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Migrants Now and Then:
Connecting Contemporary Migration
with the Past

Editor

Hans Storhaug

Association of European Migration Institutions
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AEMI Journal

Editor: Hans Storhaug

Editorial board:

Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park,
Omagh, Northern Ireland

Henning Bender, Danish Emigrant Archives, Aalborg, Denmark

Layout and design: Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigration Center, Stavanger, Norway

The Association of European Migration Institutions - *AEMI*, founded in 1991, is a network of organisations in Europe concerned with the documentation, research and presentation of European migration.

AEMI board:

Brian Lambkin, *Chairman*

Henning Bender, *Secretary*

Hans Storhaug

Per Nordahl

Armando Oliveira

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence regarding *AEMI Journal* should be sent to: Hans Storhaug, Norwegian Emigration Center, Strandkaien 31, 4005 Stavanger, Norway, or by e-mail to detnu-hs@online.no.

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AEMI - Secretariat, Arkivstraede 1,
Box 1731, DK - 9100 Aalborg, Denmark

Phone: + 45 99314230

Fax: + 45 98102248

E-mail: aemi@aemi.dk

Internet: www.aemi.dk

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From the Editor

This is the third AEMI Journal in three years. That means that our organisation has established a new and important tradition as a complement to our annual meetings. How this tradition will develop relies solely on ourselves. It is a question of how much energy and commitment we are willing to put into our membership. The close and fruitful relationship that has developed between AEMI and the European Institute of Cultural Routes in Luxembourg over the last years bear signs of a promising future.

The AEMI 2005 edition is based on papers delivered at the 2004 AEMI conference in Växjö, Sweden in September/ October. The theme of the conference was *Connecting Contemporary Migration with the Past*. Some, but not all, of the ten articles included in this Journal have that perspective. Among the many interesting articles it might be worth mentioning the one of Olavi Koivukangas, who for a generation has studied the integration process of Finnish emigrants all over the world as well as that of recent immigrants and refugees in Finland. Illustrating the parallelism of the processes: how to find work, how to learn the language, how to cope with the negative attitudes and xenophobia of the main population and other ethnic minorities, he warns however, that we may not be able to learn as much as some might expect from past migration movements for our purposes unless we bear in mind at the same time how different epochs in history have been.

As this article prompts us, no doubt we will continue to debate how exactly improving our understanding of past and current migration (evidenced by the other articles presented here) helps us to address the challenge of building a better future. As leader of *Youth and Migration* - a European Capital of Culture project in Stavanger in 2008, that many of AEMI members are involved in, I find this a very important issue to address. We look forward to the debate continuing in Paris 2005 and reporting on it, and all the other matters that concern us, in the next issue.



Hans Storhaug, *Editor*

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

*Växjö, Sweden
29.09.03 – 03.10.03*



*Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other specialists in the field, met for a four day conference at the The House of Emigrants in Växjö, Sweden.
Photo: Hans Storhaug*

Wednesday 29.09.04

Conference members met at 17.30 at our host institution, The House of Emigrants of the Swedish Emigrant Institute in Växjö, Sweden. They were welcomed by the Director, Dr Per Nordahl and entertained to a buffet reception. The Chairman thanked Dr Nordahl and

his colleagues for their warm welcome. He read a message from the immediate past Chairman of the Association, Knut Djupdal, who for the first time in many years had been prevented by business from attending. He then introduced Hans Storhaug, editor of the AEMI Journal, who reported that the second

issue of the Journal was almost ready to go to the printers. He circulated copies of the cover page and contents. The theme of this special issue is 'Migrants and Descendants: Ambivalent Legacies and New Border-Crossings in a Changing World' and it will contain twelve of the papers given at last year's conference in Lisbon. Copies of the Journal should be posted to members by the end of October. The Chairman expressed thanks on behalf of the Association to contributors and especially to the editor. The founding of the Journal has been a major achievement of the last two years, thanks largely to the energy and commitment of Hans Storhaug.

Having raised a glass or two to absent members, as Knut Dupedal had requested, conference members then enjoyed the convivial opportunity to explore the various fine exhibits on display in the House of Emigrants, including a temporary exhibition on the connections between Sweden and South Africa.

Thursday 30.09.04

The Annual Meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions was opened formally at 9.00 in the Lecture Room of the Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö. The morning session was divided into three parts. The first part was a series of short presentations about a range of projects currently in progress or in prospect. This was followed by discussion. In the concluding part an attempt was made to summarise the main features of the discussion and identify points for future action.

The first presentation was given by Chairman on the application to the Culture 2000 programme of the European Union for a 'European Migration Heritage Route Project', which had been submitted in November 2003 by a group of nine AEMI members, led by the *Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park*, Northern Ireland. The application scored highly, as we heard in May 2004, but unfortunately not highly enough to be selected. The Chairman reminded the meeting that the project consisted of four main elements or Activities:

1. Enlargement of the network of the Association of European Migration Institutions to include at least one member institution of each European State
2. Development of a new on-line 'European Migration Heritage Resources Portal'
3. Establishment of a new, annual 'European Migration Heritage Week'
4. Establishment of the 'European Migration Heritage Route' as a new Cultural Route

The Chairman went on to explain why the decision had been taken not to proceed with the pilot European Migration Heritage Week in October 2004 as planned.

He referred to the positive responses of some institutions such as the Centre des Documentations, Luxembourg and drew attention to the excellent video presentation submitted by the *San Marino Emigrant Museum and Study Center*. This is a recording 'The Voyage

of the Hero', a 90-minute multi-media stage presentation of the emigrant experience, involving 12 returned emigrants aged 60 and over and 12 students aged 18-25.

This innovative project aims to 'involve the elderly as protagonists of migration and the students as heirs of a social context modified by the work and commitment of the former in order to build a society which promotes co-existence of different identities and cultures, thus encouraging a sense of belonging to one's own country'.

He emphasized that not all 'events' that might be included in a Migration Heritage Week programme need be as elaborate as this. For example, a member institution that normally charged for public admission might consider marking one day in Migration Heritage Week by offering free admission.

Wincie Johannsdottir of the *Icelandic Emigrant Center* then reported on the progress of the application which her institution is leading to the European Union's E-Content programme for a 'Journey' project that will develop a 'resources portal' on the theme of European Migration. She explained that the application had been given a preliminary grading of 'good'. Although no timescale has been given for a final decision, she remains hopeful that the application may be successful. Antoinette Reuter of the *Centre des Documentations* in Luxembourg reported on the role that her institution will be playing in the programme leading up to Luxembourg being European Capital of Culture in 2007. She plans to establish a steering committee to manage the

migration aspect of this programme and will be writing about the programme to AEMI members and others who may be interested in participating shortly.

The aim is to hold an international conference on the theme of migration in 2007 that will be attended ideally by two representatives from each European state. It is envisaged that the committee will meet initially in Luxembourg in April 2005. The aim will be to achieve a membership of about eight, including some AEMI members that will be representative of Europe according to type of institution and geographical location.

Hans Storhaug of the *Norwegian Emigration Center* in Stavanger, and editor of the AEMI Journal, reported on the innovative *Youth and Migration* project that his institution will be leading as part of the programme associated with Stavanger being European Capital of Culture in 2008. Further details of this project can be found at on the AEMI website. Sorina Capp of the Council of Europe's Institute of European Cultural Routes reported that the Council of Europe at a meeting in June 2004 approved in principle the idea of the 'European Migration Heritage Route'. She explained that while this in itself does not make any new resources available to AEMI or to any of its member institutions, it does give potentially powerful support to any further funding applications that AEMI or its member institutions might make in order to develop this Route.

Henning Bender of the *Danish Emigrant Archives* and Treasurer of AEMI reported on several funding opportunities. He urged that it would be particularly appropriate for the Association to

make application to those programmes that have the support of 'networking' as a main objective.

After the coffee break, the Chairman invited Dr Simone Eick from Germany to give a presentation about her institution, the *Deutsches Auswandererhaus* in Bremerhaven, which is applying this year for membership of the Association. She explained that the *Deutsches Auswandererhaus* is planned to open in Bremerhaven in August 2005 as a major new facility for cultural tourism with the aim of attracting over 200,000 visitors per year. Set against the authentic backdrop of the port of Bremerhaven it will aim to give the visitor through the use of spectacular models insight into the experience of crossing the Atlantic and the emotions of anguish and hope associated with heart-wrenching quayside farewells. The exhibit will include a 32 metre long ship, moving in 'real water' at the quayside. A special feature of the facility will be a library of 7 million individual emigrant stories. The project, which is a public-private partnership, is unusual in that the same firm is responsible for the design, construction and running of the building.

It was a particular pleasure that long-standing AEMI member Jürgen Rudloff of the *Förderverein Deutsches Auswanderermuseum* was present to speak in support of this project. He reminded the meeting that it had been his institution that had nurtured the idea of an Emigration Museum in Bremerhaven over many years and that it had been at the AEMI Annual Meeting in 2000, hosted by his institution, that the breakthrough announcement of public funding sup-

port of about €20 million had first been made. Although progress on the project had initially been slow, it was now clear that the building was on track to open in 2005 and he hoped very much that his institution would have a continuing role in some form, perhaps as a Friends organization.

Dr Eick also explained that another long-standing AEMI member, Wolfgang Grams of Routes to the Roots, who played such a key role in the development of the temporary exhibition that AEMI members enjoyed visiting in Bremerhaven in 2000, will have an important role in this new project. It is envisaged that before leaving the new *Deutsches Auswandererhaus*, visitor will be offered support in exploring their own family history, including guidance on opportunities for visiting the places from which their ancestors came, in Germany and elsewhere in Europe. Wolfgang Grams will be involved in this further development of his pioneering cultural tourism service known as 'Routes to the Roots'. Dr Eick also stressed how important it was going to be to the success of her new institution to develop links both with AEMI institutions and with Ellis Island. Plans are already well advanced for a temporary exhibition based on the new Bremerhaven project at Ellis Island.

As well as these presentations information was circulated from Wolfgang Grams who unfortunately had been prevented by illness from attending. As well as his continuing involvement in the Bremerhaven project, members may be interested to know that he has been researching and documenting the

emigration of the family of the Danube Swabian Johnny Weissmüller from Temeswar, Rumania to Chicago for the Donauschwäbische Zentral Museum, Ulm, Germany and that following the success of the Migration Heritage Map of Northwest Germany he is working with the German National Tourist Board to produce a 6-page brochure on *Roots and Heritage Travel*. If any members are interested in getting support for the scanning of archival holdings and the production of electronic indexes for on-line publication in association with www.MyFamily.com they may contact Wolfgang for further information at www.routes.de and routes@t-online.de. It may be noted here for future reference that information from another member institution that was unable to be represented this year, the *Rozmberk Society* in the Czech Republic, was received and circulated later in the meeting.

Following these presentations there was further discussion. We are grateful to Gunilla Sundén of the *Swedish Emigrant Institute* for acting as rapporteur. Her summary of the main points of the discussion was as follows:

1. Since AEMI is a very diverse organization a secretariat is needed for practical reasons to improve information on what is going on in different countries; to take good care of new members; and to make a reality of and implement good decisions between the annual meetings. More funding is needed to strengthen the economy of the organization and there is also a need for a poster for information.

2. Support was given to the idea of

a steering committee of about eight persons, including Hans Storhaug and Sorina Capp, to be led by Antoinette Reuter meeting twice a year (April and fall) between now and 2007 when Luxembourg is European Capital of Culture

3. There should be increased visibility through the AEMI website in order to make more impact on local governments

4. It is important to see the relevance of including immigration in the work of AEMI, not just emigration.

5. The work and organization of AEMI should include and attract all of Europe, from north to south and east to west.

6. There is no objection in principle to immigrant organizations applying to AEMI for membership. The requirement for membership remains that the charter of the organization should include the documentation, research and presentation of European migration.

7. Concerning the discussion on a European Migration Heritage Week, it was agreed that it is a good idea in principle to have local events taking place in every country within the same week. As a first step for the coming year it was agreed that Hans Storhaug should compile an inventory of events being held by member institutions.

8. Finally it was emphasized that migration is a long process, not just a short journey.

Lunch was a dine-around in Växjö. The afternoon session was devoted to the Annual General Meeting of the Association.

AEMI Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions was convened at the Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö and called to order at 13.00 by Chairman Brian Lambkin

1. Election of presiding officer for the General Assembly

The Chairman moved that Professor Adam Walaszek be elected presiding officer of the business meeting. The motion was agreed.

Those present were:

The Danish Emigration Archives, Aalborg, Denmark, represented by Dr Henning Bender

The Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, represented by Professor Olavi Koivujangas

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Laurence Canal

Friends of the German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven, Germany, represented by Jürgen Rudloff

The Icelandic Emigration Center, Hofsos, Iceland, represented by Ms Wincie Johansdottir

The Centre for Documentation of Human Migration, Luxembourg, represented by Ms Antoinette Reuter

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

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

The Institute of Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, Krakow, Poland, represented by

Professor Adam Walaszek

The Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, Lisbon, Portugal, represented by Professor Maria-Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

The Institute for Slovene Emigration Studies, Ljubljana, Slovenia, represented by Dr Irena Gantar Godina

The Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden, represented by Dr Per Nordhal

The Swedish Immigrant Institute, Borås, Sweden, represented by Dr Miguel Benito

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

There were no personal members present.

The following member institutions were not represented:

The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia

The Danish Immigrant Museum Farum, Denmark

The Archives Department, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, England, UK

The North Frisian Emigrant Archive, Bredstedt, Germany

Routes to the Routes, Oldenburg, Germany

The Research Center for German Emigrants in the USA, Oldenburg, Germany

The John F Kennedy Trust, New Ross, Ireland

The Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Emigrazione, Tramonti, Italy

Centro Studi Emigrazione Roma, Rome, Italy

The Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway

The County Archives, Sogn og Fjordane,
Kaupanger, Norway
The Norwegian Emigrant Museum,
Ottestad, Norway
The San Marino Emigrant Museum and
Study Center, San Marino
The National Library of Scotland, Scots
abroad. Edinburgh, UK
The Museum of Scotland International,
National Museums of Scotland, Edin-
burgh, UK
The Slovene Ethnographic Museum,
Ljubljana, Slovenia

The following associated members were not present:

Pier 21, Halifax, Canada.
Ellis Island Immigration Museum, New
York, USA

Minutes of the last Annual Meeting, held in Lisbon on 30 September 2003, which had been posted previously on the AEMI website, were accepted by the meeting.

2. Chairman's Report for 2003 – 2004

The Chairman spoke to his report, circulated previously on the AEMI website, highlighting the main achievements of the year: the submission of the major funding application to the Culture 2000 programme of the European Union for the European Migration Heritage Route project, and the appearance of the second volume of the AEMI Journal, which would be distributed to members shortly. He thanked those who had participated for the useful discussion which had taken place that morning. He welcomed the news that the Coun-

cil of Europe has given approval to the European Migration Heritage Route concept, which he hoped would progressively become a reality through the Association working in collaboration with the European Institute of Cultural Routes. In conclusion he thanked members for their support throughout the year and also his colleagues on the Executive Board.

In particular he thanked Professor Maria-Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, representing the Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations in Lisbon, which hosted last year's Annual Meeting, for the work of her colleague and outgoing member of the Executive Board, Professor Armando Oliveira. The Chairman concluded by thanking Dr Per Nordahl for his work as new member of the Board and host of this year's Annual Meeting.

The Chairman moved the adoption of the report. The meeting adopted the motion.

3. Financial Statement and Accounts for 2003

The Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender presented the Financial Statement and, as posted previously on the AEMI website. The Secretary and Treasurer moved the adoption of the Accounts. The meeting adopted the motion.

4. Budget for 2004 and Preliminary Account for 2004

The Secretary and Treasurer presented the Budget for 2004 and Preliminary Account for 2004 as posted previously on the AEMI website. The Association's

Auditor, Dr Ulf Beijbom, confirmed that he was satisfied with the Accounts for 2004 and had signed them. The Secretary and Treasurer moved the adoption of the Budget for 2004 and the Preliminary Account for 2004. The meeting adopted the motion.

5. Admission of New Members

The Secretary-Treasurer presented the following applicant institution for admission to ordinary membership: Deutsches Auswandererhaus, Bremerhaven, Germany. He referred to the presentation given by Dr Simone Eick that morning and wished it well for its projected opening in August 2005. The meeting admitted the Deutsches Auswandererhaus to ordinary membership.

5. Members Projects

Professor Maria-Beatriz Rocha-Trindade said that progress during the year with the new Museum of Emigration in Fafe, Portugal had been slower than expected but that Dr Miguel Montiero hoped to be in attendance at the next Annual Meeting to present his new institution for admission to membership.

Antoinette Reuter reported sad news of the recent death of our contact, Antonio Perotti of the Centro Studi Emigrazione in Rome, Italy. He had been vital to the commitment of the Scalabrini Order to this work.

Dr Miguel Benito of the Immigrant Institute in Boras, Sweden, reported that his institution's website was currently receiving more hits than the equivalent government website. He explained about how December 18 has been designated 'Day of the Immigrants' in com-

memoration of the date on which the Convention on Immigrant Rights was first signed.

7. Proposed Budget for 2005 – 07

The Secretary and Treasurer spoke to the proposed budget for 2005-07, posted previously on the AEMI website. He explained how this represented the most prudent use of resources, given that no significant increase in subscriptions could be contemplated in the medium term, and warned that unless additional funding was obtained, the Association would be unable to maintain its current level of activities beyond 2007. The Secretary and Treasurer moved the adoption of the proposed budget and the meeting accepted the motion.

8. Annual Subscription

The Secretary Treasurer reported on a communication received from Dr Diana Pardue of Ellis Island to the effect that the subscription for associate members was so low as to be almost equivalent to the cost of making the money transfer. He proposed therefore that the cost of annual subscription for associate membership should therefore be raised from €25 to €50. The meeting accepted the motion.

9. Appointment of Auditor

The Secretary and Treasurer reported that Dr Ulf Beijbom, former Director of the Swedish Emigrant Institute, who has been the Auditor of the Association 'since time immemorial', had decided to resign from the post. The Secretary Treasurer took the opportunity to pay tribute to Dr Beijbom's work over

the years, not only in his capacity as Auditor but also as founding member of the Association. The Chairman also thanked Dr Beijbom and made a small presentation of behalf of the Association as a token of its appreciation of his generous years of service.

The Secretary and Treasurer proposed Ms Eva Meyer of the Alands Emigrantinstitut, Finland for the vacant post of Auditor. There being no other nominations, the meeting accepted the proposal. The Chairman thanked Ms Meyer for being willing to undertake this service.

10. Election of Officers of the Executive Board

All members confirmed that they were willing to continue serving for the third year of the present three-year term. Therefore no election was necessary. The Chairman reminded members that a representative of whichever institution is chosen to host the next Annual Meeting will automatically become a member of the Executive Board for the coming year. He again thanked Professor Armando Oliveira as outgoing member of the Board, representing last year's host institution, and said that it will be necessary to hold elections at the next Annual Meeting to elect a new Executive Board.

11. Next Meetings

The Chairman introduced Ms Laurence Canal and Ms Delphine Folliet, representatives of Génériques, Paris, France. Ms Canal said that the Director of Génériques, Dr Driss Al Yazami, had regretta-

bly been prevented from attending the meeting in person but that he had asked herself and her colleague to convey the offer of Génériques to host that next Annual Meeting of the Association in Paris. There being no other offers, the meeting warmly accepted the invitation.

There followed discussion of the most suitable date. Taking account of representation from San Marino in particular, it was agreed that the dates of next year's meeting will include Friday 7 October to Sunday 9 October. Precise dates of the meeting will be confirmed as soon as possible and communicated to members.

It was noted that expressions of interest in hosting the Association's Annual Meeting in 2006 or 2007 have been received from the following:

- *Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies*, Zagreb, Croatia
- *Deutsches Auswanderermuseum*, Bremerhaven, Germany
- *Danish Emigration Archives*, Aalborg, Denmark
- *Institute of Migration*, Finland

A decision on the venue of the Annual Meeting in 2006 will be made at the next Annual Meeting in Paris, 2005.

12. Any Other Business

There was no other business. The Chairman thanked Professor Walaszek for presiding. The Annual General Meeting concluded at 16.30. Dinner at Slott Teleborg, hosted by Mr Åke Eriksson, Chairman of the Municipality of Växjö.

Friday 1.10.04

The day was devoted to lectures in the Swedish Emigrant Institute on the theme of the Annual Meeting: 'Connecting Contemporary Migration with the Past'

- *Professor Lars Olsson*, 'Research and Teaching on Migration in the University of Växjö: the use of oral history'
- *Dr Katarina Hjelm*, 'The AMER Research Profile of Migration Research at the University of Växjö'
- *Professor Jan Ekberg*, 'Immigrants and the Welfare State in Sweden'
- *Dr Per Nordahl*, 'The Local, Regional and National Context of Migration Research in Sweden'
- *Dr Torbjörn Johannson*, 'The use of Information and Communications Technology in connecting contemporary migration with the past: the work of the Interactive Institute, Umea, Sweden'
- *Dr Dan Malmsten*, 'The EU EMIL Project: Indexing Emigrant Letters'

Dinner at Kosta Glass Factory, hosted by Eva Lövquist on behalf of the County of Kronoberg.

Saturday 2.10.04

The day was devoted to lectures in the Swedish Emigrant Institute on the theme of the Annual Meeting: 'Connecting Contemporary Migration with the Past'

- *Dr Claude Wey*, "'We should be very happy to show you our dear Sweden a 'meng Hunger'": tracing an emigrant trajectory between Luxembourg and Sweden using emigrant letters'
- *Dr Irena Gantar Godina*, 'Slovene women intellectuals abroad, 1860-1919'
- Professor Maria Beatriz Rocha-*

- Trinadade*, 'Recent Developments in Portuguese Migration'
- *Professor Olavi Koivokangas*, 'Connecting contemporary migration with the past: challenges and opportunities'
- Johan Svanberg*, 'Labour immigration and the ethnic division of labour in a Swedish factory'
- *Dr Solveig Fagerlund*, 'Trans-Atlantic emigration as part of a migratory culture: a micro historical perspective on the community of Stensjö, Sweden'
- *Cecilia Axelsson*, 'Keeping up?' - an analysis of the website of the Swedish Emigrant Institute'

Dinner at the Palace of the Governor of the County of Kronoberg in Växjö, hosted by Claes Sjöblom, Deputy Governor.

Sunday, 3.10.04

Final Plenary Session, 9.00 - 12.00

Sorina Capp of the European Institute of Cultural Routes kindly gave a detailed on-line demonstration of the Institute's website (<http://www.culture-routes.lu>). This enabled members to appreciate more clearly the opportunities which this facility of the Institute offers for promoting the European Migration Heritage Route and how it might be used in other ways to complement the existing AEMI website (www.aemi.dk).

There was further discussion of issues arising from the meeting, particularly with regard to action points for the coming year, including new funding applications to promote AEMI networking; an inventory of AEMI member activities 2004-05; Luxembourg 2007; Stavanger 2008; the third

issue of the AEMI Journal, 2005.

In his concluding remarks the Chairman commented on the impressive co-operation that is evidently underway between the Swedish Emigrant Institute and the University of Växjö, and also on the strong partnership that is evident between the Institute and the City of Växjö and the County of Kronoberg. Before saying a final farewell, a small presentation was made on behalf of the Association to Per Nordahl and his colleagues for their hard work and generous hospitality.

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman's Report 2003 - 2004

*September 29 - October 3, 2004
Växjö, Sweden*



AEMI board members greeting famous Swedish author Vilhelm Moberg outside The Emigrants House, Växjö, Sweden before the opening of the annual meeting. From left, Per Nordahl, Henning Bender, Secretary and Brian Lambkin, Chairman. Photo: Hans Storhaug

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Those of us who were fortunate enough to be present at last year's Annual Meeting in Portugal will no doubt recall it with pleasure. Professor Armando Oliveira and Professor Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and their CEMRI colleagues in the Open University in Lisbon hosted it splendidly and we are most grateful to them. We rely greatly on our Annual Meeting as our main opportunity for renewing old friendships and making new ones, for

reviewing progress, and for charting our direction for the coming year. In Lisbon we welcomed several new members, launched the first issue of our *AEMI Journal*, heard many interesting papers and engaged in discussion. We left Lisbon with an ambitious programme, particularly with regard to the idea of making an application to the European Union-funded Culture 2000 programme for a European Migration Heritage Route Project, designed to be

of benefit to all members of the Association. So how did we fare?

Your Board, for the second year of the current three-year cycle, has been Henning Bender (Denmark) as general secretary, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the *Journal*, Armando Oliveira (Portugal) as representative of last year's host institution, Per Nordahl (Sweden) as representative of the host institution of 2004 and myself as chairman (Northern Ireland). We met face-to-face only once this year, immediately before the Annual Meeting here in Växjö, Sweden. This is in contrast to the previous year when we met three times in Luxembourg, thanks to the support of Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues in Centre des Documentations, Dudelange. The effort of the Board has been mainly directed towards three main objectives: completion of an application for the European Migration Heritage Route Project to the European Union-funded Culture 2000 programme; preparation for a pilot European Migration Heritage Week programme in October 2004; and production of the second issue of the *AEMI Journal*.

