch East Indies community in Holland... I have been abroad before the war in Java as a European citizen living in perfect conditions and good relationship with the native people who partly nursed me. That is why I considered the Dutch East Indies as my homeland. The Japanese invasion destroyed my homeland and I became a foreigner in my homeland and had to leave it [behind] what did seriously hurt. After [my sojourn in] Australia (11 Months) I came in Holland and felt myself a foreigner in between the Dutch people, however after having lived their for almost two decades Holland became my Homeland though I still considered myself as an “*Indische jongen*”.²¹



Fig 6 Dutch Children at Fairbridge Farm Orphanage for British children. The school was available because WWII had temporarily stopped British child migration to Australia.

Ernst adds that in disputes with good Dutch friends, about wartime, this 'difference' still pops up. Ernst's reference to his 'good relationships' with Indonesians, especially those that nursed him, is another common theme of interviews and life histories with NEI Dutch.

Winnie de Vries' deliberations about the NEI, feature aspects of history, race, class, ethnicity and culture:

My very first and perhaps most honest answer is: my roots are in the Netherlands East Indies - *Indië* to me. The family history shows it. My father is from a mixed family. I'll try to tell it in short: In 1829 an ancestor coming from Germany went to Holland as a missionary and travelled by sailing ship to Indonesia. In Celebes he married a woman from high Indonesian birth. (1831). He

once was begged to come to a very sick son of a *Radjah* - a ride on horseback of three days. He managed to cure the boy. The father was very grateful and offered him a daughter in marriage! As there were almost no Dutch women 'available' he accepted the offer and married her in 1831. They had seven children - so that was the start of 'my' family told by my old aunt, our 'walking history book. It is not strange I think, that I always felt that the NEI was my homeland (fatherland). I feel very at ease with people from that country. Going to Australia for about ten months was a wonderful experience. If circumstances had been less difficult we would have gone back from Australia to Indonesia, where we had lived for such a long time. My mother was Dutch. Being in Holland now for over 50 years - yes this is a good country to live in. Still there are so many things in my daily life

that remind me of my land of birth. Is Holland my motherland, *Indië* my fatherland? I think so. In fact my roots are in both countries; my life is in fact bi-cultural.²²

Wim Plink, another Dutch Fairbridge child reflects on his family's attachment to the NEI, highlighting further complexities of 'homeland':

I am Dutch, my parents are Dutch and my ancestors so my 'fatherland' is the Netherlands. But I am born in Indonesia so Indonesia is my 'motherland'. So it is not easy to say what is my 'homeland', it is very emotional. I have my roots in Indonesia ...so it is my 'homeland' but now I stay in Holland since 1947, so Holland is now my 'homeland'. For my mother, who was also born in Indonesia, it was her 'fatherland and homeland'. When she got to Holland the 'fatherland became Holland' but not in her feelings and emotions. For my father born in Utrecht, Holland was his - fatherland, motherland and homeland-. His stay in Indonesia, in the army, was a period in his life. It was obvious that he would go back to Holland with wife and children eventually. Australia was for me a 'guest-land' that had comforted me well. But it is not a 'homeland' because in the time we were there it was obvious we would stay for only a short time."²³

The extracts above imply the existence of a continuing strong attachment and self-conscious identification with the NEI despite banishment from it but simultaneously the capacity to also bond with another country or countries in this case NL and Australia.

Discussion

Gupta²⁴ and Ferguson (1992:17) suggest that: "The ability of people to confound the established spatial orders, either through physical movement or through their own conceptual and political acts of re-imagination, means space and place can never be 'given' and that the process of their socio-political construction must be considered'.

I have shown, that creating an identity is an extremely complex process, "... never singular but multiple, constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions".²⁵ Hall claims a strategy of self-empowerment requires a shift in emphasis from the unerased traces of 'where you're from' to the possibilities and limits offered by 'where you're at'. This position in the postmodern world calls less upon tradition and ancestry for its validation and more on an individual's ability to utilise all available resources to renegotiate and reinvent their identity.

Notes

- 1 W. James Booth, *Communities of Memory. On Witness, identity, and Justice* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 2006) 114.
- 2 W. James Booth, *Communities of Memory. On Witness, identity, and Justice* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London 2006, 85.
- 3 They are what the Polish-French historian Krzysztof Pomian has called semiophores, carriers of meaning. The recognition of the bond between an object and the invisible makes that object into a semiophore. The semiophore gets its meaning by the definition of the invisible to which the semiophore refers.
- 4 Professor Eric Ketelaar, *Mapping for Societal Memory: from Duyfken to Digital, Paper presented at Customs House, Brisbane to commemorate the arrival of the Duyfken, 27 July 2006.*

BACK TO HEALTH



DUE to the co-operation of the Fairbridge Farm School Council, more than fifty Dutch children who have suffered all kinds of privations in Japanese prisoner of war camps are being restored to health at Fairbridge Farm School at Pinjarra. The number will shortly be raised to seventy. Some children suffered severely through under-nourishment, but perhaps the worst feature of their captivity was the Japanese ban on teaching of every kind. In the healthy surroundings at Fairbridge the children are rapidly putting on weight and are forgetting the squalid conditions which they had to suffer for several years.

Lessons occupy two hours morning and afternoon. Children learn Dutch and English, arithmetic, drawing, history. Older children learn more about Australia, and girls are taught needlework. One child of ten cannot yet read or write, and most who were young when imprisoned have had no teaching except what their mothers were able to give them secretly.



These interested Dutch boys and girls are learning basic English. Their teacher is Mr. M. R. Kirkpatrick of the Education Department. In two hours they had learnt a number of simple words and understood directions such as "go in," "come out," "put down your pad and pencil." The boys had typical Dutch names such as Hans, Pieter, Jan, Klaas and Dickie. Some of the girls were called Marietje, Anne-Liesje, Truusje and Marianne. The letters "je" mean "little."



Circle: Australian sunshine is helping the children back to health, and when possible lessons are given outside under the tall gums. All these children have put on weight since going to Fairbridge.

Sport is not neglected. The boys play cricket and soccer, and the girls play baseball (with a soft ball) and tennis. The children's ages range from six to fourteen. Some have lost their fathers, others have not seen their fathers for years. Some of their mothers are in hospital. There are four children of one family at Fairbridge. Their father died in a prison camp, and their mother is still in hospital in Perth.

Fig 7 Back to Health at Fairbridge, Courtesy: Western Mail Newspaper

- 5 N. Peters, *From Tyranny to Freedom: Dutch Children from the Netherlands East Indies to Fairbridge Farm School 1945-1946* (Perth 2008).
- 6 <http://www.museon.nl/en/buitenkampers>; <http://www.indischhistorisch.nl/tweede/oorlog-en-ber-siap/world-war-ii-and-ber-siap-period-1945-1949-buitenkampers-ignored-and-untold-stories/>
<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2709038/>
- 7 Peters, 2008.
- 8 William Frederick, *The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's Revolution (1945-1949): A 'brief genocide' reconsidered*, in the *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (3-4), September-November, 2012, 359-380, (359). 1.
- 9 Hall 1990, pp. 222-37, cited by I. Ang, 'On not speaking Chinese', *New Formations*, no. 24, 1994, p. 8.
- 10 L. Basch et al 1994, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*, Gordon and Breach Publishers, Basel, Switzerland: Definitions of transnationalism vary, but generally centre on exchanges, connections and practices across borders, thus transcending the national space as the primary reference point for activities and identities. These have increased exponentially in concert with the growth of instant global communication systems. The accelerated development of communication, transport, trade and information networks through globalization has therefore strengthened the connections of migrants to two or more places. Today, something said in Sydney will reach The Hague quicker than you could fly there, and vice versa. What happens in The Hague feeds back, electronically and physically, immediately into Dutch Australian communities.' In other words, instead of focusing on just one country or the other, policies with a transnational outlook specifically address the linkages between countries arising from transnational activities and practices by migrants.
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Ambivalent Dutch Lifestyle Migrants in Rural Sweden

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Abstract

This paper focuses on Dutch families who moved to Hällefors municipality (rural Sweden) in the early 21st century. It discusses ambivalent discourses comparing pre-migration to post-migration life. As studied in this text, the direction of the move (north), the destination (a deprived municipality) and the structure for the decision process (a municipality and an agency deliberately attracting incomers) are novel aspects to existing studies of lifestyle migration. The paper aims to examine the migration process of Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors and their ambivalent attitudes towards returning. The main question addressed enhances our understanding of the motivations for a possible move away from Hällefors. This question is addressed through a qualitative study, conducted in 2011. The findings suggest that spontaneous movers are more ambivalent than long-term planning migrants. This leads to the conclusion that the permanent-temporary binary of movement is less valuable for conceptualising this group of migrants.

Introduction: Hällefors and Placement

In the contemporary era of globalisation and time-space compression (Janelle, 1991), European rural areas have experienced urban-to-rural migration (Buller and Hoggart, 1994; Hoggart and Buller, 1995; Benson, 2011a; Hedberg and Do Carmo, 2011). In Sweden, the county of Värmland is renowned for its large Dutch population (Andersen and Engström, 2005; Eriksson Robertsson, 2010). However, this has not previously been related to ambivalent lifestyle migrants in rural Sweden.

On the one hand, Hällefors is a typical Swedish small industrial town.

Although located rather centrally in Sweden (*Figure 1*), the municipality is part of a rural area known as Bergslagen. This area, including county Dalarna, is traditionally characterised by forestry as well as iron and steel industry (Braunerhielm, 2006; Heldt Cassell, 2008). Over the centuries, the area has attracted labour migrants from Belgium, Germany, Finland, and other countries (Borgegård et al., 1998; Åkesson, 1998).

During the past decades however, the municipality has suffered from population decline and economic stagnation. The number of inhabitants decreased from 11,723 in 1968 to 6,973 in 2012 (Statistics Sweden, 2013). Traditional

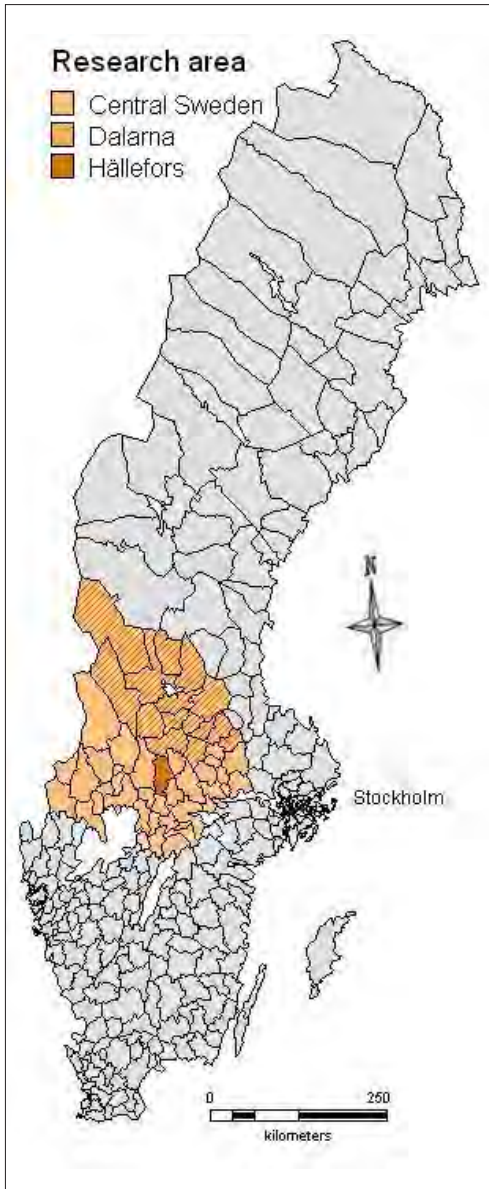


Fig 1 Hällefors is a small industrial town in central Sweden, part of a rural area known as Bergslagen.

patriarchal social values in Hällefors (Hedfeldt, 2008) may hamper its adaptation to post-industrial conditions (Boyle and Halfacree, 1998; Heldt Casel, 2008, 106-7).

On the other hand, Hällefors is a trend-setter in rural Sweden. In 2003, in an attempt to turn the tide of depopulation, the municipality's executive board formulated three policy profiles: culinary arts, technology, and design (Braunerhielm, 2006: 116-7). This resulted in, among other things, collaboration with a privately owned migration consultancy agency based in Norway called Placement. According to its director, the aim of Placement is to attract Dutch and other families ideally consisting of adults aged 35-45 and children under the age of 10. Furthermore, minimising the risk of remigration, Placement looks for families with pre-existing ties to the destination countries.

Between 2004 and 2007, Hällefors participated in an international rural place marketing campaign, with the purpose of attracting new residents from the Netherlands and elsewhere (Eimermann, 2013). Partly as a result of these rural place marketing efforts, about 50 Dutch families settled in Hällefors in the early 21st century. In 2011 however, around 50 per cent of these families had left the municipality. Some of them returned to the Netherlands, others moved to another country, while still others moved to neighbouring municipalities.

This paper describes and analyses the motives of this group of migrants in Hällefors municipality. It links the above developments to issues of ambivalence in studies of lifestyle migration. It contributes to lifestyle migration research in three ways: introducing a novel direction (northwards, to a renowned welfare state), a novel destination type (a deprived area) and a structure for

Table 1 Destination countries for emigrants from the Netherlands, 1995-2012

Years	Neighbouring countries		Classical destinations			Lifestyle mig. destinations			Nordic countries			
	Belgium	Germany	Australia	Canada	USA	France	Portugal	Spain	Denmark	Finland	Norway	Sweden
1995	7493	7956	1591	1181	5125	2640	587	2243	628	244	378	494
1996	8684	8424	1397	1336	5200	2610	631	2281	525	233	436	491
1997	7049	7403	1358	1263	5241	2726	651	2357	620	264	450	572
1998	7115	6892	1275	1280	5398	2830	573	2564	608	248	502	592
1999	6953	7132	1552	1299	5343	2903	609	2813	559	281	392	698
2000	8006	7654	1458	1333	5356	3154	664	2867	633	334	422	651
2001	8588	9013	1466	1236	4990	3163	674	2846	489	343	455	826
2002	9270	10822	1408	1342	4672	3431	710	3150	540	299	511	659
2003	9284	9822	1525	1181	4071	3373	666	3365	430	292	492	648
2004	9467	9552	1607	1260	4218	3442	694	3616	507	313	629	809
2005	10603	10245	2173	1549	4516	3957	851	4131	467	319	822	901
2006	12008	11006	2614	1606	4994	3842	982	4418	599	363	884	1194
2007	11968	11513	2455	1482	5147	3701	880	3966	657	343	1046	1189
2008	11629	11754	2454	1457	4711	3617	940	4021	562	319	987	1280
2009	9564	10402	1977	1312	4471	3369	1030	3512	613	335	671	1018
2010	9320	10632	2011	1302	4836	3541	1188	3532	550	399	746	1197
2011	9843	12526	2296	1610	5815	4054	1189	4362	631	542	803	1377
2012	9683	12968	2321	1423	5640	3873	1137	4216	732	579	918	1384

Table 1: Destination countries for emigrants from the Netherlands, 1995-2012

Source: Statistics Netherlands, 2013

the decision process (a local authority deliberately attracting new residents from abroad). As illustrated in *Table 1*, this migration flow has been increasing steadily from 1995 onwards, disrupted temporarily during the economic recession of 2009 and 2010.

Furthermore, *Table 1* compares migration from the Netherlands to Sweden with migration to neighbouring countries, classical migration destinations and lifestyle migration destinations (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009). Relative to the numbers in 1995, migration to Sweden increased most. Sweden attracts more Dutch movers than Denmark, Norway or Finland. Moreover, the total number of Dutch moving to these four Nordic countries (3,613) approaches the amount moving to France (3,873) in 2012. According to the Swedish National Rural Development Agency (2008, 47), the distribution of the Dutch population in Sweden differs from that of most other migrants. The Dutch prefer rural and sparsely populated areas over urban areas. More detailed information is presented in Eimermann et al. (2012).

