Special Issue on

Cinema, Literature and Migration

Editor
Hans Storhaug

AEMI Journal

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

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From the Editor

I am happy to finally present the AEMI Journal 2006 - 2007, which in fact is a double volume with selected papers from the 2005 meeting in Paris and the meeting last year in Trogir, Croatia. The Journal has become an important tool for documentation, dissemination and communication, and as such a complement to our annual meetings. Although our policy has been to publish all papers from the meetings, this has not always been the case. To be able to publish the journal on time every year, I will strongly encourage future contributors to e-mail their papers to the host institution or to the editor directly, in due time, meaning no later than 31 December.

The first section of this AEMI Journal includes all the English papers presented in Paris focusing on *Cinema, Literature and Migration*. They span from Knut Djupedal´s article about the successful Norwegian footballplayer and couch Knut Rockne, who became 'the incarnation of the ideal immigrant', to Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade´s focus on the need to create migration museums where present and future generations may find references of such stories. The many interesting French papers presented in Paris will be published in *Migrance* by our colleagues at Génériques.

The second section is dedicated to the theme of *Cultural and Economic Links in Diaspora.* Ivo Nejašmić and Roko Mišetić discuss the demographic development in the island of Vis, Croatia leading to a massive emigration overseas and a substantial population decline in the twentieth century. Marina Perić Kaselj and Simona Kuti discuss Croatian immigrants in Chile, while Mirjana Adamović and Silva Mežnaric contemplate on the challenges related to brain drain.

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, Brian Lambkin and Olavi Koivukangas are among our regular contributors. In this volume Lambkin praises the possibilities for comparative studies connected to the use of the Art of European Migration Virtual Archive. Koivukangas draws the attention to immigration implications related to recent EU enlargements, while Rocha-Trindade demonstrates how returned Portuguese emigrants try to preserve their cultural memories from abroad. We are also grateful for Kristina Toplak contributions and her focus on the immigrant's perception of mainstream Slovenia as well as transnational identities among Slovene immigrants in Greater Buenos Aires.

Finally, I will draw your attention to the successful collaboration between the European Institute of Cultural Routes and AEMI. Our common efforts to make *migration* a new European cultural route has finally been rewarded. It was integrated into the programme of Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe in May 2004, and in April this year (2007), it was officially elected the 'European Route of Migration Heritage'. On 5 October 2007 the Charter of the Itinerary will be presented to the board of AEMI by the General Secretary of the European Council. The ceremony will be followed by a dinner by the government of Luxembourg.

We should all take pride in this important event for AEMI, and I will use this opportunity, on behalf of all AEMI members, to thank Antoinette Reuter at Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines, in Dudelange, Luxembourg and Michel Thomas-Penette at the European Institute of Cultural Routes in Luxembourg for their energetic work and wonderful support.

Hans Storhaug, *editor*

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

6 - 9 October, 2005
Paris, France

Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other specialists in the field, met for a three day conference at La Maison de l'Europe in Paris, France.

THURSDAY 06.10.05
Conference members met at 9.00 am at La Maison de l'Europe (House of Europe). This splendid building is the headquarters of the department of cultural affairs of the City of Paris. There they were welcomed by Dr Driss El Yazami, director of this year's host insti-tution, Génériques. Driss also welco-med members of the public to the day's proceedings and spoke briefly about the theme of this year's conference 'Cinema, literature and immigration', and the work of Génériques.

Génériques was established in 1987 as part of the bicentenary of the French

Revolution and in 1989 presented the first major exhibition dedicated to the history of immigration in France. Since 1992 it has been working in partnership with the French Archives Department to create a national inventory of public and private archives on the history of foreigners in France from 1800 to the present. Génériques is now a leading organization in France and Europe for the historical and archive heritage of immigration. Situated at a crossroads between universities, institutions, associations and cultural groups, Génériques helps to create links between the various groups involved in France and Europe, encourage work on the history of immigration and raise public awareness of the contribution that foreign populations have made to the history of France.

On behalf of the Association, the Chairman, Dr Brian Lambkin, thanked Driss and his colleagues for their kind welcome. He then read messages received from members unable to attend this year's meeting, including Diana Pardue, Chief of Museum Services of the Statue of Liberty National Monument and Ellis Island Museum in New York, who explained that as a result of the emergency situation arising from the hurricanes Katrina and Rita she had been assigned to an emergency team going to Baton Rouge to assist the cultural institutions in Louisiana.

Driss El Yazami called on the distinguished French writer M. Kebir Mustapha Ammi to introduce the theme of the conference. His introduction was followed by the following programme.

9.30-12.30
First session: *Cinema and Immigration*
　　Chairman: Yvan Gastaut, University of Nice (France)

The Place of Algerian Immigration in French Cinema 1975-1985: From Silence to Light
　　Naïma Yahi, University of Paris VIII Saint-Denis (France)

"Knute Rockne, All American", The Story of Norwegian Immigrant as told by Hollywood
　　Knut Djupedal, Nowegian Emigrant Museum (Norway)

The Movie "Cheese and Jam": Migration in Self-Perspective
　　Krisitna Toplak, Institute for Slovene Emigrant Studies, Scientific Research Centre of SASA, Ljubljana (Slovenia)

Discussion

14.30-18.00
Second session: *Literature and Immigration*
　　Chairwoman: Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, Universita Aberta (Portugal)

Migrants and Whales: Reality and Metaphor in Luxembourg Literature
　　Maria Luisa Caldognetto, University of Trier (Luxembourg)

Crossing, Odysseys, Exile: Literary and Cinematographic Reflections of Migratory Routes towards France, 1945-75
　　Yvan Gastaut, University of Nice (France)

Cultural Transfer and Condensation of Memory: textual displacement in the short stories of Henry Kreisel

Patrick Farges, University of Paris VIII Saint Denis, University of Burgundy (France)

Between Directing and Relating: the figure of the North African in the French Press

M'hamed Wahbi, Regional Obervatory of Migrations (Morocco)

Discussion

Dinner was kindly hosted by Génériques in a restaurant close to Place de la Bastille.

FRIDAY 07.10.05
The final session of the conference programme that was open to members of the public was as follows.

9.00-12.30
Final session: *Museography, Literature and Cinema*

Chairwoman, Antoinette Reuter, Centre for the Documentation of Human Migrations (Luxemburg)

Literature, Cinema and Television Productions in Migration Museums

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, Centre for the Study of Migration and Intercultural Relations, Universita Aberta (Portugal)

Presentation related to the Museum of Emigration and Communities

Miguel Monteiro, Museum of Emigration and Communities, Fafe (Portugal)

Representing 'Migrant Objects' in Cinema and Museum: a recent example from Northern Ireland

Brian Lambkin, Centre for Migration Studies, Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh (Northern Ireland)

Discussion
Concluding Panel
M. Jacques Toubon, Chairman of the National Museum of the History of Immigration
Mme Catherine Lalumière, Chairwoman of the House of Europe

After lunch, members were conducted by Metro to the Palais de la Porte Dorée which is to be the site of the new national museum of immigration history, Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, which is due to open in April 2007. Members were given a guided tour of the interior.

The afternoon programme then continued with a visit to the Belleville district, which is an area of high immigration. We met members of the local 'Urban Development Team' in their offices and then walked to 'Ayyem Zamen' which is a 'Social Café' that provides a community centre mainly for immigrants of retirement age. There we kindly welcomed to refreshments and discussion with the director and members of his staff.

SATURDAY 08.10.05
9.30 – 1.30
General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions

SUNDAY 09.10.05

On Sunday morning, between 9.00 and 12.00, members were treated to a superb tour of Paris by bus that had been especially planned by the staff of Génériques on the theme of immigration.

The tour started at the Russian Orthodox Church of Saint Serge in the 19th arrondisement and finished at the Institut du Monde Arabe in the 5th arrondisement in the city centre. The accompanying booklet with maps and detailed information should prove highly useful in the future and an inspiration to others.

The Russian Orthodox Church of Saint Serge in the 19th arrondisement.
Photo: Hans Storhaug

Visit to 'Ayyem Zamen' which is a 'Social Café' that provides a community centre mainly for immigrants of retirement age.
Photo: Hans Storhaug

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairman´s Report 2004 - 2005

6 - 9 October, 2005
Paris, France

Brian Lambkin, Chairman since 2002 reporting from last year´s achievements for the Association of European Migration Institutions at the 2005 Annual meeting in Paris.

In reflecting on the past year I would like to begin by recalling the last Annual Meeting which took place in Sweden, thanks to the generous hospitality of Dr Per Nordahl and his colleagues at the House of Emigants of the Swedish Emigrant Institute in Växjö. We continue to rely on our Annual Meeting as our main means of renewing old friendships and making new ones, for reviewing progress, and for charting our direction for the coming year. In Växjö we welcomed several new members, launched the second issue of our AEMI Journal, heard many interesting papers on the theme of 'Connecting Contemporary Migration with the Past' and engaged in discussion. From that discussion, the following summary points were conveniently made for us by our rapporteur:

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 and inventory of events being held by member institutions.

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

These points all related closely to the four main project activities, designed to include and benefit as many AEMI members as possible, that we had agreed in Lisbon, 2003:

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

So how much progress then have we managed to make against these objectives over the course of the last year?