Our application for the European Migration Heritage Route Project was submitted on time in November 2003. In Lisbon we had identified four main project activities, designed to include and benefit as many AEMI members as possible:

1. Enlargement of the network of the Association of European Migration Institutions to include at least one member institution in each European state

2. Development of a new on-line 'European Migration Heritage Resources Portal'

3. Establishment of a new, annual 'European Migration Heritage Week'

4. Establishment of a the 'European Migration Heritage Route' as new Cultural Route

The rules of the Culture 2000 programme do not permit organisations such as AEMI to apply. For an application for a three-year project it was necessary for one member institution to undertake the responsibility of making the application as the 'lead partner' and for at least four other institutions (all from different countries) to undertake the responsibility of 'co-organisers' of the project. In the event nine AEMI members made a co-operation agreement as 'co-organisers' with the Centre for Migration Studies, Omagh as the lead partner. As you may imagine it was a great deal of hard work for all involved to ensure that all the necessary materials from nine partners were put together in time for the deadline. The proposed project Budget gives an indication of the considerable scale of commitment required of co-organisers in terms of resources. As I acknowledged in my letter to members in February, with hindsight communication with the whole membership of the Association about the project could have been better. We should learn from this experience in taking our project forward by making sure that all members are as well informed as possible and have the opportunity to contribute to discussion and to participate at whatever level suits

them best. Having made the application in November, it was our expectation to receive a decision from Brussels in April. In the event we did not receive it until late May. As no doubt we are all now aware, our application was not successful, coming some nine points short of the 'cut'. I wrote to the membership about this in June, emphasising the importance of proceeding as planned with the pilot 'European Migration Heritage Week' in October. Although some members have responded to Hans Storhaug, offering events to be included in the pilot programme, the response overall has been poor, so it would seem that there is a problem with this idea. Perhaps the proposed timing of the 'Week' in October is not suitable or, more seriously, the concept does not meet the needs of members. We need to discuss this issue further.

As to the future of the European Migration Heritage Route Project idea as a whole, we clearly need to give further consideration to the best way forward. Through the experience of putting together our application we have learned a great deal about ourselves as an Association and our capacity and appetite for delivering such an ambitious programme. Our aim remains to transform the Association by expanding its membership throughout Europe and raising its profile as the leading institution of its kind. In order to do this we must develop a full-time secretariat of some kind. We need to be clear about our position and play to our particular strengths. If the Culture 2000 programme does not turn out to provide

the key to our development as we had hoped, we need to find an alternative that will. Most immediately we have two main options to consider. The Culture 2000 programme is making one further call for applications for 2005, so we might resubmit in a modified form our European Migration Heritage Route Project (the deadline is 29 October 2005). Alternatively, we might prefer to develop a new project proposal and apply for funding from a different source. A third option, of course, is to do neither. At Växjö we need to talk all this through, exchange information and weigh up the possibilities. In the course of the year at least three other projects have been developing that have called for the support of AEMI members: Wincie Johannsdottir at the Icelandic Emigration Center has succeeded in steering the 'Journey' project past the first stage of evaluation for European funding; Antoinette Reuter of the Centre des Documentations in Luxembourg has invited members to consider participating in the 'LuxPlus' project, associated with Luxembourg being European Capital of Culture in 2007 (<http://www.aemi.dk/news.php?page=101>); and Hans Storhaug of the Norwegian Emigration Center has invited members to participate in a 'Migration and Youth' project, associated with Stavanger being European Capital of Culture in 2008 (<http://www.aemi.dk/news.php?page=100>). We look forward to discussing all this and more, and may I take this opportunity to urge members, particularly those not able to be present at our meeting in Sweden, to make their views known to members of the Board.

After the meeting in Lisbon last year, a small group representing AEMI travelled to northern Portugal to lend our support to Dr Miguel Monteiro and his colleagues in the municipality of Fafe who are planning a Museum of Emigration. Fafe has a particularly strong historic connection with Brazil, evident in the architecture of the town, where the 'Brazilian Houses', built by returned emigrants, are a special feature. This is one splendid example of many initiatives now underway across Europe aimed at presenting different aspects of our migration heritage, which again points to the importance of the Association in promoting the exchange of information and expertise and in providing mutual support. Our strategic aim – to include in the Association all who are engaged in such initiatives – is surely the right one. Willing the most appropriate means to realise it remains our challenge.

As ever we are grateful to Henning Bender for his work as treasurer, for maintaining and updating our website which provides such an indispensable service for us and for responding to the enquiries of members and prospective new members. Hans Storhaug deserves our special appreciation for continuing the onerous job of founder editor of our *Journal*. We look forward to the second issue being distributed to members shortly after the meeting in Växjö. We thank again Armando Oliveira and Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade for hosting the Annual Meeting in Lisbon in 2003. And we also thank Per Nordahl and his colleagues for undertaking the

task of preparing to host us in Växjö in 2004. May our deliberations here prove fruitful in the year ahead.

Brian Lambkin
Chairman

Keeping up? History on the Home Page of the Swedish Emigrant Institute

Cecilia Axelsson

Museums and Institutes are important mediators of history in today's society. This article analyses the pedagogic material provided by the Swedish Emigrant Institute on their home page. Questions are raised about what aspects of migration history are included in the information, what is neglected, and if the Swedish Emigrant Institute is able to keep up with recent scholarly research on migration. The article also aims at starting a discussion on what can be expected of museums and institutions in their mediating of migration history.

It is possible to look upon the Swedish Emigrant Institute (SEI) in Växjö, Sweden as a link back both in time and space. A visitor that enters the Institute is reminded by archives and exhibitions about past times, when all those emigrants left Sweden to seek a better life somewhere else. The Institute in Växjö is furthermore situated in the middle of the emigrants' province Småland and many people that seek knowledge of emigration and migration on an over-all and scientific level come here. But also people who seek personal knowledge of ancestry and roots come to the Institute. A visit here can literally be about returning to a place of origin for some people. People who seek their history and their identity.

The reason behind the founding of the Institute in 1965 was the need to get a greater understanding of the mass-emigration from Sweden to North America in the 19th and early 20th century.

This would be facilitated by gathering all knowledge and sources in one place and during the almost 40 years that the Institute has been open much has happened in this area. Also, many Swedish-Americans have sauntered through the exhibition halls and made use of the material in the archives of SEI. But despite the fact that the focus has been on the emigration to North America and the 19th century there has always been a wider awareness at the Swedish Emigrant Institute. Right from the start the connection to immigration and immigrants was acknowledged and nowadays when Swedish-Americans with a personal experience of the mass-emigration era for natural reasons are a rare sight, the focus of the Institute has to be extended. A Swedish Emigrant Institute that includes immigrants is beginning to take shape and a House of Emigrants that puts the tidal wave of the mass-emigration from Sweden (1860-1930) in a

wider context and shows a more differentiated face might soon be discerned. The present head of the Institute Per Nordahl expresses one of the goals of the Institute in this manner:

Today twenty per cent of the population of Sweden have roots that reach outside the country. This means that the history that these twenty per cent of the population bring must be made visible and be included in what we label our history. By making the history of the new Swedes a part of our own we also provide better opportunities for the immigrants to partake of our democracy. In times of increased hostility towards strangers a central task for the Swedish Emigrant Institute must be to work for increased participation.

My ambition is therefore that we both in our exhibition and in other activities will be able to contribute to bringing together these two emigrant experiences.¹

How is this intention carried through and how are other issues in focus today, such as ethnicity and gender, addressed in the exhibitions and material provided on the internet by SEI?

Mediating History

The exhibitions make up a big part of what is the House of Emigrants. They are important as a display case for the Institute. At the same time they have not been seen as the most important part of the work. The initiator of the Institute, county governor Gunnar Helén, was very sceptical of the idea of a museum. Instead he envisioned the Institute as an archive and almost 'a playground for

researchers, enthusiasts and educators of people'.² The permanent exhibition seems almost to have come about by chance. The head of the institute for 36 years, Ulf Beijbom, stated that the Emigrant Institute is not a museum but that it became necessary to arrange an exhibition to meet the demands of the public.³

Exhibitions, such as the one at the Swedish Emigration Institute, are often used as a complement to the teaching of history in the schools. At the same time they are a, so to speak, separate element in the education of history for the private visitor. For those who are no longer in school the exhibition plays an important part in mediating a history, influencing the individual's concept of identity and promoting basic social values such as democracy and humanism, just as it does for students visiting the exhibitions with their teachers. The history presented at the museum could thus be seen as, and used as, a very pragmatic tool in promoting fundamental values and views of a democratic society.

Anyone who works with mediation of history, in whichever arena of society, has to deal with problems and decisions of a didactical nature. Sometimes, it seems, these decisions are very consciously made from a certain ideological or political point of view and in the hope of obtaining a certain result. At other times, it seems, the decisions, for many different reasons, are formed by other factors, or even, seemingly, by chance. Anyone who is the 'recipient' of this mediation of history is influenced by these decisions. The picture of history that is presented - the product as it were

- is according to professor of history Klas-Göran Karlsson influenced or shaped by economic, social, ideological, cultural and political factors.⁴ These are thus factors to take into consideration when trying to analyse an arena for mediating history, an arena such as the Swedish Emigrant Institute.

The Swedish Emigrant Institute has, like most institutions of this sort, ever since the start struggled with problems of funding. The Institute receives financial allowances from the state, the local authorities, and the county council. In 2002 the allowance from the state was 440,000 SEK.⁵ From the county council they received 780,000 SEK and from the local authorities 752 000. 'The friends of the Emigrant Institute' contributed with 177,515 SEK. Ulf Beijbom, the former head of the Institute, labels the allowance from the state almost symbolical these days.⁶ The financial situation is naturally a factor that influences and sometimes bluntly limits the possibilities of putting new visions into concrete form.

My thesis will eventually thus concern mediation of history in society and school today, the Swedish Emigrant Institute being the case study. Questions in focus will be: What values are promoted to the public and to students in the Swedish school today, via the museum? How is history used and mediated and from what perspectives? In connection with this I find it interesting to see how the Swedish Emigration Institute address the principles of class, ethnicity, generation and gender. Furthermore: What is the correspondence between recent academic

research and the history presented at the museum, and what are the connections between the academic world, the museum and the subject taught in school?

My thesis will look at several aspects of the work at the Swedish Emigrant Institute. Here, however, I will concentrate on a critical analysis of the material provided on the home page of the Institute. The pedagogical material is intended for students, teachers and anyone in the general public interested in emigration history. The material on these pages is not very extensive. The idea is to provide a background to the emigration to America and to give students and teachers pointers on how they can continue to work with the topic of emigration.

Analysis

The material provided by the Institute on the web pages is structured as can be seen in Appendix 1. The pages are in Swedish and in Appendix 2 I give a more detailed description of the content of these pages. Here, however, I will merely discuss the results of my analysis and from this it should also become clear what the content is.

In the introduction to the material there is a short discussion on why the subject of emigration is so interesting for us today but the perspective is that of a person from Småland. Anyone who has an immigrant background or comes from a part of Sweden where the emigration was not so common does probably not feel included in this group with a common history. Perhaps this makes it more difficult for a student

to connect to this history and to move on to see parallels to emigrants and refugees today. Another risk run is that the Institute is not seen as inclusive, despite its statements to the contrary. If the intention of the Institute is to help individuals find their own place in history and find a meaning in historical events these are issues that need to be thought through. At the same time the introduction probably does attract those who actually do recognise themselves in this group to start thinking, from a historical perspective, on their own family history.

The concentration on the mass emigration to America in the 19th century is obvious on these pages. Several aspects of the mass-emigration are discussed and in some cases parallels are drawn to our present time. In the material itself there is however virtually nothing about *immigration* to Sweden, immigration in general or integration. Obviously the outspoken aim of the institute to include immigrants and immigration in their work is not yet implemented fully in the material provided. These aspects are left to the students to ponder over on their own or for the teacher to supplement to the discussion. If there are any possibilities for teachers to further educate themselves in the subject of immigration within the framework of the Swedish Emigrant Institute is something that remains to be explored.

The image of the Sweden the emigrants left is sketched very lightly, in broad outline. The causes behind why people chose to emigrate are simply labelled 'unsatisfactory conditions' and 'bad times'. Also, it is stated, people

wanted to get away from negative circumstances concerning economy, politics and religion. In this section the concepts of proletarianization, industrialization or urbanization are not brought into the discussion about causes for migration and emigration.

The increase in population, however, plays a prominent part in the explanation of what forced the pace of emigration. Why an increase in population in Sweden was bad is however not so easy to understand from the text. This explanation is one-dimensional and short. It is pulled out of a greater context and not analysed thoroughly. A contextualized explanation is needed here for pedagogical reasons and lest the students should think of today's society and conclude that immigration leads to a population increase that by definition is not good for Sweden.

The explanation of the increase in population as the main cause for the emigration deserves a more thorough discussion and will be a case study for this article. The Institute has chosen to use the traditional explanation of how it was 'the peace, the vaccine and the potato' that were the causes for the population increase that forced many Swedes to leave their country and seek opportunities to support themselves elsewhere. This phrase has been repeated so many times that it has become almost cut in stone. It was the taken-for-granted truth for many years that these three factors promoted the increase in population in the countryside of Sweden, in the first half of the 19th century, that in turn left very many people impoverished and pauperised. Following this

line of reasoning; at this point many, supposedly, had no other choice than to uproot themselves and emigrate.

But historical researchers have actually for a long time now tried to change the prevailing picture of 19th century Sweden as a poor country with a stagnated economy and problemize the above explanation. Christer Winberg states in his dissertation *Folkökning och proletarisering* already in 1975 that to refer only to the causes of the peace, the vaccine and the potato is to place too much emphasis on decreased mortality. He instead turns his focus to the circumstances of what age people (of different social standing) married and had children, and fertility.⁷ He also challenges the theory that proletarianization was a result of the all too rapid population-increase in relation to the expansion of agriculture. This, Winberg states, is an all too convenient explanation that allows for researchers to avoid the economic and social aspects of the problem.⁸

Winberg and Lars Magnusson in *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia* emphasize the Agrarian revolution, that began in the late 18th century, with its technical innovations, re-organizations of production and the introduction of new crops, and foremost, increased clearing of new land, the division of homesteads and the emergence of a market for products and labor, as the main cause of social diversification and proletarianization.⁹ Since Magnusson can show that industry and agriculture at this time was in an expanding phase, agriculture albeit at a slower pace, he means that it is not so self-evident that people should have felt the

need to emigrate in order to survive.¹⁰ Magnusson sums all this up by stating that the traditional way of explaining the causes for emigration and that the emigration was an outlet that saved the nation as a whole from major problems is 'an example of a contra factory hypothesis that in retrospect is impossible to get an answer to.'¹¹

The traditional way of explaining the causes of the emigration is clearly outdated and unsatisfactory. The picture is more complicated and the information on the home page has obviously not been revised in an effort to follow recent results of historical research in this area, or at least offer some additional explanations concerning this issue.

Unclear, in the material provided by SEI, is also the picture of America – the receiving country – and why so many chose to move here instead of to, for example, Australia or Argentina. The reader practically only gets to know that it was 'above all the positive things in America that attracted [people]. They travelled to something new and possibly better.'¹² There is nothing on the trade cycles, depressions and booms that influenced the emigrants and attracted certain emigrants to certain areas. In connection with this there could have been a discussion on gendered pull-effects. Not until the section on women (the Swedish maids), and some in the description of three famous (male) emigrants, do we get to know something more concrete of what attracted emigrants to the new country. No discussion is conducted here on a more over-all level and there is nothing on ethnic relations or assimilation.

The Institute on its home page has chosen to deal with gender by adding a separate section concerning female emigrants to North America. The traditional (and fictional) emigrant-woman Kristina is mentioned in one of the sections but other than that the information is completely male dominated. It is also only in the section *Emigration to Other Countries* that the Institute endeavour to explain any of the processes at hand in terms of class stratification. The poor people that could not afford a ticket across the Atlantic emigrated to areas closer to home, in Europe. (Here the words 'urbanization' and 'assimilation' are used). In the rest of the material the reader is more or less presented only with success-stories. This is particularly evident in the section *Famous Swedish-Americans*. Only the short remark on the people who had to be rescued from South-America at the expense of the state gives a clue to the fact that there were indeed many people for whom the emigration experience was not a success but ended in utter failure and devastation. There is furthermore nothing on why many people (approx. 200 000) who actually returned back home, re-migrated, after some years abroad.

The Swedish Emigrant Institute has chosen to present emigration on these pages on a concentrated and simplified level. There is a line or two on migration but there is no major effort to put the mass-emigration to the USA in the 19th century into a larger context. (This is true for the pages for the students. On the pages probably intended for grown-ups and teachers – *The Bank of Knowledge* - there is the somewhat more

extensive section *Emigration to Other Countries*.) We get to know some about Vikings and New Sweden and some about seasonal workers and emigrants to Denmark and Germany. There is, however, no effort to discuss migration as streams or currents leading both in and out of Sweden, all through history, in a system connecting many countries and regions, or to pointing out waves of emigration as processes limited in time and space in a larger pattern.¹³ The fact that the emigrants who ended up in Europe and are called 'the forgotten emigrants' finally get their place in the discussion is most welcome news. At the same time it is easy to wonder whether it is not in fact the Swedish Emigrant Institute that is to blame, at least to some extent, for contributing to the neglecting of this group in the writing of history.

The purpose of the material is in several cases to get the students to think about how they themselves would act in a similar situation to the one the emigrants were in and draw a parallel to the immigrants they can meet in Sweden today. This is an admirable effort to make students see the connection between past, present and future in historical knowledge. This method seems to work but there is no effort to move further and discuss why people today move to Sweden rather than leave the country. There is no section on what has actually happened in Sweden that has turned it into a country for immigration rather than emigration.

Discussion

The pedagogical material that can be reached via the homepage of SEI is thus

to a large extent limited in time, geographical space and focus. Possible reasons for this could be that the space on the page is limited or that the Institute has not had time or funds to work more thoroughly with this task. Another possibility is that these choices have been made for pedagogical reasons. In this case we must ask if in fact short and simplified explanations are in fact pedagogical in the sense that they make history easier to understand? Is it not true that even grade-school students need more thorough explanations, many aspects and perhaps even contrasting points of views in order to understand complex processes? To simplify things too much could turn out to have serious consequences for the understanding of history.

The Swedish Emigrant Institute, besides providing material on the home page, also invites schools to visit the House of Emigrants and it is possible to choose to only visit the exhibitions or to take part in a lesson with a member of the staff. Such a lesson ought to provide excellent opportunities to supplement the information on the web pages. There are different alternatives to choose from depending on whether the students are in grade school or high school. There are also tasks for students connected to the exhibition.

This analysis has shown that the material on the home page deals very little with immigrants and their history in connection to the Swedish history of emigration. Today's migration- and emigration-historians talk a lot about proletarianization, industrialization and urbanization. None of these concepts are discussed on the web pages. Ethni-

city is addressed only in the suggestions for topics for discussion and tasks that are connected to the paragraphs of the section *For Grades 4-6*. There is little information about women, and virtually nothing on migration as a consistent pattern or on Sweden as a country for immigration. All of these topics are very much in focus in today's society. I would argue that each of these issues deserves a place in the material provided by SEI.

It is true that this analysis of the material on the home page has been very critical in order to highlight areas of emigration research that has been neglected in the material provided on these pages. However, I think it is a great idea and an obvious task for an institution such as SEI to in fact provide material for students in exhibitions and on the internet. It is very important that institutions such as SEI function, to some extent, as extended classrooms and take part in the mediation and discussion of history in society in order to promote the fundamental values of a democracy. It now remains to discuss if these critical observations and the call for a more up-to-date revision of this material are in fact too critical and perhaps unjust. What can really be asked of an institution such as the Swedish Emigrant Institute? Can they be expected to continuously keep up with the latest scholarly research in their pedagogical material and their exhibitions? This would certainly cost money and SEI and similar institutions struggle with funding. Is there a solution to this problem?

Furthermore, is it possible to be

pedagogical and at the same time offer multi-faceted explanations and a more intricate course of events? The material on the home page is partly directed to grade-school children from ages 10-12, but also to teachers and the general public. Is it justifiable to simplify things for people to quickly get an idea of what it is all about? And in that case, what does this simplification involve? The Swedish Emigrant Institute has obviously chosen to present simplified versions of explanations and processes at the expense, sometimes, of recent scholarly findings. How are things at other institutions? Is there a way around these difficulties? Or is there in fact an unsolvable conflict between a pedagogic presentation and keeping up with the many aspects of recent scholarly research?

Appendix 1.

Structure of pedagogical material provided on the Home Page of the Swedish Emigrant Institute

For students

- Bibliography
- Reading Suggestions
- Bank of Knowledge
- The Emigration from Sweden
- The Peace, the Vaccine and the Potatoes
- Are Karl-Oskar and Kristina the Truth?
- Emigrant Agents
- Famous Swedish-Americans
- The Emigration to Other Countries

For Grades 4-6

- What is Emigration?
- The Emigration to America
- How did they Travel?
- Where did they Live?
- The America Trunk
- Swedish -named Places in America
- Women's Emigration
- The Adventure of New Sweden
- The Viking Era
- Early Emigration
- Swedish Culture in the USA
- Not Only America
- America-letters
- Diaries

For teachers

(translated into English by Cecilia Axelsson)

Appendix 2.

Pedagogical material at SEI

A forum for pedagogical activities for SEI is the home page on the internet.¹⁴ Under the headline **For Students** anyone can find material to work with either in connection to a visit to the museum or on their own. Sub headlines are *Bibliography*, *Reading Suggestions*, *Bank of Knowledge*, *For Grades 4-6* and *For Teachers*.

Under *Bibliography for students* there is a short, one page long, presentation of the Emigration to America. As an introduction there is a presentation of cultural imprints inspired by emigration – the novels by Vilhelm Moberg, the movies by Jan Troell and the musical *Kristina från Duvemåla* – and the question why we are so fascinated by this history is raised. The answer given is; perhaps because so many have a personal connection to this history:

In almost every family there are stories about those who left for America, there are America-mementoes in the form of cards or letters. Sometimes we have 'America-company', some distant relative comes to visit from the great country in the West.¹⁵

It becomes quite clear that the page addresses a person from this part of the country, probably a person from Småland, and references are made to something that all people from Småland ('Smälänningar') supposedly have in common. It is also quite clear from the introduction that it is the mass-emigration to America that is in focus.

The similarities between the emigration to America and the immigration

of today are briefly touched upon in the next section where the writer (writers?) of the text continue to contemplate; 'One does not seize to wonder about what made the ancestors leave their lives for an uncertain existence far away. And today Sweden is the receiving country of people who for different reasons flee their own country'.¹⁶ With this remark the connection to immigration is left off for the time being. Finally, in the last section, you can read about the 150-year anniversary of the mass-emigration to America and what the extent was of this wave in time (1846-1930) and in number of emigrants (1,3 million). The brief introduction to the subject is concluded with the statement that much has changed during these 150 years both in Sweden and in the country the emigrants travelled to, and in the way to get there.

The text, it is stated, is intended for both teachers who want to extend their knowledge about emigration and others who are interested in the history of emigration. It must be the *Bank of Knowledge* that is intended here. The level of concept of the text and information in this section is so high that a student in for example grades 4-6 could hardly understand the content without a lot of help. Perhaps not even a student in the later stages of grade school or junior high school. Some concepts, like *religious intolerance*¹⁷, the *Homestead Act of 1862* and the *depression* after all demand some explanation, as do some other words difficult for students this age (*lokalagent, dellikvid*). At the same time it is possible to question if not most teachers know as much about

this history as to make this summary unnecessary, with the exception perhaps of the section on *Emigration to Other Countries*.

The *Bank of Knowledge*, which is stated to be under construction, has the following sub-headlines: *The Emigration from Sweden, The Peace, the Vaccine and the Potatoes, Are Karl-Oscar and Kristina True? Emigrant Agents, Famous Swedish-Americans* and *The Emigration to Other Countries*. The first section - *The Emigration from Sweden* - talks about from what the emigrants moved, what they hoped to find, where they came from in Sweden and where in the USA they settled. All very briefly. The cause that ended the wave of mass-emigration in the 1930s was the depression. The cause of the rise of the wave was the fact that people moved away from 'political incapacity', religious intolerance and bad times in Sweden that coincided with good times in America.

As a main cause for the emigration the Institute brings forward the increase of population in Sweden. In the section *The Peace, the Vaccine and the Potatoes* a simplified explanation is presented of the processes in the end of the 18th century and beginning of the 19th century that indeed led to a population increase but also a structural transformation of society. Sweden's wars against Russia and Prussia in the 18th and 19th centuries are here compared to 'adventures'.

In the next section the picture of Karl-Oskar and Kristina as the typical emigrants is problemized. The reader is made aware that the novels by Vilhelm Moberg describe a certain time of the mass-emigration era, the early part,

and a special group of the population that were drawn to emigrate at this particular time. The railroad and the steamship supplement the image of the horse and wagon, and the construction worker and the maid supplement the image of the settler. The text states: 'To gain the true picture of the emigration to America nothing should be removed from the novels of Vilhelm Moberg but instead many other images should be added to them.'¹⁸ The section on the emigrant agents shows the whole enterprise that the emigration process turned into and the reader gets an idea of how several different steps of the journey had to be undertaken before the emigrant finally reached a destination.

In the section *Famous Swedish-Americans* the personal histories of men like Johan Olof Liedberg – the first Swedish gold-digger in California, Alexander Samuel – the forgotten designer of the Coca-Cola bottle and Edwin 'Buzz' Aldrin Jr – the second man on the moon, are presented. It is all about men.

The Emigration to Other Countries gives the reader a more diversified picture of the emigration from Sweden. Especially in the first part about Europe the mass emigration to America is put into a wider context. This short section deals with the migration to and from Sweden from 1830 and on. This means that the era of mass migration can be seen as a periodical intensification and a turn of the tide in the migration-exchange that had been going on earlier in Europe and that was resumed later on. Also the fact that different categories of people chose to emigrate to different places is made

clear here. The poor who could not afford the ticket to the USA perhaps chose to travel to Germany instead. In this section the discussion concerns labor migration, seasonal labor, a high level of urbanization, women's work and single migrants. The statistics around this emigration is most uncertain.

The migration to Australia, Brazil, Canada, South Africa and St Petersburg also gets some room here. This material is almost clearer than the material on the USA in the sense that it gives specific reasons for the emigration. It is however mostly 'pull-effects', that which attracted, that are brought forward. The reader gets to know what groups of people mostly went to these countries, what they came to work with and some about how assimilation in the new country (or the repatriation to the homeland at the expense of the state) worked out. This concludes the material that is directed towards teachers.