Against this background, this paper focuses in particular on Dutch migrants in the rural Swedish municipality of Hällefors. The aim is to examine the migration process of Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors and their ambivalent attitudes towards returning, and thereby to give voice to the hope, pain, nostalgia, and triumph of lives lived in other places (King et al., 1995). Consequently, the empirical question is as follows: after migrating to Hällefors, what influences the Dutch families' attitude towards returning? This question is

addressed through narratives of Dutch migrant families, gathered during fieldwork in 2011.

The structure of the paper is as follows. After this introduction, the conceptual framework is presented, and the research design is outlined. Subsequently, a description and analysis of the fieldwork is presented, giving special attention to the families' ambivalent attitudes towards returning. In the concluding discussion, the findings indicating ambivalence are related to the permanent-temporary binary of movement, discussed by Bell and Ward (2000).

Ambivalent Lifestyle Migrants

Studies of lifestyle migration offer apt insights into post-migration everyday life (O'Reilly and Benson, 2009). Recently, a number of studies were collected in a book called *Lifestyle Migration – expectations, aspirations and experiences* (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009b). These studies represent stories ranging from Westerners searching for spiritual elucidation in India to second-home owners moving frequently between two or more homes. Lifestyle migration is distinct from other forms of migration in its principal motivation: lifestyle and a gradual achievement of a better way of life.

As there is no clear definition of 'lifestyle', it is a subjective term. Essentially, it refers to three aspects: a drive towards a better way of life, the potential for self-realisation embedded within the notion of spatial mobility, and meaningfulness and values ascribed to particular places (Benson and O'Reilly, 2009b). In this paper, the act of migration is comprehended as one step within a wider lifestyle trajectory.

Lifestyle migration assembles renderings of amenity migration, residential tourism, retirement migration and (international) counterurbanisation into a single theoretical framework. An initial working definition of lifestyle migrants is offered by Benson and O'Reilly (2009a, 621): 'relatively affluent individuals, moving either part-time or full-time, permanently or temporarily, to places which, for various reasons, signify for the migrants something loosely defined as quality of life'. The current study offers new empirical data that suggest amendments to be made to this definition of lifestyle migration.

Studying lifestyle migration, Benson and O'Reilly (2009b) refer to concepts such as modernity, self-identity (Giddens, 1991) and the new mobilities paradigm (Sheller and Urry, 2006). Moreover, Benson (2013) compares the migrants' claims to the authentic with the politics of connoisseurship and negotiating social distinction and social capital (Bourdieu, 1984). Each of these concepts suggests increasing opportunities for affluent individuals to create their own preferences in a context of diminishing social and practical constraints. In other words, affluent individuals' increased mobility has created opportunities for them both to explore places and to move to a particular place with which they identify.

In a Dutch context, Van Dalen and Henkens (2007, 56, original capitals) suggest that affluent migrants leaving the Netherlands seek to escape urban areas, longing for 'the Good Life: nature, space, and less populated surroundings'. This search is especially motivated since genuine rural areas in the Netherlands are scarce (Haartsen et al., 2003).

However, although some migrants realise their dreams of an alternative way of life with relative ease, others are forced to invest more time and effort in achieving their aspirations (Benson, 2010). This is why the search for authenticity and a better way of life is portrayed as an ongoing quest, stretching into post-migration life (Benson, 2011b). Pre-migration romantic and nostalgic imaginings of a rural idyll and authenticities of everyday life are pivotal pull factors constructing an expected better way of life after migration. However, the actual rurality experienced in the migrants' post-migration lives may contradict these expectations (O'Reilly and Benson, 2009; Halfacree and Rivera, 2012).

This tension between reality and imagination is termed ambivalence, implying an everyday mismatch of post-migration experiences with previous hopes and dreams (O'Reilly and Benson, 2009, 9). Some migrants rather reproduce than solve pre-migration concerns, which become important for their post-migration trajectories (Benson, 2010). Therefore, ambivalence is related to the migrants' attitude towards returning (or moving elsewhere), after moving to Hällefors. Ambivalence may be a particular issue for this type of migration, perceived as voluntary (Bærenholdt and Granås, 2008, 8). Dutch lifestyle migrants have the possibility to return at any time to their country of origin, or to move elsewhere. Paradoxically, this complicates the decision whether or not to stay.

In other words, post-migration ambivalence can give rise to a new decision process considering returning or a move

elsewhere. In a beneficial scenario, the migrants would gain more nuanced, complex and dynamic understandings of their destination (Benson, 2013). In a detrimental scenario, the migrants would wish to return but are not able to find employment or affordable housing in the Netherlands (Huete *et al.*, 2013). As Benson (2013) argues, this ambivalence possibly derives from the unclear boundary between tourism and migration.

This is related to temporal dimensions of geographical movement. Bell and Ward (2000) compare different types of movement using spatio-temporal boundaries, resulting in a typology of movement. The authors point at the arbitrary nature of defining migration roughly as a move across an administrative boundary, exceeding one year (*ibid.*).

This results in a multitude of mobilities, at times referred to as a tourism-migration nexus (Hall and Williams, 2002). Rather than drawing a temporal line between different types of mobility, this nexus indicates how tourism, migration and other forms of mobility are interconnected. A causal relation may exist, where people first visit a place several times for holidays, subsequently purchase a holiday home there and eventually move more or less permanently to the destination (Müller and Marjavaara, 2012). Moreover, after migration, these migrants invite friends and relatives and may induce a subsequent cohort of migrants.

Consequently in the current era of mobilities, Urry (2000) argues that concepts of mobility contribute more to our understanding of societies than ideas of

stasis, structure and social order. He advocates a new mobilities paradigm, implying that almost all places in the developed world are connected through networks and that «nowhere can be an island» (Sheller and Urry, 2006: 209). This paradigm cautiously navigates between notions of sedentarism (assuming human lives to be place-bound) and nomadism (the opposite of sedentarism) at various scales, aiming to transcend theoretical contrasts between place and movement (Sheller and Urry, 2006).

However, McIntyre *et al.* (2006) claim that mobility raises place-consciousness as it enables people to compare different places and their qualities. Over the life course, people may develop feelings of simultaneously being at home in different places. The authors discuss the concept of multiple dwelling, understood as a process rather than an object. As such, multiple dwelling is an effort to negotiate meaningful links with family, national traditions and nature in an increasingly complex world.

Hence, the conceptual framework for this paper is derived from issues of post-migration ambivalence in studies of lifestyle migration. This is then connected to issues of temporality of geographical movement.

Research Design and Data

The migrants' unique experiences are central to this research. Hence, data are mainly gathered through qualitative methods. Visiting members of Dutch households at their homes or work environments in Hällefors and conducting in-depth interviews with them results in insights that are not possible to achieve using quantitative research methods.

As King et al. (1995, x, original italics) argue, aggregative approaches often «fail to capture the essence of what it is like to *be* a migrant; and be, or not be, part of a community, a nation, a society – cut off from history and from a sense of place». The fieldwork for this paper emphasises migrants and the «realities» of their situation in Hällefors (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993).

Each family is visited once. The interviews are about three hours in length, usually with both parents in the family simultaneously. Children are usually not present during the interviews, except for the part of the visits that is combined with a family gathering around the dinner table. This less formal setting facilitates an interactive-relational approach, in which our encounters are fuelled by qualities in the interaction and relationship that emerges (Chirban, 1996, xiv). Both before and after the interviews, contact is maintained in order to receive additional information from the respondents.

The interviews are tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim, after which labels are added manually in a word processing programme (Baarda et al., 2000: 176-188). They are then sorted and analysed. The quotations in the subsequent empirical section are used as illustrations for the line of reasoning in this paper.

In short, the interview guide consists of two parts: one considering the migrants' aspirations and expectations prior to moving, and the other focusing on their experiences after moving. Apart from general socio-demographic characteristics of the family members, the first part includes frequency, duration and purpose of visits to Sweden prior to

moving, as well as an attempt to capture what triggered the decision to migrate. The second part considers everyday experiences in Hällefors and the work environment. Moreover, questions on frequency, duration and purpose of visits to the Netherlands as well as friends and relatives visiting in Hällefors are included. The final part of the interview guide includes the migrants' attitudes towards the near and distant future (resp. less or more than three years after the interview) considering their place of residence, work environment, mobility and everyday life.

In 2011, out of the original 50 Dutch families, approximately 25 remain in Hällefors. Most studies of lifestyle migration focus on retired migrants. In contrast, this paper focuses on economically active migrants. Thus, of the remaining 25 Dutch families in Hällefors, 15 economically active families are selected for this study. Two of these families declined participation, which means that this study draws on data gathered from thirteen families.

The composition and age structure of the households included in this study are presented in *Table 2* (the numbers in the first column indicate a chronological order of moving). These households can be analysed socio-demographically. The adult family members are mainly born in the late 1950s or the 1960s. They are aged 31 to 52 when they move. The children are born in the 1990s and early 2000s and are between one and fifteen years old when they move. In two families, a child is born in Sweden (after the move). Including demographic figures for the two families that are not part of the interview study, six out of fifteen

families have three children or more, six have two children, one has one child, one has none, and family 3 leaves one child behind, from an earlier marriage. The households are thus similar regarding composition and age structure.

In general, all households arrive between 2004 and 2011. A distinction can be made between ‘planners’ and rather spontaneous movers. Three of the families first visit Sweden 15 years or more before actually moving there, whereas three other families visit Sweden one year or less before their move. All the families have thought about returning to the Netherlands or moving elsewhere. However, two families are highlighted in this study, as they express their ambivalent attitudes towards returning most explicitly: one family stay in Hällefors, the other move.

Empirical Findings

The other day we met some of our Dutch connections who live here in Hällefors. They asked us how we were doing and we said “so-so”. Their situation was similar. We chatted for a while and concluded that most of us Dutch here pretend to live a good life, but that it simply is not true. We all miss things we used to do and have in the Netherlands. (Interview 1, 2011)

The above citation illustrates Dutch lifestyle migrants in Hällefors experiencing social difficulties after migration. The analysis of the Dutch families’ attitudes towards returning is structured along three social-scientific perspectives on migration; 1) characteristics of the migrants, 2) the nature of the places of origin and destination, and 3) the underlying forces and structures that condition movement (White, 1995). In the

Table 2: Household composition and age structure

Family nr and migration year	First visit	Adults	Children
1. 2005	2005	♂1958, ♀1961	1999, 2000
2. 2005	2002	♂1964, ♀1964	1997, 1999
3. 2005	1994	♂1962, ♀1973	-
4. 2005	± 1970	♂1957, ♀1958	1990, 1994
5. 2006	2001	♂1954, ♀1974	2002, 2005, 2008
6. 2006	1987	♂1962, ♀1966	1995
7. 2007	2004	♂1965, ♀1967	1997, 2000
8. 2007	2006	♂1970, ♀1971	1996, 1997, 2006, 2009
9. 2007	± 1976	♂1960, ♀1963	1994, 1996, 1999
10. 2007	± 1990	♂1970, ♀1969	1998, 2002
11. 2008	1996	♂1968, ♀1967	1997, 1999
12. 2008	2007	♂1957, ♀1959	-
13. 2010	2005	♂1971, ♀1979	1999, 2001, 2006

Source: the author, fieldwork 2011.

remainder of this section, push-, pull-, and keep-factors are used intermittently in order to frame the migration decisions.

The first perspective concerns the characteristics of the migrants. *Table 2* presents the composition and age structure of the Dutch households in this study. This is complemented in *Table 3* with an overview of the places of residence prior to moving and the migrants' occupations prior to and post migration. Statistics Netherlands (2012) defines five degrees of urbanisation, depending on surrounding address density. As all five categories are inhabited by approximately a quintile of the Dutch population, they are comparable in size.

Table 3 shows that six households move from moderately, strongly, or extremely urbanised municipalities, whereas three households move from non-urbanised areas and two from hardly urbanised places. However, even the hardly and non-urbanised areas in the small and densely populated country of the Netherlands can have an urban character, as they are all situated close to urban centres. Family 13 illustrates this as follows: 'where we lived in the Netherlands, you could call that rural. But there, on an average day 20,000 vehicles passed by on the main road. Here, on the same kind of road, it is about 1,400 a day'. This reinforces the thesis that for people living in the Netherlands, moving to a 'real' rural area requires emigration (Eimermann et al., 2012). Moreover, the above quote reveals both physical and social characteristics of a perceived rural idyll.

The age of the migrating adults, as well as social and physical consequences

of urbanisation in time and space, plays a significant role in the decision to migrate. In other words, many migrants have grown up in rather small Dutch villages that urbanise during the migrants' early adolescence. Related to this, nostalgic sentiments and discontent are expressed in the following citations:

When we were children, H. was a village. We lived among farmers, and I could hear the cows in the barn. Of course, these surroundings have all been urbanised, swallowed by the large Dutch agglomeration, the Randstad. (Interview 12, 2011)

I lived on the edge of the village of V. During my youth, V.-West was developed. For us, that was heaven on earth as we could play and build our own hide-outs there. It was fantastic, but after a while a new neighbourhood was built, and another one, and another one. Soon, the population of V. had increased from 25,000 to 65,000. The municipality grew fast, resulting in crime, among other things. And traffic congestion. We lived 10 km from our workplace; it took 1½ hours to commute. Everyday! (Interview 11, 2011)

The nostalgic sentiments above relate to growing up in a perceived rural idyll that no longer exists. The expressed discontent is due to social and physical disadvantages of urbanisation and densely populated areas, such as criminality and traffic congestion.

The second perspective compares the nature of the place of destination with the nature of the place of origin within social and physical contexts. These contexts (e.g. property, nature, landscape, and less populated surroundings) may develop into keep-factors after mi-

Table 3: Place of residence prior to moving and occupations of the migrants

Family	Place of residence ^a	Pre-migration occupation	Post-migration occupation
1.	Strongly urbanised	♂ Producer* ♀ Artist	♂ Producer* ♀ Project leader *
2.	Hardly urbanised	♂ Road construction ♀ Designer	♂ Road constr., self-employed ♀ Owner of shop
3.	Extremely urbanised	♂ Truck driver ♀ Transport planner	♂ Restaurant-owner* ♀ Restaurant-owner*
4.	Moderately urbanised	♂ Entrepreneur (safety)* ♀ Entrepreneur (safety)*	♂ Entrepreneur (safety)* ♀ Entrepreneur (safety)*
5.	Extremely urbanised	♂ Freelance illustrator ♀ Teacher (prim. school)	♂ Freelance illustrator ♀ Teacher, self-employed seller
6.	A rural area outside the Netherlands	♂ Employed at holiday resort ♀ Employed at holiday resort	♂ Manager of a hostel* ♀ Manager of a hostel*
7.	Hardly urbanised	♂ Truck driver ♀ Owner of restaurant	♂ Truck driver ♀ Nurse
8.	Strongly urbanised	♂ Manager* ♀ Manager (day-care centre)	♂ Carpenter ♀ Nurse, owner of shop*
9.	Not urbanised	♂ Civil servant ♀ Teacher (sec. school)	♂ Self-employed, forestry ♀ Manager, food company*
10.	Not urbanised	♂ Industrial designer ♀ Employed at florist shop	♂ Entrepreneur* ♀ Employed at emp. agency
11.	Strongly urbanised	♂ Teacher (sec. school) ♀ Employed as electrician	♂ Teacher (sec. school) ♀ Nurse
12.	Strongly urbanised	♂ Editor, Motion designer* ♀ Director, post-production*	♂ Editor, Motion designer* ♀ Director, post-production*
13.	Not urbanised	♂ Emp. (insurance company) ♀ Employed at cleaning firm	♂ Employed at a factory ♀ Unemployed

Source: the author, fieldwork 2011, * = running an own enterprise
^a degrees of urbanisation are based on Statistics Netherlands, 2012.

gration. On the other hand, friends, relatives, and cultural aspects in the Netherlands - the migrants' social capital - are pull-factors for a possible return to the Netherlands.