Your Board, for this final year of the current three-year cycle, has been Henning Bender (Denmark) as general secretary, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the Journal, Per Nordahl (Sweden) as representative of last year's host institution, Driss El Yazami (France) as representative of the host institution of 2005 and myself as chairman (Northern Ireland).

We met face-to-face twice this year, immediately before the Annual Meeting here in Paris, and before that in Luxembourg, 23-4 April, thanks again to the generous good offices of Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues in the Centre

des Documentations in Dudelange. Our meeting in Luxembourg took place on Saturday evening and Sunday morning outside the seminar organised by the Documentation Centre for Human Migration, Dudelange and the major conference on Tourism and Culture which showcase the achievements of the Cultural Routes programme of the European Institute of Cultural Routes.

In order to carry forward European Migration Heritage Week 2005 Antoinette Reuter kindly agreed to act as coordinator and members will already have appreciated the digital poster especially designed and circulated by her and her colleagues, see right.

No doubt we have some way to go before the idea of this 'Week' becomes established but at least momentum has been maintained and is still there for us to build on. By working at the idea and trying it out, I think we may have come up with simple, winning formula. It seems to me that we should be thinking about our Annual Meeting as forming the 'core event' of the European Migration Heritage Week. As well as this, there are all the other 'events' that we are putting on in our own institutions on either side of our Annual Meeting in the months of September and October. All these could well be included in the programme of European Migration Heritage Week. If we can succeed in persuading Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues to continue their good work in co-ordinating the programme, it should not be too long before we find it hard to remember a time when we were not involved in European Migration Heritage Week!

So far as the idea of a 'European Migration History Search Database' is concerned, Henning Bender presented us with a project proposal that would improve public access to the various database resources of AEMI members by being based on the positive experience of the NOKS project in Denmark www.noks.dk (see www.calimera.org/tool-kit/default.htm). Again, there is still momentum with this idea to be built on.

If we needed any further convincing, this excellent conference impressed upon us how successful the European Institute of Cultural Routes has been in promoting a huge range of 'routes' or 'itineraries', and how important it is for us to make sure that the theme of migration is well represented. One particular presentation, by Pierre Bérubé of the Institut Quebec-Europe, concerning a proposal for a Route Royale Atlantique – Saint Laurent to mark to 400th anniversary of Québec in 2008, was a good illustration of the partnership possibilities for AEMI members beyond as well as within Europe. Our visit to Luxembourg also had the added bonus of giving us an opportunity to meet with two representatives of Génériques, Sarah and Patrick, and discuss the programme that they had in mind for our meeting in Paris. It is a great pleasure for us to have amongst us this year Michel Thomas-Pennette, director of the European Institute of Cultural Routes who has been so supportive of our efforts to develop the European Migration Heritage Route.

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

What I said at the time of the opening was that "members of AEMI throughout Europe and beyond will be thrilled that this project has come to such successful fruition and it will be a great encouragement to them. It is difficult to think of more pressing chal-

lenge in Europe today than that presented by migration. What we know from history is that rapid social change rarely takes place painlessly and there needs to be serious investment in education if people are to adjust smoothly to new circumstances. Making the link between Europe's long tradition of emigration to its 'New World' and current immigration is vital to our future well being and this new museum is a splendid example of investment that helps us to make that link. … We look forward to working with this excellent new institution in taking a leading role in the development of migration studies world-wide."

I may add now that it has been most welcome and encouraging for us to see that further major investment in educational resources of this kind is underway in France when we were able to visit yesterday the site of the new national museum of the history of immigration. We look forward to welcoming it as a new member at next years meeting and to its opening to the public in April 2007.

As I said last year, 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. What we have not been able to do so far is to secure major funding that would enable us to greatly expand the membership of the Association and promote its profile. However I am mindful of the great strength of the Association which lies in its slow, steady and continuing growth based on genuine interest

and friendship between members. We continue to grow, not least by the efforts of members in encouraging other institutions to join, and it is a great pleasure to be welcoming two new members this year, from Portugal and Sweden. This year we are welcoming into associate membership the Lower East Side Tenement Museum in New York. The news that it is their intention to 'establish a coalition of North American museums and historic sites which focus on some aspect of immigration' is very encouraging. May they succeed in the wake of previous attempts to establish an 'Association of North American Immigration Institutions'. We also look forward to welcoming into membership next year the Association pour la Maison de la Memoire de l'Emigration des Pyrenees et du Sud-Ouest de la France, who have sent a representative to our conference this year.

Having spoken of our growth and development over the past year, I know turn to the particular work of our Board officers. 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 congratulate him on his production of the third issue for us here in Paris. Do please make good use of it and consider contributing, in whatever way, to the next issue to help ensure its continuing success. On your

behalf and on my own, may I conclude by thanking Henning and Hans and Per Nordahl and his colleagues for hosting the Annual Meeting in Växjö, and Driss El Yazami and his colleagues for undertaking the task of hosting us in Paris in 2005. I commend to you the work of your Board over the past three years and thank you for your support. May our deliberations here prove fruitful in the years ahead.

Brian Lambkin
Chairman

"Knute Rockne, all American", the Story of a Norwegian Immigrant as told by Hollywood

Knut Djupedal

Ladies and gentlemen:

Some time ago, I was asked to say some words concerning Knute Rockne (or as they pronounce it in the US, Knute Rocknee) and the Norwegian immigrant experience in America. My first – and involuntary - reaction was to recall several incidents that happened to me upon my arrival as an immigrant in the United States in 1955.

When my family arrived in the US in 1955 I was six years old. Immediately upon my arrival, I had to begin school in the first grade. The first people I met, and particularly my first teachers, had been children and teen-agers during Rockne's heyday. As soon as they saw my name on a class list, they asked, "Knute, like in Knute Rockne?" And I answered: Who is Knute Rockne?" They would look at me strangely and say: "Wasn't he Norwegian, and don't they know about him in Norway?" I learned then that Rockne was a football hero in the US, but of course football as I had played it in Norway, and football as played in the US are two different things. Still, I quickly learned that when someone asked me: Knut, like in Knute

Rockne? I had to answer: Yes, like in Knute Rockne, but without the 'e'." As I grew up, I was continually asked this question, and I learned to take the whole thing humorously. However, in 1967, when I was eighteen, I found that Knute Rockne's name was serious business. That summer I attended a party at the house of one of my classmates. The host's mother was there, and she asked me the same question. I responded with "Yes, like in Knute Rockne, but without the 'e'. She immediately told me: "That's wrong. The name is spelled with an e." "No", I said. "In Norway, Knut is spelled without an e." "You're wrong," she said. "The correct spelling of Knute is with an 'e'." The fact that I was born in Norway and used the Norwegian spelling, did not matter. Knute Rockne spelled his first name with an "e", and therefore, so should I.

Since then, I have often wondered what it was about Knute Rockne that made him so famous in The United States, much more so than many another sports figure in his time and since. Even today, many ordinary people know his name and his career, while the names of the men and boys he worked with are forgotten except by experts interested in

the history of sport.

My conclusion is that Rockne is famous because he, probably more than any other individual, was the incarnation of the ideal immigrant as that was understood in America between 1890 and 1930. To illustrate my point, let me begin with a very brief overview of some of the events of America's history between those two dates. In 1893, The US experienced an economic crash. Shortly thereafter, however, the economy rose again, and despite some lesser downturns, continued to grow until the great stock market crash of 1929. During these four decades, the United States grew physically, through the annexation of Hawaii, and later Cuba and (for a time) the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and The Virgin Islands. Utah, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona became states of the union. The population doubled, from 62,5 million in 1890 to 122,7 million in 1930, and by 1920, more than half of them lived in an urban environment, not in a small town or a rural area.

The frontier was declared closed in 1890 and industrial production located in burgeoning cities became the foundation of the country's economy; one that became the largest single national economy on the planet during those years. Perhaps never before or since has the inventive genius of the average American had such room to play. The airplane, the automobile, national newspaper chains, the electric light and electricity, telephones, radio, films may have been invented before 1890, but it was during the four decades from 1890 to 1930, particularly the 1920's, that

they stopped being curiosities for the wealthy and became standard elements in the daily life of everyone in the land. Finally, it was during those decades that the United States rose to be – and gained recognition as - a great power not only in the Americas, but on the world stage as well.

Now this growth was in great part fed and fuelled by immigration. Never before or since did immigrants represent so large a percentage of the American population. Pick any date between 1890 and 1930, and you find that 13,8 to 14,8 percent of the total population of the United States was foreign-born.

That said, this was also the period during which saw the rise of serious opposition to immigration, particularly that from southern and eastern Europe. American participation in The First World War with concomitant anti-German feelings, the Great Red Scare of 1919-1920 and fear of "foreign" political doctrines, the Sacco-Vanzetti trial of the mid-20's, were but the overt expression of feelings which resulted in the restriction of immigration beginning in 1923. Therefore, even as immigration fuelled this rising economy, this was the period of "Americanization", if you will. These decades saw the rise of the ideal of "The Melting Pot", an ideal based really on the steel mills of that time. Just as iron and all the other elements that were put into a blast furnace mixed together in the great heat, and then came out as steel, so all the strangers coming to America would go into a great social blast furnace, and be poured out something new - Americans.