In *Grades 4-6* the material and the tasks are presented in a more easily comprehensible way, but also in a very simplified manner. Initially the word migration is explained. The emigration to America, it is stated, is a part of Sweden's history of migration just as today's immigration to Sweden is another. The following pages are structured so that the reader gets a short in-depth glance into a few aspects, for example why people emigrated, how people travelled, where the emigrants lived in the new country etc. After each text there are a couple of questions for discussion and some 'research tasks'. In the questions for discussion the Institute has seized the opportunity to connect

the emigration to present time and the students' background. Some examples of questions are 'Would you like to move to another country?', "How would it feel to leave relatives and friends?", and 'How has travelling from Sweden to America changed from the middle of the 19th century to today?'. The 'research tasks' mainly involve looking at the map and drawing routes of travel or finding the states and areas where most Swedes moved. After the section on the 'America-trunk' the children are asked to think up what they would pack in such a trunk, and so on.

Another connection to the present is the section on Swedish place names in the USA. This means getting closer to the question of what imprints the emigration from Sweden made in the USA. A post-stamp from Upsala, Minn illustrates the section. Several of the sections on these pages have a picture for illustration.

The women get a section of their own. Here the focus is on the unmarried women that emigrated to the major cities to work as maids. There is a comparison of the situation they left in Sweden and the situation they met in the new society.

The two following sections a bit unexpectedly deal with *The Adventure of New Sweden* and *The Viking Era*. There is a leap between the maids in Chicago at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries and the Delaware of the 17th century. In the section about the Viking age the Institute wants to point out the fact that already in this era Swedes left their homes to emigrate but that the journeys then were to the East: 'The Viking raids

were part of the extensive trading of that time and as an effect of this we can trace the first visible emigrants from Sweden.'¹⁹ Here the difference in documentation is brought up; the fact that the emigration to the USA is well documented while the Vikings at best only left rune-stones, is pointed out.

The next section is more person-oriented and shows examples of three famous emigrants – Gustav Unonius, Peter Cassel and Erik Jansson – and their different reasons for leaving Sweden. The sometimes highly colored letters they sent home to Sweden attracted many followers. After this the next section deals with Swedish culture in America and the students get to know a little about how many of Swedish ancestry are estimated to live in the USA today, a little about the multi cultural USA and a little about how the Swedes tried to preserve their own culture through churches, organisations, sports clubs and newspapers. Today, it is stated, much of this culture has disappeared but it is still possible to visit Swedish churches, read a Swedish newspaper and celebrate Lucia in the Swedish communities. The 'research task' after this section is a self-evident connection to our society today (but perhaps a difficult task for a student in grades 4-6?): 'How do the immigrants to Sweden today maintain their culture?'

The section *Not only America* supplements the concentration on the emigration to the USA. Here Canada, Australia, Brazil and Argentina are mentioned. The fact that the number of emigrants to these places was so small seems to be the reason why this emigra-

tion does not get more space. The great emigration to Denmark and Germany is mentioned as the largest one besides the emigration to America. Here seasonal workers and labor migrants are discernible. These emigrants are called 'our forgotten emigrants'. In fact they were almost 400,000.

The material is concluded with letters from America and excerpts from diaries whereby students can get really close to the people who emigrated to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean.

Notes

¹ *Emigranten*, Organ för Emigrantinstitutets Vänner och Svenska Emigrantinstitutet, Växjö 2003 (my translation)² Beijbom, Ulf (ed) *Utvandrarnas Hus – The House of Emigrants – En kort historik om emigrationsinstitutet – A presentation of the Emigrant Institute*, Växjö (1985) p 13, (my translation)

³ Beijbom: 3.

⁴ Karlsson, Klas-Göran 'Historiedidaktik och historievetenskap – ett spänningsfyllt förhållande' in *Historiedidaktik* (red) Christer Karlsgård & Klas-Göran Karlsson Studentlitteratur, Lund (1997) p 12.

⁵ All financial data from *Svenska Emigrantinstitutet Verksamheten 2002*, Utvandrarnas Hus, Växjö

⁶ Interview with Ulf Beijbom 2003-12-16, unpublished

⁷ Winberg, Christer Folkökning och proletarisering. Kring den sociala strukturomvandlingen på Sveriges landsbygd under den agrara revolutionen, Bo Cavefors Bokförlag, Lund (1977) p 268.

⁸ Winberg f

⁹ Winberg p 269, Magnusson, Lars *Sveriges Ekonomiska Historia* Prisma, Stockholm (1997) p 203, 209-211.

¹⁰ Magnusson:308

¹¹ Magnusson f (my translation)

¹² <http://www.swemi.nu/kunskapsbanken> (2004-01-13)

¹³ For a discussion on migration as a large pattern and streams of migration as waves limited in time and space, see Sassen, Saskia *Gäster och främlingar*, Daidalos, Göteborg (1996)

¹⁴ www.swemi.nu. This analysis is based on the information and material provided via this page on 2004-01-13. All citations and examples are translated by me.

¹⁵ <http://www.swemi.nu/bibliografi> (2004-01-13)

¹⁶ <http://www.swemi.nu/bibliografi> (2004-01-13)

¹⁷ In the text the Swedish term 'ofördragsamhet' is used for 'intolerance', an archaic word

¹⁸ <http://www.swemi.nu/kunskapsbanken> (2004-01-13)

¹⁹ <http://www.swemi.nu/for> (2004-01-13)

Immigration to Sweden: Success or Failure?

Jan Ekberg

How immigration affects the welfare state is often a question in political debate and among the public. Will immigration be a contribution or a burden?

How the welfare system is affected depends mainly on the immigrants age structure and to what extent immigrants are integrated on the labour market. The age structure among immigrants is more favourable than among natives. The immigrants have usually a low proportion old people and a high proportion at ages where you usually are on the labour market. Between 1950 and 1980 immigration made an overall positive contribution to the welfare state, when there was high employment. Since then their labour market position has deteriorated. Therefore their use of public transfers has increased and at the same time their contribution to the tax system has decreased. So, nowadays they are a burden on the welfare system. However, the situation can change. If the employment rate among immigrants can be raised to the same level as natives then the immigrants will again be net contributors to the welfare system.

Introduction

During the post-war years the number of immigrants in Sweden increased rapidly. In 1940 the proportion of foreign-born persons within the total population of the country only amounted to 1 per cent. The corresponding proportion in the beginning of this millennium is nearly 12 per cent that is somewhat more than 1 million individuals. About 50 per cent of the foreign born individuals living in Sweden today have acquired Swedish citizenship. Moreover, there is a growing group of so-called second generation immigrants; that is, children born in Sweden with at least one parent born abroad. This group amounts to more than 800,000 individuals today. Thus, the total number of the first

and the second generation immigrants amounts to nearly 1.9 millions individuals. This is 20 per cent of the total population in Sweden.

Major changes can be seen in immigration patterns. Until the mid-1970s immigration was primarily a matter of labour force immigration mostly from Europe. There were also small groups of refugees from Eastern Europe that arrived at the end of the 1950s and 1960s. A relatively large number of these immigrants found their way to the manufacturing sector as blue-collar workers. The manufacturing sector in Sweden was able to expand during the 1950s and the 1960s with the help of immigrant labour force. According to the 1970 census about 90 per cent of

foreign-born persons living in Sweden were born in Europe. In general, it can be said that from the late 1940s to the mid 1970s there was a strong connection between annual immigration and the labour market. Large number of immigrants arrived when there was a great demand for labour in the Swedish economy and the numbers dropped when the demand decreased, see Ekberg (1983) and Wadensjö (1973).

After 1975 the character of immigration has changed. The proportion of refugees and 'tied movers' (relatives of already admitted immigrants) has increased and the proportion of labour force immigrants has decreased. Immigration of labour force was basically stopped in 1972 for people born outside the Nordic countries. The door was opened to refugees and asylum-seekers from European and non-European countries. The connection between demand for labour in Sweden and immigration weakened. At the same time a great many of the former labour-force immigrants have returned home. Therefore the composition of the immigrant population living in Sweden has changed. In 2000 about 60 per cent of foreign-born persons living in Sweden were born in Europe.

The overall immigration pattern has been about the same in most other immigrant countries in Europe. Up to the mid 70s most of the immigrants were labour force immigrants. Since then the proportion of refugees and relatives has increased and many of them were born outside Europe.

Immigration may affect the income conditions of the native population in

many ways. There may be effects on the markets. Immigration may have impacts on relative prices and on employment opportunities for natives. Native groups which are substitutes to immigrant labour force may lose and native groups which are complements may benefit due to immigration. However estimations from many countries show that these effects probably have been rather negligible see eg Borjas (1994) and Ekberg (1999). Besides there may also be effects through the publicly financed redistribution of incomes. It was during the post-war period that the major components of the Swedish welfare state were developed. An important task for the welfare state is to redistribute income among different groups in the population in order to make incomes and living conditions more even. How public expenditure as part of gross national product (GNP) has changed over time is an approximative measure of the changing importance of the welfare state. In the late 1940s public sector expenditure corresponded to about 25 per cent of GNP. This increased to more than 40 per cent in 1970 and to about 60 per cent in 1990, see Ministry of Finance 1992. Since then the level has stabilized.

The public sector can redistribute incomes between immigrants and natives. The direction of this distribution depends on whether the immigrants make more/less use of the public sector than what they contribute to the system in taxes. If the immigrants contribute more/less in taxes than what they receive from the public sector there are positive/negative income effects for the native

population. Positive income effects for natives mean that their disposable incomes increase. Negative income effects for natives mean that their disposable incomes decrease.

There are two factors that are of special interest concerning how the public sector redistributes incomes between immigrants and natives. The first is the difference in age structure between the groups. The other is the employment situation for immigrants compared to natives. The age structure among immigrants differs from natives. Immigrants have a higher proportion in economic active ages (age 20-60) and a low proportion old people. This has been the case during the whole postwar period. Heavy public expenditures are directed to old people (pensions, healthcare, service for pensioners and handicapped). Large public expenditures are also directed to unemployed and individuals with a weak position on the labour market. The expenditures during one year are financed by taxes the same year. The tax burden is mainly carried by employed people. In what direction the public sector redistributes incomes between immigrants and natives is mainly a combined effect of the immigrants age composition and their position on the labour market relative to that of the natives.

The age structure in the immigrant group changes very slow over time. However, there have been great changes over time in the immigrants position on the labour market. During the last 25 years the immigrants labour market situation in Sweden has deteriorated. As a consequence their use of the public

welfare system has increased and their contribution to the tax system has decreased. In political debate and among the public there is today a fear that this will reduce the disposable incomes for natives. Weak labour market integration among immigrants and thereby negative effects for the public budget probably also creates tensions between natives and immigrants which have implications for the political system.

Immigrants in the labour market

There have been great changes in the employment situation for immigrants during the postwar period. The conclusion from many studies, eg Wadensjö (1973), Ohlsson (1975), Ekberg (1983), Scott (1999), Bevelander (2000) and Hammarstedt (2001) is that the employment situation for immigrants in Sweden was good up to the mid-1970s. There was full employment for both natives and immigrants. During long periods the immigrants' degree of employment (their employment rate)¹ even exceeded that of the natives. This was especially the case for immigrant women. Moreover, a large number of employed immigrant women worked full time, while most of the employed native Swedish women worked part time. Therefore, the annual work income per capita was high among the immigrants. The occupational mobility among these early immigrants was also about the same as among natives, see Ekberg (1990 and 1996).

At the end of the 1970s, the labour market integration among the new immigrants began to deteriorate and since then the tendency has been strengt-

hened. A great number of refugees that arrived during the 1980s never entered the labour market. This occurred despite the boom in the Swedish economy in the 1980s, despite the fact that the new immigrants were well educated and

despite the goal for the Swedish immigration policy to integrate immigrants (also refugees) to about the same extent as natives in the labour market. This goal has not been achieved. We do not know all the reasons for this development.

Table 1 Index for employment rate at the age 16-64 years. Standardised for age. Foreign born living in Sweden. Index for native born is 100.*

	Men	Women	Both sexes	Index for work income per capita age 16-64***
1950	_***	_***	120	_***
1960	100	110	105	_***
1967	_***	_***	110	122
1978	95	101	98	99
1987	90	88	89	_***
1991	84	83	83	75
1994	77	74	75	62
1999	78	75	76	64
2003	80	76	78	_***

Sources: Ekberg 1983, processed data from 1950, 1960 Swedish census and from 1987, 1991, 1994, 1999 and 2001. Data from the income register in 1991, 1994, and 1999.

*) The interpretation of the index can be expressed as follows: In 1960 the index was 105. That means that the employment rate among the foreign born was 5% higher than the employment rate among the natives. In 1994 the employment rate among the foreign born was 25% lower than among the natives.

For the years 1950, 1960 and 1967 the figures refer to foreign citizens. Most of the foreign born living in Sweden in these years had foreign citizenship.

**) Even including individuals at the age 16-64 with zero work income. There is not enough information to standardise for age and for work income.

***) No information.

It is to be noted that the tendency has been the same in many other immigrant countries. However there are large differences between the countries in the immigrants labour market situations. Investigations for the OECD-countries show that especially Netherlands,

Sweden and Denmark have very high unemployment rate among immigrants. In countries like United States, Australia and Canada the unemployment rate among immigrants is about the same as for natives, see OECD 1999, 2001.

The reasons may be discrimination, changes in the Swedish economy with increased demand for 'Sweden specific' knowledge (eg the Swedish language) to succeed on the labour market or mistakes in the Swedish integration policy. During the 1980s and up to 1991 there was still full employment in the native population. During the recession from 1992 onwards the immigrants' labour market situation, relative to that of natives, deteriorated even further. However, it seems as if at the end of the 1990s there was also a small improvement of the immigrants labour market situation. A summary of the development is given in *Table 1*. Changes in work income per capita among immigrants follow the changes in their employment rate.

Explanations

There are probably many reasons for the worse labour market position of immigrants. In Swedish research mainly the following explanations have been mentioned.

1) The risk of discrimination on the labour market has increased when the immigration pattern changed from an immigration from Europe to an immigration from countries outside Europe.

2) Structural changes in the Swedish economy made difficulties for immigrants to enter the labour market. Changes from an industrialised to a post industrial economy made higher demands on skills and knowledge that are specific for the immigrant country which in turn reduce the immigrants opportunities on the labour market. This development has run parallel with the increasingly distant ethnic and cul-

tural background of these immigrants which may contribute to the result that their human capital has been poorly adapted to the Swedish labour market. It seems to be a reasonable hypothesis that a combination of structural changes in the Swedish economy and increasingly distant ethnic and cultural background among the immigrants contribute to their difficulties on the labour market.

3) Mistakes in the Swedish integration policy on immigrants.

Integration policy

Let us in the following concentrate on the Swedish integration policy on immigrants. In the last year there has been an intensive public debate about this policy. The issue of labour market integration of refugees was one of the largest questions in the political debate before the Swedish Parliamentary election in 2002. Let us look at some components in the integration policy. The first one is institutional changes in the integration policy. The second one is a strategy to relocate refugees to different regions in Sweden.

In the middle of the 1980s the responsibility for receiving refugees was changed from AMS (Swedish National Labour Policy Board) to the Swedish Migration Board. When AMS had the responsibility the focus was on labour market integration of refugees. The Migration Board however had another philosophy once they took over. Greater emphasis was placed on social integration and that refugees first must pass special educational programs in Sweden before they were allowed to enter the

labour market. The time between arrival to Sweden and the possibility to enter the labour market was increased. Rooth (1999) showed that this waiting time had a strong negative effects on the refugees long run opportunities on the labour market.

The results stress the importance of rapid contact with the labour market rather than participate in Swedish educational programmes. In many respects the most effective way to acquire 'Sweden specific' knowledges is probably to participate in the labour market.

Moreover a new strategy of relocation of refugees was introduced in the middle of the 1980s, the so-called 'Whole Sweden strategy'. The strategy was, above all, in place from the middle of the 1980s to the middle of the 1990s but was in practice to some extent also after this period. The aim of the strategy was to relocate newly arrived refugees over the entire country.

By avoiding demographic concentration, immigrants were expected to have better opportunity of learning the Swedish language which in turn was expected to improve their chances of gaining employment. However in practice the strategy worked in another way. Refugees were often allocated to different regions based on availability of accomadation and not on opportunities to find employment. In regions with no jobs there were plenty of accomadations because of natives had moved out from these regions. Edin, Fredriksson & Åslund (2000) found that that earnings and employment level among refugees had worsened as a result of this strategy.

A longitudinal study of Bosnians

that arrived to Sweden in 1993 and 1994, carried out at Växjö university revealed that the level of of integration in the labour market, varied immensely dependent on where they were relocated see Ekberg (2004). The group of refugees arriving from Bosnia in 1993 and 1994 was very large and were relocated to about 250 of in total 289 municipalities in Sweden.

Let us look at some examples which show the extremely uneven regional employment labour market situation for the group. One exemple is the the so called small business area consisting of the municipalities Gnosjö, Gislaved, Vaggeryd and Värnamo in the west part of the county Småland. There are almost 100,000 inhabitants in these four municipalities. The economy in the area is to great extent based on small-scale industry. The unemployment in the area is usually low. Another area is Malmö municipality with about 250,000 inhabitants. The economy has undergone structural changes during the last 20 years with high unemployment. Both these areas recieved many Bosnians. Let us look at the situation in 1997 and 1999. In 1999 the Bosnian group has lived 5-6 years in Sweden.

The employment rate for the years 1997 and 1999 is shown in table 2. Already in 1997 the employment rate for Bosnian men in the small business area exceeded 75 per cent in the age 20-59. This was about the same level as for native men in average in Sweden. Also Bosnian women in this area has a good labour market position. However the situation in Malmö was very gloomy. The employment rate for Bosnian

men was less than 15 per cent and for women the situation was even worse. For Bosnian men in average in Sweden the employment rate was about 30 per cent. Between 1997 and 1999 the labour market situation for Bosnians gradually improved. However the regional differences remained and in Malmö the situation was still very gloomy. In contrast in the small business area the employment rate for Bosnians now has reached levels which is probably closed to theoretical maximum. More than 90 per cent of men and more than 80 per cent of women were employed on the labour market. This was much more higher than for natives on the average in Sweden.

It is likely that another form of allocation of refugees together with a system to transfer knowledge to different regions how to receive refugees to achieve rapid contact with the labour market would have better integrated refugees on the Swedish labour market in the 1980s and the 1990s.

Conclusions

For a long time during the postwar period there was full employment for both immigrants and natives. Up to mid 1970s immigrants were well established on the labour market. This was the case not only for labour force immigrants but also for refugees who arrived in Sweden at the end of the war, at the end of 1950s and at the end of the 1960s.

At the the end of the 1970s there were the first signs of a worse labour market situation among immigrants and since then the tendency has been strengthened. A great number of refu-

gees that arrived during the 1980s never entered the labour market. This has occurred despite the 1980s boom in the Swedish economy, despite that 1980s immigrants were better educated than former immigrants and despite the government's goal for the integration policy to integrate immigrants (also refugees) to about the same extent as natives in the labour market. In the 1990s the tendency strengthened even more and for many immigrant groups the labour market situation nowadays is desperate.

In an international comparison the immigrants in Sweden has nowadays a very high unemployment rate. Besides the immigrants labour market integration differs a lot between different immigrant groups and between different geographical areas in Sweden.

There are probably many explanations for the development. Among others there are many evidences that there have been mistakes in the Swedish integration policy. Bad labour market integration among immigrants probably also creates tensions between natives and immigrants which have implications for the political system.

The effects of the deterioration of the employment situation of the immigrants are that they nowadays use the public welfare system to a much larger extent than before. How the public sector redistributes incomes between immigrants and natives is often the matter in the political debate and among the public. There is often a fear that immigrants heavy use of the welfare system may reduce the disposable incomes for natives. In this respect the situa-

tion has changed a lot over time. We showed in table 1 that up to mid 1970's the immigrants employment rate was the same or in some periods even higher than in the native population. The immigrant population also had a favourable age composition (a smaller fraction of old age people than natives). It can be expected that in a situation where the immigrants both have a good labour market situation and a favourable age structure the immigrants contribute more to the public sector, through the tax system, than what they receive from this sector. The difference is allocated to the natives. This happened in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s and gave rise a positive income effect for natives see Wadensjö (1973) and Ekberg (1983). In the beginning of the postwar period it is likely that the positive income effect was very small. The public sector was small at that time and its ability to redistribute incomes between different parts of the population was small. When the public sector expanded its redistribution ability increased. In the beginning of the 1970s the yearly positive income effect probably amounted to 1-2 per cent of the Swedish GNP. The situation changed when the employment situation for the immigrants deteriorated. At the end of the 80s the yearly positive income effect disappeared, see Gustafsson (1990). Nowadays there is a negative income for natives that is to say that the immigrants contribute less to the tax system than what they receive from the public sector. At present the yearly negative income effect is 1-2 per cent of the gross national product that is to say approximately 30-40 SEK billions see Ekberg (1999).

We can say that the present price for the bad labour market integration of immigrants is about 30-40 SEK billions per year. So, it is important also for natives that immigrants are better integrated into the labour market.

A very important issue for the future is the labour market position for the second generation immigrants. In the last years some investigations have been conducted in Sweden, see eg. Ekberg (1997), Vilhelmsson (2000) and Österberg (2000). These studies show that second generation immigrants who are born before 1970 have about the same employment rate and about the same work income as natives in the same age groups and with both parents born in Sweden. These second generation immigrants are children to those who immigrated in the 1950s and the 1960s and who were well integrated into the labour market. The pattern seems to be the same for their children. However the situation is probably more pessimistic for later immigration waves. Many immigrants in these waves were not integrated in the labour market. Recent studies indicate that the same pattern exists for their children born in Sweden see Ekberg & Rooth (2003).

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Notes

- ¹ The degree of employment in a population-group is usually measured as the employment rate in the age 16-64 or sometimes in the age 20-59. The employment rate is the part in percent in an age class which is on the labour market.

Internal Migration and Emigration- a Micro Historical Perspective

Solveig Fagerlund

In this article I am trying to show what contribution a micro historical perspective on migration in nineteenth-century Sweden can give to an interdisciplinary discussion on today's migration. International migration is a matter of interest for most scientific disciplines. The perspective on the study of migration, as well as the methods and consequently, the dominant theories and the way of interpreting result differs depending on if it is an anthropological, a demographical or a political research. Interdisciplinary efforts are necessary and have been made.¹ What contribution in an interdisciplinary discussion can a historical perspective give and how far back shall we go?

The political scientist James F Hollifield, thinks that is important to put, what he, somewhat doubtfully, calls the immigrant crisis into historical perspective. What he means is that the international migration have led to political crises in many countries and perhaps could be seen as a threat to the sovereignty and integrity of nation-states. His historical perspective goes as far back as the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 from where Max Weber has formulated his definition of sovereignty that a state can exist only if it has monopoly of the legitimate use of force in a given territorial area. From this it would follow that the ability or inability to control its borders is the cornerstone of the sovereignty of a state.²

The historian Lesley Page Moch also takes the period around 1650 as her

starting point in describing migration in Western Europe. In her excellent study, she challenges the common picture of a sedentary rural society. People all over Europe was on the move, she writes, "and where and why they travels tells us a good bit about the past and about the pressures and processes that produced the world with which we are familiar".³

When we talk about international migration of course we have to deal with the nation-state, but not only states have tried to control their borders. Looking at the Swedish history we can mention the medieval city laws of Stockholm from ca 1350 which stated that the municipal council should have 6 councillors, of whom half could be chosen among the German-speaking *burghers*. This law was changed in 1471

when the Germans were forbidden to participate in the city council. This time the question of citizenship was regarding the city elite. More often it was the citizenship of the poor that was put into question.

Some economist and demographers formulate the so-called immigration crisis in terms of fear in the receiving countries with highly developed welfare states, that immigrants will become an unfair burden on the public purse.⁴ This fear is not something new.

During early modern times and lasting into modern times, local authorities have tried hard to control their borders from the entry of poor people. To be permitted to beg in a certain town, you often had to belong to it, otherwise you could be banished. From an anthropological or a sociological view, the immigration 'crisis' can be formulated as 'fear of the other', or fear of the unknown and those who are different. This fear is not something new either. In the medieval and early modern towns, certain ethnic groups and certain professions were looked upon as dishonest and therefore the people who held these professions were not welcome to live in the towns. Thus the construction of *the other* was built upon the definition of honour. This early construction of *the other* has survived into modern times and can in some way explain why the gypsies and the tinkers have been seen as dishonest, undesirable and also why many of them still live as nomads in the country of their birth.

Most of the migration studies about Sweden in the nineteenth century have

focused on emigration to America. Some studies have been carried through on emigration to other countries and on the seasonal labour migration between Sweden and Germany and between different regions in Sweden. The largest migration movement during most part of the nineteenth century, however, took place within regions. Not only in Sweden, but also in most of pre-industrial Europe, there existed considerable local migration that was 'an integral part of rural folkways, permeating systems of family and marriage' and 'a key element of the life cycle for rural people.'⁵ This local mobility consisted mostly of unmarried farm hands and young families that moved within the parish borders or between neighbouring parishes. Although the gross migration was extensive, the net migration was of minor importance.⁶ The question of why servants moved so often between different masters has been raised. Ann Kussmal has tried to explain it by the words: "Because nothing stopped them".⁷

Even if this is not a sufficient explanation, it is worth considering these words. In a world where improved modes of transportation, as well as the images that are transmitted by means of modern communications, have shortened the social distance between sending and receiving societies, anthropologists have begun to look upon population movements in terms of transnationalism. Transnationalism is defined as a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress geographic, political, and cultural borders. From a transnational perspective, migrants are

not uprooted, but move freely back and forth across national borders. The immigrants are involved in the nation building of more than one state, thus national identities are not only blurred, but also negotiated or constructed.⁸ Does this mean that the international migration of today and the national migration in the nineteenth century have more similarities than differences?

Like other 'developed' countries, Sweden has a history of times of migration, times when immigrants were recruited for industry and times of restricted immigrant laws. This highlights a problem concerning the development of theory mentioned by Charles B Keely, a social demographer. Voluntary migration is usually used synonymously with terms like economic migration contrasted to forced or involuntary migration caused by man-made or natural disasters.⁹ But when is migration voluntary and when is it forced?