This can partly explain the ambivalent attitude towards returning. To begin with, property prices in Dutch urban areas are much higher than in the sparsely populated Swedish rural areas.

One of the families lives in a former church. Their sense of triumph is expressed thus:

One reason for moving to Hällefors was that we can own something here that you could never own in the Netherlands - a larger house. One of our sons has always wanted to live in 'a house you can walk around' [i.e. a detached home, instead of a row house or semi-detached home]. Even when we didn't have any plans to migrate at all... And when we had decided to migrate, we told the children that we would be living in a house that you can walk around. This house feels like a palace!

(Interview 8, 2011)

This sense of living in a palace is combined with notions of the good life and the rural idyll, as vividly described during the interviews. Some of the following quotes illustrate how impressed the migrants in this study are by social and physical aspects of the Swedish landscape and nature:

We used to go on holiday to France, and then some friends recommended that we visit Sweden; so we decided to give it a try. And when we got here, we thought "wow, this is actually what we have been looking for in France" – the same abundance of wilderness, but with the right of public access. In France, everything is gated. And here, you have access and can enjoy the forests and the lakes. We were sold instantly! So tranquil and beautiful.

(Interview 8, 2011)

The first years we took our holidays in Sweden, we were particularly impressed by the tranquillity of the Swedish outdoors. Where we lived in the Netherlands, there were forests as well. But

when you go picking berries there on a Sunday afternoon, there are 200 people on a single square kilometre. Here, you don't run into anyone, and that is so brilliant!

(Interview 11, 2011)

We've visited Norway, but I wouldn't want to live there. The landscape is too rugged, and people live packed together in the valleys. The Swedish landscape has more gentle slopes. And lakes. Everywhere, there is wilderness. You can encounter rare birds and wolves in the woods.

(Interview 9, 2011)

The above quotes illustrate both social and physical perceptions of the rural idyll in and around Hällefors. These perceptions function as pull-factors for the move and as keep-factors after the move. However, the migrants in this study also reflect on a number of pull-factors for a possible return. In other words:

We all miss Dutch-style out-door terraces at pubs, happy faces, and people greeting each other merrily (Interview 1, 2011).

The third perspective studies underlying forces and structures conditioning a possible move away from Hällefors. In addition to sentiments and memories of their own childhood, some adult migrants see the discourse of the 'rural childhood idyll' as promising safety, health, and closeness to nature for their children (Baylina and Berg, 2010, 287).

During the interviews, this discourse was both affirmed and denied. One family considers activities for children such as music classes, various kinds of clubs, and theatre, for example, to be 'affordable and accessible, certainly compared

to the Netherlands' (Interview 9, 2011).

On the other hand, because of a perceived lack of education opportunities for children aged sixteen years and over and lack of adequate public transport in this part of Sweden, children are forced to move to larger towns such as Örebro and find an apartment there at a relatively young age. This is contrasted to the situation in the Netherlands, and it plays a significant role in the migrants' attitude towards moving from Hällefors. One family explains:

We've had our moments of hesitation, but our original plan for moving here was that we would evaluate the situation after three years. Now that we've lived here for three years, we've decided to move to southern Sweden. In the village we're moving to, there are good educational facilities up to and including secondary school. And afterwards it's up to the children to decide, of course, but there are good possibilities for studying not far away from where we will be living. We moved to Sweden partly to be able to spend more time with our family, not to see the children moving far away at the age of sixteen-seventeen.

(Interview 1, 2011)

As illustrated in *Table 2*, the adults in family 8 are born about ten years earlier than the adults in family 1. Compared to family 8, the children in family 1 are closer to secondary school age, which contributes to their decision to move to a place with more possibilities. The mother in family 8 talks about the decision process and the attitude towards returning:

We moved to Hällefors four years ago, but we only actually decided to stay two weeks ago. Initially, we lived in another

house and we bought this property to open a shop. The property is inhabited by two more tenants and the rent they pay to us seemed to cover our costs. That way, I could run this shop without the pressure of making a profit. Just run a shop because I like it.

It went quite well until winter came. Heating expenses were too high and owning both a house and this property became too costly. We decided to sell the house and move to this property. But as we were in the process of packing, a couple from Stockholm showed an interest in the shop. We told ourselves "now that we're packing anyway, we might as well return to the Netherlands."

These questions come up regularly anyway: do we like it enough here? Don't we miss our relatives too much? Coming over to drink a cup of coffee together. A chat with other parents at the schoolyard. Social contacts are much easier to establish in the Netherlands, and we keep missing that.

We could live in my parents' house in the Netherlands and we started looking for jobs there. But due to the financial crisis, it proved very hard to find a job or even return to the jobs we had before we moved. Then we decided not to take the risk of giving up everything we have here in Hällefors - which we can only dream of in the Netherlands - for so much uncertainty. So two weeks ago we really decided to stay and live here.

(Interview 8, 2011)

Ambivalent attitudes towards returning are illustrated in the above citation. It exemplifies complex post-migration identities that are related to social capital in the places of origin and destination, as well as diminishing employment opportunities in Sweden and the Netherlands due to the economic crisis. Family relationships are also considered, both in

the above citation (about the parents of the mother in family 8) and in the previous one (about the children in family 1). The ambivalence is best described as a sense of being in-between, as the mother in family 8 analyses:

I woke up this morning, screaming “I want to go back, I want to go back”! Well, I did not really scream; I dreamed that I was screaming. I was in a concrete box, floating on water, surrounded by hundreds of thousands of similar concrete boxes. There was almost no space between the boxes. This is how my mind pictured the Netherlands in my dream. I felt confined. I wanted to go back, back to Sweden! (Interview 8, 2011)

Concluding Discussion

This paper examines the migrants’ ambivalence regarding a possible move away from Hällefors in relation to the migrants’ characteristics, the nature of the places of origin and destination, and the forces and structures that condition moving away (White, 1995). The sentiment of longing back to things in the country of origin, expressed by family 8 and family 1 above, are the clearest expressions of their ambivalence.

As far as the characteristics of the migrants are concerned, this study suggests that the degree of preparation before the move can be decisive for the households in this study. Spontaneous movers show more ambivalence than long-term planners. This may be related to their personal traits (e.g. taking quick migration decisions), their occupations (facilitating easy movement) and other factors.

Moreover, the migrants’ attitude towards returning is related to age struc-

ture and household composition. The nature of the places of origin and destination is essential to take into account when studying the forces and structures that condition moving. The rural childhood idyll is important in two ways. It plays a role in the adult migrants’ nostalgic sentiments and sense of discontent related to rapid urbanisation of the rural areas of their childhood. Related to this, it creates the adults’ aspirations to find an idyll for their own children to grow up in.

Social and physical aspects of nature, space, and less populated surroundings initially stimulate the Dutch migrants to move from their urbanised areas of origin to Hällefors. After the move, the migrants’ experiences of this perceived good life are contradictory. Ultimately, some migrants may long back to the conditions they so eagerly left behind in the Netherlands. As lifestyle migration is voluntary, the migrants’ attitude towards returning is paradoxically more ambivalent than they expected. These are prominent forces and structures that condition a possible move away from Hällefors.

As such, this paper investigates post-migration lives in the context of aspirations before moving (Benson & O’Reilly, 2009b) and the permanent-temporary binary of movement (Bell & Ward, 2000). What is more important in the quotidian; attachment to place, a mobile life or a combination of both? Whereas Urry (2000) and Cohen et al. (2013) clearly opt for mobility as the pivotal fabric of today’s industrialised societies, this paper rather stresses people’s continued desire to connect with places.

During the interviews with Dutch families in Hällefors I have encountered a tendency to connect with more than one place. Most of the respondents regard their current place of residence in rather flexible ways. Although they express flexible attitudes towards movement, the majority of their daily mobility patterns do not resemble those of the privileged persons studied in Cohen et al. (2013). Rather, the permanent-temporary binary of movement becomes less valuable for conceptualising this group of migrants. As a move from the sending area does not necessarily weaken social ties, migration no longer carries significant risks of closing future employment there (Bruillon, 2007).

Such developments suggest diversification and transience within lifestyle migration research, where changing preferences over the life course intersect with lifestyle relocation. Most of my respondents maintain realistic and flexible

attitudes towards future moves. Such flexibility is related to transitions in the life course such as child birth, children growing up and attending distant schools.

Although unintended by Placement, Hällefors and other municipalities engaging in Holland projects, many attracted families are prepared to move on in the event of changes in the work or family life. Hence, the studied migrants consciously choose to live somewhere for a period of time and then are open for opportunities elsewhere.

As a family's first and second homes may exchange status over time, a form of multiple dwelling (McIntyre et al., 2006) emerges that does not occur simultaneously in space, but rather in a conscious chronological order. Future studies may relate lifestyle migration and the ongoing quest for a better way of life (Benson, 2011) to multiple understandings of homeward and onward migration.

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The Transnational Identity: Nineteenth Century Semi- Residential Sinti and Indigenous Travellers in Sweden

Richard Magito Brun

Culture is change. Tradition is the period between moments of crucial changes. Tradition itself is never static. Below the surface of tradition tensions and innovations prepare for greater changes.

A century or two after the fall of the Gupta Empire in northern India a culturally very important migration started. Roughly in the period from 500 AD to about 800 AD a population segment left their Indian homeland and moved westwards. Today there is a predominant opinion that the emigrants belonged to the warrior caste. A hundred years of linguistic discussion, in combination with recent genetic research, indicates fairly convincingly, that the area from where this exodus emanated included the regions of Rajasthan, Punjab, and probably also Sindh, in north-western present-day India, and in Pakistan east of the river Indus. (Mendizabal 2012; Matras 2006; Turner 1926; Hancock 2000)

Everyone in this migrating population must have been a Hindu, in manners and faith. Their language was some of the north-western medieval Indian languages based on ancient Sanskrit.

Why this population left India is not known with certainty, but most scholars suppose that internal military and political strife, or external pressure, caused the migration. The generations descended from these emigrants became the Gypsies of Europe, or more precisely the peoples of Roma and Sinti (Brun 2013; Hancock 2006).

The migrants followed by horse and carriage the age-old Silk Road through Afghanistan and Iran into Armenia. This journey did not last for more than a few centuries. On the way their language picked up a lot of words from Ordu, Persian and Armenian - but nothing from Turkish or Arabic. We have to presume that during these centuries many of the men intermarried with women from the surrounding peoples. At this point in their history this population must still be considered Indian, not Roma. In Armenia things changed a lot. In this country the Hindus met a fully developed Christian society. We are now in the 9th or 10th century. The migrants seem to have developed important metallurgical skills in Armenia. The later languages of

Romany, the varieties of Romani Chib, still preserve a number of metallurgical terms borrowed from the Armenian language. But most important was the start of a syncretistic amalgamation of Hindu faith with the concepts of Christianity. Much evidence shows us that the art of acrobatics and rope-dancing followed the migrants from India on their way to the West.

Their stay in Armenia must have lasted for more than a century. Why the now Indo-Armenians left the country is not clear, but one possible reason may be the Muslim conquest of Armenia at the Battle of Manzikert in 1071.

To the west lay the still flourishing Byzantine Empire, and along the Black Sea coast a band of prosperous Greek cities, from Trapezunt (Trabzon or Trebizond) in the east to Constantinople in the west. Inner Anatolia was domain of the Turkish Seljuks. The new migration followed the Greek path. Now language changed again. Some centuries within the Byzantine borders had a profound impact on the language of the former Indians. With all the new Greek words, a proto-Romany developed. We now have to begin to speak about an Orthodox Christian Indo-Graecian people in Byzantium.

From about 1320 we have an eye-witnesses report from Constantinople. The Byzantine official Nicephorus Gregoras describes carefully and in great detail a horse-show, combined with an extraordinary circus performance, in the city. He tells us about the artists, including the rope-dancers and the acrobats. He also reports what the company told him about themselves. They had travelled through Persia, Georgia, Armenia, and

even Egypt (Rosenqvist 2005; Gregoras 1979).

Modern linguistics and historical research show us that the Indo-Graecian ethnic group now splits into two main branches in Europe. One group explored the Balkans, and did not move much further. A great deal of this group was forced to be slaves in Romania until the 1850's (Hancock 1988).

This eastern branch soon became the Arli, Kalderash, and Lovara speaking eastern Roma. The other branch turned to Western Europe. We know them as the Sinti or Manouche people, now living in Germany, France, the British Isles and Scandinavia (Opfermann 2007; Opfermann 1997; Minken 2009).

All these west European gypsies can rightly be called the *Travellers People of Europe*. In Germany the Romany of the Sinti absorbed a lot of German words. The 15th century written sources from Germany, verify the presence of Sinti with documents of imperial recognition, permitting them freely to travel. In 1512 the first documented company in Sweden of these Travellers arrived at Stockholm. They were called Tartars or Taterer, and were 30 families headed by their leader Antonius. They were well received in the Swedish capital.

In Germany things turned worse. In the chaos following the devastation and extreme poverty of the German lands, after the 17th century's Thirty Years' War, gangs of Jewish and Sinti brigands and robbers lived their lawless lives in forests and on the road. This situation continued well into the early 19th century. Robbery became one of the trades among poor Sinti families. One of these Gypsy robbers was Friedrich Eisfeld from Ell-

rich – a small town in the southern Harz province Nordhausen. He was also known as "Black Frederick". He was a member of Theodor Unger's band, and later of the Kramer gang (Küther 1976 [1987]; Heinemann 1910; Borchardt s.d.; Lehrmann 2004).

However, at about the same time, in the late 18th century, some Sinti families earned their living as travelling performers, especially as rope-dancers and acrobats. In the mountain region known as Harz, on the border between Thuringia and Saxony, such a company was described in detail by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in his novel "Wilhelm Meister". Goethe was very fascinated by the romantic scenery of the mountainous landscape in Harz. But he was also very keen to get in touch with its interesting inhabitants. He seems to have encountered the acrobats right south of the great forest, perhaps not far from Ellrich, the home-town of Black Frederick Eisfeld. Ellrich was however not only the home of the brigand Eisfeld, but also the town where the rope-dancer Ernst Valentin Eisfeld lived with his family at the turn of the century (Goethe 1931; Goethe 1957).

Ernst Valentin and his wife Johanna Catharine married in the Ellrich parish in 1813, when the city was still under control by the French Napoleonic troops. None of them could read or write. They lived in a suburban area, which in many respects was the town's Jewish ghetto. Soon after their marriage a son was born, and two years later another son. Both of them were given the name Friedrich. At the baptism in Ellrich 1813 of one of the two, an otherwise unknown relative, called Friedrich

Eisfeld, was present as a witness. Time, space, name and social circumstances make it highly probable that the witness was the robber Friedrich Eisfeld from the same small town. He had shortly before been released from his prison. In 1810 he had been sentenced to death for being a member of Theodor Unger's legendary gang. The court had however shortly thereafter changed Eisfeld's death sentence to only two years hard labor. Theodor Unger had been executed for being the gang leader. Very short time after his death Unger appears as a romantic hero in a popular novel dedicated to his fate (Lehmann 1809 [1990-94]).

Some years later Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who was obsessed by acrobatics and young men, hired a certain Johann Eisfeld from the nearby Thuringian town Langensalza, as his personal butler and travel companion. Eisfeld, completely unskilled for the job, was employed by Goethe for several years. If Goethe's Eisfeld had a family relation to the rope-dancer Eisfeld is not clear (Schleif 1965).