Now American social theory at that

time considered the melting pot to be a goal worth seeking, but also – and much more important – it was a goal that was attainable. The immigrants could become Americans if they wanted to. They could get jobs, and in time get better jobs. They could go to school and learn English and in time go to better schools and learn many other things. Their children and grandchildren would have a better life than they, the first generation, did. What we call "The American Dream" – that is the individual's unrestricted opportunity for personal advancement in any chosen field of endeavor - reached its final definition in those years.

Seen in this light, even the awful life that immigrants lived in big cities, as described by the muckrakers such as Lincoln Steffens and Jakob Riis, were a part of the process in creating America. Furthermore, such conditions could be and would be changed for the better. All it took was hard work by the individual and by the society in which he or she lived. That thinking was exemplified by the books written by pastor Horatio Alger (1832-1899). Alger wrote book after book about how poor boys rose to high positions in society by dint of education, hard work and sobriety. So popular did his books become that they influenced the way Americans looked at themselves for decades after his death. Even today, the term "Horatio Alger" connotes what is also called "The Rags to Riches" story.

Thus, America between 1890 and 1930 was an optimistic, perhaps one might even say an innocent society. While it recognized itself as a society based on competition, it also believed in the perfectability of that society, and of the people who lived in it. It believed that individuals could change, they could improve themselves, that progress was constant and good. Other societies, like the European ones, might destroy themselves in centuries-old disputes. In America, anything was possible, and despite occasional setbacks at different times and places, these could not and would not stop or turn society's march toward eventual perfection. It was this society that Knute Rockne entered as an five year-old immigrant, it was this society in which he grew to manhood, and it was in this society that he became a one of the greatest individual success stories of the 20th century.

Knut Rockne (1888-1931). Often referred to the most successful coach in the history of U.S. college football.

Courtesy: The Unofficial Homepage of Knut Rockne

Rockne was born in Voss, Norway, on 4 March, 1888 and baptized there on 22 April. His father Lars was a smith, but later built carriages. According to one story told by Rockne himself, his father was so famous as a carriage builder that the Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany came to Voss for the sole purpose of purchasing some of his carriages. The truth of that story is still debated but, true or not, in 1891 Lars Rockne went to Chicago with some of his carriages, to show them at the World's Fair. Apparently he did win a prize, and two years later, in 1893, the rest of his family joined him there. So, like so many other immigrants, Rockne entered the US as a child, and to paraphrase the American newspaperman Horace Greeley: "grew up with the country".As a by the way, when considering Rockne as the ideal immigrant of the early 20th century, it is interesting to note that the Rockne family entered the US in the same year that Ellis Island was opened, to regulate the newer immigration, especially from southern and eastern Europe, which was growing at such fantastic rates.

According to his biographers, Rockne was a good student at school until his high school days. Then, however, sports, particularly American football, took over. Indeed, so active did he become that in his sixteenth year, he was forced to leave high school due to his abysmal academic record. Rockne worked at odd jobs for two years, and then, when he was eighteen, got a very lowly job in the post office, cancelling the stamps on letters. Here he worked for four year. Then, at the age of twenty-two, his life changed. Four years later, a friend of Rockne's decided to apply to Notre Dame University in South Bend, Indiana, and Knute went along, more or less for the fun of it. He applied but had to take an entrance examination, since he had no high school diploma. This he did, and entered Notre Dame that year, studying chemistry. He also - after several failures – joined the football team, and became a star player for the Notre Dame team. Rockne's first real fame came when he and his roommate, Charles Dorais, developed and used the modern Forward Pass, which today is one of the most important elements of American football. They used it for the first time in a game against Army, the football team of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, on 1 November, 1913 and won. Army was at that time the best college football team in America, and it was beaten by a small college in Indiana. The sports pages of national newspapers were covered with news of the upset, and with interviews with Rockne.

After graduating in 1914, Rockne married and began a career as a teacher of chemistry at Notre Dame and assistant football coach. He remained assistant until 1918 when his superior retired. Rockne, who had just turned 30, took over not only as coach, but also as Head of sports at the school. He remained trainer at Notre Dame until his death on 31 March, 1931, amassing a phenomenal record of 105 wins, 12 losses and 5 ties. This set a winning percentage that has not been equalled since in American college or professional football.

When asked how he developed such a succession of fine teams and such a winning streak, Rockne himself said that it was based simply on hard work. He did not believe in genius. There was, however, another side to his training philosophy: ethics. Not only was he known for his hard work, and for his temper, but also for his view that football, indeed all sports, should and could include an ethical dimension. It was a philosophy which accepted hard but fair competition and the thought that a healthy body will help to create a healthy mind. These ideas too he worked to instil in the students who played for him.

Then, as now, American college football generated enormous interest in American society. The 1920s, however, brought two new elements to the game: film and radio. Games could be filmed, and indeed, in the film we are about to see, some of the footage is from the actual games coached by Rockne. Also, for the first time, games could be reported on the radio as they happened Moreover, these technical advances coincided with what the American author Fredrik Lewis Allen called "The Ballyhoo Years":

Public spirit was at low ebb; over the World Court, the oil scandals, the Nicaraguan situation, the American people as a whole refused to bother themselves. They gave their energies to triumphant business, and for the rest, they were in holiday mood. "Happy", they might have said, "Is the nation which has no history and a lot of good shows to watch?" They were ready for any good show that came along. (p. 187).

As the 1920s progressed, Rockne proved himself a consummate showman. As his fame grew, he gave radio interviews; in time he had a radio show; he wrote articles in the newspapers, and he was a much sought-after speaker. While he could discuss the intricacies of football, the main message in his speaking and writing was what he saw as the ethical dimension of sports, i.e., that it built healthy minds, spread the doctrine of fair play, teamwork, and always that hard work was the only road to real success in any endeavor.

Knut Rockne also proved to be an intelligent businessman, using his athletic program to generate an enormous fortune for Notre Dame University, and his speaking, writing, and interviews to create a small fortune for himself and his family. Indeed, so famous was he just before his death that an automobile, the Rockne Studebaker, was named for him,

University of Notre Dame, Indiana created the Rockne Heritage Fund in 2002 to galvanize alumni, parents, and friends of Notre Dame to fund expendable scholarships for student-athletes.
Courtesy: University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA.

and Universal pictures were negotiating a contract to make a film of his life.

The final element that went into the making of his legend, however, was his death at the height of his fame in the early spring of 1931. This was a year and a half after the Crash in October, 1929 but at the time of his death most Americans were still not aware of the economic disasters looming just ahead of them. Immigration from Norway to the United States, for example, was just as great in 1930 as it had been in 1929, and it did not fall off until the summer and fall of 1931. Not until then did the new economic reality within American society take hold among the potential immigrants in Europe.

Only a few months after Rockne's death, America lost the innocence of the 1920s and entered a grimmer, more cynical decade. During following ten years, the sports heroes of the 1920s grew older and weaker. Rockne, however, remained as he had been when his plane crashed in 1931 - the best football coach in American sports history. When we now put these two elements together, American society between 1890 and 1930, and Knute Rockne's personal career, we can see clearly that he not only was a representative of sports. He was also the era's best-known example of the successful immigrant. First of all, he was a living example of Horatio Alger's "rags-to riches" ideals: hard work, tenacity, the "can-do" spirit, honesty and sobriety. Second, his career contrasted sharply with that of other immigrants, such as Sacco and Vanzetti, whose political views were considered dangerous, or Al Capone, who chose a criminal career in America. Finally, he exemplified the ideal of the Melting Pot. He was a foreigner who through education, hard work, and with a foundation in his deity's ethical requirements, became an "All-American". From the point of view of early twentieth century America, he exemplified all of the possibilities for individual success available in the United States to immigrants from other countries, and he demonstrated that the American Dream could indeed become reality.

Looking back, Rockne after his death appeared greater than he was in life; an example, perhaps even a martyr, to a brief Golden Age that everyone knew now had passed. He epitomized the growth and innocence of America, and what Americans saw as the essentially good aspects of their own society, then and later. This appears clearly in the film we are about to see. It is no coincidence that the film is entitled *Knute Rockne, All American*, or that it was made in 1940, after the Second World War had begun, when the world – as seen from America - was a darker, harder, much more dangerous place than it had been in the 1920s.

For his contemporaries and for subsequent generations, then, Rockne was and is famous because he was and is the incarnation of the ideal immigrant as that was understood in America between 1893 and 1933. He was the immigrant who had become American – all American, who epitomized the entire country during the first three decades of the twentieth century.

Representing 'Migrant Objects' in Cinema and Museum: a recent case study from Northern Ireland

Brian Lambkin

Migrants generally bring some material possessions with them from their 'old world' to their 'new world' destinations. These include objects that have been deliberately selected more for their sentimental than practical value, as expressions of 'old world' identity. Migrant objects of this kind function as 'icons' of connection with the original 'homeland'. The aim here is to address the broad question of how such 'iconic' migrant objects are represented in the cinema and in museums. Three films, Titanic (1997), Far and Away (1992) and The Quiet Man (1952) are considered and then one museum exhibition, Threads of Emigration. Each deals to some extent with the theme of Irish migration, mainly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One object from the museum exhibition is considered in detail: an Irish needlework sampler that was found recently in Australia and brought back to Ireland for restoration and display. It is hoped that by exploring these cinematic and museum representations more general discussion may be stimulated about the relationship between film-makers and migration institutions (including archives and libraries as well as museums), and also about how museums of migration in particular might best go about enhancing their collections of 'migrant objects'.

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tion in particular might best go about enhancing their collections of 'migrant objects'.