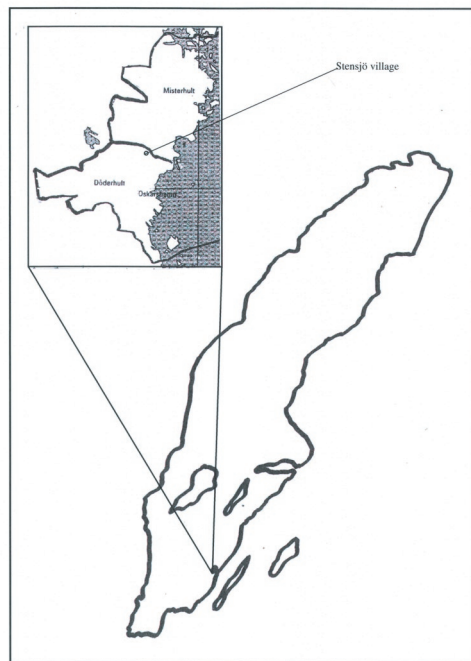
The study of migration through history reveals that the intentions of the authorities are not always the same as the migrants. When the industrial nations in Europe suffered labour shortage, foreign workers were recruited, but when the need was filled, the migration continued. The Swiss novelist Max Frisch, has formulated the words well suited for the development "We asked for workers but human beings came".¹⁰

During the 1960s economic life in Sweden underwent large structural rationalizations, which involved internal migration from the northern to the southern parts of the country. The reaction from the people in Norrland, who felt that they were forced by the

authorities to move, was articulated in the, since then, well used slogan 'Vi flytt int' (We're not moving).

Whether it concerns the political and economic control of a territory, the question of national identities and the fear of the other, or how migrants experience community, and how the labour market influences the migration flow, the examples above shows that most disciplines can benefit from a historical perspective in the study of migration.

The object of my study is *Stensjö village*, situated in the parish of Döderhult in the county of Kalmar in South East Sweden.¹¹ During the first half of the 1900th century, the population rose steadily. In 1830 the population was 130, in the 1870s it reached its peak of 180 people. From that on it decreased steadily, and in 1950 there were only 70 people left in the village.¹²



The map shows where in Sweden Stensjö village is situated

Between 1861 and 1892 not less than 20 per cent of the population was on the move. This meant that on an average fifteen persons moved out from the village, fifteen moved into the village and five persons moved within the village every year.¹³ Many of those people were young farmhands, but there were also a number of married farm workers and their families. Most of the people moved within the parish, but during some periods the migration to and from the neighbouring parish Misterhult was almost as high, and sometimes even higher than the one within the parish. This could of course be easily explained by proximity. Stensjö is situated by the parish border to Misterhult. The migration numbers, however, also raise questions about the meaning of community. The parish, with the church at its centre, is in many ways looked upon as the natural community. The parishes in Sweden derive from the twelfth and thirteenth century. Their borders correspond with the spiritual communities from these days, and also with the at the contemporary borders of the landed properties. During the medieval and early modern time, however, landed properties were exchanged, while the parish, and consequently the administrative borders remain the same.

In the sixteenth century there existed two farms in Stensjö, one a freehold, the other in royal possession. In the middle of the seventeenth century both farms were in the possession of the noble family Hammarskjöld at Virbo, not more than five kilometers as the crow flies from Stensjö, but on the other side of the parish border. In the beginning

of the eighteenth century the peasant family at the freehold came in possession of the farm but remained in subordinate position to the noble man for at least another hundred years as half tenants and half freeholders.¹⁴ The economic bonds between the tenant and the nobleman in terms of obligation to work at the manor and hold horse and carry would have meant many opportunities to establish social networks across the parish border. To some extent, and for some time 'the community' for people in Stensjö, could have been Virbo and its surroundings to a higher extent than Döderhult's parish.

From the end of the eighteenth century, the population in Stensjö rose and the farms were divided. The freehold farm, although divided, remained principally in the possession of the same family until the beginning of the twentieth century. The farm owned by Hammarskjöld was also divided and parts of it sold to tenants. Looking at the two parts separated, it turns out that the freehold farms were not so much affected by migration as the farms and cottages originally owned by the nobility. In this part of what in the nineteenth century had become a village, the properties were exchanged more often, the tenants, the farmhands and workers moved more often. In this part there also started small industries. One sawmill and one brickyard were started in the 1860s but were closed before 1900. These industries affected the net migration between 1860 and 1893. So, the socio-economic structure in terms of possession of land had a high influence on the migration flow.¹⁵

This does not mean that the parochial community was obsolete in all respects. In religious, administrative and economic meaning it was very important. It was among other things responsible for the poor relief. In the nineteenth century, the Swedish farmers played an important role in the parish board. In many ways they tried to get control over the poor people in the parish. One way was to stop immigration of poor people.¹⁶ The legislation in the nineteenth century served the farmers' and the industries' need of temporary labour, implying the freedom for the individual to move wherever he or she chose to look for employment. This free movement was restricted for the poor by the domiciliary right - *hemortsrätten*, which meant that responsibility for the poor rested on the parish where he or she had been recently registered for a certain, stipulated time.

The consequences of this legislation for some poor people were that they could be sent between parishes that denied being the poor peoples proper domicile. For some poor, unhealthy young persons, or unwedded mothers, the only solution was to be supported by their old parents.¹⁷ One young man, Nils Nilsson, with the notation 'unhealthy' in the catechetical meeting records, and his sister, the unmarried mother Sara Lena in Stensjö, moved away from home, as most young people did in the 1870s, but came back and lived with their parents in the beginning of the 1880s.¹⁸ The fear of the poor moving from parish to parish in the nineteenth century is similar to today's fear in the receiving countries with highly developed welfare

states, that immigrants will become an unfair burden on the public purse.¹⁹ The difference is that the borders have changed, from parochial, to national. To the individuals it implies today, as then, that their opportunities to support themselves are and were reduced.

At the end of the century, concurrently with the declining rural economy, increasing industrialization and urbanisation, as well as the extension of the railroads, internal migration (the moving from farm to farm) was replaced by immigration to the nearby city of Oskarshamn and more distant destinations, like Stockholm and America. Compared with the internal migration, the emigration to America from Stensjö was low. (41 persons between 1854 and 1925) Yet in terms of net migration, it was considerable, because it was young unmarried people, or families with many children that emigrated. Together with the emigration from the rest of the parish, and county, it meant that the recruitment base for young farmhands that could move from farm to farm was reduced. The people that emigrated from Stensjö were mostly farmhands, workers or sons and daughters of crofters or tenants. Some of them left Stensjö alone, but with the help of the catechetical records, we can see that they moved at the same time as siblings or other relatives, or with other people from the place of their birth. Like the internal migration, the emigration to America took place mostly from the part of the villages that used to be owned by the nobility.

Borders are shaped and reshaped through history. Sometimes they cor-

respond to people's needs and sometimes they serve as an obstacle to their movement. As Leslie Page Moch has stated, people in Europe have been crossing borders for a long time. In nineteenth century Sweden farmers recruited farmhands from across the parish borders that were shaped in the thirteenth century. During the time of industrialisation and the building of the railroads, the industrial regions and the cities recruited people from the rural areas. Today transnational companies recruit workers all over the world, yet the national borders are in some parts the same as in the seventeenth century.

In my opinion the international migration of today and the national migration in the nineteenth century have more similarities than differences.

Here I have tried to show that a micro historical study can contribute to an understanding of today's international migration. The Swedish parochial records, with their entries of people's residents and movements, are well preserved from the end of the seventeenth century. The records can serve as a key to the understanding of the way people moved to certain places, how they responded to economical and legislative forces, and what consequences it had on themselves and to the sending and receiving communities.

Notes

¹ Caroline B. Brettell, James F. Hollifield., eds. 2000. *Migration theory: talking across disciplines*. Routledge. New York; London.

² Brettell/Hollifield:141.

³ Leslie Page Moch. 1992. *Moving Europeanas. Migration in Western Europe since 1650*. Indiana University press.

⁴ Brettell/Hollifield:139.

⁵ Moch 1992:32, 59. Christer Lund "Servant migration in Sweden in the early nineteenth century" *Journal of family history : studies in family, kinship and demography*. Minneapolis: 53.

⁶ Lund:56.

⁷ Börje Harnesk. 1990. *Legofolk : drängar, pigor och bönder i 1700- och 1800-talens Sverige*:164 ff (Ann Kussmaul.1981. 'The ambiguous mobility of fram servants' in *Economic History Review*, vol XXXIV)

⁸ Brettell/Hollifield:104 ff

⁹ Brettell/ Hollifield: 50.

¹⁰ Brettell/Hollifield:148 f.

¹¹ Stensjö is partly owned and managed by the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Sweden, and the study is part of a project financed by the academy.

¹² The regional archives in Vadstena: Kalmar county, Döderhult's parish, parish records 1861-1935. The numbers from 1950 derives from Elisabeth Wennersten. The institute of Human Geography, University of Stockholm. (Ongoing project)

¹³ The numbers can be even higher, if we consider that there could be unrecorded cases.

¹⁴ Göran Rosander. 1966. 'Stensjö by i Döderhults socken'. Unpublished paper, Elisabeth Wennersten. The institute of Human Geography, University of Stockholm. (Ongoing project).

¹⁵ Solveig Fagerlund. 'Sociala förhållanden och migration i Stensjö ca 1860-1930'. Unpublished manuscript.

¹⁶ Peter Aronsson.1992. *Bönder gör politik. Det lokala självstyret som social arena i tre smålandssocknar, 1680-1850*:221 ff.

¹⁷ Birgitta Jordansson. 1998. *Den goda människan från Göteborg. Genus och fattigvårdspolitik i det borgerliga samhällets framväx: 94-99*. Eslöv 1998.

¹⁸ The regional archives in Vadstena: Kalmar county, Döderhult's parish, parish records 1861-1900.

¹⁹ Brettell/Hollifield:139.

When Education meets Emigration: Slovene Women Intellectuals and Students Abroad

Irena Gantar Godina

In 1897, when Austrian authorities allowed women to enrol in almost any Austrian University, Slovene women also took this opportunity to study. Indeed, they were very few in number, not only because of their mentality, but because of the weaker financial position of their families. The majority of Slovene women students decided to study at the traditional and cheaper Vienna University. Those who believed that the German environment was harmful for the preservation of Slovene national identity, decided to study in Slavic Prague where the Czech cultural and political activities made their South/Slavic sentiments even stronger. Slovene women students in Prague belonged to rather well-situated families, nationally awoken and deeply Slavic oriented. Slovene women students studied medicine, chemistry, philosophy, some enrolled in Academy of Arts and Academy of Music. Many of them became reputed scientists, cultural and artist workers abroad or at home.

‘Unfortunately, the truth is that we are behindhand with the Protestants. But few years ago the distance was even larger. But we will catch up with them, with God’s help we will...and the Monarchy can look forward facing a unique Catholic doctrine...’¹ The words of the Vienna University professor Martini touched a very subtle issue, the question of religion. But one could apply his observation also to the comparison of school/educational policy of the Protestants and Catholics in general. While the Protestants in the nineteenth century supported general education and also the university education of women, the Catholic Habsburg Monar-

chy recognized people’s need for education rather late.

This was particularly true of the Slovenes. It was already in the sixteenth century when the Slovene Protestants began to found Slovene elementary and secondary schools, using regional idioms as a teaching language, so very different from the language of the landlords, higher culture and education. Together with stressing the need for education in the mother tongue - although for religious reasons and for religious purposes - they also clearly pointed out that the Slovenes were always an important part of a greater Slavic family. Their endeavours were twofold: on one hand one

witnessed the first attempt on Slovene grounds to bring education - in their own language - closer to a wider population.²

The tradition of Protestantism which enabled schooling at all levels – also in the Habsburg Monarchy and Slovenia was one of its crown lands - to all the inhabitants, regardless of sex or social strata, was not preserved. Even more, women in the Habsburg Monarchy were not permitted education the whole period from the end of sixteenth century up to the very end of nineteenth century. The majority could gain only elementary education, but many of them remained without any education.

It was even worse if women wished to enrol in the University. In some protestant countries it was already in the middle of nineteenth century when women were allowed to enrol to different university studies, i.e. in some Swiss cantons, in Scandinavian countries, in England and after 1870 even in Germany. The available study programmes for women slowly broadened; the last was the possibility for women to enrol in the Faculty of Medicine.

With reference to the study of medicine by women, Russia in particular should be mentioned. Women in Russia were allowed to enrol in the Faculty of Medicine already in the 1860s, after school reforms were taken. Tsar Alexander II. introduced social and political reforms in Russia, including the education reforms. Thus the authorities began to propagate the importance of education, and many, particularly Austrian gymnasium professors were invited to teach at the new founded middle-

schools. For the Slovenes it was a great opportunity to earn more money since they offered much better wages than the Austrians as well as the opportunity to live and work in the then largest independent Slavic country.³ Alexander's educational reforms included also women's education. Women were allowed to attend middle-schools, particularly schools which might have enabled them to study medicine. In Russia the first woman to graduate in medicine was inaugurated in 1878 at the University of Petrograd. Indeed, they were not allowed to take the doctor's degree, they could become »only« graduate doctors. Besides many of them had to discontinue their studies because of the Russian-Turkish war (1877 to 1878), where they had to nurse the wounded soldiers. After the war they could come back to the University and complete their studies.

Anyhow, women in Russia could have become doctors, but they could not take their doctor's degree. On one hand one might conclude that the Russian model was a certain encouragement to other European authorities (countries) to – albeit very slowly – allow women's study of medicine. On the other hand the lack of doctors in Western countries motivated many Russian women medicines to seek employment there, mostly in Switzerland, which might have had hastened the process of giving women the rights to enrol to the Faculty of Medicine.

Indeed, in the nineteenth century women in all European countries were facing difficulties in realising their wishes to study, some earlier some

later. Tradition of Protestantism, which allowed women schooling, continued also in nineteenth century, and among the first countries allowing women to enrol in the University, was Switzerland. Already in the 1840s, there were two female students at the Faculty of Arts. Studying medicine was last allowed, but the first Swiss woman student finished her studies already in 1871. Swiss women could enrol to study medicine in Zurich, Geneva, Bern, Basel and some other universities, also in Catholic regions.

Also women in Scandinavian countries were given the rights to study rather early. In Sweden, for example, women were allowed to enrol already in 1870, first female doctor of medicine as early as in 1888; first female historian took doctor's degree already in 1883 at Uppsala Faculty of Arts. In the same year first female doctors of laws graduated. Since 1882 and 1884 respectively, also Norwegian women faced no obstacles to enrol in universities. The first female doctor of medicine graduated in 1894. Social conditions of women studying at the universities were very similar in Denmark, and up to 1901 there were more than 200 women students matriculated at all Scandinavian universities.

In Germany Victoria-Lyceum was founded in 1868 and it followed the programme of the University. When the girls' gymnasium in Berlin and Leipzig were founded in 1893, German women were given the possibility to continue their studies at the University. Along with the given rights to study the political rights were cancelled. German women were forbidden to attend any

political gathering or meeting. Although they have submitted numerous petitions to cancel the prohibition, they were not successful.

Unlike to other European countries women in Austria have been facing various obstacles on their way to study, besides legal impediments also opposition of the then society. Austria was one of the last countries to acknowledge women's rights to study. One of the first steps the authorities recognized to women was in the years of 1840 to 1853 when they allowed the education of women teachers.⁴ In 1869 they allowed women, i.e. wives of postmen, to be educated in the profession of their husbands. Thus in Slovenia, the first independent post-woman passed all her exams in 1872. She had entered a new era in employing women in post jobs; at the end of 1918 there were already 683 women post officers. In 1904 the first Slovene woman account officer began to work, and in the same year the first Slovene woman finished her education at the Vienna Commercial Academy. Anyhow, studying at the University was still very far.

This was also a period when the whole generation of Slovene women were facing not only entirely general women's issues. For the whole period from 1848 onwards one could follow Slovene intellectuals' activity and endeavours to establish a Slovene University, particularly to avoid studying at the then only available non-Slovene, i.e. German Universities within Austrian state. The fact is that all up to 1895 the majority of Slovene secondary school students enrolled at the universities of

Vienna and Graz where the influence of German language and culture was inevitable. Along with endeavours for Slovene University the struggle of the whole generation of Austrian women for the right to study continued. For Slovene women intellectuals the domestic and foreign *milieux* were not the only obstacles they had to overcome. They were facing the problems of the right to be educated, the right to attend secondary schools and, of course, the right to study. Many of them participated in students movements and students societies of different political affiliations, Catholic and liberal as well. Their male colleagues accepted them as potential collaborators, but one cannot trace any actions made to improve women's access to education.

One can state that women in Austria were deprived basically, already at the beginning of their education. In Austria, it was only in 1890 in Prague⁵ and in 1892 in Vienna, respectively, when middle-schools, preparing pupils to enrol to the University, were founded. Compared to German or Czech women pupils the conditions for the Slovene women were even more difficult. They could begin to attend such a middle-school only in 1907. Until then they had to pass exams as external candidates at the boys' gymnasiums. The first Slovene women pupils passed exams as external candidates in 1898.

The possibilities of women to study at the Austrian universities⁶ were extremely limited: after the decrees of 1878 Austrian women could attend lectures only as an exception. Their applications were accepted individually, case by case.

Among these exceptions there was no Slovene student. After being allowed to attend the lectures, they were not allowed to be imatriculated, i.e. to be enrolled in the University. They could only have been given the attendance/frequency for fixed lecture or lectures, without receiving any official document of their attendance.

It was only in March 1896 when the Austrian authorities allowed the nostrification of the doctorate of medicine at the foreign University.

Finally, in March 1897, after many petitions and requests, the authorities allowed women to enrol at the Faculty of Arts. The candidate had to be an Austrian citizen, at least 18 years of age, with graduation from a secondary school of domestic or foreign gymnasium.

Matriculation of women to Austrian universities continued gradually. After allowing them to enrol at the Faculty of Arts in March 1897, next year the number of women students grew to 40, in 1901 to 139; there were very few Slovenes among them. It was at the University of Graz where the first Slovene female student took her doctor's degree of philosophy in 1905; in Vienna first Slovene woman student graduated in 1907, while in Prague only in 1911.

The fight of Slovene women for their rights to study coincided with increasing pressure of Austrian Germans upon non-German nations, mainly Slavic. The Slovenes responded to these pressures by advocating non-German, i.e. Slavic universities within Austria. They firmly believed that studying at Slavic universities, initially especially the Czech University, would significantly

help to preserve both the Slovene and Slavic identity of the Slovene intelligentsia.⁷ Thus one might have expected also more Slovene women to enrol at the Czech University. It did not happen.

The first Slovene female student to enrol at the Prague Czech University in 1900 was Zofka Kvedrova, writer and fighter for women rights, but she never finished her studies. She attended several universities in Europe, in Vienna, Bern, Berlin. Her activities were not connected merely with women's emancipation in general, but also with political and cultural movement and activities of Slovene, Croat and Serb students in Prague. She participated in the then students' generation movement for new inter/national relationships within the Austrian multinational empire. She believed that Czech University in Prague was the only Slavic University which the Slovenes should attend; to avoid Germanisation and to strengthen national and Slavic consciousness.

Nevertheless, also after being allowed to enrol at any Austrian University there was no mass enrolment of Slovene women to any Austrian University, either at Vienna or Graz nor Prague. Not only because of the Catholic mentality, which at that time considered women studying as inappropriate, inconvenient and unnecessary. For Slovene women 'a project of leaving home and go to the University' must have been a very demanding one, not only for a woman herself, but also for her family. In the first place there was a financial problem. As a rule, only women from very well-off families could afford studying in Prague. There was also a question of

what to study. In many cases there was a gap between wishes and possibilities. Wishes were not always in accordance with the then allowed studies: i.e. studying law was not allowed for women all up to 1919. Especially those who wished to study medicine must have faced lots of obstacles and prejudices even after it was allowed. As mentioned before, for many a problem was also the studying destination: either to enrol to traditional and cheaper Vienna University or – conditionally speaking – fashionable/the then fashionable but more expensive Slavic Czech University in Prague.⁸ Thus, the majority of those who have enrolled in the Czech, i.e. Slavic University, descended from the families which were more or less well-off, nationally awoken and devoted, but also deeply Slavic oriented. As a rule Slovene women students in Prague grew up in families belonging to a generation which demonstrated their rejection of German schools and universities by stimulating cultural and political cooperation with other Austrian Slavs along with emphasizing the need to avoid Germanisation also by studying at the Slavic universities.

Thus, the first Slovene woman to achieve doctor's degree in chemical sciences at the Czech University in Prague was Ana Jenko, but only in 1911. It is not surprising that she enrolled in the Slavic University: she was a daughter of a celebrated and very active Slovene cultural worker, and an enthusiastic Pan-Slav and Russophile doctor Ljudevit Jenko and his Russian wife Terezina Mihajlovna. Both were very enthusiastic propagators of teaching and learning Russian language all over

Slovenia by founding so called Russki kružok/Russian circles which were a serious nuisance for the authorities. Thus they were subsequently banned. Their activity, their being well-off, and good education and, last but not least, their deep devotion to the Slavic idea of mutuality and cooperation explains why Ljudevit Jenko insisted his children to be educated in Slavic countries. His first daughter Eleonora Jenko Groyer has been one of the first Slovenes to enrol to a Faculty of Medicine in Petrograd, Russia, where she graduated in 1907.⁹ Thus it was only natural that also their second daughter studied in Slavic *milieu* as well.

Among women one of the then most 'popular' studies was the study of medicine. As well as many women in Europe and in Austria also Slovene women were very interested to study medicine. One of the first, Valerija Strnad, born in 1880, was acknowledged as the 'first Slovene doctor with a complete Faculty of Medicine'; she graduated at the Faculty of Medicine in Prague in 1916. Undoubtedly, she was not only a very skilled doctor but also devoted to Slavic and, after 1908 among the Slovenes, more popular South-Slavic idea; after First World War, in 1919, she left Czechoslovakia to join the Czech medicine group in Yugoslavia. In 1920 she returned to Slovenia, where she lived up to 1961. After 1918 five Slovene women students completed their studies at the Faculty of Medicine, among which *Nada Slavnik* was the first, in 1920; the next year *Valerija Valjavec* (1888-1981), in *Marija Goropevšek* (1894-1979) were promoted; until 1924 another two

Slovenes finished their studies at the Faculty of Medicine, in 1923 *Marija Fink* (1897-1971) and *Sabina Praprotnik* (1898-1986) in 1924.

Slovene women who had had artistic ambitions such as of act, fine arts or music, faced essentially fewer obstacles; at the first glance their ways seem to be much easier. They could participate or be active in various courses, circles and various artistic societies. The first Slovene Drama Society was founded already in 1867, and soon there were already more than seventy members. There they could have gained the necessary knowledge and education; nevertheless, also they had to leave their homeland, seeking for additional knowledge and skills, but also recognition in non-Slovene *milieu*. Some returned home and worked there, some have continued their careers not all over Austria but also in other European countries. Among these artists there was quite a number of those who wanted to continue their education in Slavic countries, mainly in Bohemia, in Prague. One of the most famous was the actress Zofija Borštnikova who has attended the so-called Drama-Theatre School in Prague and created a great career as an actress.

In fine arts there were two very successful and famous Slovenes, woman painter Maria Strnen and sculptress Karla Bulovec. The latter graduated at Prague Fine Arts Academy in 1919. Born in 1895, she enrolled in Prague artistic-crafts school in 1918/19, and in 1919 to Academy of Arts. Her decision to study in Prague was most likely neutral and less political. It is most certain that her decision was more a result of a

good reputation of the Academy than the milieu itself, since her domestic surrounding was more of so-called Catholic circle. Karla Bulovec was/is one of those Slovene women artists who was recognized and honoured for her artistic work already by a new *milieu*. It was already in 1921, just before she returned home, that she was given the opportunity to have an art exhibition in Prague; next year she created a tombstone to Milena Novakova at the graveyard of Pankrac made to order. After her return to Ljubljana as a woman-sculptress she faced a rather unpleasant - if not worse - 'welcome'; Slovene society favoured painters and was unfavourable to women sculptresses; as a sculptress she wasn't given any commissions, and if she wanted to survive, she had to accept commissions as a painter, mainly as a portraitist.

One exceptional Slovene woman musical artist should be mentioned: it was Jarmila Lily Gerbic, born in 1877 in Croatia, in Zagreb. Also Jarmila was/is, like Jenko daughters, a good example of the family influence and its beliefs. She descended from the musical, intellectual and at the same time very Slavophile family. Her father Fran Gerbic was one of the first Slovenes to enrol to the University in Bohemia, at the then only German, at the Prague Conservatorium already in 1865. After graduating he remained in Prague for a certain time, then he moved to Zagreb, where his daughter was born. From 1882 to 1886 he worked in Lviv, and only after that time he came back to Slovenia, to Ljubljana. According to his affiliation it was somehow natural that his daughter

began her musical-artistic work in Slavic Prague. Lily Gerbic was the first Slovene woman who - in 1901 - completed Conservatorium of solo-singing and piano. As a concert singer she appeared in Prague, Plzen, Trst, Zagreb but also in Belgrade and Vienna. After her return to Ljubljana in 1909 she founded a private musical school in 1915; she died in 1964.

In 1918, the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was founded, and along with it, in 1919, also Slovene University in Ljubljana. Although almost hundred years old wishes were fulfilled, the Slovenes continued to enrol in the Prague University. Also Yugoslav authorities continued to support studying in Prague, but only up to 1922 when the political situation in Yugoslavia changed. A rather strong Communist Party of Yugoslavia was banned, while the then new Czechoslovakia country was one of the few countries in Europe where the Communist Party was allowed. That was one of the very crucial reasons why the authorities limited their support to students to study in Czechoslovakia, since the Yugoslav authorities believed that Czech *milieu* might have been too influential. From then on studying in Prague was not welcome anymore, and the number of Slovene students was radically reduced. They mainly remained at the Fine Art Academies and at the Faculty of Medicine.