The *pater familias* Ernst Valentin Eisfeld died in Ellrich in 1852. He became legendary in the town, and in the 1880's his memory was still living to such an extent that he became a central character in a novel written by a high-school teacher who had grown up in Ellrich (Petermann 1887 [1924; c.1998]).

The brothers Friedrich and Friedrich, born 1813 and 1815, got the family's traditional education to acrobats and rope-dancers. When these brothers left their country of origin is not known, but in the 1830's one of them, Friedrich, turned up in Denmark. In 1837 at the

age of 23 or 21 he tries to perform his acrobatic art, in the small town Maribo in Denmark, without the correct permission. The local police interrupted his performance, after only one hour. In a following report to the royal Ministry of Justice in Copenhagen we can read that the young man was so poor that it could be seen at far distance.

Friedrich and his Danish wife Concordia Kunigunda Kunst continued with their illegal performances in many Danish towns, in cooperation with another acrobat, Friedrich Wilhelm Hoffmann, originating from a Czech family in Brno. Friedrich Eisfeld's exploration of Denmark was not very successful, he was a poor and barely tolerated Gypsy (Enevig 1981-82).

The next year, 1838, Friedrich took the decision to leave Denmark for Sweden. He came to the city Malmö, as a member of a more established Danish company (Marwig's company). He had no legal rights, but performed on the rope so well that a newspaper in Malmö published a short, but very enthusiastic article. Friedrich soon left Marwig's Danish company and started his own completely illegal tour. He performed in many places on his way to Stockholm. In that city he offered great performances the following year middle in the city, only with a temporary permit. Even here the leading newspaper *Aftonbladet* was enthusiastic and impressed. A lot of people enjoyed the performances.

At the end of the year time was ripe for Eisfeld to write to the king. Someone assisted the illiterate Eisfeld in writing his application to the Royal Council. The Governor of Stockholm commented positively on Eisfeld's ap-

plication, and somewhat later the issue was on the agenda for royal decision in the Palace. The decision was signed by the king. The rope-dancer was granted the right to show his art in the capital, and also after each provincial governor's approval, in all parts of the Kingdom. Eisfeld never became a citizen, he was always a foreigner, a Prussian subject. The poor, unwanted and homeless Gypsy in Denmark had turned into a kind of celebrity in Sweden. His productions and family affairs appear frequently in the papers (Hirn 2002).

As far as we know he had no permanent home anywhere. A few years later he joined with his brother, now called Heinrich Friedrich, and so they toured extensively in the then Russian Finland for some years. For about 10 years the Eisfeld family company performed abroad, including the Russian Baltic states Latvia and Estonia. They also performed in Saint Petersburg, before they returned to Sweden about 1855.

A number of children were born in the Baltic countries, in the Russian capital, and in Finland. The brothers separated and Heinrich Eisfeld returned to German Prussia, performed on the rope in Berlin 1848, went back to Ellrich, killed his wife and committed suicide the same day in his old home-town.

Friedrich Eisfeld was never a Swede, nor really a German. He spoke Swedish, Russian and German. He was living a life patterned by his Sinto identity – and a product of the 1000 years of traditional Roma trades (Eisfeldt 2014).

In the late 18th century, and in the early half of the 19th century a rather great number of German Sinti families crossed the German-Danish border and

moved into the Danish southern provinces Schleswig and Holstein. Many of them came from the area around the German city Hamburg. Especially during and after the Napoleonic wars, at the beginning of the 19th century, the pressure northwards increased. In Danish records many families are registered as coming from this north-German area. These men may have served as soldiers, but performed now traditional Gypsy trades as grinders or itinerant salesmen. Soon many of them also demonstrate their skills in acrobatics and other forms of show-business (Enevig 2004).

The fact that they are said to have earlier been living around Hamburg, or in the Kingdom of Hannover, may however be misleading. An interesting new observation is that many of these families had adopted family names which point to a much more southern and eastern part of the German territory. Some of these new Danish Travellers belong to families with names like Altenburg, Herzberg, Stücken and Samleben. All of these family names correspond to the names of small towns in the German principalities or independent states Saxony, Anhalt, Thuringia and southern Brandenburg. These towns are in fact situated in the vicinity of the Harz region. Even the family name Eisfeld corresponds to a town in Thuringia.

All of these Traveller families in Denmark of Sinto ethnicity turned to circus and acrobatic trades, when they became established in Denmark. Some of their members moved further into Sweden. Except for Eisfeld were among these immigrants to Sweden the Hertzbergs and the Altenburgs (Enevig 1981-82; Wählberg 1992; Hirn 1982).

In Denmark the mentioned families, and other German Sinto families like Kunst, Benneweis, Mundeling, Brun and Mieke, have almost completely dominated the circus community and business since then to this day.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that a great deal of the immigration of Sinto families to Denmark and Sweden before the middle of the 19th century originated from an area centered around the German states Thuringia and Saxony. This territory is culturally and politically closely connected to the neighboring Czech and Austrian territories.

The process of name change seems to have been going on from the mid-18th century, when the conformity policies were issued by decrees from Empress Maria Theresia of Austria, to similar political actions when French universal law was imposed on Napoleonic Europe, early in the 19th century.

The process of name change is well documented and studied in the case of Jews, but not so well when it comes to the Sinto field. Anyway, traditional names were gradually replaced by family names without an ethnic flavor. Both for Jews and Sinti new names based on geography became common. The ethnic and cultural self-identity for both these groups was not much affected by the changes.

Another factor of interest is religion. Most Roma and Sinti in Europe, except for Orthodox and Muslim Roma in the Balkans, are Roman Catholics. This is also true for the part of Germany where the majority population is Lutheran. But for Sinti religion is not only an issue of faith, but also a practical one. Some of the Sinto immigrants to Scandinavia

were Catholics, and stayed Catholics for a long time. Eisfeld was not a Catholic family, but in the second generation it more or less turned to become one, in the late 19th century.

Religion was flexible, and the national identity as a German, a Dane, or a Swede was very weak, and an identification as a Gypsy or Tattare (“Traveller”) only a heavy burden. But the links to Sinto culture in general, including the traditional professions and artistic heritage, were very strong. Some families settled somewhere, but still the feeling of being very different lived on, sometimes demonstrated in an arrogant way. In some cases this attitude expressed itself in a proud cosmopolitanism.

We have to wait until the 20th century for a massive destruction of the Travellers’s culture and of their self-confidence (Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet 2014).

In many ways the Travellers in Scandinavia adopted urban and bourgeois attributes. They often dressed in an extravagant way. They looked like noble city people, but walked in the mud at the road-side. If they had money, and many had, they let elegant looking family portraits be made for them at the photographer’s studio.

In the second generation the Sinto families of German origin intermarried with existing indigenous Traveller families in Sweden. Some of the new circus families became safe hubs by means of their officially granted rights to travel everywhere for the more humble commercial activities, which were central for most of the Travellers in Sweden.

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The Poor People of the Forest: Immigration and Integration in Värmland in the 1670s

Peter Olausson

In the beginning of the 1670s conflicts arose in Fryksdalen in the Swedish province of Värmland, a valley with old farmland surrounded by vast forests, where families from other parts of Sweden, and of Scandinavia, had settled and formed new small villages. Farmers in the neighbourhood were concerned by the Finnish newcomers burn-beat technique and, primarily, about the many younger men needed to handle the burning of the woodlands. These men were drifters, moving from one place to another. The local member of the Swedish parliament complained about the situation and about the forest Finns in the area, people that he accused of being thieves and rogues; animals like moose had been hunted without permit by them and other bad things had happened, he pointed out. Local farmers of Finnish descent reacted to this description and complained to the regional authorities about the negative attitude towards the Finnish population in the area.

This was not the first time that a complaint like this was taken to court, and it was not the last. In tradition, much has been said about Swedes and Finns struggling against each other in the for-

ests all over Sweden, all since the first Finnish settlers arrived during the late 1500s. The tradition has pin-pointed ethnic difference as the most important part of the conflict. As we shall see, the actual situation was somewhat different.

Control over the Population

In this case in Fryksdalen, the provincial governor ordered that the reasons behind the conflict should be thoroughly investigated. The result of the investigation is preserved in the archive of the regional authority (Länsstyrelsen för Örebro län) and is a unique source for how ordinary, landless people in a peripheral part of the country lived their lives. In this period, Sweden was one of the great powers of Europe and had developed into a military and bureaucratic state with an eagerness to control not only the national borders, but also the social, economic, religious and cultural aspects of life in every part of the country. A lot of civil servants were educated and enrolled and the priests in the orthodox Lutheran church had become more and more of important informants for regional and central representatives of the government about the local level in

society. With the new law for the church from 1686, priests were required to register all inhabitants in their parishes in different church books, thereby forming what was to become the most thorough system for national registration of people in Europe.

Keeping this in mind, it is not a surprise that the investigation about the conflict in Fryksdalen come to be handled by the local vicar together with the county sheriff. They had help from county constables and other men of high status in the area. Their job was ended in September 1674 and resulted in a list of 134 households in the Fryksdalen area, that were considered as landless – and thereby including those younger men, that the member of parliament had complained about. The list is on eleven pages and is said to contain all people – Finns, Swedes and Norwegians alike – that had moved into the area.

The Landless People of Fryksdalen

The information that the investigators collected is summarized in entries for each household, structured by village and parish. The entries include name of the head of the household, marital status, ethnic affiliation, age (young, middle-aged, elderly), place of birth, how long the individuals had lived in Fryksdalen, their place of origin, whether the person had a passport or not and, lastly, what kind of reputation the individuals had in the district. For some of them, the information in the entries are sparse, for others we get to know quite a lot about their individual life stories.

By analyzing the list, it is possible to get quite a lot of information about a

group of people, who by this time in many aspects are invisible in other types of archives – this was before the beginning of the church record system and only about 10 % of the landless population are mentioned in tax records for this period. The landless formed a group of about 12 % of the whole population of Fryksdalen at this time.

Ethnicity, Gender, Age and Migration

In a report from Karlstad University, I and my colleague Gabriel Bladh – assistant professor in cultural geography – have presented some results of a demographic analyzis, based upon this survey from 1674. Here we have looked into issues like age and gender distribution, geographic origin, movements etc. I will make some remarks about what we have found out in this study.

- *Ethnicity* is of importance in the list. The investigators have listed people by ethnicity in about half of the total cases. Finns are most common here and people are considered to be Finns even if only ten people are said to actually have been *born* in Finland. People who are called Swedes or Norwegian can live in areas considered to be on the Finn Forest and Finns can live in the Swedish parts of Fryksdalen. This oddity may primarily reflect the use of language at the time.
- The *gender distribution* was very equal. This does not fit in to the general view of Swedish historians that women were in majority during the Swedish 1600s, due to

the loss of many men in the wars (and in illnesses triggered by warfare). A fact is also that there are households in Fryksdalen in 1674 run by women, and not only as widows. In three cases women live alone with their children, a fact noted without any moral objections in the list.

- It was a rather *young population*, in a general view, being in a productive age. The landless of 1674 are closer in status to the crofters of later periods than any other segment of defined poor people, dependent on social welfare.
- Many of the landless had moved around a lot before coming to Fryksdalen. They had been in, for example, the mining district of Bergslagen or from other regions all around in the middle part of Sweden. Ten of them came from Norway. One person, an old man, is said to have been over to the West Indies – here understood as the Swedish colony of Delaware. Another man was left behind in Fryksdalen as a child when his parents and older brothers and sisters emigrated.

Social Reputation

The investigation was, as we have seen, initiated by the conflicts that had arisen in the area. It is therefore quite stunning to read the list and the remarks about social reputation, an important aspect that the vicar and the county sheriff document for many households. In most of these cases, the reputations are said to be good or sufficient. This goes also for

persons that are said to have committed manslaughter before arriving to Fryksdalen, or for deserters from the Danish-Norwegian army. If a man had lived his life peacefully in his new homeland, that was the main thing. The whole list mentions only one person, that the county sheriff wanted to examine more thoroughly – a woman, accused of have lived together with a married man and of a lot of other things. The impression is that the list must have been a good tool for those who wanted to make peace in Fryksdalen by integrating newcomers from all directions to a new life up in the forests – a life in poverty, but still a life without further disturbances.

We don't know for sure how much impact this investigation had. People continued to move around, also over the Swedish-Norwegian border nearby, and conflicts arose from time to time. The general impression from the analysis of the list of 1674 is that the conflicts often were not ethnic, but dealt with issues about hunting, fishing and the use of forests. Conflicts could arise between Finns as well as between Swedes, or between Swedish and Finnish farmers as well. The main thing concern of the authorities in the Fryksdalen valley of the 1670s was with behaviour as good neighbours, rather than with ethnic origins.

Conclusion

Through the vast existing archives of Sweden, it is possible to get information about migrants and their life also in the periphery, and several centuries back in time. The survey for Fryksdalen of 1674 is a good example of the research possi-

bilities in this regard. In our study, we have combined the information in the survey with other sources from the time period, as taxation records and protocols from the local court. It would also be possible to trace some of the individuals back and forth in time, getting an even more complete picture of them as part of an early migration movement in Europe and Scandinavia during a century of unrest.

References

A complete list of references are presented in our research report "*Vandrat hit som andra finner att söka sin föda. Om en rannsakningslängd över inhyses-folket I Fryksdalen 1674.*" (Kalstad University Studies 2004:38)

How to be a Pole Abroad – Initial Impressions from Life in the United States

Marcin Szerle

Among the elements of oral history there is a written account, created thanks to an historian's initiative. It can be a complementary material in respect to official sources, particularly when it comes to everyday life, if it is not sufficiently documented (Topolski, 1983: 274-75). The starting point of my research, the result of which I shall present in the article, are printed memoirs. The parties responsible for their publication were usually social researchers, and the incentive was provided by contests – with prizes, even financial ones.

In 1921, in Poznań, Poland, a competition for a worker's life story was organized and from that point on the formula began to gain popularity. In opinion of Józef Chałasiński, people were making up for the times of partitions, when their voices were being silenced (Chałasiński, 1982: 9, 26). The promotion of memoir writing of this kind is connected with Polish Institute of Sociology and Florian Znaniecki and his research interests (Andrzejewski, 1977: 7). Between 1918 and 1920 he and William I. Thomas published a five-volume work *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Volume three is a massive memoir of just one emigrant.

When *Dziennik Chicagowski* announced a collection of letters from Polish families, its author sold about 30 letters to Znaniecki, and after some time received a proposition of being hired to write down a more comprehensive account (Wiśniewski, 1982: 177-79). Therefore, the memoirs in question were in some way sponsored.

Under the direction of Ludwik Krzywicki, the Institute of Social Economy (the leading in social studies during the interwar period) took up the idea of organizing a memoir competitions, the result of which were, among others, *The Memoirs of the Unemployed (Pamiętniki bezrobotnych, 1933)* and *The Memoirs of Peasants (Krzywicki, 1935)*, as well as material for describing the emigrants' lot in France, South America, the USA and Canada (*Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Ameryka Południowa, 1939: XI*). For instance, the volume of *The Memoirs of Emigrants* dealing with France consisted of writings from three different competitions from the 1930s, including the one organized by the Institute. The goal was to show emigrants' life as faithfully as possible, including problems they had to deal with during the voyage and shortly after their arrival, their relations

with the locals, the attitude of authorities and help of Polish social organizations (*Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Francja*, 1939: XXIII, XXVII-XXIX). Two volumes of material were printed shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the rest had to wait until the 1970s.