Relatively few 'migrant objects' are to be found in museum collections in Ireland, as in Europe generally. Considering the modest economic status of most migrants and the restricted circumstances of their journeys, this is hardly surprising. Typically, their physical baggage was not extensive. We know from ship passenger lists of the nineteenth century that many travelled without any baggage.[1] If few of the chests, boxes, trunks and cases in which emigrant objects were transported survive, even fewer of the objects that they contained survive.[2] Even fewer again are objects, such as the Irish-Australian example reported on here, whose 'stories' we can reconstruct, at least to the extent that they can be demonstrated to have been carried on board particular emigrant ships in the possession of individuals whose names are on the passenger lists.

Given that such 'emigrant objects' are not well represented in museum collections, it is also not surprising that the representation of such 'emigrant objects' is generally weak in historical novels, plays and films that deal with the theme of migration.[3] Artists, especially film-makers, who are concerned with the 'authentic' representation of the past, rely heavily on museum collections for exemplars in constructing their sets and dressing their actors. Apart from generic examples of chests and suitcases (often undocumented), 'emigrant objects' - those documented as having been included in emigrant luggage because

of their symbolic importance for named individual emigrants - are very rare. Their representation in museums is in fact so rare that even if film-makers were interested in researching such objects they would be hard-pressed to find a museum able to help them.

One emigrant object, which might well interest such a film-maker, is the walking stick (cane) in the collection of the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, which belonged to Thomas Mellon (1813-1908), who emigrated from Ireland to Pennsylvania in 1818. As Mellon explains in his autobiography, according to family tradition it had been passed down from his earliest known ancestor, who had emigrated from Scotland to Ireland in the seventeenth century: 'the cane has been carefully handed down as a relic from father to son; and was delivered to me, as the present head and representative of the family, by my uncle Archibald Mellon, shortly before his death. It is rather a plain looking article, but not less valuable as a relic or memento on that account. This Scotch ancestor was the first to build and reside in Castletown [where the Ulster-American Folk Park is located] after its depopulation in 1641'.[4]

Turning first to the film, *Titanic* (1997) by James Cameron, we find some migrant objects briefly represented along with a varied collection of European emigrants, especially in the scenes of the ship's third class berthing or steerage. As the film opens, the hero, Jack Dawson (Leonardo DiCaprio), a returning American emigrant, is shown sprinting along the quayside with his Italian emigrant friend, Fabrizio. Both,

as the screenplay has it, are 'carrying everything they own in the world in the kitbags on their shoulders'. Later it is revealed that one of the objects contained in Jack's kitbag is a 'leather-bound sketching pad'. However, this is represented as a useful 'tool' of his trade as an artist, rather than as an 'icon' of connection with his homeland. The other emigrant objects that are featured are the instruments of the musicians who form the 'steerage band' in the party scene in the Third Class General Room which, according to the screenplay, is: 'crowded and alive with music, laughter and raucous carrying on. An *ad hoc* band is gathered near the upright piano honking out lively stomping music on fiddle, accordion and tambourine. People of all ages are dancing …' The film actually features musicians playing a dance tune which is clearly identifiable as Irish (*John Ryan's Polka*) on accordion, fiddles, drum and Irish (*uilleann*) bagpipes.[5] Like Jack's sketch book, the musical instruments may be considered similarly as 'tools' of the trade of their owners, useful for earning a livelihood in the new world. However, they also represent (in a way that the ethnically neutral sketch book does not) a connection with the migrant's old world. In this case the musical instruments (especially the *uilleann* pipes) make a connection with Ireland as 'iconic' migrant objects that offer a 'window' on the homeland of the emigrant.

Far and Away (1992) by Ron Howard is a film that is focused throughout on the theme of Irish migration. It is a romantic comedy, shot on location in Kerry, Dublin and Montana and set supposedly in 1892. The young Joseph (Tom Cruise) seeks revenge against the landlord who has kept his tenant family in poverty and killed his father. Joseph becomes romantically involved with the landlord's proto-feminist daughter, Shannon (Nicole Kidman). The pair secretly emigrate to Boston where the 'melting pot of incoming migrants and free African-Americans is captured in the quayside confusion of different languages, races and ethnic dress'.[6] Joseph is pictured with a large hold-all and suitcase and Shannon with a smaller case and handbag. From the previous action, the audience understands Shannon's luggage to contain the 'ancient spoons made of silver', which she had stolen from her family's 'Big House' in Ireland with the intention of selling them in Boston. As it turns out, the spoons have actually been stolen from her by Maguire, the plausible Irish emigrant (returning to America after a brief trip back to Ireland) who had befriended her during the crossing.

Viewing Shannon's luggage on the Boston dockside, the audience also knows that it contains a handbill advertisement which had featured prominently in her first meeting with Joseph back in Ireland. In that scene, Shannon takes the handbill from a locked box of precious objects that she has hidden in her bedroom.[7] She holds up the handbill to the illiterate Joseph and reads: 'LAND' – Wanted, strong healthy men and women. Every resident of the United States is entitled to 160 acres of land'. Joseph grabs the handbill crumples it, unable to believe that land anywhere can really be available for free.

Shannon retrieves the handbill and replaces it in the box which she takes with her on her escape. Thus, the handbill advertisement for emigrants, like the collection of stolen spoons, itself becomes a 'migrant object', belonging to the emigrant Shannon. No further reference is made to the handbill. It is presumably lost, along with the most of Shannon's luggage in a violent incident that takes place on the dockside. However, the prominent display of the handbill at the opening of the film both reinforces the main theme - the ambition of both Shannon and Joseph to acquire land of their own - and introduces the means by which they are able to do so: the race for free land in Oklahoma, which forms the climax of the film.[8] Thus these two 'migrant objects' function in the film as symbols of migration: the 'ancient spoons' stand for the sending society of Ireland and the handbill advertisement for the receiving society of the United States.

The Quiet Man (1952) by John Ford is also focused throughout on the theme of Irish migration but particularly on the experience of return migration. This was 'one of the most popular cinema representations of Ireland' which 'celebrated the coming home of an Irish-American during a decade when nearly half a million Irish left Ireland'.[9] It can be considered as an expression of the notion that 'emigration is at the centre of the Irish experience of being modern'.[10] The film is set in the 1920s and the opening scene shows a train pulling into the railway station of 'Castletown' in Connemara [not County Tyrone] in the rural west of Ireland. The sole passenger who

alights on the platform is Sean Thornton (John Wayne), a returned emigrant from Pittsburgh who plans buy back the old family farm and settle there. He has two pieces of luggage, a suitcase and a rolled-up sleeping bag. Of the two, it is the sleeping bag that has an iconic function in the film in the sense of providing a 'window' on the modernity of the United States, to which Thornton had emigrated as a child, and the social conservatism of the Ireland to which he has returned as an adult.

Sean, having bought back the family farm, succeeds in wooing Mary Kate Danaher (Maureen O'Hara). However, her brother, Will Danaher (Victor McLaglen), violently opposes the match by refusing to hand over her rightful 'dowry' of three hundred pounds.[11] Mary Kate goes ahead with the wedding but, relying on the currency of the Irish rural marriage custom of the dowry, she takes the unusual step of refusing her new husband his conjugal rights until he obtains the dowry from her brother. Until the problem is resolved, she sleeps in the marriage bed in the bedroom while Sean sleeps on the floor of the cottage kitchen, in his sleeping bag. In an effort to spur Sean into taking action, Mary Kate attempts to enlist the aid of the parish priest. Hoping to get the priest to speak severely to Sean, she confesses to him that her new husband is engaging in the unnatural practice of sleeping apart from her, 'buttoned up' in a contrivance, never before seen in the neighbourhood, that he calls a 'sleeping bag'.[12] Sean has already been shown rising from it in the morning. Thus the American 'sleeping bag', fore-grounded

in the opening scene, functions in the film as a window on the conflict between 'modern' and 'traditional' social norms in which Sean is caught as a returned emigrant trying to settle back in his old homeland.

The migrant objects considered so far in these cinema representations (kitbag, sketch-book, musical instruments, sleeping bag) are in themselves of limited interest to the viewer.[13] On film they are valued mainly for their 'iconic' power which ranges from the weak (Joseph and Shannon's suitcases), through the moderate (the steerage musician's Irish bagpipes) to the strong (Sean's sleeping bag). However, each object presumably has its own 'story' or 'biography' (where and when it was made, and how it came to be in the possession of its present owner).[14] When seen from the museum perspective, the 'hidden' biographies of these migrant objects become of greater interest. For example, it is possible to situate the bagpipes represented in *Titanic* within a growing literature on the history of the Irish bagpipes, which includes consideration of the movement of instruments, players and instrument makers between Ireland and its diaspora.[15] The history of the sleeping bag may not have attracted so extensive a literature. Nevertheless, appreciation of *The Quiet Man* is surely enhanced by the knowledge, for example, that sleeping bags of the kind brought to Ireland by Sean were first commercially marketed in the United States in 1920, at the start of the decade in which the film is set - something that visitors to *The Quiet Man Cottage Museum* in

Cong, Co. Mayo may well be interested to learn.[16]

As mentioned already, migrant objects whose 'biographies' we know in detail are rare, so it is of great interest when a new object of this kind comes to light. This is the case with the needlework sampler briefly reported on here which was displayed in the *Threads of Emigration* textile exhibition at the Ulster-American Folk, Northern Ireland, 2005-2006.[17] The sampler was made in Ireland in 1850 by Dorcas McGee, who took it with her when she emigrated to Australia in 1852, along with her sister, Anna-Maria and her sister's husband, Christopher Joseph McHugh. The three of them are recorded on the passenger list of the ship 'Tantivy', which sailed from Liverpool in December 1852, arriving in Port Philip, Australia in April 1853.[18] There were 411 on board including 377 passengers: 170 English, 101 Scottish and 106 Irish. The passenger list does not include any items of luggage.