It is one's firm belief that there were far more Slovene women students at the Czech University in Prague than one could find in archives. Only those who were - in some ways - exceptional and outstanding by their scientific, scholar

or artistic activities, were mentioned. There were women who - for many reasons - were not able to finish their studies; therefore their presence in Prague could not be traced. One of the main reasons why they quitted their studies was undoubtedly a financial problem since - as mentioned above - studying in Prague was much more expensive than studying in Vienna. Some of them had to work for living, some also established families.

It was not easy to trace Slovene women students' activities outside University; unlike their male Slovene colleagues in Prague, they were not active in students' societies, they did not contribute to students' papers¹⁰ and women's magazines¹¹, or joined some women's gatherings or activities¹². For the majority studying was their first 'task' to be completed.

Same as for Slovene male students one has to conclude that also Slovene women students at foreign universities were not just typical, permanent or temporary emigrants.¹³ They were far from being economical or political emigrants. Most of all, they were excellent ambassadors of Slovene culture, science and arts.

Conditionally speaking, they could be recognized as a sort of brain drain of the nineteenth century: they had to leave their homeland to get education, they had to abandon their native language and live in a foreign cultural surroundings. Those Slovene women who studied at non-Slavic Universities, mostly in a German environment and used German language, returned home; but also those who remained there for good did not give up their national awareness or their language. Women who studied and worked in Slavic *milieu* were not faced with utter need to take care of the preservation of their national and language identity; besides, in Slavic countries they were offered much more stimulation, better work and creativity conditions, and, last but not least, there they could have gained broader recognition of the values of their work.

Many of them became reputed scientists, scholars and cultural and artist workers. Their temporary residence in a foreign *milieu* proved to be fruitful for their further work at home; along with their work they could also implement the ideas of the need for women's education, being themselves an excellent example of all the abilities of women.

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Notes

¹ Victor L. Tapie, *Marija Terezija*, Založba Obzorja, Maribor 1991, pp. 265-266.

² And, on the other hand, it was Primož Trubar who set, with his establishment of Slovene literary language a decisive turning-point in building the Slovene national identity by calling his believers *the Slovenes*.

³ After the introduction of Dualism the idea of Pan-Slavism became the major element of Slavic loyalty among Slovenes. Many Slovene intellectuals interpreted the concept of Pan-Slavism as a protection against Germanisation and Italian nationalism. They believed that Russia alone was able to confront the Pan-Germanism and offer protection to other Slavic nations.

⁴ Aleksandra Serše, *Gimnazija, fakulteta in ženske*, Šolska kronika, Zbornik za zgodovino šolstva in vzgoje, XXXII, 1999, št.1

⁵ Marie L. Neudorfflova, *Česke ženy v 19. století*, Janua, Praha 1999.

⁶ Waltraud Heindl/Marina Tichy(Hgb), *Durch Erkenntnis zu Freiheit und Glück...Frauen an der Universität Wien (ab 1897)*, Wien 1990.

⁷ Irena Gantar Godina, *Slovenski doktorji v Pragi od 1892-1917*, Zgodovinski časopis 1990, No.3, pp. 451-455

⁸ As mentioned before, one of the first to enrol at the Czech University was a well known and celebrated Zofka Kvedrova, who attended several universities in Europe, in Vienna, Bern, Berlin. Her

activities were not connected merely with women's emancipation in general, but also with political and cultural movement and activities of Slovene, Croat and Serb students in Prague. She collaborated with the students' generation which fought for new international relationships within multinational empire.

⁹ Živa Melik, *Eleonora Jenko Groyer*, Splošno žensko društvo 1901-1945, Arhiv RS, Ljubljana 2003.

¹⁰ Studentska Revue, Studentske smery

¹¹ Česka žena, Studentska Revue, Studentske smery.

¹² E.g. the role of a women, about women's labour, women's study, about the power and impact of women, etc. It seems that they did not participate at meetings of a women's magazine *Česka žena*,/Czech Woman or at the meetings of women's students' circle *Slavia*, founded in 1902. M. Novakova criticised women students not to participate at those activities pointing out the main problem, i.e., that they preferred dancing halls of Klementinum to working for students' cause.

¹³ Irena Gantar Godina, *Češki politični realizem med hrvaškimi in slovenskimi študenti v Pragi (1895-1900)*, Zgodovinski časopis, 1985, No. 3, pp.269-275; idem, *Kulturnometriško delovanje Slovencev v slovanskib deželab do začetka prva svetovne vojne*, Dve Domovini/Two Homelands 14, 2001, pp. 15-18; idem, *Josip Vuga, slovenski znanstvenik v Čeških Budejovicab*, Dve Domovini/Two Homelands 16, 2002, pp. 9-20.

The Research Profile AMER, Växjö University.

Katarina Hjelm

The research profile AMER was established in December 2000 by the university board after an application made by four interested researchers being well experienced in the area of migration but in different subjects. In Swedish AMER means 'Arbetsmarknad, migration och etniska relationer' and in English 'Labour market, migration, ethnic relations'.

The research profile comprises four different subjects: Economics, History, Sociology and Nursing Science.

The core of the research profile can be described by the following key words: *Migration, work, welfare and health.*

The main aim of the activities in the research profile is

- to strengthen the integration of different subjects working with research concerning migration and thus encourage multidisciplinary research.
- to develop research high in quality.
- to develop co-operation with the surrounding society.

The research profile is led by a group of senior researchers, Professor

Jan Ekberg, Economics, Professor Lars Olsson, History, Professor Gunnar Olofsson, Sociology and Associate Professor Katarina Hjelm, Nursing Science.

This group has the main responsibility for the budget and activities that are runned within the profile. One of the team members has the responsibility for being the co-ordinator of the activities during one year, and this responsibility is rotated between the members. Meetings are held about one time per month.

As a special resource there is a group of mentors from four different universities within Scandinavia (Sweden, Norway and Denmark) connected to the research profile being an expert group giving advice and having a consultative role. Planned meetings are held once a year with this group and in between contacts are runned by e-mail, telephone and mail. During the formal meetings discussions are held concerning for e.g. strategies for planning and implementing research projects, applications for funding and different

methodological matters. The mentors are also consulted as external reviewers of reports and year books published by the research profile in order to guarantee high quality publications.

In each subject there are a number of persons employed as researchers, doctoral students, assistants in data collection (e.g. bachelor/master students), guest researchers from other institutions within or outside Sweden.

A wide range of different activities are included in the research profile. The base is of course different research projects, in each subject but also on a multidisciplinary basis in co-operation between the different subjects. Different courses concerning Migration on bachelor, masters and doctoral level are held, in each subject but also on a multidisciplinary basis in co-operation between the different subjects e.g. International Migration, 7,5 ECTS credits, Migration and Health, 7,5 ECTS credits.

The course International migration is a doctoral course with a multidisciplinary base being taught by researchers from all four different subjects and focusing on causes behind international migration, effects and consequences by international migration (demographic, economic and political), migration, adaptation in the new society and health, and remigration. The course is open to international students.

Further activities held are multidisciplinary research seminars. As a rule AMER arranges a two days seminar in autumn and a one day seminar in spring for all researchers involved as well as interested students. Also research seminars in each subject are held. Co-ope-

ration concerning tutoring of doctoral students is made. Research funding is of great importance and thus a lot of co-operation is needed and made concerning applying for grants. In order to spread new research results co-operation with the surrounding society is made by giving lectures, seminars etc. with a popular science approach for people outside the academy. Finally different publications are published as e.g. the year book by AMER, and multidisciplinary reports both in each subjects as well as in multidisciplinary co-operation.

Research activities at School of Nursing and Social Work

At School of Nursing and Social Work there are a range of different research projects in the area of Migration and Health. The oldest concerns "Migration, health and diabetes mellitus/chronic disease" and is a project developed from a doctoral dissertation entitled "Migration, health and diabetes mellitus - Studies comparing foreign-and Swedish-born diabetic subjects living in Sweden". The project is focused on beliefs about health and illness and its consequences for self-care measures and health care seeking behaviour. Another main project is "Elderly migrants in Sweden" in which the development of health and disease over time is studied. Also "Migrants in emergency care" has recently been started and concerns dissimilarities/similarities in need of care between foreign-and Swedish-born persons. Also "Migrants in psychiatric care" is studied and here the focus is on health care seeking and health care

utilisation.

About once a month research seminars concerning migrants and health are held at the department. The seminar group comprises both experienced researchers as students at different levels.

At the department 5 week courses are held both on bachelors, masters and doctoral level concerning migration and health. These courses are all within the area of nursing science and open to students from other universities in Sweden as well as universities abroad.

In order to engage and to develop an interest in the research area there has also been a project started for students concerning "Migration and Health". In this project students have used documents being stored in an archive at the Swedish Emigrant Institute (Svenska Emigrant Institutet). The interviews were originally made by unemployed immigrants being trained as data collectors. They were specially trained at the University of Växjö in order to make interviews with immigrants and refugees and thus documenting their experience in Sweden.

Working with archive materials in a student project

When working with a student project and a subject like migrants and health, described above, one need to consider matters of ethical issues and how to protect personal integrity. The preparatory work was done by two experienced researchers with a background as registered nurses and nurse tutors. The first step was to screen the whole material and try to value if it could be used or

not. Then the material was analysed in general in order to describe what countries were represented and characteristics of the respondents. By using SPSS (The Statistical Package for Social Science) the material was coded and statistically analysed in order to describe the study population. The next step was to read the interviews in order to choose those having a high quality. These interviews were then listened through and all identifying data (e.g names, addresses, relatives names etc) were deleted. The students were then informed about the importance of following the laws and regulations concerning personal integrity and secrecy. The importance of not spreading any information around were emphasized and an agreement was made that the students were not allowed to work with the interview-transcripts or tapes outside the Swedish Emigrant Institute (SEI). One person at the institute, the librarian, were responsible for storing the material when the students were not working at the institute.

The student project, "Migration and health", was based on archive material and has so far generated about 20 reports on a bachelors level. Examples of titles are:

- *The importance of integration for health – A qualitative study of labour migrants from Yugoslavia.*
- *Labour migrants from former Yugoslavia – A qualitative study of dietary habits, food traditions and health.*
- *Factors influencing health in migrants when arriving to Sweden.*
- *Bosnian refugees experience of health – An interview study.*

• *The importance of social support for health after migration – An interview study with refugees from former Yugoslavia.*

• *Experience of quality of life and mental ill-health – A qualitative interview study with labour migrants and refugees from former Yugoslavia.*

• *Labour migrants from former Yugoslavia – their health, leisure time and pattern of consumption. An interview study.*

In conclusion, from working with archive materials the students gained a lot of knowledge in the studied area as well as they also learned to know about activities in the Swedish Emigrant Institute, and thus broadened their perspectives.

Connecting Contemporary Migration With The Past

Olavi Koivukangas

Mankind has always been migrating in search for a better life. The “new” emigrations started in the fifteenth century when European navigators discovered America and other overseas destinations. The period between 1870 and the First World War was characterized by international movement of labour and capital. After the Second World War North-Western Europe became a major area of immigration, including a great number of asylum seekers. A dominant feature of the twenty-first century is the phenomenon of globalization with a growing number of people moving across borders, often directly linked to multicultural companies.

It is essential to know the past in order to understand the present and future trends in human migration. The assumption is that migration movements, its causes and mechanisms, are very much the same today as hundreds of years ago. This should give us every possibility to learn from former mistakes regarding integration and assimilation. But is this really the case? My conclusion is that we cannot learn as much as might expected from past migration movements, because each epoch in history has been so different. However, freedom to move and cross borders should be a basic value of the future.

Migration is the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another, abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one. Throughout the times, mankind has always for economic, political or environmental reasons, been migrating from one place to another, searching for a better life and new opportunities. Often they were forced to move because of natural disasters, but in most cases because of other human beings. In the early days of civilization, tribes and even nations moved long distances either voluntarily or by force in ancient Egypt,

Mesopotamia, Greece and most widely in the old Roman empire. After the collapse of the Roman Empire, followed the epoch of great invasions in Eurasia. What had happened on the other continents is not known in written history.

In the fifteenth century the European navigators reached America and other overseas destinations. In the beginning colonization was slow until the nineteenth century when extensive European emigration to America and other overseas destinations started after the Napoleonic war. For more than one and a half century Europe was a land of

mass emigration. One reason was the quick development of the railway and steamship transportation, which made travelling quick and cheap and available to ordinary poor people.¹ The period between 1870 and World War I was characterized by an expanding international economy and the movement of capital and labour. At the same time inside a nation there was rapid urbanization and massive migration movements, the development of the United States after the Civil War being the best example. Tens of millions immigrants arrived in North America until the great depression of the 1930s and Second World War. After the war millions of political refugees in Europe moved to America, Australia and other destinations to start a new life there.

In the 1950s and 1960s the economic growth in North-Western Europe attracted labour especially from Southern Europe and Turkey, and in the following decades Europe became an area of immigration, especially from Asia, Africa and Latin America. This group included millions of asylum seekers. Together with the United States Western Europe became the major magnet to attract immigration. Up until the end of the 1960's, labour migration was the fortuitous result of a coincidence of needs: great labour demand in Western Europe with excess labour in Southern and Eastern part of Europe. In the early 1970s labour markets began to deteriorate, and industrialized European countries began to restrict the further inflow of foreign labour.² The same measures were taken also in overseas destinations,

eg. in Australia. New minorities of a large variety of ethnic origin in many cases found it very difficult to settle in the foreign language and culture, also to meet xenophobia and racism.

Skilled migration, including brain drain, professionals, skilled permanent migrants, business transfers etc, has become a major element of contemporary migrations. Especially in Europe the social fabric has been altered by the influx of migration from former colonies and labour-exporting countries, as well as the challenge of a significant number of asylum seekers. There are also the ensuing problems of the newcomers' integration into the larger community. In many EU countries there is an obvious need for labour force due to the low birth rate and ageing population.³

The above introduction is essential as we should know the past to be able to understand the present and the future trends in the field of human migration. The basic assumption is that in migration movements, the causes and mechanisms, are very much the same as thousands and hundreds of years ago.

A dominant feature of the present twenty-first century is the phenomenon of globalisation and internationalisation. A growing number of people are moving across borders, often directly linked to multicultural companies. In Finland we have a good example: NOKIA. The labour market of the highly skilled has become increasingly international. But there are also other people on the move as a consequence of globalisation, just to mention the growth of immigration

of ordinary workers and refugees plus their family members. Also the integration of the newcomers to the new society is problematic. New ethnic minorities tend to concentrate in larger urban areas. This can be seen in Helsinki too, but in Amsterdam immigrants and their children form over forty two per cent of the total population. This change has taken place in a relatively short period of time. The crucial question for the cities is whether they can accommodate the newcomers to new social and political environment.

Also the form of migration has been different from the old days of sailing and steam ships. The growth of transnational migrant communities retain strong and intensive bonds across borders, and may lead to new forms of incorporation of immigrants. A basic difference of our era to the old days is that migration movements are rooted in global developments and not in state premises.

All this will be a challenge to immigration and integration policies. In classical immigration countries like the USA, Canada and Australia there has been a general acceptance of immigration resulting benefits to the growth of the nation. But in Europe to-day there is a basic non-acceptance of immigration. There are differences between the countries, the Netherlands and Switzerland being far from each other as far as the acceptance of immigrants is concerned. Generally the EU migration policy has been ambivalent. There is a fundamental right to migrate within the EU area, but

at the same time the EU has developed restrictive immigration policy establishing a 'kind of the "Fortress of Europe"'.

Consequently there is a need for revision of the immigration and integration policies of the EU allowing a wider admittance of immigrants for either humanitarian or economic reasons.⁴

Looking for parallels to contemporary migration, the period 1870 – 1914 has far more in common with our era than any other time. In both the periods international flow of information and capital was followed by rising immigration. Before 1914 practically no control or restrictions existed while nowadays there are effective controls and limitations of international movements. The twenty-first century seems to move in the direction of increasingly restrictive immigration policy.

What could we learn from this? We should recognize immigration as a natural outgrowth of the global economy trying by all means to minimize its negative consequences.⁵

A question to be considered in more detail is the present flow of illegal immigration compared with the old days. In the history of colonization and European emigration there has been a lot of forced emigration eg. convicts to overseas colonies, as well as the slave trade from Africa to North America.

But was there really any illegal immigration as the whole world was open to anybody to travel and settle even in most remote destinations. When doing research in Australia in 1969-72 I met an old Swede in Sydney who told that before the First World War he just ente-

red and settled in Australia without any permits or papers.

Illegal immigrants, often poorly educated from 'the third world', have become a major problem eg. in the Southern European countries, but also in Russia. As mentioned earlier, due to the illegal immigration and asylum seekers the EU is tightening the immigration policy.⁶ In the United States there are estimated to be no less than eight million illegal immigrants. The USA Government is trying to legitimise the illegal immigrant population, the majority being Mexicans.⁷ Also in the EU it is estimated that there are as many illegal immigrants as legal ones. Spain, as Italy before, has been in the process of giving the legal status to a large number of illegal immigrants, which often have found work in agriculture and service industries.⁸ Illegal immigrants and refugees are a huge problem all over the world, and we cannot learn much of the past experiences of the mankind.

There is also the role that cultural and ethnic mixtures increasingly play in enriching the lives of many European countries. Here we have good examples of the USA, Canada and Australia. But there are also strong anti-immigrant sentiments involved. Immigrants should also be encouraged to become citizens of their host societies. In many European countries legally settled immigrants do not have the political right to vote because of difficulties and delays in acquiring citizenship.⁹ We could learn from the experiences of the USA, Canada, Australia etc. to favour the

immigrants to become legal citizens. A reason for this has been that in political elections an immigrant vote is as good as any other vote.

As in the beginning of our history, so also in the present-day world, and especially in Europe, the four liberties of movement – people, goods, services and capital – all strive for a new type of more efficient level division of labour and work opportunities as well. Especially there is expected to be emigration of highly educated and so called key persons. An example of this are doctors and nurses who have moved from Finland eg. to Norway. But it is not only the rivalry between the countries but also between regions inside the nation. Consequently, in Finland in the Northern part of the country, in Lapland, there is a great demand for doctors and nurses. In the present day Europe there is also competition between regions rather than between countries. The powerful regions now benefit most and the weaker regions are weakening.¹⁰ The enlargement of the European Union will be a further challenge.

Going through the literature, books and articles, related to the question of what we could learn about the past migrations, I was surprised that there was not much to be found, not at least in our Library of some 10,000 books on migration issues. Here we have obviously an empty area for future research, perhaps as an AEMI project.

But maybe, the observations, how to learn of the past for the future, are quite too obvious and clear.

For years I have been telling in Finland that we should study how the Fin-

nish emigrants settled and integrated in other parts of the world to be able to understand better the immigrants and refugees in Finland. The problems and processes are similar: how to find work, how to learn the language, how to cope with the negative attitudes and xenophobia of the main population and other ethnic minorities.

So we might come to the conclusion that we cannot learn as much as expected from past migration movements, simply because each epoch in history is so different. But in all times *Homo Erectus* has been mobile for many good reasons. The speed of movement and communication has increased incredibly since the days of sailing ships. But still there are quite too many obstacles and mountains on the road of globalisation. Freedom to move and cross borders should be a basic value of the future.

Notes

1. Of the ancient migratory movements see Ragnar Numelin. 1944. *Ihmisen vaellusvietti*. Helsinki. The book in English: *The Wandering Spirit*. New York 1937.

2. OECD, Migration Growth and Development, Paris 1978:7.

3. Emrehan Zeybekoglu – Bo Johansson, Ed. 2003. Migration and Labour in Europe; Views from Turkey and Sweden: vi. Istanbul 2003

4. Rinux Pennix. 2000. 'Migration and the City: Social Cohesion and Integration Policies' in Migration Scenarios for the Twenty-first Century. International Conference, Rome 12-14 July, 2000.

5. Douglas S. Massey. 2000. 'Immigration and Globalization: Policies for a new Century' in Migration Scenarios for the Twenty-first Century. International Conference, Rome 12-14 July, 2000.

6. Olavi Koivukangas. 2004. 'Finland, Russia, And The European Union – The Challenges of Migration Movements' in *AEMI Journal* 2004:54.

7. "Yhdysvallat harkitsee miljoonien laittomien siirtolaisten aseman virallistamista (The US is considering to legitimize millions of illegal immigrants)", *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki News), 17.7. 2001.

8. "Espanja laillistaa taas suuren joukon siirtolaisia; Yli puoli miljoonaa työlupaa annettu lyhyessä ajassa (Spain is legitimizing again a large number of immigrants; over half a million work permits granted in a short time)", *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki News) 6.8. 2001; and "Espanja aikoo työllistää laittomia siirtolaisia (Spain is going to employ illegal immigrants)", *Helsingin Sanomat* (Helsinki News) 23.8. 2004.

9. Amartya Sen. 2000. 'Migration in Historical Perspective', in Migration Scenarios for the Twenty-first Century. International Conference, Rome 12-14 July, 2000.

10. Elli Heikkilä, 'Finland in the Globalising International System: A Special Viewpoint of International Migration', Regional Politics and Economics of EU Enlargement; East European Regions and Small States in the Changing Architecture of European and Global Integration, Ed. By Istvan Hulvely and Imre Levai, Budapest Forum – Institute of Political Science, HAS 2003:36-50.

Labour Immigration and Ethnic Relations at a Swedish Industrial Plant after the Second World War: A Planned Research Project

Johan Svanberg

The period of labour immigration to Sweden has not been a topic of any large-scale historical research projects, which is especially true concerning a long-term perspective on the immigrants' meeting with the Swedish labour market and the Swedish trade union movement. The aim of my planned research project is therefore to analyse some immigration groups' experiences – in a long historical perspective – of working life during their continuing lives in Sweden. The aim is also to analyse the relationship between industrial management, indigenous workers and immigrant workers about immigration related matters in a dynamic perspective.

In this article I will first present a summarised description of my project. Secondly, I briefly want to show some results from an ongoing oral history project focusing on labour immigrants from Estonia and Finland with very different backgrounds, and discuss how their earlier experiences influenced their first encounter with the Swedish body of workers and the Metal Workers' Union.

Introduction

World War II is a sharp dividing line in the history of Swedish migration. During the years of war Sweden was transformed from a country with a characteristic emigration surplus to a country with high immigration rates. In 1945 large parts of the European continent were in ruins, in Sweden the situation was rather different. Europe was about to be rebuilt and the Swedish industry was ready to produce and export. The expected post war depression did not appear, and instead Sweden approached a powerful boom, which lasted until the 1970s. By the rate of the economic boom, the labour

shortage became more and more apparent. When the indigenous manpower reserve could not satisfy the needs of the Swedish industry, the industrial capital in co-operation with the State chose to look abroad for labour to recruit.

An important reason for the choice to import labour was the pleasant memories of the World War refugees as a significant reserve of manpower during the years of war. The number of refugees in the country reached a climax during the winter 1944-45, when about 170,000-180,000 foreigners resided in Sweden. The largest refugee groups came from the neighbouring Nordic countries. But Sweden also hosted about 30,000

Baltic refugees who sought a safe refuge from the German-Russian war front in the autumn of 1944, and in the end of the war survivors from Nazi labour and concentration camps were transferred to Sweden. The refugees had however to do their share and they were in the first place given low paid and laborious assignments within agriculture or as lumberjacks.¹ When the great structural related shortage of labour appeared after 1945 the World War refugees had showed the industrial capital and the Swedish labour market authorities how the problem could be resolved through import. As Lars Olsson puts it, the World War refugees can be seen as 'an intermediate link in Sweden's transition from an emigrant country to an immigrant country; from a labor exporting country to a labor importing one'.²

Between 1950 and 1975 Sweden had a total immigration net of 390,000 persons, and most of them came as labour immigrants. In 1950 the Finns were already the largest immigration group in the country, with about 45,000 individuals. During the next two decades they gradually reinforced this position, and in the end of the year 1970 235,000 people in Sweden were born in Finland. The Danish, the Norwegians and the Germans were 1970 the largest immigration groups after the Finns with 40,000 to 45,000 individuals per group. To these numbers we shall add about 35,000 Yugoslavians, 10,000 Poles, 10,000 Hungarians, 10,000 Greeks and 7,000 Italians. Since the end of World War II there were in 1950 further nearby 25,000 Baltic refugees (mostly Estonians) left in Sweden.³

Previous research

As I mentioned above, the era of labour immigration has been rather disregarded in Swedish historical writing. Particularly overlooked is the recruitment of foreign-born labour during the 1960s and the early 1970s, the period when the immigration stream to Sweden culminated. We do however have a bit more knowledge about the World War refugees, the early labour import campaigns and these immigrants' meeting with the Swedish labour market and the Swedish trade unions. I am not claiming to give a full view of the existing field of research, but a few examples that might be seen as a representative selection.

Two studies are particularly pivotal concerning the Estonian World War refugees' encounter with the Swedish labour market, namely Lars Olsson's *On the Threshold of the People's Home of Sweden*⁴ and Björn Horgby's *Dom där* [Those people].⁵ Olsson's and Horgby's studies differ however a lot, because the authors take their starting points in very different theoretical perspectives. While Olsson focuses on the contradictory relationship between labour and capital, Horgby uses a circumstantial theoretical model in which the concepts of discourse and mentality work as analytical tools.

Lars Olsson analyses the Baltic refugees' transformation in the eyes of the Swedish authorities from a social problem to a useful labour reserve. Olsson is of the opinion that the refugees soon after the arrival to Sweden 'found themselves, at the intersection of a philanthropic refugee policy and a labor market policy where capital

and the State sought more labor'.⁶ The refugees had – whether they wanted to or not – to contribute, not only to their own and their family's support but also to the support of the entire nation'.⁷ Olsson is especially interested in those individuals who were given assignments on the beet fields in the Scania district. The beet work was hard and low paid, and the indigenous workers tried if possible to find other kinds of support. The refugees had accordingly to accept those assignments which Swedish labourers fled from.