After 1945, it was advisable in Poland to depict the new reality in contrast to prewar and capitalist daily life. Thus the texts used very often negatively portrayed the conditions beyond Poland's borders. The first layer of manipulation was the text selection itself, without doubt awarding extra points to ideologically correct accounts. Then there was the censorship office. Apparently the pre-war material was left as it was originally written, although some of the texts were shortened. The cuts in all probability did not include any issues of interest. The topics discussed – first impressions of the new reality, the reception of other Poles, looking for the first job – did not really stray into dangerous areas and it was difficult to take them out of context or misinterpret them. Some of the issues, however, such as attitude towards the Catholic Church or relations with other nations, could potentially be affected by manipulation in the Polish People's Republic. It was then when the material was collected – another important initiative was a contest of emigrant memoirs, which was advertised in 1957 in magazine *7 Dni* (7 Days). Its effect was the publication of *Pamiętniki Emigrantów 1878-1958* (*The Memoirs of Emigrants 1878-1958*) printed in 1960. This article is concerned with the analysis of memoirs dealing with the United States. Because of the voluminous scope of material, diversified by the specific

periods – memoirs from after 1945 are rare – I decided to use problem approach, not the chronological one.

Huge (in European scale) areas to reclaim and develop and emergent industry made the United States the most attractive destination for European emigrants since the second half of the nineteenth century. By the time of World War I, on average 400,000 people went there annually, and starting with the last decade of the nineteenth century large groups of those people came from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe. Land reforms in Poland made a large percentage of Polish citizens rely on small farms only or even deprived them of farmland altogether. This led to many tragic events and caused waves of emigration. Almost a half of three and a half million emigrants from the years 1871-1913 decided to move to the United States. During World War I the regular emigration from Europe was affected negatively, but it resumed with doubled strength afterwards. The decision of the United States Congress from May 26, 1924 about the quotas of immigration – calculated on the basis of immigrants' origin – affected mainly the countries of Eastern-Central Europe, including Poland, since people of Polish descent constituted only a minor part of the US population (Kołodziej, 1982: 19-27, 64, 144, 174, 213). It is estimated that by the year 1900 those so-called new immigrants arriving after 1870 made up about 22 per cent of all arrivals. They were not dominant until the first two decades of the twentieth century, when the ratio of those emigrants to the ones from the North-Western Europe became 44 per cent to 41 per cent. It should also

be mentioned that it was in this period when the immigration was the highest in absolute numbers (Walaszek, 2007: 235-36).

Despite the quotas, interest in the United States did not decline, and emigration was limited only by circumstances. By 1939, a few thousand people left for the States each year. Additionally, some people tried to get there through the neighboring countries – Cuba, Mexico and Canada, or even illegally. False passports, for example German ones, were manufactured and so were American documents and certificates; false invitations from families in the States were forged (Janowska, 1981: 211-13). After World War II, the first wave of emigrants heading for the United States were so-called *displaced persons*, including the soldiers of Polish Army in the West. The number of Poles who arrived until 1972 is estimated to be around 300,000 people (Pilch, Zgórnjak, 1984: 511). A relatively large wave of immigrants came to the USA after the martial law introduction in Poland and repressive measures against members and sympathizers of *Solidarity*. The departure restrictions instituted by Polish authorities were abolished after 1989. Nowadays, Poles heading to the USA need to obtain a visa.

More than a century ago, in 1910, when a rural seventeen-year-old immigrant saw New York he described it as follows: ‘shining above the harbor water, like an enchanted palace woven from shivering lights.’ (Mierzwa, 1982: 161-62). Similar impressions from ship decks were common for numerous travelers from many parts of world. A famous Polish actress Helena Modrzejewska

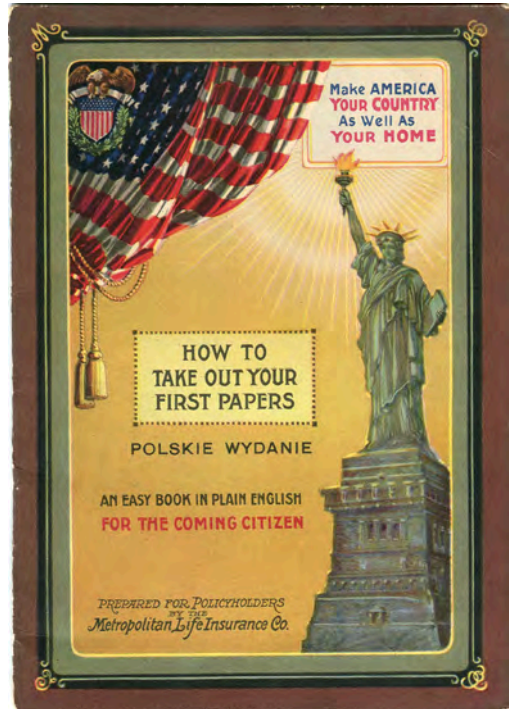


Fig 1 Brochure, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1921. Emigration Museum in Gdynia Collections

(Modejska) mentioned that the image of approaching New York was ‘amazing, magical in its ethereal beauty (...) Unfortunately, as we were coming closer, the beauty gradually disappeared, until, by the time we closed in on the docks, it vanished completely.’ (Grzełoński, 1975:199). Contact with the living city was a difficult experience for many people. Some fresh-off the boat immigrants became victims of swindlers and con artists.

A worker who arrived in 1903 was accosted moments after he went ashore. Led to an eating establishment, he began spending his money there; afterwards, he met another man looking for company, who convinced him to grab a beer together. In the process, he cheated the

worker on the ticket price, which only added to the problems he was experiencing after having difficulties with reclaiming his luggage from the food place (*Pamiętnik nr 35*, 1977: 258-59). In another memoir we read that in a train, just before departure, a man "from ours" was giving away apples and oranges, only to demand payment for the bitten ones a few minutes later (*Pamiętnik nr 38*, 1977: 319). A similar situation happened to passengers presented with jewelry in another carriage, who likewise had to unexpectedly pay for it. The lack of language skills to communicate with the salesman only made the matter more difficult (Kantor, 1960: 605-07). A worker who departed in 1902 stressed in his account how much dishonesty he had encountered in people he had met. At a train station in New Jersey he was swindled by a cab driver, the address he had received turned out to be out of date, and a distant relative used his money to rent a place for himself. Bullied in his first job by fellow Poles, he decided to leave it after a few weeks (*Pamiętnik nr 34*, 1977: 234-35).

The immigrant who described the episode with jewelry managed to get to Chicago. There he found accommodation with the former employees of his parents, who wanted to show gratitude for kindness experienced in the old country. They taught him the basics of English. He was also introduced into the community where the fundamental division was not status, employment or religion, but the borders of countries occupying the Polish territory in the nineteenth century. Among the Poles who had been the subjects of different emperors, arguments, quarrels and fisti-

cuffs were commonplace (Kantor, 1960: 605-07). The image created on the basis of the available accounts confirms the sad truth about how unlike each other the societies of the old country developed under each rule, and how strongly the politics of the partitioners affected the Polish mentality. The author of one of the memoirs describes his fellow Poles who took him in during the first days of his immigration in rather strong words: "they themselves have only just immigrated, could barely even speak English, and still they mocked a new arrival" (*Pamiętnik nr 38*, 1977: 319). Furthermore, they were highly suspicious of others, especially when they were out of jobs themselves. This was described by a 1913 emigrant, who tried to find his fortune in Erie. Left by his brother-in-law without any help, he was looking for job, in vain. He managed to get through the worst of times by writing letters for illiterate fellow immigrants who wanted to contact their wives or girlfriends. Sitting in bars, he sustained himself on appetizers served with beer (Kazimierowski, 1960: 721-24).

Another described person came to the USA in 1907 during the time of crisis and instantly joined the unemployed masses. This man travelled looking for job without tickets and stole food. Due to his family's intervention and a bribe he got his first job in a factory after a year, but the physical demands of it were too much for him (Zaklikiewicz, 1965: 61-62). Another immigrant from 1912 was invited to the USA by his school friend and his first and second job were quickly found thanks to fellow Poles. Then he became self-sufficient, which was made possible by half a year of

learning the language (*Pamiętnik nr 40*, 1977: 385). The author of a voluminous memoir printed by Florian Znaniński enjoyed the magnanimous hospitality of his sister, at least for the first week of his stay. The prolonged search for job made him indebted with his own sister, who suddenly demanded payment for food and lodging. According to the author, a scheming neighbor was to blame for this turn of events. Similar problems came when his girlfriend moved in with him, since the family of the girl strictly forbade her to work (Wiśniewski, 1976: 289-92). All of that happened on the brink of World War I in Europe.

In 1905 a thirteen-year-old boy came to America; the money he collected in his village was only enough for journey to New York. There he was stopped by the US Emigration Office and had to wait for money from his family to be on his way. Along with some other Poles he worked hard physically in Connecticut. Their lives were simple; they ate plain food and read neither newspapers nor books. They did not take the effort of learning the language, despite the fact that holy masses, so important in their previous lives, were celebrated in English. Their only goal was to earn money and return to their homeland. The author of the account wanted something more – he enrolled in an English class, where he studied with Italians, Germans and Greeks, not another Pole in sight. A promotion at his workplace made the nastiness on the part of his close ones bearable (Albrycht, 1965: 15-19). Another person – a son from a large farming family – came to the States in 1906 after his brother. He left his wife in the country, planning to take her in after

settling in the new land. He became one of many Poles looking for employment in industry in Illinois. They built shantytowns near the factories and stuck together, which was helpful considering their unfamiliarity with the language. Living in bad conditions he found employment in a factory, learning the necessary words from his more experienced Polish superiors. However, that was the extent of the help they offered him (Chłop Polski z Chicago, 1982: 306-10).

A Polish veterinarian, a soldier from World War II, who stayed in Italy after the end of it, decided to move to the States in 1951. What was helpful was an invitation from a Polish woman, a stranger who believed that by sending it she was fulfilling her patriotic duty and did not expect anything in return. When he arrived, he had no connections, but the stranger arranged for him to get a job at a factory. For the first three months, he and his wife lived with another Polish family. For the first three years, he remained a *displaced person*, which made it more difficult for him to find a suitable job (Krzan, 2011: 63-66). Another soldier, who had lived in Great Britain after the war, came to the States in 1957; he, his sister and her friend arrived to Delaware, where – thanks to the latter – he got his first steady job after only two days. The first offer he had to reject on account of having no car to commute to another town. They lived at his sister's for an entire year (Skielnik, 2008: 51-52).

The accounts of women are few and far between. A fourteen-year-old girl who in 1913 arrived to Wisconsin and stayed with her aunt got a job as a seam-



Fig 2 Leaflet, 1950s., Emigration Museum in Gdynia Collections.

stress two weeks later (*Pamiętnik nr 44*, 1977: 441). According to the insights of another Polish female immigrant, Poles did not support each other as other nations did, and she gave an example of Italians and Jews – ‘when a new one comes from their country they immediately find her a job and for the whole

day they teach her the names and pronunciation of things’ (*Pamiętnik nr 15*, 1977: 429). Still, other accounts suggest that the new arrivals could enjoy some support from their compatriots.

Despite the abovementioned situations, the cases of maliciousness, spitefulness or simple lack of help were not all that widespread. Analysis of the memoirs suggests that indifference or hostility were experienced mainly by people with no family ties or those who had no neighbors who moved with them from the old country. Most often, Poles emigrated to their relatives or friends, and after settling down they invited their younger siblings, family left behind or perhaps their parents. The ties with the place of origin were so strong that even people of different nationalities helped each other. When a shoemaker was looking for a job in Boston in 1914, he was helped by a Russian as soon as he learned that they had lived in the same city in Poland. However, it should be pointed out that some Poles unknown to the shoemaker got involved as well. Finally, he got a job fitting his specialty thanks to a suggestion from a Jew, who sent him to a good American (*Pamiętnik nr 1*, 1977: 116-17). Favorable coincidences, as it turns out, happened.

An interwar period researcher noticed that even in the new reality the social and familial ties from the old country were recreated. Relatives and acquaintances were being invited, people were helping them to find jobs and the all celebrated holidays together (Duda-Dziewierz, 1938: 55-57). As we can read in a Polish schoolbook printed in Chicago in the beginning of the twentieth century, ‘Poles, coming to this country and

finding employment here, usually try to create communities in cities they live in, and when they feel strong enough, they begin looking for a priest, with the help of whom they first build a church, and then near it a Polish parish school” (*Dzieje...*, 1906: 484). The role of a parish in the creation of a local community is a subject of separate analysis, yet it should be noted how strong the influence of Catholic clergy was on emigrants. Their parish not only organized their religious life, but the national and social one as well, on the levels of both neighborhood and the whole community. An excessive dependence on the parish could be a negative influence as well, since it made an individual’s integration into American society more difficult. As it was written in the 1930s, ‘a parish is for an immigrant worker, a part of the old country. A part of that with what they feel connected with their whole personality. That part has to replace everything they had left behind, it becomes a symbol of everything which had been theirs, but which they had to walk away from.’ (Chałasiński, 1935: 13-15).

But even Poles, a nation considered religious and, historically, predominantly tied to Catholic tradition, were not always ready to make sacrifices for the good of the Church. A fourteen-year-old who arrived to his older siblings in Massachusetts in 1909 started his work in a factory after three weeks. His earnings and the prospect of returning to the old country were so important to him that he refused to donate to the building of a church. That caused a split between him and his sister, with whom he lived (Lach, 1982: 172-73). A



Fig 3 Parish book, Chicago 1897, Emigration Museum in Gdynia collections.

similar sentiment was bluntly put into words by a worker who got to Massachusetts in 1909. Not thrilled about making donations, he preferred to move out from his sister’s apartment in order to avoid getting pressured, since – as he himself wrote – “he came to America for money earnin’ and back home gettin’, not church buildin’” (*Pamiętnik nr 4*, 1977: 205). When reading the immigrant accounts one notices how commonplace were misunderstandings and quarrels connected with the participation in the life of a parish. On the other hand, another immigrant, who arrived on 1906, had a definitely positive expe-



Fig 4 A funeral note, Buffalo, 1956, Emigration Museum in Gdynia collections.

rience with the Church: after a long and exhausting voyage he was welcomed in St. Joseph's shelter with fresh bedding and a meal. However, later on we learn from his account that one had to pay for admittance to the Sunday mass (*Pamiętnik nr 45*, 1977: 458-59). The rules of some parishes included a compulsory monthly donation for the maintenance of the church (Duda-Dziewierz, 1938: 56). The existence of a parish depended on the generosity of its members. One of the immigrants pointed out that renting a room was more expensive for those who did not go to church (Siedlecki, 1977: 57). Such forms of extortion were

apparently effective.

From the account of an immigrant from 1913 we learn that he moved into the apartment of the sister of his brother-in-law and he preferred Polish company from the beginning. Living with a family of Polish emigrants who rented out rooms, he noticed that the same beds were used by even four people working different shifts. It was easier to live in group when one did not know the language; when the emigrant in question went by train to Ohio, he could not even ask about the address on a piece of paper given to him. He had money for food, but he did not know the English names of it. One could eat only if one 'asked not with his tongue, but with his fingers.' (Siedlecki, 1977: 52-54). It was common even among those who had some previous experience of living in the States. A son of emigrants, born in 1905 in the USA (and who spent the first seven years of his life there), who returned as a twenty-two year old, was not able to ask for food in a hotel restaurant and had to communicate with a waiter by pointing towards whatever he wanted (*Pamiętnik nr 10*, 1977: 316, 333). As we can see, despite the time spent in States as a child, constant contact with family and his interest in American matters this well-read – as he describes himself – young man did not feel the need to learn the language. As long as one lived in a Polish community, among family, worked with Poles and bought in Polish shops (and was not too enterprising or career-oriented), linguistic skills were not a must. In yet another case, during the initial period of his immigration to New Jersey one of the Polish

workers found himself in need of help from his family. His sister bought him clothes and his uncle was looking for a job for him. Despite living in a city where he was born – his parents were re-emigrants – his lacked the mastery of language, which made finding a job a chore (Szelażek, 1960: 748-49).