The subject matter of Dorcas McGee's sampler is the text of a poem, 'The Irish Chiefs', by the Young Ireland leader and editor of the *Nation*, Charles Gavan Duffy. The history of the text is discussed elsewhere.[19] It is the title of the poem, 'The Irish Chiefs', that proclaims the Irish interest of the object as one of the 'pictures' or icons that Patrick O'Farrell found to have been so powerful in sustaining Irish identity in Australia:

… there was no substitute for pictures: they stirred the mind, focused the imagination, and formed a nationalist

iconography parallel to that of popular religion. What is more, like the holy pictures, the statuettes, they proclaimed allegiance and identity. Nor are these totems remote in time: people now living can remember grandparents being moved by nationalist effigies into declamations of a melodramatic kind. Mrs Brenda Carroll of Randwick recalls her grandmother, who came to Australia about 1866, standing in front of an enormous portrait she had of Robert Emmet (it would have been about 1910) wailing, 'Oh, my poor country'. [20]

'The Irish Chiefs', needlework sampler by Dorcas McGee
Photo Courtesy: Brendan Meegan

The sampler turns out to have had the function of both celebrating and commemorating Dorcas's famous brother, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. The materials for reconstructing details of the migration story of Dorcas McGee, as with her sister Anna-Maria, are scant compared with those for their famous brother, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, of whom there are several biographies.[21] He was a newspaper editor, poet and Young Ireland leader who escaped to exile in the United States in 1848 after the failure of the Young Ireland rebellion of that year. He went on to become a 'founding father' of Canada and was assassinated in Ottawa in 1868.[22] By tracing the provenance of this piece of embroidered fabric it has proved possible to recover something of the 'fabric' of the McGee 'family diaspora' and the migration stories of the individuals for whom the sampler was most significant. It is an example of how 'personal genealogical projects map out complicated geographies of migration, origins and belonging'.[23] The trajectory of this emigrant artefact from Ireland to Australia offers greater insight into 'the mental, social and material worlds inhabited by Irish migrants both in Ireland and Australia'.[24] It illustrates the phenomenon of 'ethnic fade' in the 'fabric' of the Irish diaspora and it also shows how the process of reconstructing the migration stories of emigrant ancestors may result in 'ethnic fade' being arrested.[25]

It seems likely that Dorcas McGee and her sister and brother-in-law had carefully projected a business enterprise before emigrating.[26] The 'Tantivy' arrived at 'Canvas Town' in the vicinity of the area which is now south Melbourne.[27] The family group first lived in Little Lonsdale Street.[28] By 1861 they had moved to the new suburb of Emerald Hill[29], and Christopher Joseph McHugh was listed in *Sands and Kenny's Melbourne Directory* (1859-61) as the proprietor of a ladies underclothing and baby linen warehouse at 63 Bourke Street East, Melbourne.[30] Dorcas was an experienced seamstress. She had previously emigrated as a sixteen-year-old to the United States in 1842, with her seventeen-year-old brother Thomas D'Arcy McGee, staying first, as so many did, with a relation (their mother's sister, Bella, in Providence, Rhode Island) and then settling in Boston. In 1863 the threesome of Christopher, Anna-Maria and Dorcas moved their business about seventy miles north west of Melbourne to the gold-mining town of Castlemaine. Dorcas eventually retired from business in 1882 and moved back to Melbourne, as attested by a notice of thanks to her customers which she inserted in the local newspaper.[31] At this stage Dorcas was aged fifty six. Back in Melbourne, she took up residence in the fashionable Fitzroy district at 2 Myra Terrace, George Street, where she died in 1887.[32]

It is highly probable that the sampler had hung in the drawing room or sitting room of the house where Dorcas lived in Castlemaine. Certainly it hung in the house in Melbourne of her niece Kathleen who inherited it. In the course of exhaustive research into how the sampler was passed down through the family from one generation to the

next, Jennifer Meegan interviewed Kathleen's grandson, Bernard Slattery, in 2003. She showed him a photograph of the sampler. He immediately recalled having seen it as a boy, hanging in his grandmother's house 'It was on the drawing room wall. The dresser that's in our front room … that was hanging on the wall right next to it'.[33] The curious visitor would be left in no doubt as to the Irish identity or background of the family, the extent of its sympathy for the nationalist cause and its pride in McGee's achievements.

Thus, in tracing the handing on of the sampler down the family we find evidence of what has been called 'ethnic fade' in each generation.[34] The trajectory of the sampler in Australia illustrates the process of 'ethnic fade', although not immediately. Patrick O'Farrell observed that 'at the popular level only the strongest personalities, and the largest and most simple ideas could survive that enormous journey (from Ireland): complexities, refinements, minor figures in the nationalist pantheon tended to get lost somewhere on route, melted away by the equatorial sun'.[35] Thomas D'Arcy McGee, by virtue of his later career in Canada, occupied an ambivalent but nonetheless prominent position in the nationalist pantheon and, as we have seen, news of his assassination did have an impact on the Irish community in Victoria. The iconic power of the sampler in the home of Dorcas, and subsequently of her niece Kathleen, must have been considerable. As O'Farrell explains it:

The Irish nationalist portrait in Australia obviated the need for words. It was a signal from those who exhibited it to those who viewed it, which let them know where they were: it, like the holy pictures in a Catholic house, defined the ground on which one stood, located one, and spared the need for exploratory inquiry or embarrassment. For some Irish, to exhibit such portraits was an aggression, but for most it was a reminder to themselves and a courtesy offered to others: in a mixed society, such pictures said to the casual caller, the visitor, the family itself, here are my sensitivities, my allegiances.[36]

However, the memory of Thomas D'Arcy McGee did eventually melt, or fade, in Australia, even within the McGee family diaspora there to the extent that the sampler was eventually relegated from the house to the garage, where it was eventually bought by a dealer in 2000.

Much more work is needed to determine how representative the trajectory of the McGee sampler is of Irish emigrant objects in general, or indeed, in turn, how representative Irish emigrant objects are of European emigrant objects in general. To date it has been thought that such objects are rare.[37] However, this case suggests that a substantial number may still remain in private hands. The sampler was brought to the attention of the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park by Jennifer Meegan who is a resident of Northern Ireland. She had brought the sampler back to Ireland on behalf of her brother, the present

owner of the sampler, who is resident in Australia. The Centre has a particular interest in such objects because of its connection with the Ulster-American Folk Park at Castletown, near Omagh, County Tyrone in Northern Ireland. The Ulster-American Folk Park, which since 1998 has been part of the National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland (NMNI),[38] is in the process of transforming into a Museum of Emigration, concerned not merely with Ulster and colonial America and the United States but with the whole of the island of Ireland and its entire diaspora - all the destinations to which its emigrants went, including Australia. The strategic aim of the Museum of Emigration will be to collect and preserve as many emigrant artefacts as possible, such as the sampler discussed here, and to use them to reconstruct and interpret as many as possible of the individual emigrant stories that make up the greater story of emigration from Ireland over the last four hundred years.[39] The Centre for Migration Studies is supporting this work of transformation by promoting Irish Migration Studies to postgraduate level and by building up an electronic database and virtual archive of primary source material – including collections of passenger lists and emigrant letters – from which individual migration stories may be reconstructed.

The sampler has now been conserved by a professional conservator in Ireland and the 'fade' of its fabric has been arrested. It was put on display in the Ulster-American Folk Park in August 2005 as part of *Threads of Emigration*, an exhibition of textiles associated with migration. However, the most significant element of this case may be that it illustrates how 'ethnic fade' may also be arrested in the course of reconstructing the individual migrant stories associated with the emigrant object, and out of them the 'fabric' of the McGee family diaspora. Pat Slattery, who played such a crucial role in rescuing as much material as she could from a bonfire of family papers in the early 1970s, is the main family historian and she admitted that, as her own children were showing no interest in the surviving material, she had been worried about the possibility of another bonfire. The return of the sampler to Ireland and the subsequent recovery of the migration stories associated with it have made this unlikely. As a direct result the Slattery family papers are now with the Castlemaine Historical Society and copies have been added to the Thomas D'Arcy McGee Collection in the Archives and Records Centres of Concordia University, Canada.