The Agricultural Workers' Union demanded that refugees join the union, that the refugees were paid according to existing standards and that the Swedish labour force would have priority to all openings. When these demands were fulfilled the Baltic men and women were left out from the union's agenda.⁸

From Björn Horgby's case study about Estonian textile workers in Norrköping we have learned that the World War refugees' first meeting with the Swedish labour market and the trade unions was filled with potential conflicts. The Estonians' class-consciousness and experiences of dictatorship under the Russian occupation affected their labour market integration, at least in the short run.

Horgby's study takes its point of departure in a demand of the representative assembly of the Local No. 1 of the Swedish Textile Workers' Union in September 1945. It wanted the Swedish State authorities to force all Baltic men and women to leave the country.⁹ The main aim of Horgby's analysis is to explain this decision, and a comprehen-

sive thesis is that the demand was due to 'xenophobic mentality that existed in the [Swedish] working-class culture'.¹⁰

Horgby's empirical evidence shows great tension on the working floor between the Estonian and the Swedish workers. This conflict had its foundation in that the foreign-born workers neglected the basic norms and values of the Swedish working class. There were Estonians who refused to pay the trade union dues, while others undermined the indigenous workers endeavour to control the pace of work.¹¹

Rudolf Tempsch illustrates in the dissertation *Från Centraleuropa till folkhemmet* [From Central Europe to the People's home of Sweden] how young, professional experienced, politically unloaded and healthy Sudeten German refugees were welcomed to Sweden after 1945.¹² In much the same way Anders Svensson demonstrates in the study *Ungrare i folkhemmet* [Hungarians in the People's home of Sweden] how the National Labour Market Board had a decisive influence on which Hungarian refugees in Austrian camps that could come to Sweden after the uprising in 1956.¹³ But neither Tempsch nor Svensson follow the refugees/labourers into the Swedish labour market, and they do not analyse their meetings with the trade unions.

The ethnic division of labour has carefully been analysed by Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Sven Paulson in a case study at a large plant in Gothenburg. They found a complicated ethnical hierarchy, where 'some immigrant groups hold a strong position within comparative attractive jobs and bran-

ches, while others tend to be stuck in the most monotonous kinds of work'. The authors describe a hierarchy with 'the Swedes employed under collective agreement at the top, the Finns in the middle and the Yugoslavs at the bottom.'¹⁴ However, this study lacks a long-term analysis about how the ethnical hierarchy is affected when new groups of immigrants are employed, at the same time as the process of recruitment and the contacts with concerned trade unions generally are left aside.

Mainly from Wuokko Knocke's extensive studies we do have some knowledge about foreign-born workers situation in Swedish trade unions.¹⁵ To put it very shortly: immigrant workers have generally been subordinated in trade union matters, and some immigrants at first even believed that trade union membership was a condition for employment in Sweden. According to the official rhetoric the trade union movement has taken 'an egalitarian and progressive attitude towards the immigrant membership'. But as Knocke points out, we do not know 'what has been done to strengthen the position of immigrants in the union movement and at the workplace level, and how much has stayed at the level of declarations'.¹⁶

However, from the available previous research we cannot tell either how the apparent ethnical hierarchy at the workplace levels has developed in a long historical perspective, or how the relationships between different immigrant groups and their relationships towards the Swedish union movement has developed over time. Rather unexplored is also the relationship between labour

and capital in regard to immigration concerned matters, especially at local levels.

Questions

My planned research project will focus on two areas: *the ethnic division of labour* and *ethnic relations in daily trade union matters*. In both areas a couple of tentative questions have been worked out. The project will have its starting points in *class* as well as in *ethnicity, gender* and *generation*.

In the first area the following questions shall be considered: How were foreign-born workers recruited to one single plant at different occasions? In what way was the ethnic division of labour affected when new immigrant groups were employed? What happened to former employed foreign-born workers when new groups arrived? What concrete assignments were given to the immigrated workers of both genders, and how did these matters stand against their professional and class related backgrounds? What advancements (if any) did the immigrants do at the investigated plant, and how were these potential careers related to their social backgrounds? How many and which immigrants left the plant, and if so, under which phase of their lives and under what circumstances did they leave?

The questions concerning the second area of research will be as follows: How did the local trade union deal with the recruitment of foreign-born workers? How did the relationship between local and national trade union level work out concerning immigration-related

matters? What were the immigrants' attitudes towards trade union membership? How did the first meeting between the immigrated workers, the indigenous workers and the trade union turn out, and how did these relationships develop in a short and in a long perspective? Which immigrant workers became trade union officials? How did the relationship between the trade union and the industrial management in immigration-related matters develop in the short and in the long run?

Foreign-born labour at Olofström

The project will be carried out as a local work-place study at *Svenska Stålpressnings AB* (SSAB) at Olofström, from 1945 until present day. In 1945 Olofström was a pronounced industrial centre; this urban district was totally dominated by one big employer, namely SSAB. The company had in 1945 approximately 1,200 employees,¹⁷ while there were only about 3,200 inhabitants in the community.¹⁸ SSAB is historically a workshop with a very varied output, that during the post World War period mainly specialised in the production of car bodies. From 1945 until the middle of the 1970s the company suffered from an almost constant shortage of labour, and to meet this scarcity the company imported foreign-born labour.

Foreign-born workers have therefore to a large degree composed the labour force at the plant during the considered period. In the spring of 1947, as an example, 95 Estonian men and 11 Estonian women were on the company's pay roll, which means that almost every tenth employee were born in Estonia.¹⁹

However, during the 1960s and 1970s other nationalities dominated the immigrated part of the labour force. As a further example, in September 1966 1,035 of the approximately 3,400 employed workers were foreign-born, and together they represented 19 nationalities. Finns and Yugoslavs together dominated the immigrated group, and at this point of time 516 Finns and 353 Yugoslavs were employed, while only 8 Estonians still were working at the factory.²⁰

For my project I have selected 7 national groups, who were recruited to the company at different times: Estonian refugees who arrived to the municipality soon after the war and Estonians who were recruited in German camps in the early 1950s, Germans who came during the 1950s and 60s, Hungarians after the uprising in 1956, Italians in the beginning of the 1960s, Yugoslavs during the second half of the 1960s, Danish immigrants in the beginning of the 1970s along with Finns who were recruited to Olofström during the whole period until the middle of the 1970s.

Labour immigrants and oral history

The study will partly be based on oral history, and some pilot interviews with Estonian refugees and Finnish labour immigrants at Olofström have already been done. In the following part of this article I will briefly discuss a couple of their own statements about their first encounters with the Swedish Metal Workers' Union at Olofström. The main argument will be that previous experience and social status in the homeland affected the immigrants' meetings with

the indigenous labour force.

During the years following the end of World War II the Estonian immigrants were a recurrent item on the trade union's agenda at Olofström. The Swedish body of workers believed that the company gave the immigrants preferential treatment of different kinds, and as in Norrköping many of the Estonians at Olofström refused to pay the trade union dues. The measures to organise the community's new inhabitants included spreading of information through lectures, leaflets and a newspaper article published in their native language. But, as we shall see, unorganised labour was also met by forcible means.

Johan Metsäär – just like tens of thousands others – tried to flee the war zone in the Baltic in the autumn of 1944. But Johan was nevertheless captured by German troops at the beach and thereafter had to spend time in different German working camps. Soon after the war the refugees in the DP-camps became a powerful reserve of labour that several western European companies tried to make use of,²¹ including SSAB at Olofström that recruited this particular Estonian man from a German camp in 1950. At Olofström he and other Estonian men and women came in contact with the trade union and the indigenous labour force, and in many cases there were a clash:

'The trade union. Then I first have to tell, when we first arrived here we were accused for everything. That we had been in the German army [...] that we were there voluntarily, but the Germans forced us [...] We did not declare war to anybody, on the contrary it was first the

Russians who came, then the Germans had to force the Russians away. Then we got jammed, we only had to obey.'²²

At first the Estonian immigrants had the cruel Russian occupation in mind when they met the Swedish body of workers. Their experiences had turned many of them into burning anti socialists, and the accusations of them being pro Nazis probably did not make them friendlier minded. Another Estonian immigrant, Albert Fatajev, gives a concrete example of how the Russian occupation affected the Estonians conduct at Olofström. At this point of time he was working next to one of the local trade union officials:

'When we approached the May-Day demonstration he told me to be there. 'No, I will not'. In Estonia I had been ordered out by the communists, there you were forced to go'.²³

For Albert, May-Day demonstrations were, through earlier experiences, associated with communism and forcible means, while they were a demonstration of power and an expression of the working class culture for the Swedish workers.

Johan Metsäär was one of those Estonians who, during a long period of time, stood up against the pressure and refused to organise. When new immigrants were employed at SSAB shop stewards who tried to make them pay the trade union dues visited them:

'And we directly asked: 'is it voluntarily?' But when I told them that I did not want to join: 'Damn, take your belongings and get lost',

they told me [...] ‘Tomorrow you will not be here!’²⁴

In some cases the threats at the workplace could be even more explicit articulated:

‘I know one [Estonian] [...] he became molested and had to run away [...] a group came and they threatened him [...] promised to kick him to death, beat him to death, or at least beat him black and blue.’²⁵

A letter from the Local No. 106 at Olofström to the Metal Workers’ Union in Stockholm shows that physical means actually was a part of the union’s register of measures to deal with unorganised foreign-born workers. In this particular example it is however a Finnish man who is the main character:

‘An other reason which not improves the atmosphere is that one Finnish worker who was eight weeks behindhand with the dues refused to pay, which led to that a couple of hundreds of our members called on this Finn, in this connection the Finn happened to fall on the floor. He reported to his supervisor that he had been assaulted, the company reported the accident to the police’.²⁶

The conduct of the hardly organised Estonians can partly be explained by their painful memories of rough Russian occupation, partly by their background outside the industrial working class. As Lars Olsson and Björn Horgby point out, the greater part of the Estonian refugee group was not industrial labourers in Estonia, but peasants and fishermen.²⁷ The above quoted Estonian

was, as an example, dairyman in his native country and his parents owned a country shop. Erik Olin Wright writes:

‘The norms and values of workers [...] are not mainly the result of deep socialization outside the sphere of work, but are generated within production by the practices workers adopt in their efforts to cope with the dilemmas of their situation. Of particular salience in these terms are the ways in which individual participation in class struggles of various sorts contributes to the formation of solidaristic preferences. More generally the claim is that the perceptions of alternatives, theories, and values held by individuals situated in different class locations is not just shaped by where they are but what they do.’²⁸

Real happenings are accordingly crucial when our perception of the world is developed. The native-born workers at Olofström had experienced a lot of conflict between labour and capital during the first half of the twentieth century. Just a couple of months before the first Estonian refugees arrived at Olofström a five-month long harrowing strike had ended. Experiences of these kinds will – according to Wright’s line of argument – strengthen the class-consciousness in the Swedish body of workers. Estonian immigrants who did not have a background inside the industrial working class, but had been given these class positions at Olofström, had gained *different* experiences during their lives. They had not taken part in the class struggle in the same way as the older workers of Olofström had, and in the extension this matter affected some Estonian workers choice not to pay the

trade union dues.

Pentti Suua was born in 1932 at Kemi in Finland, about 20 kilometres from Haparanda and the Swedish border. The town can be characterized as a stereotypical industrial community of northern Sweden. Two big pulp-factories more or less ruled the place; they had some social responsibilities at the same time as they supervised the area. During his teens and early twenties Pentti was socialised into the local labour class, and he assimilated its norms and values. During the early post World War years the relationship between labour and capital at Kemi at times was very tense. As an example, in 1949 he marched in the front line along with 400-500 other labourers on strike towards one of the factories, and their purpose were to teach strikebreakers *'to swim'*. In the riots that followed when those on strike met armed policemen protecting the strikebreakers two people were killed.²⁹ Unlike the above quoted Estonian man, this Finnish man accordingly had experiences with him when he in 1952 moved to Sweden that reminded of those that the indigenous labour force at Olofström had collected.

'When they asked if I was going to be a member [in the trade union], and I answered: 'of course I am', they were a little bit surprised. Then afterwards I have heard – it was a lot of rumours – that the Estonians were very sceptical. And they had said that even the Finns were hard to organise.'³⁰

Soon after his arrival at Olofström he became a shop steward for the Local No. 106 of the Swedish Metal Workers'

Union. His language skills were most necessary for the trade union during this period of time when new Finnish immigrants were employed at the plant almost every day:

'[A]nd a lot of Finns arrived – it was especially smallholders who came – and they were very hard to organise. And [they were] very sceptical to socialism. They had lived in agricultural districts during their whole lives.'³¹

The labour immigrants' background outside the industrial working class is here explicitly mentioned as a reason for their conduct. In the last part of this article we have only met three foreign-born workers with different experiences in their 'luggage'; they can not be said to be a representative selection, but yet I think that their statements point out a direction for more research. The process of migration should be studied as a whole, conditions in the sending countries as well as in the receiving country should be considered.

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Portugal: Destination Countries for Emigrants; Immigrants' Countries of Origin

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

Contrary to other countries in Europe, Portugal experiences both emigration and immigration. There is some nexus of emigration destinations and the flux towards Portugal. The most obvious ones are Brazil and the Portuguese-speaking States in Africa. This is not, however, the case with the newest and very substantial wave of immigrants coming from the Central and East European countries: there was no previous tradition of interaction with the Portuguese, as well as no proximity to their language and culture. The same is true for all of more than one hundred nationalities of foreigners now working and living in Portugal.

The solution of this apparent paradox is that, while historic ties between sending and receiving countries certainly favour the establishment of migration currents, this is not, nowadays, a sine qua non condition: globalisation can overcome all kinds of frontiers and cultural differences.

Portuguese Emigration: Reasons for Leaving the Country

Throughout the entire nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, two principal reasons came together to motivate the Portuguese to leave their country of origin.

The first of these reasons, common to other countries located on Europe's periphery — underdeveloped regions where a shortage of employment and, not uncommonly, the prospect of hunger loomed overhead — created a flow of transatlantic movements in the direction of the major receptor countries of the Americas, namely to the United States, and Central and South America.

In the particular case of the Portuguese, the principal country of destination in this Atlantic region was Brazil.

The second reason stemmed from the fact that Portugal possessed an extensive colonial empire in Africa, Asia and Oceania, a situation that lasted up until the third quarter of the twentieth century, well after the decolonisation process of the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Belgium, Holland and Germany had taken place. As these processes of decolonisation progressed, the European colonial powers eventually retreated to their original pre-colonial size.

However, as long as Portuguese colonial control lasted, many tens-of-thou-

sands of Portuguese settled down in these territories as agents of the colonial administration, merchants, businessmen or farmers.

Although these departures can not, technically speaking, be classified as examples of international emigration they do not, however, differ significantly with respect to the structure of the populations of those groups of individuals who left for North America or Brazil.

Although this latter destination was by far the most numerically significant, there were other countries of destination, albeit of a smaller numerical importance. These included, in North America, the United States; in Central America, Aruba, Curaçao and Demerara; in the Pacific, the Hawaiian Archipelago (formerly known as the Sandwich Islands); in South America, Argentina and, later on, Venezuela; and even later, roughly around the mid-twentieth century, Canada and South Africa.

Generally speaking, the underlying characteristic of both the emigration movements and the process of colonization was that these were movements leading to long-term settlement which, in many cases, took on a permanent nature, with the successive multiplication of generations.

This departures process that continued throughout the decades and even the centuries has led some Portuguese historians and sociologists to look at emigration as a structural phenomenon of Portuguese society.¹

In the mid-twentieth century a new type of migratory phenomenon took

shape that would soon come to dominate the entire spectrum of Portuguese immigrant destinations: emigration to other European countries, namely Germany, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, the United Kingdom, Spain and, above all, France, where at one time roughly one million Portuguese were legally settled.

The proximity of the countries involved and, above all, their authorities' willingness to accept unskilled manual labour proved very attractive factors for short or medium-term labour-based emigration (in stark contrast with long-term transatlantic emigration) although these often developed into permanent arrangements.

In the majority of cases, the reasons for leaving were no longer a matter of purely material survival but rather were due to these individuals' hopes and expectations for a better future for themselves and their children.

Table 1 presents an estimate, referred to the year 2002, of the number of Portuguese nationals living abroad.

Table 1 Portuguese Residents Abroad

Countries	Residents
Others	706,000
PALOP*	33,000
Australia	55,000
Switzerland	154,000
Germany	170,000
USA	500,000
South Africa	500,000
Canada	515,000
France	798,000
Brazil	1,200,000

*PALOP: in Portuguese language, *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa* (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language)

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DGACCR, 2002

From this brief discussion of the main destination countries for Portuguese emigrants throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is worth highlighting once again the relevance of the bond that existed with Brazil as well as with the Portuguese ex-colonies in Africa and Asia, in that this relationship may help to explain some of the connections that exist between migrations in the past and those of the present. Intra-European migration underwent a strong retraction in the 1970s, in part due to the precedent oil crisis. Despite this, however, the Portuguese did not cease departing to other destination countries, leaving their homeland at an average rate close to 25 000 individuals per year.

Some of these new emigrants have as destinations a number of the previously-mentioned countries. Some others aim at temporary jobs in European countries like France, Switzerland and the United Kingdom for these ones have a marked manpower deficit in some seasons of the year.

It is worth mentioning that the free circulation of workers and businessmen inside the European Union and the suppression of internal borders within this political space contribute to losing track of intra-European mobility, making almost impossible to estimate its quantitative dimension.

Table 2 shows the yearly output of Portuguese emigrants in the decade 1992-2003.

Immigration to Portugal:

The Forerunners

Although relatively small in quantitative terms, mention should be made of some of the oldest migratory currents to Portugal in the past.

The Englishmen and the Methuen Treaty
Put into effect in the eighteenth century (1703) and signed by Portugal and England, the Methuen Treaty established a series of rules concerning commercial trade between these two countries. The principal objectives behind this treaty included importing textiles from the territories of the British Empire

Table 2 *Yearly Output of Portuguese Emigrants — 1992-2003*

Year	Number	Year	Number
1992	39 322	1998	22 196
1993	33 171	1999	28 080
1994	29 104	2000	21 333
1995	22 579	2001	20 589
1996	29 066	2002	27 358
1997	36 395	2003	27 008

in order to meet the needs of the corresponding Portuguese industry, as well as to develop the vineyards of the Douro Valley region, in order to produce and sell Port Wine, which was essentially aimed for export to England.

As a result of this situation, a significant number of English families settled down in the North of Portugal, constituting a wealthy bourgeoisie often referred to in Portuguese literature of the nineteenth century.

Other causes were likewise involved, some of which were directly related to the fact that large production companies in the fields of urban and interurban transportation, telecommunications and mineral exploration, managed and operated by British enterprises, were established in Portugal since the early nineteenth century.

Immigration of Galicians

The Spanish region of Galicia, which lies directly adjacent to the province of Minho, located at the northernmost tip of Portugal, enjoys a special relationship with this latter province, based on strong similarities in terms of geographic landscape, historical and cultural traditions, and even considerable linguistic affinity, with this common language often referred to as *Galaico-Português*.

Naturally subject to the same adverse economic situation that affected the Portuguese northern region during the nineteenth century, Galicia became a source of emigration not only to Latin America but to Portugal as well, particularly to the main cities of Porto and Lisbon (Alves, 2001).

The term «Galician» (in Portuguese,

Galego) became associated with certain low-qualification jobs such as that of heavy-load porters and water-carriers, but also with those owning or working in restaurants and bars where, to this day, many Galicians still are well recognized.

The First Immigrant Groups of the Twentieth Century

From the 1920s to the 1940s a wide variety of nationalities arrived at the Portuguese capital for a different number of reasons. They included:

- Russians (commonly referred to as «White Russians»), refugees during the aftermath of the October Revolution in their country, who exercised artistic professions or professions related to personal services.

- Poles, uprooted by successive political upheavals that afflicted Poland over the decades, who were known in Portugal, above all, for their professional activity in the wool industry.

- Chinese, who arrived at a time when thousands of these nationals sought to emigrate to European countries and who, in Portugal, dedicated themselves to the production and retail of ties, particularly as peddlers (Pereira, 2004:22-33).

- The very special case of a large number of European royal families who found themselves deposed of their thrones and lived in the Estoril-Cascais coastal region West of Lisbon. It was there that the royal families from countries such as France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Romania and Bulgaria settled down (Pacheco, 2001).²

- During the 2nd World War, a

large number of refugees (namely of Jewish origin) from German-occupied countries passed through Portugal to other destinations, an indeterminate number of them having settled permanently in this country.³

Contemporary Immigration: British Citizens

From roughly the 1950s onward there were two types of movements of British citizens directed towards Portugal.

The first one relates to the collapse of the British Empire following the end of the Second World War, leading to the repatriation of hundreds of thousands of civil servants and members of the colonial Armed Forces, of which a significant part subsequently retired.⁴ The end of their professional careers and the comfortable level of their retirement pensions were determining factors in the migration of many of these individuals to Mediterranean European countries blessed with a fair climate and a low cost of living.

In the case of Portugal, many British citizens settled down in the Algarve, in the Southern coastal region of Portugal, where they live off their income.

To these should be added a younger group of their compatriots who provide services to the British community rooted there, working as real estate agents and property administrators, owners of bars and restaurants, providers of education and health services etc. who as citizens of European Union countries bear the right to freely settle therein.

As a whole, the British communities that make up this contemporary wave of immigrants are a relatively autonomous

and closed group with regards to their social contacts, although they do interact with the receptor society in their day-to-day activities, at the individual level.

The case of those individuals who are spread out over the territory in a disperse manner, well outside of the residential conglomerates where their compatriots are concentrated, is particularly interesting because their level of interaction with the surrounding society is much greater as is their degree of integration within that same society.

At the present time, a total of 16,784 British citizens are legally registered as living in Portugal.

Other European Union Nationals

Due to the preferential regulations applying to European Union citizens inside this geo-political region, they are free to establish residence and to develop a professional activity within any country of this space; and they are not subject to police control when travelling across their terrestrial borders.

This situation tends to facilitate intra-European immigration and, in the case of Portugal, there are about 77,053 European Union citizens living among us (2004). Apart from the United Kingdom nationals, which special case was discussed before, the main nationalities represented are Spaniards, Germans and French.

Cape-Verdian Immigration

The movement of persons from the Atlantic archipelago of Cape Verde into Portugal began in visible numbers in the 1960s. However, this movement could

not be classified as international migration because at that time Cape Verde was still under Portuguese sovereignty and its citizens were legally Portuguese.

This movement, which during the sixties is thought to have involved close to ten thousand individuals, owed much to the lack of manual labour in Portugal at that time, a consequence of Portuguese emigration (particularly to Europe) and the mass mobilization of young men to the war effort in which Portugal was involved in its African colonies.

This situation continued even after the independence of Cape Verde, with the regular entry of Cape-Verdians into Portugal (Carreira 1977; Lopes Filho 1980; França1992; Ferreira1997).

Table 3 illustrates the quantitative characteristics of this immigration flow, a significant part of which is attributed to family reunification.

Given the continuous nature of this

*Table 3
Cape-Verdian Residents in Portugal
1980-2003*

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1980	21,022	1992	31,217
1981	21,008	1993	32,763
1982	20,957	1994	36,560
1983	22,358	1995	38,746
1984	23,372	1996	38,546
1985	24,959	1997	38,789
1986	26,301	1998	40,003
1987	26,565	1999	43,951
1988	27,106	2000	47,092
1989	27,972	2001	49,930
1990	28,796	2002	52,227
1991	29,743	2003	57,870

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras / MAI

immigration flow over a period of four decades, the Cape-Verdian community is now well established in Portugal, although it remains somewhat stratified in socio-economic terms. This situation has led to the formation of groups with different levels of interaction with the dominant society, with those groups at the lower end of the integration scale associated with less favourable professional, economic and social conditions.

This situation often translates into rundown residential conglomerates, particularly located on city outskirts, which lead to recreating the cultural environment of this particular group's country of origin (Ribeiro 2001; Horta 2003).

Cape-Verdian immigration is a typical example of a diasporic migratory movement rooted in past colonial relations with a historical, linguistic and cultural affinity with the receptor country.

Other Lusophone African Immigrations

Although not on the same scale or of the same temporal scope as Cape-Verdian immigration, citizens from other Portuguese ex-colonies in Africa (Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São-Tomé e Príncipe and Mozambique) have likewise emigrated to Portugal, after the independence of these countries in 1974 and 1975, as a labour-based immigration (Rocha-Trindade 2001).⁵

The estimated amount of Portuguese-speaking immigrants from African countries (including their major component of Cape-Verdians) legally resident in Portugal amount to about 110,000 (2002).

Compared to this, the number of Africans from other (non-lusophone)

countries is relatively small (6,337).

It is worth mentioning that three or four decades before there was a small-size movement of youths from that region who came to Portugal with the objective of completing their studies in this country, then the hub of a colonial empire of a significant size.

To sum up, the immigration of lusophone Africans to Portugal owed much to the liberalisation of the job market to unqualified manual labourers, in conjunction with the existence of negative factors in their countries of origin, namely the shortage of job opportunities and the political instability that in some cases degenerated into civil war.

Brazilian Immigration

At the present time, Brazilian immigration is among the strongest international currents of human mobility, with Portugal as its final destination. In centuries past, Brazil served essentially as a receiving country for emigrants, given the extent of its vast territory, having, during various distinct periods in its history, received Portuguese, Swiss, Italians, Spaniards, Germans and Japanese as well as various other nationalities, thereby increasing manifold the initial population of Indians, Africans and Portuguese that made up the core of the colonial population of Brazil.⁶

The Portuguese who settled down in Brazil, whether as colonials or later on as immigrants following the independence of that country in 1822, constituted its dominant cultural force, thereby justifying that that country, made up of more than 150 million inhabitants,

have adopted Portuguese as its official language.

In more recent times, two factors came together that made Brazil an emigrant-sending country: the military dictatorship that ruled that country from 1964 to 1980 and the financial instability that afflicted Brazil during the 80-90s, causing inflation to skyrocket at a rate of several thousand per cent per year, thereby effectively de-capitalizing both the country in general and its citizens in particular.