A farmer's son who emigrated in 1911 was more prudent. Before the voyage he had already been learning English for a few months using a previously purchased self-study book. His knowledge enabled him to get to Chicago, but it still did not save him from losing his possessions to two Poles who had made it their profession to prey on their countrymen (*Pamiętnik nr 34*, 1977: 234-35). Another example of an emigrant who purchased a dictionary before his voyage was a peasant's son from Lesser Poland. Although he had time to study on the ship, it turned out that he could not understand even food vendors on a train to Chicago. However, the dictionary was in use. Some small talk with a fellow traveler turned out to be helpful in finding a place to stay. As he points out in his account, those emigrants who had arrived earlier could not help him to find a job since they barely knew the language themselves. When he finally found it himself, he was hazed by other Poles working there as 'the new one', which in turn led to his resignation (*Pamiętnik nr 2*, 1977: 138-40). Another emigrant wrote his account believing that it could be of use to those readers who plan to move themselves, and suggested that everyone ought to carry a dictionary as one of the most crucial items (*Pamiętnik nr 13*, 1977: 406). It should be pointed out that in certain

periods emigrants were given the possibility of buying cheaply some brochures, phrasebooks or dictionaries.

Another proof of the importance of linguistic skills is a story of an immigrant who, when arriving, did not know a single word of English. An immigration official led him to a train to Massachusetts. He was met with kindness and received help everywhere he went. He quickly found a job in a factory, so to communicate with his coworkers and – in the future – receive a promotion and a pay rise, he enrolled in evening English class (Mierzwa, 1982: 163). Sources suggest that many other Poles did so as well, and as a result they had more possibilities of personal development, better career goals and also could function beyond the confines of their Polish community, parish or neighborhood. Therefore they became more conscious, open and involved members of American society.

The formula of competition for written memoirs and their following publication is still used. One of the examples of such a process is a collection *They flew out of their nest. New emigration about themselves* (*Wyfrunęli...*, 2011), which deals with current wave of emigration caused by opening of job market in the European Union in 2005. New means of communication, such as websites, discussion forums, blogs and social media cause the majority of such accounts to remain unredacted and dispersed in the virtual world. *Emigrant's Archive*, a project carried out by Emigration Museum in Gdynia which deals with collecting memoirs, audio-video recordings and conducting interviews, uses a web form as one of the means of acquiring new

accounts. In its description it is mentioned what kind of content is most sought after by the Museum; auxiliary questions are asked as well, and a message saying that the texts sent will not be changed beyond correcting some possible linguistic issues is provided. The collection of texts is carried out continuously and the project is not a contest – these are the crucial differences between it and the preceding initiatives. Despite the short period of its activity, the Museum can boast many interesting memoirs which are constantly being updated on their website (*Emigrant's stories*, 2014). Some of them have already been translated into English. *Emigrant's Archive* is one of the key program initiatives of the Museum.

In the texts which have already been collected, in majority dealing with last thirty years, one can find numerous similarities to the accounts from over a century ago. They can be auxiliary material for historians and sociologists who are interested in the position of Polish immigrants in communities they joined and their image in the eyes of other nations; who research dominant stereotypes or the ways of organizing and cooperation of Polish Diaspora and its contact with homeland. As we can read, an arrival of a female *Solidarity* member in 1987 was accompanied by disorientation and uncertainty. The conditions provided by the refugee center did not fill her with optimism. It was compounded by her lack of knowledge of English and meager perspectives of finding a suitable employment (Potrykus, 2014). The text describing other departure in 1989 is filled with disappointment with lack of proper reception by her friends at the

airport and at home. As it turned out, they had not been informed about the visit, since the telegrams had got lost. Still, they exhibited commendable involvement and they very quickly found the woman a job of a caretaker (Stasińska, 2014). Help required by those in need was still being provided. Other immigrants of that time usually began in cleaning companies, bars or other blue-collar jobs. Just as those who had arrived a century ago, they took the posts of lowest pay and prestige. However, there are examples confirming that it was possible to have one's diplomas recognized, obtain new qualifications and return to one's acquired profession, or develop in new directions and pursue careers there.

When we come into contact with memoirs, we should remember that the creation of the majority of the accounts was initiated by competitions which had specific guidelines. The narration of the authors may have been written for a specific reader in mind. It is also important to note that memoirs are autobiographical or biographical sources, where personal involvement of authors and their presence are extremely visible. Additionally, memoirs are written from a time perspective, which creates the narration (Szymański, 2006: 47). Texts analyzed for this article were usually created about twenty five years after the moment of their authors' arrival, thus the course of events and their perception may differ from the one which could be reconstructed from diaries or letters written at the time of the events.

At least one account used was written on the basis of a previously kept diary. It is confirmed that the authors of autobi-



Historical Marine Station in Gdynia – at present Emigration Museum in Gdynia, after 1933, Emigration Museum in Gdynia Collections.

ographies may be influenced by patterns characteristic for the times of their lives, as well as by identification with a given group and their voice. Additionally, they aim to present themselves and their roles as positively as possible (Dymkowski, 2000: 128). Did they do so while writing their memoirs from voyages and travels? It is possible, especially if we consider the issues of family feuds and quarrels with neighbors or coworkers. We find little critical self-analysis, we do not read about both sides being to blame, the wronged party is always clearly defined – the author. Considering the hard and dangerous jobs, low pay, lack of stability and harsh living conditions it is not surprising that there was a lot of tension. Still, the family was usually close enough to get emigrants through the worst.

The accounts repeatedly mention the issue of language barrier, which hindered the attempts of finding or keeping a job, let alone receiving a promotion. Poles who had no earlier contact with English were in a losing position when compared to the Irish, the English or Germans. What proved useful for some Poles was their familiarity with German, which was often used – because of their descent – by foremen and site managers. The only course of action was to learn and develop one's skills, however it was not an easy task, and therefore not a popular one. Most often, Poles stuck together, building communities and later neighborhoods whose lives were concentrated around work places, parishes and taverns. Almost everything was just like in the old country, only somewhat bigger.

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Portuguese Migration: Responding to the New Crisis?

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

Abstract

Population mobility that has always characterized the Portuguese society, and still exists, acquires a new expression: new settings due to the changes caused by the economic crisis that the country is currently facing. The outflow of the national citizens, which had slowed down in recent years, suffers an explosive increase, reflecting the start of a new cycle with its own distinct characteristics. Those who entered in Portugal after the April Revolution (1974) and were enlarging the groups of immigrants of various nationalities and whose establishment was expected to be long-lasting, failed in many cases to meet this expectation. Not only the number of entries steadied, but also a significant number of these immigrants re-emigrates or returns to its country of origin.

Portugal, formerly considered a country of emigration, which happened to have also become a country of immigration, resumes its first calling. Different experiences, including situations in which the relationship between residents takes forms of cosmopolitan interaction, coexist in the same territorial area. Similarly, the links on a transnational level provide the basis for reciprocal cultural influences.

It is well-known that Portugal is a country noted for an ever-present mobility that has taken different forms in the past 500 years. Consulting my bibliography published by the AEMI Journal on the subject would demonstrate this idea.¹ To understand the current environment, it is necessary to understand the shape that migration has taken since the revolution that planted democracy in Portugal, ending a nearly 50-year old dictatorship (1926-1974), known as the 25th of April Revolution or the “Carnation Revolution”². The country has changed along with the mentality and the way people live day to day.

The change that started in Portugal because of the installation of a democratic regime and, above all, the joining of the European Economic Community, signed in Lisbon June 12th, 1985, making the country an effective member of the EEC January 1st 1986. These are dates that are very important references to assess the present from changes operated in the economy and, consequently, in the reorganization of the social fabric.

Despite variations in political, economic and social developments in Europe, none of the countries in the region has escaped the effects of the crises that have been manifested: the worst, due to

the Great Depression in the 1930s and the one from the past decade whose negative effects are still felt today.

The development that occurred in Portugal until 2007/2008 was followed by the period of crisis whose severity has had very visible consequences, introducing major constraints that alter the everyday life of the resident population.

Since the early twentieth century the statistics of demography have indicated that the Portuguese births exceeded deaths³ - however, the trend of negative natural balance has returned since then and the difference had never been so high.⁴ In 2013 deaths surpassed births by 24,000.

The shrinking number of births and the increasingly aged population, resulting from better living conditions and a better health care, has been the subject of ongoing debate, being one of the serious problems that the country faces. The decline in population and the lack of short-term prospects for growth have led the Government to envisage meas-

ures that may counteract this worrying situation, although it has been late to launch a program that allows for consistency and feasibility to achieve the desired ends.

In summary, the inversion of the demographic triangle due to the decline of births and the advanced age at which people are dying is worsened by the increase of net migration which occurs for the third straight year.

Although emigration has been decreasing gradually, reducing the number of those who were part of the outflow, the influx of many foreigners entering the country increased continuously, changing its internal composition and origin.

The large outflows went out around the world but especially to Europe, with great intensity in the second half of last century, followed by a progressive decrease without, however, interrupting the chain. The current context of economic hardship, particularly in Europe, had a pronounced reflex in Portugal.

Fig 1 Portugal - Births and Deaths



Source: INE

Facing once more a lack of alternatives, leaving the country presents itself as a solution to overcome current difficulties. Emigration flow resumed its strength and reached very high values exceeding even those recorded in the '60s and '70s.

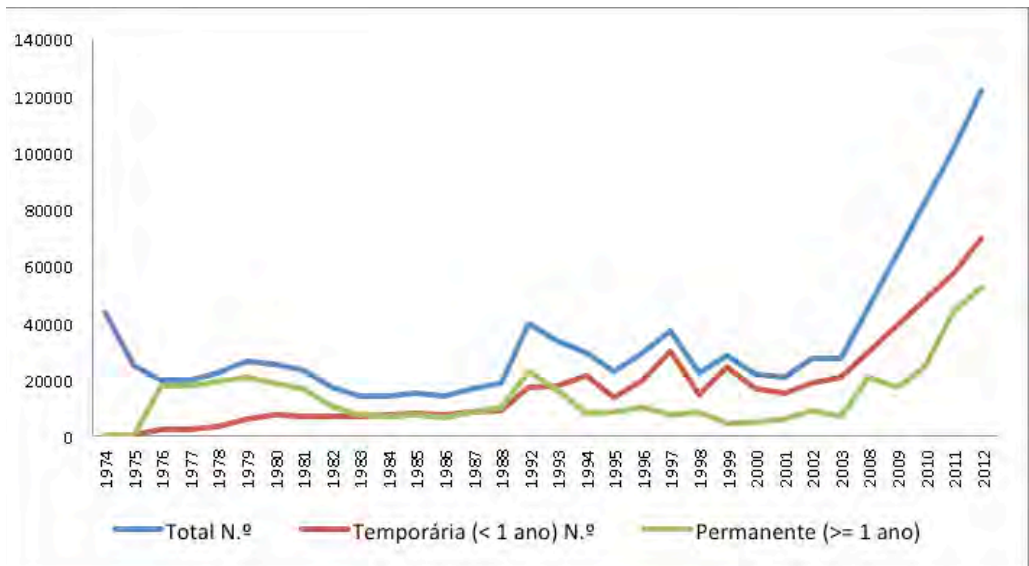
The movements of migrants classified as “permanent” (residence abroad for a period exceeding one year) decreased by the end of the twentieth century; the outputs of those in the group classified as “temporary” (calculated stay between 3 months and 1 year) increased significantly until the turn of the century. In 2002 almost 9,000 individuals permanently emigrated and more than double of those were temporary, about 19 thousand. In 2009 the permanent emigration doubled, reaching up to 17,000 individuals.

The chart below allows you to visualize the extent of the phenomenon.

In 2010 the Emigration Observatory’s calculations - Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Observatório de Emigração - Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros) - pointed to about 400 trips per day - an amazing number if we take into account the size of the resident population: 10,636,979 that year.

In the subsequent decade, more than two hundred thousand Portuguese (222,396) left the country between 2011 and 2012 (INE statistics), although there are differing estimates of the number of outputs. Estimates of temporary emigration for 2011 indicate that 56,980 people left the country with the intention of staying abroad for less than one year. In 2012 the figure was

Fig 2 Portuguese Emigration 1974 - 2012



Source: INE. Last updated 14.06.2014

69,460 people. Thus, in the last two years the number of temporary migrants was again higher than permanent emigration, 43,998 and 51,958 respectively in 2011 and 2012.

To understand the current situation and the changes occurring in the field of migration, it becomes necessary to recall the features of the previous cycle (designated as “European cycle”) and compare them with the features that characterize the current cycle of emigration. Tentatively, in a synthetic form that allows for comparisons between them through a quick read, this chart was outlined.

These changes are commented on as follows.

The sites selected by those who first left define, in a way, the fate of those

who intend to emigrate. The area where relatives, acquaintances and countrymen have settled, exerts a recognized attraction for potential emigrants and the accounts given by those who are already there can often create expectations for ease of installation in early times (housing, employment), a situation leading to a more progressive and easier integration.

Those who first left, less qualified overall, are replaced in the current wave by elements with diverse professional qualifications that include both the less well prepared and those with a higher preparation.

The bylaws relating to gender have been undergoing a significant change for a given legal recognition (Article 13,

Fig 3 Characteristics of Emigration Flows

<i>60s and 70s Wave</i>	<i>Current Wave</i>
Men - the first to leave	Men and Women leave simultaneously
Unskilled (General)	Diversely qualified(with high representative percentage)
Arriving speaking only Portuguese	Arriving, as a rule, speaking more than one language
Difficult integration process	„Europeanized” - easier integration
Performers	Creators
„Necessary evil” for the economic reconstruction	Well accepted and desired
Project life - return as possible goal	Project life - seeking fulfillment and career advancement
Savings and transfer of remittances to the origin	Use of disposable income to improve living standards

Constitution of the Portuguese Republic, 1976)⁵ which enshrines equal rights and boosts female independence. Access to more diverse jobs and greater academic training provide new opportunities and facilitate different options both personally and professionally. Departure abroad, which then almost nearly always followed the departure of the family men, has changed since the Portuguese women have left themselves, out of their own initiative, and in some cases, even predating the family emigration. This new migration, younger and more qualified, failed to reflect the traditional family composition instead fitting into a professional context.⁶

Education, information flow, diversification of media and contacts between the country and abroad (through not only acquaintances but also through touristic contacts) have provided the acquisition of new languages that streamline the interaction and are conditions that facilitate the path to living abroad.

While previously work did not require any specific education or thorough preparation, since the tasks offered did not require specialized training in general and in many cases were rejected by the natives of the countries of destination, the acceptance of new foreign workers is now based on availability of work and filled in accordance with their qualifications. The breadth and diversification of labor offers open new jobs and does not accept only those who “perform” but also to “create”. The composition of migration proves itself to be different in its composition.

Portugal is the European country most affected by the output of graduates and technicians⁷, following the world-

wide trend that has existed since the end of last century. International studies, among which stands out the one carried out by the OECD (2007) show that Portugal has one of the highest rates in the designated “brain drain”, adding that 20 per cent of graduates leave the country - a trend that has been increasing significantly since the 1990 rate corresponding outputs them was around 14 per cent.

Among us the inquiry conducted by the National Statistics Institute (INE) reported a significant loss of the active population, aged situated between 25 and 34 years. Between 2011 and 2012 there was a difference of 106,475 in the elements that make up this age group in 2013 and a further reduction in the same group of around 87,368 is expected.

The youth unemployment rate continues to worsen and arrived in the first quarter of 2013 the percentage was 42.5 per cent, affecting a total of 165,500 people between 15 and 24 years. Also according to INE data the unemployment rate in Portugal rose to the highest level ever, reaching 17.5 per cent in the first quarter of 2013, in which the number of unemployed exceeded 926,800.