As with material fabrics like the McGee sampler, there may be a natural tendency to 'fade' in the ways in which immigrants and their descendants construct their ethnic identities. By 'fade' here we mean a decline in the ways of behaving by which individuals demonstrate their connection with a particular ethnic identity. However, as this case illustrates in relation to Irish identity, both the rate and extent of fade is largely a matter of individual choice. It is possible to arrest the process of 'ethnic fade', even at a late stage, in a manner similar to that in which the museum conservator can arrest the decay of an artefact,

and possibly restore it. Pat Slattery's concluding comment on the final draft of this paper is instructive 'It has been an interesting process to go through. It has certainly enriched our lives … It seems to have enlivened our children a bit and if the (Castlemaine) Historical Society gains from our documents then we and our children will too'. Placing this information in the public domain may have further effects in arresting ethnic fade by stimulating the identification of other emigrant artefacts, the recon-struction of the migrant stories asso-ciated with them, and the preservation and interpretation of them at different levels: in family homes; in local, regional and national museums; and indeed in a national museum of emigration.[40] What adds to the interest of this particular emigrant object is that its owner was female. Although the study of women in European migration, including Irish migration, has been greatly advanced in recent years, it remains difficult to recover their stories because of the relative dearth of surviving historical records, such as letters, generated by them.[41] This example of what has been called 'the quiet work of women'[42] turns out to be powerful means of recovering the migration stories of the woman who made it and the women who inherited it.

The Irish Chiefs' on display at the opening of the 'Threads of Emigration' exhibition, Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, August 2005. Courtesy Joe Mullan.

The use of migrant objects for reconstructing individual migration stories is an approach to material culture that is already shared to a greater or lesser extent by all museums, libraries and archives concerned with the theme of migration. The question raised here is how great the benefits would be if more resources were applied to raising public awareness of the importance of migrant objects in private hands and the interest of migration institutions in acquiring them for their collections, either on loan or as donations. One means of doing so might be to draw greater attention to the way makers of films concerned with the theme of migration have used migrant objects as 'icons' or windows on sending and receiving societies. This might have the added benefit of raising film-makers' awareness of the cinematic potential of migrant objects in museum collections, such as Thomas Mellon's walking stick, and Dorcas McGee's needlework sampler.

Notes
[1] An example from Ireland illustrates this. On the Barque *Fanny*, which sailed from Londonderry to Philadephia on 12 May 1845,there were 162 passengers who had between them only 106 baggage items: 50 chests, 29 boxes, 15 trunks, 9 barrels and 3 bundles. More than half (38 males, 45 females) were travelling singly, rather than in a family group, and without any baggage at all.

[2] Those that do survive often owe their preservation to their migrant owners (and their descendants) having been invested them with sentimental importance as 'icons' of the migration journey. By this process originally utilitarian objects become 'migrant objects' of high sentimental value.

[3] *The Memory Coat* by Elvira Woodruff (1999) is a story for children, about a Russian family emigrating to the USA through Ellis Island, that is focused on the emigrant object of the 'memory coat'.

[4] Thomas Mellon, *Thomas Mellon and His Times*, University of Pittsburgh Press and Centre for Emigration Studies, Ulster-American Folk Park, 1994:410-11). Note that this is one of the very few 'emigrant objects' in the Ulster-American Folk Park collections and the only one at present on permanent display. An example of an object being brought more recently by an emigrant from Ireland and passed down through the family is kindly provided by Professor Elizabeth Malcolm, University of Melbourne: 'I inherited what my father and his family brought from Co. Fermanagh when they arrived in Sydney in 1925. Among other things, there was actually a piece of turf from their farm, which I still have'. There may be an echo here of the ancient practice of land conveyancing known as 'livery of seisin' by which the exchange of land between tenants was symbolised by the transfer of a piece of turf (or 'sod and twig').

[5] Only one of the band, *Gaelic Storm*, is actually from Ireland (Patrick Murphy). The film's musical score by James Horner was heavily influenced by Irish traditional music. The *Titanic* had been built in Belfast and had stopped at Queenstown (Cork) before leaving and there were many Irish emigrants on board: Molony, Senan (2000), *The Irish Aboard the Titanic*, Merlin Publishing. In the film Jack is shown in conversation with a fictional 'scowling young Irish emigrant' called Tommy Ryan.

[6] Pettitt, Lance (2000), *Screening Ireland: film and television representation*, Manchester Univer-

sity Press, Manchester, 130-2

[7] One of the objects clearly discernible is a postcard picture of Abraham Lincoln.

[8] The film's director, Ron Howard, is of Irish descent and three of his great-grandparents took part in the Cherokee Strip Land Race in Oklahoma in 1893. When he was six his great-grandmother showed him a scrapbook full of newspaper clippings about this dramatic episode which forms the climax of the film.

[9] Pettitt (2000, 64). Pettitt (65) refers to earlier film representation of the returned emigrant such as *Lad From Old Ireland* (1910). See also Rockett, K. (1994), 'The Irish migrant and film' in P. O'Sullivan (ed), *The Creative Migrant: The Irish World-Wide*, vol. 3, Leicester University Press, London, 170-191, which discusses both *The Quiet Man* (181) and *Far and Away* (186).

[10] Ryan, L. (1990), 'Irish emigration to Britain since World War II' in R. Kearney (ed), *Migrations: The Irish at home and abroad*, Wolfhound Press, Dublin, 47

[11] 'Dowry': property or money brought by the bride to her husband. For traditional customs of marriage in Ireland see M. O'Dowd and S. Wichert (eds) (1995), *Chattel, Servant or Citizen: Women's Status in Church, State and Society*.

[12] It is highly significant that in order to communicate such a shocking and embarrassing confession she feels it necessary to switch from English to Irish.

[13] Other films dealing with the Irish migrant experience include *On a Paving Stone Mounted* (1978) by Thaddeus O'Sullivan and *Over Here* (1981) by Carlo Gebler (Pettitt 2000, 97).

[14] On this approach to material culture see Mytum, Harold (2004), Artefact biography as an approach to material culture: Irish gravestones as a material form of biography', Journal of Irish Archaeology, 12/13, 113-129

[15] See for example: Vallely, Fintan, *Companion to Irish Traditional Music* (1999), Cork University Press, Cork; Vallely, Fintan (1998), *Blooming Meadows: the world of Irish musicians*, Town House, Dublin; Shields, Hugh (ed) (1998), *Tunes of the Munster Pipers*, Irish Traditional Music Archive, Dublin; Garvin, Wilbert and Hannan, Robbie (eds), (1998), *The Master's Touch: a tutor for the Uilleann Pipes by Séamus Ennis*, Na Píobairí Uilleann, Dublin; Carolan, Nicholas (1997), *A Harvest Saved: Francis O'Neill and Irish music in Chicago*, Ossian Publications, Cork; Moloney, Mick (1993), *Irish Music on the American Stage*, Irish Traditional Music Society, Cork; Moylan, Terry

(ed), (1981) *Ceol an phíobaire*, Na Píobairí Uilleann, Dublin.

[16] The first company to sell sleeping bags commercially was the Norwegian firm Ajungilak, from Nansen's first expedition to the North Pole in 1889. They launched the first down-filled sleeping bag in 1920. For *The Quiet Man Cottage Museum* see http://www.museumsofmayo.com/quietman.htm .

[17] The exhibition ran from 18 August to the end of August 2006. The Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Co. Tyrone, where the Centre for Migration Studies is based, tells the stories of people who emigrated from Ireland: 'Many of the objects that people took with them have long since disappeared … but sometimes an object is found tucked away in an old family trunk. Some of these objects and other textiles from the period are displayed in this exhibition', www.folkpark.com .

[18] See http://proarchives.Imagineering.com.au/index_search_results.asp, accessed 22/10/03; www.geocities.com/mepnab/ships/tantivy.htm, accessed 24/09/03; www.prov.vic.gov.au;immigration.museum; vic.gov.au Fiche 34:8.

[19] Brian Lambkin and Jennifer Meegan (2003-4), 'The Fabric of Memory, Identity and Diaspora: an Irish needlework sampler in Australia with United States and Canadian connecitons', *Folklife: Journal of Ethnological Studies*, 42, 7-31; Brian Lambkin, (2005), 'Charles Gavan Duffy's "The Irish Chiefs": diasporic trajectories of a Young Ireland text in the United States and Australia', *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 31, No 1 Spring, 98-107; Brian Lambkin (2005), 'Moving Titles of a Young Ireland Text: Davis, Duffy and McGee and the Origins of Tiocfaidh ár Lá' in Harte, L. (ed), *Ireland: Space, Text and Time*, Manchester University Press, 103-111.

[20] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (New South Wales University Press, 1986), p.206. On the iconography of 1798 in particular see Kevin Whelan, *Fellowship of Freedom: The United Irishmen and 1798* (Cork University Press, 1998). Duffy remembered seeing as a boy in the sitting room of his guardian, the parish priest of Muckno, Co. Monaghan, 'portraits in rude woodcuts of O'Connell and Sheil, and of some Irish ecclesiastics', *My Life in Two Hemispheres*, p.11.

[21] Isabel Skelton, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Canada: Gardendale, 1925); Alexander Brady, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925); Josephine Phelan, *The Ardent*

Exile: The Life and Times of Thomas D'Arcy Magee (Toronto, 1951); David A. Wilson, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, forthcoming, 2007.

[22] Arthur Mitchell, 'McGee, Thomas D'Arcy' in *The Encyclopaedia of the Irish in America* ed. by M. Glazier. Notre Dame Press, 1999: 582-3. Former Canadian prime minister Brian Mulroney referred to McGee in the eulogy he gave at the funeral of Ronald Reagan, citing his poem 'Am I remembered in Erin', *Irish Times*, Saturday, June 12, 2004.