Europe and the United States are the main destinations chosen by Brazilian emigrants, with Portugal included among the preferred target countries, in large part due to its shared language and common historical and cultural background with Brazil.⁷

In 1980, only about 3 600 Brazilian immigrants were residing legally in Portugal. This number swelled during the 80s and 90s, with an annual number of legal entries during this period in the order of several thousands (for instance, 21,000 individuals in 1999 alone).

Table 4 (following page) shows the statistics of Brazilian residents in Portugal in the last decades.

During the initial period of this migratory flow, those individuals who migrated to Portugal were often highly-qualified professionals, namely doctors, dentists, computer scientists, designers, technicians specialised in television and advertising, artistic professionals and high-performance athletes.

More recently, however, a new and numerically denser wave of immigration has taken shape in its way into Portugal, this time made up of professionally less

Table 4 Legal Brazilian Residents in Portugal 1980- 2003

Year	Legal Residents	Year	Legal Residents
1980	3,608	1992	14,148
1981	4,349	1993	16,168
1982	5,016	1994	18,612
1983	5,870	1995	19,901
1984	6,316	1996	20,082
1985	6,804	1997	19,990
1986	7,470	1998	19,860
1987	7,830	1999	20,887
1988	9,333	2000	22,678
1989	10,520	2001	23,541
1990	11,413	2002	58,813
1991	12,678	2003	66,471

Source: Servico de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras/ MAI

qualified individuals, many of whom entered this country illegally. This fact became particularly self-evident during the various processes of regularisation of illegal immigrants which, according to the Portuguese *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (the Borders and Foreigners Service), placed the total number of Brazilians residing in Portugal in mid-2002 at more than 60,000.

Awareness that these numbers may still underestimate the true volume of Brazilian citizens living in Portugal, and that there were perhaps as many as thirty thousand more of these citizens residing illegally in this country, led to the creation of a legalisation mechanism specifically oriented towards these individuals, thanks to an agreement of reciprocity signed by the President of the Republic of Brazil and the Portuguese

Prime Minister on the 11th of July of 2003, which process is still going on.⁸

Generally speaking, this community is relatively well-integrated within the Portuguese society, and in particular in the job market, where its members work in the commerce and service sectors, thanks to their easy-going manner and the cordial relations they are able to establish with the public.

There are, of course, exceptions to this pattern, due to the concentration of a few highly disadvantaged residential nuclei. Significant examples of these include the Cruz de Pau area, located to the Southern bank of the Tagus River, and also some women who hold professions of a somewhat dubious nature.⁹

Following a long period of migratory flow from Portugal into Brazil, Brazilian emigration to Portugal constitutes a rather unique situation in the field of international migrations that was termed by the present author as 'a Retributed Immigration' (Rocha-Trindade 2000:120-127).

The Winds from the East

Up to now, all examples of emigration/immigration provided in this article have been justified to some extent by the existence of previous historical, cultural or even linguistic ties between the involved sending and receiving countries. The same can not be said, however, of some of the more recent migratory currents that have Portugal as their final destination.

In fact, the processes of extraordinary legalisation that took place in Portugal up until mid-2002, and the number

of immigrants who were legalised in this manner, brought the total number of foreign residents from roughly 200 000 individuals in 1999 to slightly less than half a million at the present. These newly legalised immigrants include citizens from virtually every country in the world. Strangely, the largest proportion of them is coming from Central and Eastern European countries.

In fact, the Ukrainian immigrant community, with more than 65 000 members now living in Portugal, is currently one of the three largest foreign national groups residing legally in this country, alongside their Cape-Verdian and Brazilian counterparts.

Immigration from the Eastern European countries has brought out a new, inconvenient aspect: It is now known for sure that travel agency-like criminal organisations in the countries of origin provide false information to candidates to immigration, promising well-paid and attractive jobs as well as speedy legalisation processes to whoever is willing to pay a stiff fee to come to Portugal. Once the fee is paid, and the person is found in Portugal, the organizers simply vanish.

In other cases, organised foreign gangs have been known to be active in Portugal doing extortion to Eastern immigrants under menace of physical violence, this being a current target for the Portuguese police action.

A New Wave of Chinese Immigration

A new migration flow began in the early 90's between the province of Zhejiang in the PRC at the South of Shanghai, and Portugal. This immigration wave

had no relationship to the ethnic Chinese and Luso-Chinese individuals formerly living in Mozambique, that came to Portugal in the 70's when this territory became independent; neither to those formerly living in Macau and who migrated to this country, due to the transfer of sovereignty of that Portuguese-administrated territory in Southeast Asia, to the People's Republic of China (20th December 1999).

Although this Chinese community has a modest dimension when compared with the migrant dominant nationalities in Portugal (9 059 legal residents in 2003, with an estimated 4 000 illegal immigrants), their visibility is rather high, due to their economic activities, mainly in Chinese restaurants and retail shops selling low-cost products manufactured in China. Nevertheless, they configure a rather closed, family-based and almost invisible community in social terms, as they do not interact individually with the receiving society (Rocha-Trindade *et al.*, 2005).

Portugal: Convergence and Divergence in Migration Movements

With roughly five million Portuguese citizens presently living abroad, a figure that represents 50 per cent of this country's actual resident population, Portugal must necessarily be defined, in this perspective, as an emigrant-sending country.

On the other hand, however, approximately half a million foreigners are now residing legally in Portugal, a fact that has led us to consider it, at the same time, an immigrant-receiving country (see Figure 1).¹⁰

From this perspective, it seems important to attempt to establish those connections that may exist between the various exit and entry movements that have Portugal at its fulcrum.

As was previously mentioned, there is a convergence between the entry of Portuguese-speaking African citizens (particularly those of Cape-Verdian origin, due to their visible numerical presence) and the old colonial ties between Portugal and that group of territories, all of which are independent countries today. These ties or bonds may be interpreted under the light of common historical and cultural references and strong linguistic affinities, even in the case of individuals whose mother tongue was the local Creole (and not Portuguese).

In this sense, the modern-day presence of these Portuguese-speaking immigrants from African countries appears to be a logical consequence of the prolonged, and relatively recent, presence of the Portuguese in their respective countries of origin.

The case of Brazilian immigrants shares some similarities with the previous example of African immigrants, but there are also noticeable differences between the two cases. The similarities reside essentially in the fact that Brazil and Portugal have shared the same language and a common history up until the time when the former won its independence, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Equally relevant is the presence of

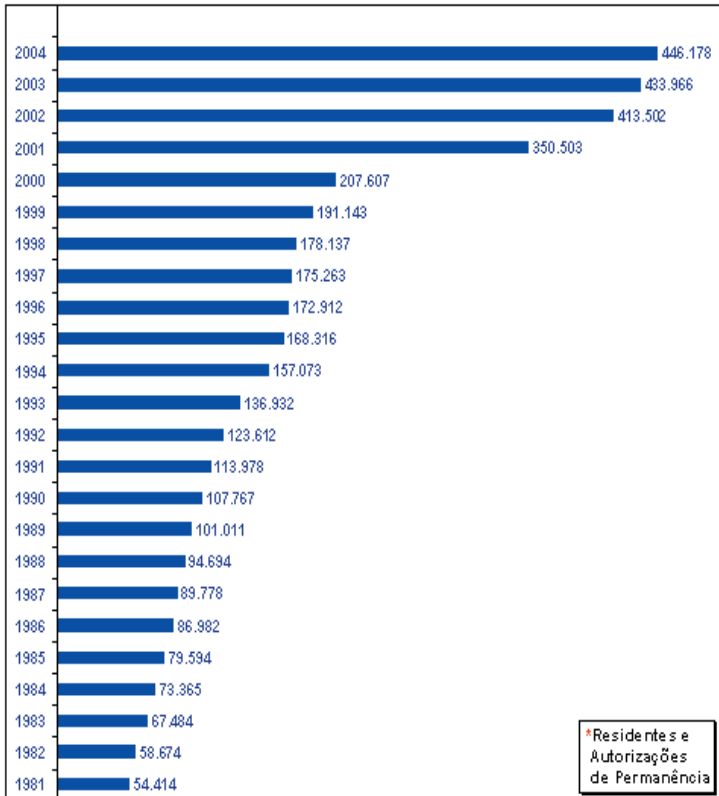


Figure 1
Foreign Residents
in Portugal
1980 - 2004

Source:
Serviço de Estrangeiros e
Fronteiras, MAI, 2004

roughly one million Portuguese citizens and their respective descendants in Brazil, as well as numerous expressions of diplomatic and cultural relations that have taken shape over the years between these two States.

The main difference resides in the fact that the economic and technological gap that exists between Portugal and the new Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa is far greater than that which exists between Portugal and Brazil. In this sense, it would seem that the potential for our country to attract Brazilian immigrants should be significantly weaker than its potential to attract Africans – a supposition that experience has proven to be wrong — perhaps due to the fact that a large number of Brazilian citizens actually have a more or less distant Portuguese ancestry.

Some authors attribute the recent wave of Brazilian immigration into our country to a somewhat greater permeability of its borders to illegal entry in comparison, for instance, with the situation in the United States, which has been a traditional destination country for this group of emigrants in the 20th century. Another explanation points a finger at the power and influence of the *media*, referring to a wide-audience broadcast by *Rede Globo* (Globo Network), a major Brazilian television station, during which emigration to Portugal was described in a highly favourable light.

Let us recall, to this effect, that in addition to those attraction/repulsion factors of an economic and demographic nature, that were once considered to be determining factors in the

existence of international migration currents between the sending and the receiving countries, other factors are likewise thought today to play an equally important role in fomenting these migratory currents, including the spread of information within family and neighbourhood circles, the existence of organised networks and the influence of the *media*.

Another situation analysed was that of the British, a case that undoubtedly have historical roots in the Portugal-England relationship, but whose present-day development can, in part, be attributed to the promotion of travel and real estate companies that present Portugal as an essentially desirable destination.

The same applies to the many thousands of Community citizens who presently reside in Portugal, and who work in this country in a wide variety of fields, although in this case other attractive factors may also be at play. On the one hand, this is the natural result of the globalisation process that affects the majority of productive activities; while, on the other hand, it stems from the privileged status to which European Union citizens are entitled in any part of this geo-political space.

Of particular interest is the situation that resulted from Portuguese emigration to other European countries, among them France, where during the 1960s and 70s the total number of Portuguese living in that country exceeded the one million figure.

A large proportion of these emigrants settled down permanently in that country; another portion opted to split their

place of residence between France and Portugal, travelling frequently between these two countries; while the remainder returned definitely to their country of origin.

The impact of the heavy intra-European migratory current was very important for Portugal. From an economic point of view, the economic remittances sent from abroad to families back home or deposited in Portuguese bank accounts was a powerful driving force for economic development by way of investments of several hundreds of thousands of new homes, commercial installations and new business ventures established in Portugal.¹¹⁻¹²

Although there is not a total convergence between Portuguese emigratory currents (whether classic or contemporary) and the modern-day flow of immigrants from a wide variety of sending countries who now find themselves residing in Portugal, it is still possible to establish some common characteristics of a more generic nature between these two movements:

- Illegal immigrants are initially a large part of immigratory currents;
- There are national and international well-organised networks fully dedicated to promote illegal international migrations, including the delivery of fake identification, travel and work-

permit documents;

- Efforts by the receiving countries to reduce the number of illegal aliens through extraordinary legalisation processes may in fact serve as a stimulus for the entry of further contingents of illegal immigrants who come with the hope that additional legalisation processes will take place;

- The transnational circulation of information regarding job opportunities (be they real or altogether imaginary) for foreign workers constitutes an important element in the development of international migrations;

- The international prestige now associated with the social, economic, political and cultural conjuncture that characterises European Union countries will inevitably make this space a privileged target for the entry of immigrants from comparatively less favourable parts of the globe. Despite the fact that Portugal is substantially less developed in economic terms than the average European country, it will continue to be an attractive destination for immigrants.

- The purpose of Portuguese authorities to promote the integration of immigrants into the receiving society means an enormous sustained effort, which is impaired by any incoming flow of new illegal immigrants.

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Notes

¹ In recent times, when Portuguese emigration became a very insistent theme for historians, geographers and sociologists, its structural character was emphasized by authors like J. Serrão, 1965; C. Almeida & A. Barreto, 1970; V.M. Godinho, 1974; M. B. Rocha-Trindade, 1975, J.Arroteia, 1983.

² In the context of celebrations of 50 years after the end of the 2nd World War, an exhibition was organized in Estoril named «*Cascais-Estoril, A Place of Exile – 20th Century, 30s. 50s.*». The large number of documents collected for this purpose provided the core of the *Museu do Exílio*, in Cascais.

³ The Portuguese consul in Bordeaux (France), Aristides Sousa Mendes, had a major role in making possible the escape of close to 10 000 refugees by providing them with visitor's visas into Portugal, for humanitarian reasons, and without the consent of the Portuguese government. This caused him to be expelled from diplomatic service and only recently gained the public recognition as a hero, for the many lives he contributed to save.

⁴ The main British colonies become independent at the following dates: 1947, India and Pakistan; 1963, Kenya; 1964, Malawi, Tanzania and Zambia; 1965, Rhodesia.

⁵ The former Portuguese African colonies became independent at the following dates: Guinéa-Bissau, 10 September 1974; Cape Vert, 5 July 1975; S. Tomé e Príncipe, 12 July 1975; Mozambique, 25 July 1975; Angola, 11 November 1975.

⁶ The fact that Brazil possesses within itself the potential to become one of the major world powers in a few years and is already the richest and most developed country in Latin America has made it also an attractive destination for immigrants from neighbouring countries, particularly those that are less advantaged such as Paraguay, Uruguay, Peru and Bolivia (in the latter case, see Silva, 1997). With regards to Asia, there is currently a very significant flow of Koreans, mainly into the State of São Paulo (Patarra, 1996).

⁷ In numerical terms the United States, Germany and Italy are slightly ahead of Portugal in what concerns being the preferred destination country for Brazilian emigration (Sales, 1999; Martes, 2000). There is also the very special case of the emigration of Brazilians to Japan, strictly reserved to the direct descendants of Japanese immigrants (*dekassegui nikkei*) living in Brazil (Rossini, 1996).

⁸ This positive discrimination in favour of illegal Brazilian immigrants was strongly contested by the representatives of other Portuguese-speaking foreign communities who claim for themselves the right to the same treatment, without success.

⁹ The image resulting from the practice of prostitution by some Brazilian citizens is actively lamented by this national community and is a motive for concern among the authorities of both countries, due to the unfair creation of a stereotype of negative content that may encompass all Brazilian women.

¹⁰ Statistical data pertaining to immigration frequently may show fluctuations of a few percent, even when referred to the same item (for instance, number of Cape-Verdian residents in Portugal in 2001), according to the year these results are published. This is due to changing applicable laws regarding legalization processes; and to processes initiated in a given year and only being completed in the next one.

¹¹ See, for instance, (Rocha-Trindade *et al*, 1985; Villanova *et al.*, 1994).

¹² The Bank of Portugal's Annual Reports show that these total annual remittances exceed the net contributions that Portugal received from the European Union.

The ‘Franck Letter Collection’: A Socio-Historical Case Study of an Individual Migration Trajectory Inside a European Textile Route

Claude Wey

Our present case study mainly describes and analyses the biographic pathway of Jean-Pierre Franck. Especially based upon a private collection of some 30 documents and of 30 letters which were sent by Jean-Pierre Franck and his family to their relatives in Wiltz in the Luxembourg Ardennes, our contribution will undertake to document and to analyse how the study of private correspondence can contribute to our understanding of individual migration and integration processes on the European scene at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Our paper will also show letter writing as a key tool of migration strategies, especially during the European socio-political and economic crisis of the first half of the twentieth century. Besides this aspect, it will attempt to raise some methodological issues about the interpretation of private letters and the social construction of the emigrant experience.

Introduction

During the nineteenth century, the Luxembourg rural town of Wiltz was dominated by the professional communities of the tanners and the weavers to which the Franck family had belonged for generations.¹ At the end of the eighteen-eighties, two young men of the Franck family as well as a member of the Brück family left their small hometown in the Ardennes to emigrate to Northern Europe. Mathgen Franck ended his migration itinerary in the Finnish town of Åbo/Turku, where he became a leading manager of a textile plant; meanwhile Constant Brück had probably emigrated to Sweden.²

Mathgen's cousin Jean-Pierre Franck finished his European migration trajectory in Sweden, where he succeeded

in building up a successful career as a director in the textile industry.³ His professional tour led him first to the Belgium textile centre of Verviers, from where it continued to the West German town of Hückeswagen near Cologne. From 1890 on, Jean-Pierre Franck settled down in Sweden, where he was going to undertake his entrepreneurial challenge.⁴ Some documents of the ‘Franck Archives’ notify that Jean-Pierre Franck co-directed the ‘Erikson & Franck Klädesfabrik’ in Norrköping and that later on he became the ‘direktör’ of the ‘Borås Yllefabriksaktiebolag’.⁵

Beyond the professional trajectory of Jean-Pierre Franck, the utilized documents reveal quite a few interesting details about the private life of Jean-Pierre Franck and his family in Sweden.

In the eighteen-nineties Jean-Pierre - who continued to call himself by his Luxembourgish surname 'Jemmy' - married Octavie Ziegelé. Octavie and Jean-Pierre had two children, Vivi and Wilhelm.⁶

Like his father, Wilhelm decided to make a professional career in the textile industry.⁷ Wilhelm married Märta Magnusson in 1935. Wilhelm and Märtha had three children, Björn, Margareta and Elisabeth-Monica.⁸ Wilhelm Franck's older sister Vivi, the daughter of Jemmy Franck and Octavie Ziegelé, took in marriage Bengt Simmingsköld, who died prematurely in 1924.⁹ Vivi and her son, Bo Simmingsköld later lived in Växjö, where Bo became the director of the 'Glasforskningsinstitutet'.¹⁰

Our present case study mainly describes and analyses the biographic pathway of Jean-Pierre Franck. Especially based upon a private collection of some 30 documents and of 30 letters which were sent by Jean-Pierre Franck and his family to their relatives in Wiltz in the Luxembourg Ardennes, our contribution will undertake to document and to analyse how the study of private correspondence can contribute to our understanding of individual migration and integration processes on the European scene at the end of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. Our paper will also show letter writing as a key tool of migration strategies, especially during the European socio-political and economic crisis of the first half of the twentieth century. Besides this aspect, it will attempt to raise some methodological issues about the interpretation of private letters and the social construction of the emigrant experience.

Formally our article is organized in three parts:

1. The first part is centred on the description and analysis of the documents which we used for our socio-historical project.

2. The second part focuses on the main topics of Jemmy Franck letters, which partly reveal his migration trajectory as well as his biographic pathway.

3. The third part will be more of an analytical one. It will mainly try to evaluate the present micro-historical research.

The 'Franck Letter Collection': a descriptive, quantitative and analytical statement

Our 'Franck Archives' are based upon several archival unities, such as the documents of the 'City archives of Borås' which were collected by our AEMI colleague Annikki Nikula-Benito or the private documents collected by Mrs Margareta Thorin, the granddaughter of Jean-Pierre Franck. But - as we mentioned earlier - the main unity of documents which we utilised for our research is constituted by some 60 documents which are actually the property of the Luxembourg Schiltges family. Some 30 documents out of 60 are letters which were sent by Jean-Pierre Franck and his descendants to his relatives in Luxembourg. They represent the analytical centre of the present case study. In our 'Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines' in Luxembourg we have classified these letters under the following title: 'The Franck Letter Collection' (FLC).

a) The letters count a total of 80

pages and are dated from 1887 to 1993. Handwriting is used in 29 letters out of 30, and 8 letters out of 24 signed by Jemmy Franck are written in German characters called 'Sütterlin-Schrift'. In the remaining letters, the alphabetic characters of the standard European handwriting are used. So, to summarize and characterize the quantitatively modest 'Franck Letter Collection' on a purely archival level, we have to underline some of its particularities. Besides four letters written in English and signed by Jemmy Franck or by Bo Simmingsköld - the grandson of Jean-Pierre Franck - the remaining documents and letters of the 'Franck Archives' are written in German and switch occasionally to French or to Luxembourgish.

Apart from this linguistic aspect, a few other characteristics of the 'Franck Letter Collection' should be noted. Basically written in quite an awkward German style, strongly influenced by the Luxembourg idiom, including Luxembourgish as well as French sentences, practising the 'Sütterlin' handwriting and the European standardized handwriting, showing an appreciable facility to use the English language, especially Jean-Pierre Franck's letters represent an interesting and representative example of the cultural and linguistic situation of a Luxembourger belonging to the lower middle class whose transnational acculturation process took part during the last third of the 19th century and the beginning decades of the 20th century.

b) From the chronological point of view, the 30 letters can be grouped into five periods: Between 1887 and 1890, Jean-Pierre Franck sent at least 8 letters

home. His first letter was written in the Belgian town of Verviers and the 4 following letters were sent from the German textile centre of Hückeswagen near Cologne. The last three messages of this first letter group were posted by Jemmy from the Swedish town of Norrköping.

Some 15 years later - in 1906 - , Jemmy sent 3 more letters from Norrköping to his relatives in Luxembourg.

From 1915 to 1926, 13 letters were sent from Borås to the Ardennes town of Wiltz. During this third epistolary period, 11 letters were signed by Jemmy and two messages were written by his son Wilhelm.

In 1931 and in 1932 the Luxembourg relatives of 70-year-old Jean-Pierre Franck received two letters: the first one from Göteborg and the last one from Borås.

The 'Franck Letter Collection' counts only four epistolary documents posterior to the 1930s. The messages - dating from 1944 to the beginning of the 1990s - were written by Bo Simmingsköld, the grandson of Jemmy Franck.

Consequently, the 'Franck Letter Collection' is extending over a chronological segment, which covers a major part of the first and the whole of the second industrial revolution. We can say that the 'Franck Letter Collection' constitutes a modest example of trans-border family correspondence and relationship of the outgoing 19th century and of the 20th century, and lasts a century.

c) As far as the social field of the correspondence is concerned, Jean-Pierre Franck as well as his son Wilhelm and his grandson Bo Simmingsköld addressed their letters to their closest

Luxembourg relatives. 6 out of 24 letters were sent by Jemmy to his parents and 7 to his brothers. The other messages were addressed by Jemmy to his closest Luxembourg relatives. They are referred to as 'Meine Lieben', as 'Liebe Angehörige', as 'Liebste Leonie', 'Liebe Schwester und Schwager' or as 'Lieber Alphonse' and so on. On the other hand, we don't have any letters sent to the Francks in Sweden by the Luxembourg relatives. In other words, the 'Franck Letter Collection' constitutes a one way correspondence which represents just one part of an inter-family trans-border relationship.

d) Four messages were sent by Jemmy and by his son Wilhelm to Alphonse Schiltges, who was a nephew of the former and a cousin of the latter. Alphonse Schiltges, who was to become mayor of his home town and a member of the Luxembourg Parliament, succeeded in conserving the family archives throughout the second world war period, which was particularly traumatic for the inhabitants of the Luxembourg Ardennes. At present the family archives of the Schiltges apparently represent one of the rare private collections of migration letters of the Luxembourg Ardennes which have survived the Nazi occupation. They belong to Alphonse Schiltges's daughters Marie-Madeleine, Béatrice and Odile Schiltges, who have kept in touch with the Swedish descendants and relatives of Jean-Pierre Franck.

These archival statements lead us to the following socio-cultural conclusion: conserving family archives as well as maintaining family relations through

epistolary correspondence at times of political hardship such as the two world wars, should be interpreted as the persistence of a model of family culture as well as a paradigm of inter-family relationship which are typical of European middle class families. In other words, the 'Franck Letter Collection' represents a modest example of cultural practices cultivated by the European middle class and lower middle class involved in migration processes before the generalized use of international phone calls on a continental level.

e) With the exception of the first five letters which Jemmy wrote from the Walloon town of Verviers and from the Rhineland textile city of Hückeswagen, Jean-Pierre Franck sent the other epistolary documents from Sweden; 12 of these letters were posted from Borås, 6 from Norrköping and one from Göteborg. In other words, Jemmy Franck's letters originate mainly from two European regions. The first geographic unity could be defined as a trans-border region close to the Luxembourgish Ardennes and including the Walloon industrial region of Liège-Verviers as well as the dynamic economic hub of the German Rhineland where the textile industry played an outstanding economic part, during the whole nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The second geographic unity centres round an axis of Norrköping - Borås: that is Swedish hubs of the Scandinavian textile industry.

To conclude our analysis of the descriptive, quantitative significance of the 'Franck Letter Collection' we have to

underline the modest dimension of our historic material. Its unique particularity consists in contributing substantially to a study of an individual migration experience seized in the economic context of the European textile industry and in the geographical context of the Luxembourg Ardennes, the Walloon-Rhineland trans-border region and Sweden at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century. This turns it into a very precious archival source. In other words, the 'Franck Letter Collection' can be used especially for a social historic case study focusing on the biographic pathway of a Luxembourg-born weaver technician with a multilingual education - Jemmy Franck - who belongs to the pre-world-war-two middle class and whose migratory destiny is closely related to an inner European textile industry route.

The main biographic topics of Jemmy Franck's Migration Letters

Despite the modest quantitative dimensions of our archival source, I'll propose to undertake a partial reconstruction of Jean-Pierre Franck's migration experience by describing the main topics of his letters and by referring to some documents of the City Archives of Borås. Jemmy Franck's letters reveal quite a few interesting themes which could be grouped under the following headings:

- private themes including personal and family related remarks;
- professional and financial information;
- statements and reflections about his migration experience and his professional journeys and voyages.

The latter topic represents a significant part in Jemmy's letters. As we noted in the previous section of our paper, the indication of the respective residences - Verviers, Hückeswagen, Norrköping, Borås - in all the messages written by Jean-Pierre Franck allows us to get quite a reliable impression of his migration experience. Beyond these indications Jemmy Franck's letters quite often provide a detailed description of his migration experience and his professional journeys and voyages throughout Europe.