The Institute of Employment and Vocational Training (Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional - IEFP) reveals that the number of unemployed who annulled the registration at employment centers taking the option to emigrate between January and September of 2012 soared to 45.4 per cent over the corresponding time period in the year before.

Each cycle of emigration mostly includes countries of destination to take higher percentage values for all. Al-

though still many who took on too many other important result of the cyclical joints were missing.

The new situation, which has made many Portuguese leave the country, led to its referral to spaces of interest. The diversity of situations requires considering which international political ties between Portugal and each of the countries which are now the destinations of emigration.

Europe was the main destination of Portuguese emigration between 1962 and 1975. About 1.1 million people were sent there in the space of 13 years. Currently the EU area to which we belong, remains the main destination of the Portuguese, despite the widespread economic downturn and markedly reduced number of jobs. The free movement of persons and the difficulty of access to knowledge of labor flows does not allow access to reliable statistics but will no doubt recognize that countries like France, Luxembourg and the UK have been and remain the main destinations of this new wave. Although we see a very large reduction in absolute numbers, it is difficult to properly assess how many people leave and in what circumstances they do so.

In the last decade the UK was among the countries of election, with about 21,000 Portuguese emigrating in 2012 and 30,000 in 2013, according to data from the Social Security that country. A chain that includes individuals not only highly skilled but also less skilled individuals (who work, for example in hotels, restaurants, and service stations). It is estimated that about 350,000 residing there, higher than the number provided by the official registration.

In Switzerland, the Portuguese are still the largest single source of immigrants: between January and November 2012 the Federal Agency for Migration of Switzerland reported a total of 17,270 compared to 2009 which represents an increase of 26 per cent.

About 80 per cent of the Portuguese who want to legally emigrate out of Europe go to Angola and 15 per cent move to Mozambique. One of the greatest innovations of today was the establishment of Angola as a destination for immigration. With an established peace and increased economic development well underway, the country needs competent professionals to fill the existing gaps locally.⁸

Brazil, where there are many job opportunities, although difficult accessibility, continues to exercise a powerful attraction on Portugal's qualified youth, not just because of the common language but also due to their tradition as host to Portuguese immigration. In 2012 - are 414,610 immigrants in Portugal, according to the Report on Immigration and Asylum Borders, published by the Department of Foreigners and Borders (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras – SEF). For many years there has been a continued rise in entries, although the relative value of its growth varies. The years 2001 and 2002 recorded higher values: in the first there was an increase of 69.04 per cent and 17.84 per cent in the second. In 2005 he recorded the first decline (down 7.27 per cent) and thereafter the loss has progressed variably.

The diversity of the resident's backgrounds (about 186 nationalities are registered SEF) which also offers a large number of variability means that it had

considered only the structure of the ten major groups of foreign population. The table below shows that only China shows a small increase, while all other countries show have decreased.⁹

This decrease results from the ongoing economic crisis, which has reduced the variety of job offerings. Apart from situations that cause opportunities to return, as exemplified by Brazil, including the development ⁶ caused by the recent World Cup preparations that created a large number of jobs in construction (stadiums, airports, roads, hotels). On the other hand, many citizens of the East have been seeking new destinations, even within Europe.

The intensification of mobility seen in our day has different settings that result from multiple changes that take place at all levels.

What follows is an operational mod-

ification of the concepts involved to its name: “emigrant” that led to consider the output of country referring to those who left or “immigrant” which referred to those already settled on the destination, whatever the route taken, have been replaced by the concepts of “migrant” and “migrations”.

Its scope includes the two largest movements and considers either of them from a global perspective, providing a complete insight to the phenomenon, an approach suited to this day.

The geographical and social mobility that exists in the world today produces exchanges between people and cultures in a way that fewer people belong to a single group, one country or speak a single language. The links are no longer univocal. Culture is constantly rebuilding itself, integrating various elements, whose expression is manifested both in

Table 1
Major Nationalities – Stock

<i>Country</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>
Brazil	111,445	105,622
Ukraine	48,022	44,074
Cape Verde	43,920	42,857
Romania	39,312	35,216
Angola	21,563	20,366
Guinea-Bissau	18,487	17,759
China	16,785	17,447
UK	17,675	16,649
Moldova	13,586	11,503
Sao Tome and Principe	10,518	10,376

Source: SEF, ”Relatório de Imigração, Fronteiras e Asilo, 2012”.

private and public spaces. Transnational relations are not limited to crossing individualized elements as before, having streamlined the creation and re-creation processes leading to the emergence of new social spaces. To those interested in the issue of mobility, the cultural tokens show how the emotional links reinforce the sense of belonging to two homelands.

The combination of international studies, which developed a macroscopic view and more detailed analysis at the micro level, allows us to know almost immediately the evolution of international situations complemented by the analysis of specific situations. However, given the rapid pace of change that the world is facing and the diversity that characterizes the socio-political spaces that constitute all medium and long-term forecasts requires a careful evaluation of the results available, as they do not offer the desired reliability.

The articulation of economic and political circumstances resulted in the creation every season of rapidly erected new social structures.

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Notes

- 1 See the articles published by the AEMI Journal: “Migrations in Portugal” (2004); “Portugal: Destination Countries for Emigrants: Immigrants Countries of Origin” (2005); “Literature, Cinema and Television. Productions in Migration Museums” e “Cultural Issues in Portuguese Migrations: Tokens of Identity” (2006, 2007); “Integration Policies for Immigrants in Portugal” (2008, 2009); “Migrations Museums: Permanent and Temporary Exhibitions” (2010); “Emigration Observatory and Immigration Observatory – The Use of ICT for a Better Knowledge of Portuguese Migrations” (2011); “Brazil and France: An Historical Overview of the Two Main Flows in the Portuguese Diaspora” (2012).
- 2 The red carnation became the symbol of the Revolution of 25th of April 1974, which became known as the Carnation Revolution. The owner of a restaurant located in Braancamp Street in Lisbon had bought carnations to celebrate the restaurant’s first anniversary. As the restaurant was closed that day due to the current political situation, he instead gave the carnations to his employees. One of them, Celeste Caeiro, as the homecoming passed Chiado (one of the focal points of the uprising) approached one of the parked tanks and asked what was happening. The soldier asked her for a cigarette but as she did not smoke, she offered him something to eat. Since the shops were closed, she offered the only thing she had to give - bundles of carnations - saying. “Take it if you want it. Carnations are for everyone” The soldier agreed and put a flower in the barrel of his rifle. Celeste was handing out carnations to soldiers and putting them on their rifles.
- 3 As an exception occurred in 1918 when the pneumonic influenza (also known as “Spanish Flu”) killed thousands of people.
- 4 This year 103,512 people died, while the number of births was not beyond 102,492, which makes a difference of over a thousand people. In 2008 the trend reversed, with 104,594 births and 102,492 deaths. The following year the natural balance again became negative and have remained ever since.
- 5 The Portuguese Constitution (1976) states that all citizens have equal social dignity and are equal before the law (Article No. 13). The fundamental task of the Government to promote equality between men and women - expresses equality in reconciling work and family life (Article No. 59, paragraph 1) and political participation (Article No. 109).
- 6 It should be recalled that after the Revolution of 25th April Portugal entered into negotiations with the French Government and got migrants the right to family reunification, including spouses and children under 18 years old. It should be noted the fact that an entry in these conditions should not be aimed at seeking employment which, in a sense, limited access to the world of work. The changes from 1977 to explicit will of the French government to encourage this. Thus, minor children (under 18 years for men and below 21 years for girls) would be covered by the legislation of the receiving country. The results of the study ‘Emigrants to New France’ conducted by sociologist João Teixeira Lopes (University of Porto) and commissioned by the Secretary of State for Communities, pay particular attention to young graduates emigrants who for various reasons are considered ‘invisible’ before the institutions and diplomacy (because they are not considered migrants, they have no data in the Schengen space and are not recorded by the institutions). This new wave of skilled emigration to France and 74.3 per cent women and 25.7 per cent which reflects its feminization and shows this amendment.
- 7 For information provide the indications given by the respective Orders over professionals that the country lost in greater numbers in 2012: 1,040 dentists, 2,303 nurses, 453 engineers, architects 415 and 267 pharmacists.
- 8 Through the information provided by the Consulate General of Angola in Portugal are met daily by hundreds of people who go to 12 shops located there.
- 9 It is not new the Chinese presence in Portugal, however, the periods that integrate characterized differently. Its recent growth is due to the launch of a special system of designated residence ‘residence

permit for investment activity' (Law No. 29/2012 of 09 August). Known as 'Golden Visas', they requires the minimum non-cumulative requirements : acquisition of a property value exceeding €500,000; capital transfer an amount equal to or greater than €1 million to apply any type of business, company or bank; create at least 10 jobs. According to figures released in November 2013 by the Portuguese government from the beginning of the year 327 gold to citizens of 21 countries, of which 278 visas to Chinese citizens were granted, giving them a prominent position.

- 10 Remember that as Brazil became one of the four major developing economies on the global stage (BRIC: consisting of Brazil, Russia, India and China) it became more attractive for Brazilian nationals to return to their home country.

An Overview of the Basque Government's Diaspora Strategy

Asier Vallejo Itsaso

Introduction

Basques have been dispersed around the World for centuries. There are many reasons for this phenomenon, among which are a spirit of adventure or the particular system of statutory inheritance with its right of primogeniture, leading younger siblings to look for other means of earning a living; on other occasions the motives have been social or political, stemming now from situations of necessity or economic penury, now from the consequences of war or exile.

Evacuees of the Spanish Civil War were the subject of special consideration under Law 8/1994, which regulates relations with Basque Communities Abroad, with the idea of making amends for the human and material consequences they went through in forced exile.

It is a fact - as it was stated in the preliminaries of Law 8/1994 - that at the Bancroft Library of the Berkeley University, California, manuscripts can be found written in Basque dating from 1791 to 1803. In Latin American countries, a preferred destination as regards Basque emigration and in which the work of Basques has been in evidence from the beginning, there is no

page of history which does not bear a Basque presence, a physical but above all spiritual presence with their customs and ideas of liberty and democracy which emerge from our history and tradition.

The creation of associative organizations by Basques who left the Basque Country with a view to maintaining bonds with the latter, separated in distance but not in sentiment, is a constant characteristic of the Basque migratory phenomenon. This phenomenon was clearest throughout the nineteenth century, reaching its apogee in the period 1870-1910. So that it was on December 25th, 1876 that the first Basque Club in America was constituted, in Montevideo, Uruguay.

The descendants of the original Basque founders of these organizations have taken over from them. And although the vast majority has never seen the Basque Country, they have actively maintained, in these communities, the resolution not to lose the link with the land of origin, they have kept the permanent desire to know about the evolution of its socio-cultural life, and they maintain clear ideas about their identity.

Notwithstanding the heterogeneity

of their infrastructures, the number of members, their internal activities and their capacity for external operations, the benefit to the Basque Country resulting from the efforts of these organizations is undeniable. Their tenacity, steadfastness, and hard-working nature, in addition to the generous financial contribution that supported the Basque Government while in exile for forty years are factors whose positive consequences cannot be contradicted. The Basque Government has collaborated with them via a policy of subsidies, basically giving help towards their internal operating costs, the cultural activities organized in or from the Basque Clubs, to defray infrastructure costs, and lastly for activities directed towards their social and economic environment. Besides financial subsidies, each organization has been sent bibliographic and audiovisual material. It is undoubtedly very little support in comparison with the valuable work undertaken by Basques in other countries.

It is for this reason that the existence of these associations and the persistent will they have shown calls for new channels to be defined; these channels would, via a suitable set of rules and guidelines, introduce formulas to encourage collaboration and participation in the associations, and foster their integration within the framework of action undertaken by various agents of contemporary Basque society on behalf of the promotion, development and diffusion of the Basque reality.

The newly appointed Director for the Basque Community Abroad of the Basque Government, Mr. Asier Vallejo, was present at the AEMI annual meet-

ing for the first time (Karlstad, Sweden 2013). With his presence, Mr. Vallejo wanted to stress the importance for a Regional Government with a relatively large diaspora to be present in an Association such as AEMI where they have the opportunity to learn about what is going on and what other countries are working on regarding diaspora matters.

His presentation brought to the audience a general overview of the current Basque Government's Diaspora Strategy, focusing on the case of the United States, where the Basque Diaspora is very vibrant and is playing a key role in the conformation of an American-Basque identity amongst the second and third generation communities that are located mostly on the West Coast.

A Current Picture of the Basque Diaspora Worldwide

After the unanimously voted Law 8/1994 was passed at the Basque Parliament twenty years ago, the coverage and support that the Basque institutions offer to the Basque Clubs or associations and federations settled mostly in both South and North America increased dramatically.

Since 1994, a myriad of new programs were created and the financial support offered to those officially registered associations grew. The historical presence of the Basques in countries such as Argentina, Uruguay, Venezuela, Chile, Mexico or the United States, that had been instrumental historically for the survival of the Basque Government in Exile during the Franco years and beyond was being recognized and honored through the new regulations.



As a result, more and more Basque Clubs and associations were created since 1994 beyond the historical ones, not only in the assumed traditional destinations of the Basque mass migrations processes, the last waves dating the forties and fifties of the twentieth century, but also in new destinations as a consequence of the European Union regulations that permitted the circulation of workers within the newly established European borders, on the one hand, and the new phenomenon of relocation of European companies to the BRIC countries, that offer lower labour costs.

In 2013, the picture of the Basque organized presence in the World (even though people of Basque origin have been spotted in more than one hundred countries), is as follows:

- 187 Basque associations and federations in 25 countries
- 5 federations of Basque institutions in Argentina, USA, Uruguay, Spain and Venezuela
- 30,000 members Worldwide

Basque Government's Approach In Dealing With Basque Diaspora

The objective of Law 8/1994 is to promote, support and intensify relations between the Basque Country, its society and institutions on the one hand, and Basque communities and Clubs outside the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country, on the other. Law 8/1994 is intended to:

- a) Contribute to the strengthening of Basque communities and Clubs and

favor their internal cohesion and the efficacy of their associative actions.

- b) Preserve and reinforce links between Basque communities and Clubs on the one hand, and the Basque Country on the other hand.
- c) Project the knowledge of the reality of the Basque Country in the places where Basque communities are settled, promoting activities to disseminate, stimulate and develop Basque culture and the Basque economy.
- d) Favor relations, especially social, cultural and economic, with the different peoples accommodating Basque communities, and with their institutions and various social agents.
- e) Make possible, within the legal framework and budgetary resources, help, assistance and protection for those Basques living outside the Basque Autonomous Community.
- f) In general, facilitate the establishment of channels of communication between Basques residents outside the Basque Autonomous Community, and the public authorities of the latter.

In order to pursue all those general goals, an Office for the Basque Community Abroad was created within the General Secretariat of Foreign Affairs at the Presidency of the Basque Autonomous Government. Even though before Law 8/1994 was passed those programs oriented to the diaspora had been managed from the Department of Culture, the new panorama altered the framework of the Basque administration in the sense that diaspora affairs would directly be assigned to the Foreign Affairs Department.

The new system allowed the Basque communities abroad to have a direct contact with the Delegations of the Basque Country established in Argentina (serving all Mercosur); Chile (serving also Peru and Colombia); Mexico; United States (serving also Canada); and Brussels (serving Europe).

In fact, one of the main goals of those Delegations is to maintain fluid relations with the Basque communities in their scope areas.