[23] Catherine Nash, 'They're Family!: Cultural Geographies of Relatedness in Popular Genealogy' in Sarah Ahmed, Claudia Castañeda, Anne-Marie Fortier and Mimi Sheller (eds), *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, Oxford, New York, Berg, 2003:179-203. See also Mark McCarthy, 'Writing Ireland's historical geographies', *Journal of Historical Geography*, vol. 28, no. 4:534-553.

[24] Lindsay Proudfoot, 'Landscape, place and memory: towards a geography of Irish identities in colonial Australia' in *Ireland Abroad: Politics and professions in the nineteenth century*, ed. by L. Proudfoot. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003: 174

[25] Catherine Nash, 'Genealogical Identities', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, (2002), volume 20:27-52

[26] The *Wexford Independent* from July 1852 was reporting weekly on the attractions for emigrants of Australia and its goldfields.

[27] A 'tent city' that sprang up on the south bank of the River Yarra to accommodate the thousands who flooded into Melbourne because of the gold rushes. The population of Melbourne trebled between 1851 and 1854 and in the latter year Canvas Town housed about 5,000. It didn't disappear until the 1860s. See Don Garden, *Victoria: A History*. Nelson, Melbourne 1985:96.

[28] Little Lonsdale Street, which is north of the city centre, was known in the nineteenth century as 'Little Lon' and noted for prostitution.

[29] Emerald Hill is in south Melbourne, just south of where Canvas Town was.

[30] Bourke Street is now one of the main business streets of Melbourne, on the north side of the river, running parallel to Little Lonsdale Street. See Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life*. Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1998. We are grateful to Elizabeth Malcolm for these references.

[31] *Mount Alexander Mail*, March 31, 1882.

[32] The area of Fitzroy, on the northern fringe of the city centre, has been 'gentrified' and is now very fashionable but in the nineteenth century it was a working-class area.

[33] Interview, 10 November 2003.

[34] The conventional idea of 'ethnic fade', whereby immigrants are seen as distancing themselves from all things 'ethnic' in order to effect the quickest route out of the 'ghetto' and into economic success and assimilation is explored by Roy Foster in 'Marginal Men and Micks on the Make: Uses of Exile c.1840-1922' in his *Paddy and Mr Punch*. London, 1995:281-305. John Belchem discusses this in 'Class, creed and country: the Irish middle class in Victorian Liverpool' in *The Irish in Victorian Britain: The Local Dimension*, ed. by Roger Swift and Sheridan Gilley. Four Courts Press, 1999:191-2. It is further explored in *The Great Famine and Beyond: Irish Migrants in Britain in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* ed. by Donald M. MacRaild. Irish Academic Press, 2000:4, 24, 131-2. See also Paul O'Leary in *Irish Migrants in Modern Wales* (Liverpool University Press, 2003) and O'Leary, *Immigration and Integration: The Irish in Wales, 1798-1922*. Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 2000:6-10;

[35] O'Farrell.1986:206.

[36] O'Farrell.1986:208.

[37] 'Very many samplers found today lack any family background which would tell us about the makers and their lives. This lack of interest in provenance continues today, although there are some notable exceptions. Many families have disposed of samplers where they can discern no obvious family connection but this may be erroneous as the pattern of inheritance of small portable objects is still only vaguely known.', Naomi Tarrant, 'Samplers made in Scotland', *History Scotland*, May/June, 2004:28. Tarrant also comments that 'mention of samplers in documents or memoirs are almost impossible to find.', 30. For a notable exception, see Margaret K. Hofer, 'Cross-Stitched History: Artistry and Ambition in Christina Arcularius's *Tree of Knowledge* sampler', *Common-place: The Interactive Journal of Early American Life*, 2004, accessed at http://www.common-place.org/vol-04/lessons/, 21/07/04: 'In 2003, Christina's masterpiece was featured in the New York Historical Society's exhibition "Home Sewn: Three Centuries of Stitching History" as one of the many hand-stitched items mined for the stories they could tell about their individual makers and the milieu

in which they were produced'. I am grateful to Patrick O'Sullivan for drawing this to my attention.

[38] www.magni.org.uk

[39] Brian Lambkin and Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Townland Diasporas' in *The Heart's Lonely Townland* ed. by Brian Turner. Ulster History Trust, 2004:88-91.

[40] The Mellon 'cane' referred to above, which was passed down through generations of the Mellon family, first in Ireland and latterly in the United States, is now on display in the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland. It remains to be seen whether or not the McGee sampler, now back in Ireland, returns to Australia.

[41] Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Irish Women and Irish Migration*, vol. 4 in Patrick O'Sullivan (ed), *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritage, Identity.* Leicester University Press, London and New York, 1995:1-22; Breda Gray, 'Gendering the Irish Diaspora', Women's Studies International Forum, vol. 23 (2), 2000:167-85; Bronwen Walter, *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness, Place and Irish Women*. London, Routledge, 2000; Louise Ryan, 'Irish female emigration in the 1930s: transgressing space and culture', *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 8(3), 2001:271-82; David Fitzpatrick*, Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*. Cork University Press, 1994:30-31.

[42] Kathleen Curtis Wilson, *Textile Art from Southern Appalachia: The Quiet Work of Women.* Overmountain Press, 2001

The Film *Cheese and Jam:*
Migration In Self-Perspective

Kristina Toplak

Introduction

This paper considers the topic of immigrants in films with an emphasis on intercultural contact as it has been interpreted by Branko Djurić in the Slovene film *Cheese and Jam*. It discusses in particular two aspects: the immigrant's perception of the mainstream society and immigrants; and the reinforcement and legitimisation of nationalist stereotypes on screen.

In the 1990s several films were made that considered various aspects of migrations and their consequences. Their various stories dealt with immigrants, emigrants, trafficking, acculturation issues, integration, discrimination, experiencing cultural shock, intercultural contacts, and changes of ethnic identity. They could be divided into films dealing with serious/more complex migration themes such as the German *Gegen die Wand* and *Nirgendwo in Africa*; the Mauritanian *Waiting for Happiness (Heremakono)*, the French-Belgian *Vivre me tue* and the Slovene *Spare Parts*, to mention only a few; and films that considered migration in a bit more relaxed, yet still relevant manner such as the Swedish *Jalla, Jalla*; the British *East is East* and *Just a Kiss*; and

the Slovene *Cheese and Jam*, written and directed by Branko Djurić that started showing in cinemas in November 2003.

Cheese and Jam reflects on the relationship between a Bosnian[1] immigrant in Slovenia and a Slovene woman. Wishing to keep their love intact, each confronts various constraints, imposed by people around them. The film would

be of no particular interest if it did not display some interesting features: it was directed by an immigrant; it was the most popular Slovene film since independence in 1991; and it provoked a wide debate on stereotypes that were presented in it.

The Story

The director Branko Djurić was born in Sarajevo, his mother was a Muslim and his father a Serb. He was a member of a popular satirical theatrical group *Top lista nadrealista* and an actor. In 1993, after six months of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he fled to Slovenia and started a career as a television and theatre director. He married a Slovene actress and settled in Ljubljana.

Djuric comments on *Cheese and Jam*: 'My film is a collection of experiences lived by my friends, and of my own (also mixed) marriage. I don't divide people by nationality, but rather (if I really must) as Beatles and Stones fans, or ultimately as good and bad. It's a film about those who are mixed – my parents, myself, and my children. Although it shows the dark side of life, it is still a love story'.[2] The author denies that the film is autobiographical; he rather stresses that it is a sum of the worst experiences that Bosnians have had with Slovenes and vice versa. He wanted to make a film about people and situations that he was well familiar with:

'In this movie I attempted to show a segment of life in Slovenia, with a particular emphasis on the emancipated milieu that does not welcome the growing number of immigrants. It is not merely a love story between a Bosnian and a Slovene; it is also a love story between the one who has come from abroad and the one who has always lived there. I only wished to describe reality of a life, not to send any message. I am an entertainer by nature and I really did not want to deal with social issues. I simply showed what has been happening to me since early youth.[3]

Yet, the film clearly polarises members of one versus the other ethnic group. By demonstrating that a Slovene and a Bosnian cannot get along as well as *kajmak* (a special sort of Bosnian cheese) and jam that are symbolically put together in one of the scenes are distasteful together, the film emphasises the relevance of numerous nationalist stereotypes that are only seemingly balanced.

In brief, the hero (Bozo) is an unemployed Bosnian that spends his time drinking beer in front of the television, and she (Spela) is a sturdy Slovene who earns a living for them both and takes care of the household as well. When he refuses to get medically examined for possible infertility, she becomes tired of it all and returns to her parents. She would come back to him only if he found a job and started helping her. He does find a job, yet the first one he finds is not well paid (he poses as Mickey Mouse at a fair) and the following one is illegal (transferring refugees across the national border and working for the local mafia). These jobs are fixed up for him by a friend who is also an immigrant. Bozo is also victim of nationalist attacks and of his own helplessness. Toward the end of the film his life is getting more and more complicated and it almost ends tragically.

Cheese and Jam has caused different reactions in the public, academic, and even the political sphere. According to comments on certain Internet forums, the film was particularly popular with a less demanding audience, which could also be argued considering the large number of people that saw it.[4] It was clearly a commercial success. Film critics and more demanding audiences gave it less favourable reviews.