We are well informed about his migration route which led him to Sweden. In a letter written on 20th October 1889 in Hückeswagen, Jean-Pierre Franck tells his family about his decision to quit his well-paid job in the Rhineland to try his professional luck as a weaver engineer in Norrköping.¹¹ In an undated message sent from Norrköping - which might have been written during the period of November 1889 and February 1890 - Jean-Pierre relates his migration trip from Hückeswagen through Northern Germany and Denmark to Copenhagen and then to Malmö:

*'Von Kopenhagen nahm ich wieder das Schiff bis Malmö, diese Reise dauerte c. 2 Stunden & hatten wir guten Wind so daß das Schiff ruhig ging & es eine wahre Freude war. Dem Schiff folgten immer so ein dutzend Vögel etwas größer wie eine Taube, welche so über die Wellen flogen. In Malmö angekommen wurde Gepäck verzollt & ich nahm eine Droschke zum Bahnhof (...) hier nahm ich direct billets bis Norrköping.'*¹²

(translation) 'From Copenhagen I again

took the boat to Malmö, the journey lasted about 2 hours and the wind was good, so that the ship moved on smoothly and I really enjoyed it. The ship was being followed by a dozen or so birds which were a little bit taller than pigeons and flew just above the waves. In Malmö I cleared my luggage through customs and took a hackney coach to the railway station where I bought tickets to Norrköping.'

From Malmö, he took the night train to Norrköping :

'nun wurde ausgestiegen & am Bahnhof gegessen - da standen um einen großen Tisch das hier benannt Smöerkabader d.h. alle möglichen Sorten Fleisch, Käse, campot, Brod & Kartoffeln nun nahm sich jeder einen Teller & nahm von was & so viel er wollte & aß, ich machte natürlich wie die Andern, nahm 1/2 Flasche guter Wein hierzu & bezahlte 5 Kronen, dann wurde wieder eingestiegen & langten genau 3 Uhr Morgens hier an. Ich wurde am Bahnhof sehr schön empfangen & wurde ich zu dem größten hiesigen Hotel gebracht, wo ein champagner (da schon) breit stand - Um 5 Uhr ging ich schlafen & schlief bis Mittag. Nach dem dîner holte man mich ab & ging zur Fabrik - ich glaube ich muß 2 Monate hier sein ehe ich mich drin zurückfinde so groß sie ist.'

(translation) *'now we got off and had a meal at the station – there was a large table loaded with what they call here Smöerkabader, that is to say all sorts of meat, cheese, compote, bread and potatoes. Everybody took a plate and helped himself with what he liked and with as much as he liked and started to eat. I did of course the same, added half a bottle of good wine and paid 5 crowns. Then we got on the train again and arrived here at*

exactly 3 o'clock in the morning. I was very warmly welcomed at the station and brought to the biggest hotel of the place, where a glass of champagne was already waiting for me – At 5 o'clock I went to bed and slept till noon. After lunch I was fetched from the hotel and brought to the plant – I think I will need two months here before I'll find my way through, because it is so big.'

Despite the rapidity of his migration journey, Jemmy noted down his views and his impressions about Denmark and Southern Sweden, insisting that his new homeland seems to be far wealthier and more urbanized than the Danish regions he has crossed before :

'Auf meiner ganzen Reise habe nicht viel besonderes gesehen, so daß ich zum Endresultat die ganze Welt auf einer Seite wie auf der anderen als ganz egal betrachten muß. Ganz Dänemark, wenigstens so viel wie ich davon zu sehen bekam ist ohne Berge (tunels habe ab Hanover keine gesehen) & viele Tannenwälder auch wenig bevölkert dann mal alle 2 Stunden bekam ich mal so ein Bauernnest mit Strohdächern 1 Stock hoch zu sehen. In Schweden dagegen ist es besser, viele Städte habe ich passirt & sehen diese eben auch reicher aus.'

(translation) *'During the whole journey, I didn't see anything special, so that as a final result, I must consider the whole world as being exactly the same, on this side as well as on the other. Denmark, at least what I could see of it, has no mountains (since Hanover, I didn't see any tunnel) ; there are many fir forests and the country is poorly inhabited, only every two hours or so did I see a village of peasants, with thatched cottages about one storey high. In Sweden, on the contrary, the situation seems to*

be better, I came through many towns, which actually looked richer.'

In the following two letters written in Norrköping during the first half of 1890, Jean-Pierre Franck continued to relate his new personal experiences by exposing the sunny side of his social and professional life in Sweden, which he already calls his 'neue Heimat', a formula which could be translated by 'new fatherland':

„Mir gefällt es ausgezeichnet hier, die gestrige Nacht haben wir auf dem Meere zugebracht in einem Dampfschiff wo wir nach Bråvikshälsan fuhren & einen Ball hatten - herrlich sag ich Ihnen. Heute abend bin ich bei dem Vice Consul der Niederlande eingeladen, das geht immer großartig hier & kommt mir, weil ein so großartiges Leben nicht gewohnt bin, herrlich vor. Wenn man viel verdient muß man viel verzehren, werde jedoch nach meinen jetzigen Berechnungen jährlich 3000 frs. sparen können & gebe Ihnen die Versicherung daß ich ein gemachter Mann bin. Sie können sich keinen Begriff machen wie das Leben hier angenehm ist.⁴³

(translation) *'I like being here very much, we spent last night on the sea, on a steamship that brought us to Bråvikshälsan where we attended a ball – I tell you it was marvellous. To-night I am invited by the vice-consul of the Netherlands, everything is always gorgeous here and for me, who am not used to a gorgeous life, it seems fantastic. If you earn much money, you have to spend a lot, but according to my present calculations, I shall be able to put aside 3000 francs a year and I assure you that I am a really successful man. You cannot nearly imagine how pleasant life is here.'*

Jemmy also noted in the following message :

'Ich bestätige Ihnen meine Postkarte von Katherineholm wohin ich eingeladen war zu einer Lustparthie auf dem Meere; wir sind die ganze Nacht auf dem Meere gewesen ach wie schön wie reizend wie prächtig wie nett !! Gestern war ich eingeladen bei dem Consul Swartling zu seiner silbernen Hochzeit, wo Champagner & cherry wie Wasser floß;

*(...)- Alles ich auch natürlich im Schneppe & Cylinder & sonst alles weiß - Handschuhe, Schlips etz & die dann alle in weiß Seide, Atlas & decolletirt wie am Hofe.'*¹⁴

(translation) *'I confirm the postcard I sent from Katherineholm where I had been invited to a party on the sea ; we stayed out on the sea for the whole night, oh how beautiful, how ravishing, how wonderful, how nice !! Yesterday I was invited by Consul Swartling to the celebration of his silver wedding, and champagne and cherry flowed like water. – Everybody was wearing a dinner jacket and a top hat and then everything white – gloves, bow tie etc., and the ladies in white silk, atlas and low cut dresses like at Court.'*

And Jemmy continued: *'Ich kann mich schon sehr gut in diesem Prunck schicken, denn das ist kein preußischer Wind, nein wir haben auch Geld.'*

(translation) *'I am already behaving very well in this splendour, because it is no fake, no, we do have the money.'*

A reading of these letters as well as of the remaining letters written by Jemmy Franck between 1906 and 1932 gives the observer the impression that Jemmy Franck is to stay in Sweden definiti-

vely from 1890 to his death, where he succeeds in building up a successful professional career as a technician and later on as a director of textile plants. Nevertheless the lack of letters for the period from 1890 to 1906 forces us to a certain analytic caution concerning the biographic pathway of Jemmy Franck. Indeed, the absence of epistolary documents for about 15 consecutive years should not be interpreted as a sign of Jean-Pierre Franck's unproblematic socio-professional adaptation in Sweden.

Looking at the short biography of the 'direktören' Jean-Pierre Franck which was published after his death in December 1936 as a part of an obituary in the 'Borås Tidning', we note that the first two decades of Jemmy Franck's professional and social life can be defined as an eventful and probably quite troubled period of building up his career.¹⁵ Jemmy left Sweden in 1898 and he worked for the next two years as a director for 'Hörsholms Yllefabrik' in Denmark. After the turn of the century, Jemmy came back to Sweden, where he continued his professional career as a leading manager of 'Stockholms Yllefabriks Aktiebolag' before he founded the 'Erikson & Franck Klädesfabrik' in Norrköping with an associate in 1905.

The obituary seems to imply that Jemmy backed out from the company two years later. The reasons of the early departure are quite unknown, because the obituary text of the 'Borås Tidning' of 14th December 1936 noted that the recently founded company 'vilken han dock överlät på sin kompanjon år 1907'.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the three letters sent

by Jean-Pierre Franck from Norrköping between 15th September and 19th October 1906 to his brother living in Wiltz provide a few hints of some financial transactions and of possible financial problems which Jean-Pierre Franck might have had to face at this time. It seems that Jemmy Franck expected a financial transaction from Luxembourg and begged his brother in a letter dated 15th September 1906 that their mother should not be told.¹⁷ Jemmy insisted that '*dieses ist ein reines Unglück, was mir passirt ist, es wird mich (...) viel Geld kosten, doch hoffe einen Theil zu retten.*'

(translation) '*this is a real calamity I am enduring now, it will cost me a lot of money, but I hope to be able to save part of it.*'

In the following letter of 8th October, Jemmy again implored his brother '*dass meine Mutter nur nichts hiervon hört sonst glaubt sie, daß ich ein armer Mann bin, werde Sie jedoch in Kürze von dem Gegentheil überzeugen.*'¹⁸

(translation) '*be careful not to let my mother know about it, otherwise she will think that I am a poor man, but I will shortly convince you of the contrary.*'

And Jemmy repeated the same request in the following letter which he sent eleven days later, but this time he added at the end of his short letter that '*Ich bin im Gange Aktien Gesellschaft zu bilden.*'¹⁹

(translation) '*I am presently building up a joint-stock company.*'

However confusing or revealing these epistolary hints might be, it seems that

their negative influence on Jemmy Franck's professional trajectory were probably quite limited. Jemmy continued his professional trajectory as a director at 'Ljungafors Klädesfabriks Aktiebolag' in Svenljunga, before he became a director of the 'Borås Yllefabriks Aktiebolag' from 1913 until his professional retirement in 1926.²⁰

Eleven letters written by Jemmy marked the period when he directed the textile plant of Borås. Covering some ten years - the first letter is dated 14th August 1915; the last one was sent to Luxembourg on 7th July 1926 - this group of messages probably testifies to the climax of Jean-Pierre Franck's professional career. Jemmy Franck - whose strong point was obviously not modesty - was generally pleased during this period to show off his professional success and to parade as a 'man with savoir-faire'. In his letter dated 19th August 1920 which he sent from Borås to his brother who kept a butchery in the Luxembourg Ardennes, he wrote:

*'ich reise jährlich c. 3 Monate und habe 800 Arbeiter und du hast 3 oder 4.'*²¹

(translation) «I travel around for about three months a year and I have 800 men working for me and you have 3 or 4.»

Indeed, the professional career of the Luxembourgier Jemmy Franck represents a perfect example of a personal migration success. Jemmy's adaptation process in his new 'fatherland Sweden' permits his socio-cultural acceptance by the Swedish industrial notabilities, which is truly remarkable for a descendant of a modest handicraft family of the Luxembourg Ardennes. Living the

social life of the Swedish upper-middle class, cultivating its ideological and cultural values, Jean-Pierre Franck relates the events of a successful Luxembourgish emigration in his messages.²²

On a purely familial level, Jemmy Franck's letters relate the main events which have determined the inter-generational trajectory of family life to the Luxembourgish relatives. Of course, Jemmy is pleased to announce the career of his son Wilhelm, who studied weaver engineering in the German textile hub of Aachen, before spending his professional life at 'Kilsunds Aktiebolag'.²³ Jemmy notes his professional travels throughout Europe as well as those of his son with great personal satisfaction.²⁴ Jemmy also occasionally visits his mother country. On the other hand, he promises his nephew - young Alphonse Schiltges - to invite him to Sweden as his letter of 7th June 1920 shows:

'My dear Alphonse ! I have only received your letter and postcard but could not answer you earlier because I have been so little at home lately.

Your dear mother is quite right to be angry with me because I did not go to see her during my last journey to Luxemburg, but tell her that I had so little time! I had so long a journey before me that I could not spare any time for her, but the next time I am going to your country again (I think it won't last so long) I shall not fail to see her and your father!

I see you should like to come and see us here in Sweden this year, but I think it would be better to wait a little longer, everything is so uneasy now, and just travelling in these times verry difficult. Your aunt Octavie is not at home during the summer months, she and Wilhelm are going to Warberg, a watering

place here in Sweden in order to recover her health, and as to me, it is impossible to know whether I am here or in Russia or at another place in the wide world. That fact alone explains you how difficult and uncertain it would be for you to come here this year, but I hope these funny times are going over soon, and then, we should be very happy to see you here and show you our dear Sweden 'a meng Hunger'.

*Your uncle Jemmy*²⁵

Your aunt and Wilhelm send you their best compliments, and we all beg you to remember us to your dear parents.'

Jean-Pierre Franck wrote: *'we should be very happy to see you here and show you our dear Sweden 'a meng Hunger'*. In the last part of the sentence Jean-Pierre Franck switched from English to Luxembourgish. *'A meng Hunger'* could be translated by *'and my chickens'*.

From the mid-1920s on, the epistolary messages sent to Luxembourg cease to describe an everlasting success story of a Luxembourgish emigrant in Scandinavia. The premature death of his son-in-law Bengt Simmingsköld in 1924 and the death of his wife Octavie in 1929, as well as his personal health problems lead him to his professional retirement in 1926.²⁶ All these tragic events represent the irreversible signs of his own life cycle coming to an end after 74 years - in 1936.

As we know, the death of Jean-Pierre Franck didn't stop the relations and the correspondence between his descendants and their relatives in Luxembourg. As we know, Jemmy's daughter Vivi Simmingsköld and her son Bo Simmingsköld visited the Luxembourgish branch

of their family just before the outbreak of World War II.

But even the dark period of the Second World War couldn't break the relationship between the Simmingsköld family and their Luxembourg relatives. The probably most moving document of the 'Franck Letter Collection' testifies to this statement. Bo Simmingsköld sent in 1944 a message to the 'Luxembourg Consulate' in London in order to transmit²⁸ news to his Luxembourg relatives news from the members of the Schiltges family who were victims of the deportation from Luxembourg to Germany.²⁷ These repressive measures of deportation against Luxembourg antifascists were organized by the Nazis during the German occupation of Luxembourg during World War Two.

Bo wrote the following sorrowful message: *'If it is possible I ask you respectfully to bring the message to Mr. Schiltges Senior, Wilts Luxembourg, that we have got the news from his son and his family who were taken away to Germany by the Germans, that they are still alright. We got a letter from them 20.10.44. Please send also the kindest regards from their relatives in Sweden.'*

And so the Simmingsköld family continued to keep in touch with the Schiltges branch of Wiltz again from 1944 on, to the 1990s, a time when Bo welcomed the Schiltges' sisters in the town of Växjö.²⁹

Jean-Pierre Franck's migration experience : an anecdotal phenomenon or a representative case study of the European migration history ?

Instead of proceeding to a final conclusion, we suggest a short analytic evalua-

tion of Jean-Pierre Franck's biographic pathway as well as of the 'Franck Letter Collection' for the scientific field of historic migration studies.

It should be quite unfair to reduce the off-the-path migration experience of a Luxembourg weaver technician to a mere anecdotal phenomenon apt to attract just the curiosity of local historians. In fact, Jemmy Franck's migration experience is a significant example which helps to illustrate the structural diversity of migration processes in the Luxembourg Ardennes of the outgoing 19th century. In a certain way it provides historic evidence that Luxembourg migration processes should not be reduced to a few migration macro-trends such as the overwhelming transatlantic emigration to Northern America and the trans-regional migrations to Belgium, France or to the industrialised Southern part of the Grand-Duchy.

Indeed, Jemmy Franck's migration experience constitutes a social historic example of an 'off the main stream migration trajectory'. It also represents a micro-historic example of a quite unstudied socio-historic phenomenon: that of an individual experience inside a European secondary migration route which led him to Sweden, at a time when Sweden represented in the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg much more a case of an emigration hub than of an immigration target. But it would be false to present Jemmy's decision to emigrate to Scandinavia as an uncommon and outstanding decision of a Luxembourg individualist.

As we noted at the beginning of our paper, Jemmy Franck is one of three

young men of the Wiltz weaver community who tried their professional luck in Scandinavia. The same destination had been chosen some 270 earlier by Walloons as well as by inhabitants of the Northwestern part of the Duchy of Luxembourg: they had emigrated to the Swedish province of Uppland to contribute to the 'take off' of Swedish forgery.³⁰ We also know that at the beginning of the 19th century, a member of a well-known tanner family of the Belgian as well of the Luxembourg Ardennes – the Servais - emigrated to Denmark.

Did this historical context really influence the migration process of young Jemmy? Apart from the fact that he was probably informed about these local historical data, he was probably more affected by a recent social background which was literally determined by migration processes. In fact, young Jean-Pierre Franck - who had probably been educated in the textile centre of Sedan in the French Ardennes - lived in a geographic environment as well as in a social familial milieu where migration processes constituted a structural function. For instance members of the Franck family emigrated to Northern America as well as to Java (Indonesia), Jemmy's brother Nicolas Franck worked for a while in France before he went to the Belgian city of Liège where he joined his uncle and his aunt at a time when his brother Jemmy worked in the nearby textile town of Verviers. And at the same time their sister Lenie made personal projects which consisted in applying for a domestic job in Western Germany.³¹

Further on, at a time when he was

working in the textile hub of Hückeswagen - after having transited through the textile town of Düren in Western Germany - Jemmy Franck was probably informed about the commercial connections which existed between the textile centres of the German Rhineland and the Northern European or Scandinavian textile hubs. As he had already learnt that two other young men - Constant Brück and Mathgen Franck - had moved from the Luxembourg town of Wiltz to Sweden and to Finland, young courageous Jemmy decided to realize his private and his professional dreams in Scandinavia. And so he did !

In a certain way, the migration experience of Jean-Pierre Franck represents a quite particular and individual and even anecdotal experience. But in a socio-historical context, our description and analysis of the private correspondence of a Luxembourg emigrant to Sweden seems to represent far more than an isolated socio-historic curiosity, but a quite representative example of an individual migration trajectory inside an inner-European industrial textile route. Taken in this context, Jean-Pierre Franck's migration experience represents a historical case study which illustrates the structural complexity and diversity of the migration phenomena in contemporary social history !

Notes

¹ See Jean Ensich, «La population de Wiltz en 1864», in: *Harmonie Grand-Ducale Municipale Wiltz: Livre d'Or 1794-1994*, Luxembourg, 1994, 707-776, especially 746; see also 'Descendants of Pierre Franck', in:

[http:// www.deligen.com](http://www.deligen.com)

² See Will Schumacher, *Wëlzzer Leggt a Wëlzzer Geschichten*, Esch-sur-Alzette, 1993, 55-58.

³ Will Schumacher, *op. cit.*, 55-56.

⁴ *Ibid.*.

⁵ «Dir. J. P. Franck», in: *Borås Tidning*, 14 December 1936; see also „Bevölkerungsziffer und industrielle Tätigkeit“, in: *Philharmonie de Wiltz 1794-1969*, 34-37, especially 35-36.

⁶ See the genealogy *Jean-Pierre Franck and his family* elaborated by Margareta Thorin, granddaughter of Jean-Pierre Franck, 20 pages, archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg.

⁷ «Dödsfall», in: *Borås Tidning*, 27 October 1952.

⁸ See the genealogy *Jean-Pierre Franck ... op. cit.*.

⁹ Letter 21, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Borås, 12th July 1924,

private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 21.

¹⁰ See «Bevölkerungsziffer und industrielle Tätigkeit», in: *op. cit.*, 35-36.

¹¹ Letter 5, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Hückeswagen, 20th October 1889,

private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 5.

¹² Letter 6, Jean-Pierre Franck to his parents, Norrköping, undated, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 6.

¹³ Letter 7, Jean-Pierre Franck to his parents, Norrköping, 22nd March 1890, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 7.

¹⁴ Letter 8, Jean-Pierre Franck to his parents, Norrköping, 31st May 1890, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 8.

¹⁵ «Dir. J. P. Franck», in: *Borås Tidning*, 14 December 1936.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*.

¹⁷ Letter 9, Jean-Pierre Franck to his brother (Christian name not specified), Norrköping, 15th September 1906,

private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 9.

¹⁸ Letter 10, Jean-Pierre Franck to his brother

(Christian name not specified), Norrköping, 8th October 1906, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 10.

¹⁹ Letter 11, Jean-Pierre Franck to his brother (Christian name not specified), Norrköping, 19th October 1906, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 11.

²⁰ Letter 24, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Borås, 7th July 1926, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 24; see also «Dir. J. P. Franck», in: *Borås Tidning*, 14 December 1936.

²¹ Letter 15, Jean-Pierre Franck to his brother Nicolas Franck, Borås, 19th August 1920, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 15.

²² See Letter 25, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Göteborg, 13th May 1931 and Letter 26, Jean-Pierre Franck to his sister and his brother-in-law, Borås, 18th October 1932, private archives of the Schiltges family, copies of the letters in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 25 and FLC L 26.

²³ Letter 22, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Borås, 15th June 1925, see Letter 23, Wilhelm Franck to Alphonse Schiltges, Borås, 2nd January 1926, private archives of the Schiltges family, copies of the letters in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 22 and FLC L 23; see also «Dödsfall», in: *Borås Tidning*, 27 October 1952.

²⁴ Letter 25, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Göteborg, 13th May 1931, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 25.

²⁵ Letter 14, Jean-Pierre Franck to his nephew Alphonse Schiltges, Borås, 7th June 1920, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 14.

²⁶ Letter 23, Wilhelm Franck to Alphonse Schiltges, Borås, 2nd January 1926 and Letter 24, Jean-Pierre Franck to his family, Borås, 7th July 1926, private archives of the Schiltges family, copies of the letters in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 23 and FLC L 24.

²⁷ Letter 27, Bo Simmingsköld to the Consulate of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg in London, London, 26th October 1944, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 27.

²⁸ Letter 27; the message, dated 15th November, was transmitted by the Consulate of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg in London to Alphonse Schiltges Senior, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 27.

²⁹ Letter 29, Bo Simmingsköld to Béatrice Richard-Schiltges, Växjö, 14th November 1989 and Letter 30, Bo Simmingsköld to Béatrice Richard-Schiltges, Växjö, 26th March 1993, private archives of the Schiltges family, copies of the letters in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 29 and FLC L 30.

³⁰ See Léon Le Febve de Vivy, *Documents d'histoire précoloniale belge (1861-1865)*, Bruxelles, 1955, 50-52; see Bernt Douhan, *Arbete, kapital och migration. Valloninvandringen till Sverige under 1600-talet*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia 140, Uppsala, 1985; see also E. M. Braekman, «L'émigration wallonne en Suède», in: *Belgia 2000*, mensuel, septembre 1984, 40-47.

³¹ Letter 7, Jean-Pierre Franck to his parents, 22nd March 1890, private archives of the Schiltges family, copy of the letter in the archives of the CDMH/Dudelange/Luxembourg: FLC L 7.

Notes on Contributors

Jan Ekberg is Professor in Economics at The Centre of Labour Market Policy Research (CAFO), Växjö university. His research fields are economic effects of postwar immigration to Sweden and the immigrants position in the labour market. Ekberg has also worked as an expert in the Government Commission concerning issues about immigration to Sweden.

Solveig Fagerlund is Associate Professor at School of Humanities at Växjö University, Sweden. Her doctoral thesis for Lund University was on *'Handel ochandel. Vardagslivets sociala struktur ur ett kvinnoperspektiv. Helsingborg ca 1680-1709.'* Her research on emigration from Stensjö in Döderhults parish is financed by *'Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien'*.

Irena Gantar Godina, Ph.D. is research counsellor at the Scientific Research Center of the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Slovenian Emigration Studies in Ljubljana, Slovenia and Assistant professor of History at the Faculty of Education, University of Ljubljana. Her publications include *'Masaryk and Masarykism in Slovenia'* (1987), *Neo-Slavism and the Slovenes*, (1994). In recent years she has been involved in projects on *Slovene in Slavic Countries in the 19th Century and at the beginning of the 20th Century*.

Katarina Hjelm has her Ph.D in Community Medicine from Växjö University. Her thesis was on Migration, health and diabetes mellitus: studies comparing foreign- and Swedish-born diabetic subjects living in Sweden. She is presently working at the Institute for Health Science at Växjö University on subjects related to migration and health.

Olavi Koivukangas is Professor and Director of the Institute of Migration, Turku, Finland, since 1974. He has a Ph.D in Demography, Australian National University, Canberra, 1972 and a Ph.D. in History, University of Turku, 1986. He has published widely in the field of international migration, especially on Finns and Scandinavians in Australia and New Zealand.

Johan Svanberg is a doctoral student in history at Växjö University, Sweden. His thesis focuses on labour immigration to Svenska Stålprensning AB in Olofström (present Volvo) after the Second World War. It is a local work-place study discussing division of labour and job sharing related to class, ethnicity, gender and generations.

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade holds a Ph.D. in Sociology from the Université René Descartes, Sorbonne. She is Professor at the Universidade Aberta/Portugal and Director of the Centre for the Study of Migrations and Intercultural Relations (CEMRI). She has published extensively on migration issues in Portugal and abroad. At present she is responsible for the course 'Sociology of Migration' and scientific co-ordinator of the Master Degree Program in Intercultural Relations. Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade has been awarded the *French Ordre Nationale du Mérite*.

Claude Wey is Secretary of the Scientific Board of the «Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines / Dudelange / Luxembourg». His latest publications and articles include '*Luxembourgers in Latin America and the Permanent Threat of Failure*' (2003), '*Une brève présentation de l'oeuvre historiographique d'Arno Mayer*' (2004) and '*Luxembourg immigrants and their descendants in Argentina, 1880-1940*' (2004).