Apart from the Basque Government offices (either in the administrative capital of the Basque Country in Vitoria-Gasteiz, or in the Delegations abroad), Law 8/1994 created two different institutions, as official bodies for relations with Basque communities outside the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country:

- The Advisory Council for Relations with Basque Communities, and
- The World Congress of Basque Communities

The functions of the Advisory Council are:

- To propose to the institutions of the Basque Autonomous Community, the promulgation or modification of provisions relating the Basque communities.
- To prepare a four-year plan which takes in the proposals for action during the said period, in fulfillment of the objectives set down in this law. A copy of the plan referred will be given to the appropriate institutions.
- To evaluate the execution of the four-year plan and other forecasts contained in this law.

- Any other functions that may be attributed to it by legal order.

Regarding the World Congress of Basque Communities, that takes place every four years, it is attended by the members of the Advisory Council for Relations with Basque Communities; former Presidents of the Basque Government; one member from each of the parliamentary groups with representation in the Basque Parliament; three representatives from each of the federations; and three representatives from Basque Clubs in each country where there is no federation.

A document of conclusions is prepared from deliberations of the Congress, of which a copy is given to the Advisory Council for the purpose of their consideration when drawing up the four-year plan.

The 5th World Congress of Basque Communities was held in Donostia-San Sebastian in November, 2011, and the four-year plan that takes all the measures and programs that is currently in force for the period 2012-2015, was proposed by the delegates to the Congress.

The four-year plan refers to the programs that the Basque Government deals with in order to pursue the main goals stated in Law 8/1994. Four of those programs are the most instrumental and best valued by their recipients:

The first one would be the annual grants for the Basque Clubs and federations: through this financial aid of 1.23 M/€, an average of 70 Basque Clubs are granted yearly. With these Basque public monies, the Clubs and federations that do not count on enough resources are able to maintain a cultural program

all around the year and also there is a small part of the total amount (that varies every year) with which they can remodel their facilities.

The second program regarding the budgetary effort would be the economic aid for families that are living in situations of great need: thanks to these funds of 200,000 €/year, an average of 65 families, mostly from Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Venezuela, get a very much needed help. Most of them are elderly people with no access to any other income, who live alone and have trouble even to access minimum health care in their countries.

Then, the most vibrant program is focused on youth. *Gaztemundu* (or Young World) is a program through which more than 700 youngsters from all over the World have visited the land of their parents, grandparents or ancestors since it was first established in 1996. For most of the participants in this program this is their first visit to their roots, to the core of the culture in which they have been brought up. Participants show themselves anxious to find their heritage, ancestry, tradition, and the kind of values that are difficult to find on the web and that make them feel different to other ethnic groups in this globalized era in which they were born.

In many cases, the idealized rural country of which they heard so much at home and in their Clubs has not much to do with a modern country that is willing to offer them a picture of innovation and leadership, being for example the Guggenheim museum an icon of modernism. This contradictory phenomenon has been called the *Basque schizophrenia*, as those young

people from abroad are looking for the oldest side of their culture, while their homeland institutions are willing to show them how far they have gone in the industrialization process and how different the country is nowadays from the country that their emigrant relatives were compelled to leave.

During their stay in the Basque Country these youngsters have the opportunity to visit as tourists, but also to meet with other young people and have a direct contact with public and private cultural institutions. Every year, there is a theme for the stay and they are educated in different fields of interest. The selection of those fields in which educate the participants is part of the four-year plan (Basque language, native musical instruments, Basque traditional dances and a specific training for leaders of cultural associations are the subjects for the period 2012-2015). However, *Gaztemundu* is not the only program focused on the new generations.

There is also the possibility for young people to specialize on diaspora matters through the training that is offered in the headquarters of the Foreign Affairs Department of the Basque Government on issues related with Basques abroad. In fact, since these internships were first established in 2003, nearly 20 people with a University degree in Humanities, History, Economics, Psychology or Law, among others, have been trained on the public policies that a regional government as the Basque can offer to their diaspora communities. This field is so broad, has so many angles, that anyone, regardless their university degree, can have the opportunity to access the internships.

In the last two years, four interns have been trained in diaspora matters with the Basque Government: two of them were settled in the headquarters of the Presidency of the Basque Government in Vitoria-Gasteiz, while another one was working from the Delegation in Buenos Aires and the fourth one was established in Boise, Idaho, the United States, under the supervision of the Delegation in New York City. The part of the budget that covers this educational program is 80,000 €/year.

Regarding the visibility of the programs on the web, there are two main web pages that offer information about these programs:

www.euskadi.net/euskaldunak

Institutional website for the Basque Government's Office for the Basque Community Abroad, it offers detailed information about the staff, all the programs and regulations, so that when the Basque communities want to solve any kind of legal or procedural task, they can easily reach the right person to contact.

Law 8/1994 and all the legal development of its terms can also be found on that institutional page, in three languages (Basque, Spanish and English).

www.euskaletxeak.net

This other site was funded by the Basque Government and offered to the Basque Clubs and federations as a site to share among them. It is also a repository of the memory of the Basque emigration, and offers to any researcher materials edited all around the World by the Basque communities (more than 180,000 pages of publications beginning late nineteenth century) and pictures (more than

20,000). It is also a place where each community includes information about their social life and agendas as well as the official and updated list of Basque Clubs in the World. This historical chronicle, in which pages anyone can find the triumphs and difficulties that the emigrants had to face, is a priceless deposit of news, where the historian can go to search the data he or she needs to weave a memoir that will conform an eloquent lesson for those that are to come.

Challenges in the Process of Increasing the Level of Engagement of the Basque Diaspora with the Basque Country

The main framework of the public programs and politics regarding the Basque diaspora is established, as aforementioned, during the celebration of every World Congress of Basque Communities, which takes place every four years, since Law 8 was approved in 1994.

The deliberations of the Congress are compiled in a document that is taken into account by the Advisory Council to propose a four-year plan to the authorities, in this case, the Office for the Basque Community Abroad.

The current four-year plan (2012-2015) was passed by the delegations of the 25 countries that attended the last Congress that was celebrated in Donostia-San Sebastian in November, 2011. One of the new requests by the delegates which had been included in that plan, was the possibility to gather every two years in a regional basis, between Congresses. The idea was put in practice and from August 2013 to March 2014, three regional meetings have been organized:

1. A North American regional meeting was organized in Elko, Nevada, in July 2013, and it gathered the Basque Clubs of Canada and the United States
2. A South American regional meeting was organized in Villa Maria, Argentina, in November 2013, and representatives of the Basque Clubs of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay attended.
3. A European, Asian and Australian regional meeting was organized in Barcelona, Spain, in March 2014, in which delegates of the Basque Clubs of Australia, Belgium, China, France, Germany, Italy, Spain and United Kingdom participated.

Regional meetings have been crucial to evaluate the programs after two years of experience, and there is still time before the next World Congress (to be held in 2015) to make some corrections in the regulations of the programs included in the four-year plan.

In autumn 2012, new elections took place for the Basque Parliament. As a result, a new President was elected, who belonged to a different party. In fact, the Basque National Party, that had been ruling the country since the establishment of the democracy in the eighties, is ruling again after a four year term in which the socialist party got the Presidency.

When the political change came in 2012, a new Cabinet was conformed and new directors and advisors occupied their posts in the administration.

As the legal framework (World Con-

gresses and four-year plans) do not coincide with the elections, the newly elected party has to fulfill what was included in the four-year plan. Nonetheless, instead of limiting the action to what had been approved, the new Government has come to office with new ideas. In fact, the experience of so many years dealing with the Basque diaspora and the complicity they find abroad, make things smoother for the current Basque Government.

Besides the four-year plan, the new Government has recently approved a Strategic Plan of Foreign Action 2014-2016 (which covers the current four-year term), that includes a series of measures, indicators and evaluations.

The Strategic Plan includes as one of the Strategic Goals for the Basque Government to promote, guard and intensify the relations of the Basque Country with the Basque Community Abroad. To accomplish that general goal, some actions have been identified. Among the new initiatives, one could be mentioned here: the establishment and organization of the Global Basque Network. Through that network, at least more than 25,000 people of Basque origin or that have an affinity with the Basque Country are going to be identified and included in the network.

The Case of The Basque Diaspora in The United States Of America

The Basque presence in the history of the United States of America has been much more important than what anyone could even imagine. It has been proved by historians that the first galleons in the discovery of America were

usually guided by Basque sailors, and that the Basques not only were present in every discovery either by sea or by land, but also led many institutions in the colonial era. As an example of the Basque presence in the history of California, the governor and the head of the missions of Baja California at one point of the XVII century happened to be two Basques: Diego de Borica and Fermín de Lasuen, both from Vitoria-Gasteiz, nowadays capital city of the Basque Autonomous Community.

After the colonial era, there were also prominent Basques among the forty-niners during the gold rush (1849), and other pioneers. The first Basque settlements in California brought as a result the settlement of Basque hotels and businesses to Los Angeles. After the men came the women and they were in charge of the hostels and found husbands and were mothers for all their guests. At that time, all the Basque hotels were established in the same area of Los Angeles. Those hotels were very productive and helpful. As a remarkable historical fact, the first two newspapers ever published in the Basque language were founded in Los Angeles in the late XIX century (*Californiako eskualdunak* and *Eskualdunon Gazeta*).

Even before the gold rush vanished, the Basques were transferred naturally to the sheep industry. They settled not only in California, but also moved eastwards to other counties and villages all around the Western States. As a result, Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, Oregon, Utah... were soon inhabited by Basques. They were hard workers, and ready to get involved in the hardest jobs. Most of them had never herded sheep in the

Basque Country, but still, they became good sheepherders. Differences between sheepherders and cattle ranchers arose during some years, until the Taylor Grazing Act (1934) put an end to the quarrels for the use of public lands by sheep and cattle.

A huge number of Basques, as many other Europeans, entered the United States via Ellis Island. Many stayed in New York City, after having traveled so long. But for most of them a longer journey was waiting. A Basque gentleman named Valentin Aguirre owned a hotel and travel agency on Cherry Street, near the port in East Manhattan. He used to send his children and employees to ask among the newly arrived: "*Euskaldunik hemen bada?*" (Are there any Basques on board?), even before they had jumped ship. There were hundreds of them who spent their first night in America at Aguirre's hotel. In a few days, they could be put into a train that would take them to the West, a trip that could last for days. Many changed trains in Ogden (Utah) and from there they could be travelling to Boise or elsewhere, where the Basque sheep owners were waiting for them. Most of the Basque hotels were built within a stone's throw from the train station, which helped the emigrant find what would be their new Home away from Home. Valentin Aguirre became a key person in the establishment of that network of chain migration, where the travel and the job among Basques was guaranteed.

In 1959 the Western Basque Festival was organized in Sparks, Nevada, on the outskirts of Reno. Basques from California (most of them from the French side of the Basque Country and the

province of Navarre) and from Idaho (most of them from Bizkaia) joined for the first time in a major event of the Basque culture. Around 5,000 people gathered to celebrate their cultural heritage. Both the Spanish and the French ambassadors to the U.S. were invited. For the first time, the barrier that split in two the North and the South parts of the Basque Country (the first belonging to France and the second in Spain) in the homeland was overlapped by their common culture and the joy to be part of the same country.

The celebration in Sparks was a solid soil in which the seed to build a federation of all the Basque communities was landed. Thus, in 1973, the North American Basque Organizations, Inc. was created, the federation of all the Basque Clubs in the U.S. and Canada, that nowadays is more alive than ever before.

It was not until 1987 that another huge event, "Jaialdi" ("Festival" in Basque) was organized in Boise, Idaho. This festival takes place every five years since 1990, and has become the major cultural event in the Basque Diaspora. More than 35,000 people are attending the celebration, a number that is increasing each time.

The total of Basque associations that the federation of Basque institutions, N.A.B.O., takes into its umbrella is of 38 Basque Clubs, including two in Canada and 4 in the East Coast (Miami, New England, New York and Washington, D.C.). New York was in fact the first association to be established in 1913, when the Western Basques still gathered in the Basque hotels.

The Delegation of the Basque Government to the United States is right

now located in New York City, near the headquarters of the United Nations. This office had its origin in the Delegation that the Basque Government in exile opened in Manhattan 75 years ago, when the first Basque President, Mr. José Antonio Aguirre, fled with part of his government to the United States escaping from Europe during the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War.

It was in New York City where the first Basque Club in the United States was established in 1913. The Basques had settled themselves mostly in the Western States of the country, and they had their places to gather: the Basque hotels played the role in those places where there were not associations yet. But as time passed, more and more associations were established. The hotels had come to an end, as their inhabitants had formed families and settled for not returning to their homelands any more.

As stated before, even though the institutional presence of the Basque Government in the U.S. is focused in New York City, the academic presence of the Basque culture is spreading. From Reno in Nevada, where a Program for Basque Studies (now Center for Basque Studies) was established in the late seventies, the Basque presence in American universities has grown to quite a few. Boise State University has also a Department of Basque Studies and there are Basque chairs and fellowships in Santa Barbara, Chicago or CUNY in NYC.

It was also in Reno, Nevada, where USAC (University Studies Abroad Consortium) was created by a Basque gentleman, Carmelo Urza, in 1983. The first destination that was offered to the American students was Donostia-San

Sebastian. Since then, more than 6,000 students have stayed in the Basque Country as part of their education program, both in Donostia-San Sebastian and in Bilbao. On a different level, an agreement between the State of Idaho and the Basque Autonomous Community was signed in February 2012 to strengthen ties between the two regions, in the cultural, educational, and economic fields. As a result, an office of the Basque Government has been operating in Boise, Idaho, to prospect the opportunities of further exchange between the two regions that have so much in common.

Conclusion

The new Basque Government participated last year in Dublin in the Global Diaspora Forum, which was organized by the U.S. Department of State, as the European branch of the main event in Washington, D.C. During the Forum, the Basque Delegation learned about the last venues in diaspora politics that are now on the agendas of all European and Worldwide Governments.

It is not sheer coincidence that the Basque Government is taking the Basque Diaspora in the United States as a productive soil where to first seed its new programs and ideas, before they are taken to the rest of the Basque communities abroad.

Success stories such as the exhibit at Ellis Island about the Basques, “Hidden in Plain Sight”, of 2010; the Agreement between the State of Idaho and the Basque Government in 2012, that has yet to give its best fruits; the newly signed - February 2014 - agreement to establish a Jon Bilbao Fellowship at the

University of Nevada in Reno, to foster the research about the Basque Diaspora, and the program to gather oral testimonies of Basque emigrants all around the United States and Canada that will be the first result of the agreement; the project of a new exhibit about the importance of the Basques in the History of the State of California, that the California Historical Society proposed to the Basque communities in California and the Basque authorities on which we are currently working. All those are recent projects that have a wonderful prospect of success due to the presence of a well rooted Basque-American community that shapes a unique framework for new collaborations.

The Basques in the United States succeed in uniting themselves through a federation since 1973. Before, the former French-Basques of California and the Spanish-Basques of Idaho lived separately. That union was made possible before the Basque Government was reestablished in the late seventies of the twentieth century.

The work of the Basque Government towards the Basque diaspora is growing in interest and programs; but there is still a long way to go. What a public institution of the homeland can do best, as we see it, is to establish contact

with its organized diaspora and be very respectful of what they are working on, also about the way they live their hybridized identity in their host countries, where they are well rooted.

Then, willing to foster their programs and projects, the institutions from the homeland should work in collaboration with those communities, not to control what they do, but rather to help them go further (most of the diaspora associations are conformed by volunteers and this approach could contribute to professionalize their cultural production, while offering an international perspective in their approach to their local authorities).

As the Irish Worldwide expert on diaspora matters, Mr. Kingsley Aikins, stated during the Global Diaspora Forum in Dublin, the key factor in this case would be to collaborate with members of the diaspora who show not only an interest but a real engagement with the homeland. Regarding the local authorities of the homeland, it is more than clear that the departments involved in diaspora issues do have to "diasporize" their government decision makers, letting them know about the opportunities that the best organized diasporas are offering to their homelands.