The director was accused of supposed negative stereotypical presentation of a particular segment of the population; of a contemptuous attitude toward Slovenes; political incorrectness for having exaggerated nationalist stereotypes; and implying stereotypes and clichés that reveal deeply rooted prejudices. *Cheese and Jam* even caused a lot of hate speech on the Internet that was directed against the author and immigrants in general. A renowned Slovene sociologist believes that the author showed deep contempt of Slovenes by showing them as stupid, reactionary and intolerant drunks.[5] After the premiere at the Sarajevo Film Festival, the Slovene Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina also expressed dissatisfaction with the image of Slovenes in the so-called new, post-independence Slovene films.[6] But, as we can see, these were all critiques of film stereotyping the of the majority, the Slovenes!

Let us take a closer look at these stereotypes. Bosnians in the film steal, transport refugees, cheat, blackmail, shoot each other, hate to work, urinate in public places, eat *burek* (salty Bosnian cheese pie) and are resigned to low-paid jobs. Slovenes on the other hand are xenophobic neighbours, always eating beef bouillon (indispensable on the typical Slovene Sunday lunch menu), singing folk songs, dressing in traditional German costume, committing suicide, eating *burek* with sugar, as Božo jokes, on strudel, yet they are also hard-working, always ready to make sacrifices and help. The author did attempt to balance the stereotypes of the majority and the immigrant minority, yet he did not succeed in equal terms since he juxtaposed criminal deeds and xenophobia!

"Fertile Ground" for Reinforcement of Stereotypes

Nationalist stereotypes with their complex historical, cultural and psychological aspects are not simple to understand; yet, they are relatively simple to manipulate. These are rounded, variable and dynamic phenomena that can be numbered, weighted, displaced, and also balanced. The question is whether Djurić used stereotypes to show how discriminatory Slovene society was (is), or whether he merely attempted to make an entertaining and commercially successful film, loaded with the so-called 'Southern humour' that is still very attractive for Yugo-nostalgic Slovene audience? Why this is relevant to our story?

Nationalist stereotypes of Bosnians are as old as the immigration from Bosnia-Herzegovina and other republics of the former federation to Slovenia. These stereotypes are founded on the historical and social background of immigration from former Yugoslav republics to Slovenia, which accounts today, according to some estimates, for approximately

14 percent of the Slovene population. A large majority of immigrants that have been granted Slovene nationality in the last 15 years orginally came from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The large number of immigrants from the former Yugoslavia is due to certain economic, political and social factors. In the mid-1970s the Western-European labour market started to close and internal migration thus increased to Slovenia from other Yugoslav republics. Bosnia-Herzegovina was most concerned by immigration. The 1981 census showed that emigration from this republic represented 22 percent of all Yugoslav emigration abroad.[7] People kept emigrating to Slovenia, then considered politically and economically the most 'westernised' of all Yugoslav republic, primarily for work that was available also because many Slovenes emigrated to Western European countries, in particular to Germany. Reasons for continued emigration once Slovenia became independent were also political and economic. Disintegration of the former federation, war and the economic crisis that followed, made Slovenia a target country for many emigrants from the area of former Yugoslavia. The state and the society, concerning legislation and values, i.e. positions, stereotypes and prejudices, respectively, were not prepared for that.

In the former federation Slovenes considered emigrants that with time created families and settled in Slovenia for good, as southern neighbours with a rather particular behaviour that could stay in Slovenia to take on low-paid jobs that Slovenes themselves did not want. This situation did not precisely conform to reality, yet with time this idea took ground and became almost folklore.[8] The public today still believes in it and the media contribute to its conservation and spreading: other Yugoslav nationals are typically assigned certain roles such as the cleaning woman (the Bosnian Fata in soaps and TV-commercials, Veso the doorman in a very popular tv-sitcom etc.). The image of particular ethnic groups is therefore transferred from reality to a mediatised, 'superior' reality.[9] Such transfers are highly problematic as they reinforce and legitimise stereotypes. This is of particular importance in the contemporary social and economic situation that has been brought by unemployment and subsequent change in the attitude of the majority. Immigrants, now competing with Slovenes on the labour market, are being accused of insufficient adaptation to the Slovene cultural environment as they continue to keep in touch with their original environment and many have not learned the Slovene language. Young immigrants from the 'South' are also supposed to be the most common criminal perpetrators.[10]

Thus, in Slovene urban folklore Bosnians have always been considered lazy and prone to criminal deeds. The 'Southerner' is also pejoratively called Čefur, Čapec, Čefo. When Slovenes were joking about other Yugoslavs Bosnians were those most commonly joked about. There are whole series of jokes on Mujo and Haso (abbreviation for two typical Muslim names). In these jokes Muslims or Bosnians figure most often as the inferior.[11]

Although the majority of immigrants

from former Yugoslavia have lived in Slovenia for over a decade, some even thirty years and more, according to the viewpoint of some of the population they are still 'too different culturally' and thus rather rejected. According to a 1992 public survey, 49.2 percent or almost one half of participants thought that workers from other republics, i.e. immigrants, threatened security of Slovenia.[12] Only 3.1 percent of participants in the same survey would agree to marry a Muslim or an immigrant from Bosnia-Herzegovina; friendship with a Muslim was a possibility for only 14.9 percent; 22.5 percent would work with them; 16 percent would prefer as little contact as possible and 7.8 percent would rather not have to deal with Muslims at all. 73.9 percent of participants in the survey believed that immigrants from other republics should be fired first. Sixty percent thought that immigrants should learn the Slovene language and adapt to the Slovene way of life, yet they could still use their language between themselves and live according to their traditions. Only 8.9 percent believed that immigrants should have access to education in their own language, develop their culture and alt the same time adapt to the Slovene way of life.[13] Another survey researching views of Slovenes on immigrants from former Yugoslavia yielded similar results.[14] In 1991 29.7 percent expressed negative views on immigrants and only 22.5 percent thought of them positively (the rest had no opinion); in 1994 52.8 expressed negative views and only 9.4 percent were positive. The same survey showed that 28.6 of Slovenes participating in

the survey would put a stop to immigration from former Yugoslavia and 44.4 percent would restrict it. Slovenes that, apparently, have little tolerance for others and those who are different were also asked whom they would not wish for neighbours: in 1992 49.1 percent answered they did not want Muslims or Bosnians (absolute 'winners' were Roma, patients with aids and drug addicts).[15] When asked the same question again in 2002, 26.4 percent said they would not want a Muslim for a neighbour and almost the same percentage would not want an immigrant or foreign worker to live next door.[16] These figures surely do not speak for tolerant, open-minded, multicultural Slovene society.

Some of the above mentioned negative images of immigrants are also demonstrated in the film *Cheese and Jam*. The film could mirror more concretely and efficiently the Slovene majority and its stereotypes. Yet, it (again) presents Bosnians as more negative, as Mafioso, the lazy ones, those who smuggle refugees and shoot each other and Slovenes on the other side were hard working; their feasts were a bit strange, yet they were honest. The director's perspective is supposed to be 'a sum of the worst experiences of Bosnians and Slovenes' and he attempted to show the extremes, the worst among bad Bosnians and the worst among bad Slovenes. Yet, Bosnians are actually shown as seen by an average, nationalist Slovene. Moreover, the film reinforces an image of immigrants that was produced by a fairly xenophobic Slovene majority.

We could say that the author attempted to establish a balance between the

stereotypes, but he failed. I gather this was precisely the reason why Djurić did not tackle the issue of religion! Although Djurić is an committed artist, he remained careful there. It therefore seems that Djurić, once a lucid and intelligent critic of political and social issues in the Balkans, has assimilated the Slovene mentality.

Djuric could contribute by his film to the destruction of stereotypes by revealing them, exaggerating them and inflating them.[17] Yet, he fairly contributed to reinforcement and legitimisation of nationalist stereotypes, as the analysis of some interactive media showed. *Cheese and Jam* simply confirms the perception of immigrants that is characteristic of the post-independent era in Slovenia. It also reflects the so-called ambivalent attitude toward the Other: immigrants from the former common state are part of us and at the same time they are the others. Of course, different interpretations are a consequence of different cognitive and social perception of stereotypes that are also social categorical judgements and perceptions of people that are conditioned by groups they belong to.[18]

Because films, accessible as they are as an element of popular culture and mass media, often co-create our perception of the world, authors have therefore an increasing responsibility; especially if they manipulate stereotypes and present interethnic relations. Films about migrants and migrations, in particular those that do not attempt to be merely entertaining and commercially successful, can expose various migration issues more efficiently that statistical reports, scientific papers and museum exhibitions. They can be as good a source for migration research as photographs, artworks, literature and other artistic creations. I therefore believe that film should be used more often in research on migration. As Dirk Hoerder says: 'who is perceived as a stranger, as the Other, depends on power relationships, on contemporary gatekeepers, and retrospective historiographers. And let me add media, too. And movies are media'.

Notes

[1] I wish to stress that I am aware how delicate it is to use the term »Bosnian« since Bosnia-Herzegovina is a multinational country, inhabited by Serbs, Croats and Bosnian Muslims. Yet, in the Slovene media and public the term »Bosnians« has remained in use for inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[2] Institute of Contemporary Arts (http://www.ica.org.uk/index.cfm?articleid, 2. 9.2005).

[3] Balkanmedia, estradni magazin (http://www.balkanmedia.com/m2/doc/3735-1.shtml, 2. 9. 2005).

[4] Analysed Forums were: Journal Mladina (www.mladina.si), Forum of Radio-television Slovenia (www.rtvslo.si), Forums on different web-pages for films and other popular culture (www.lupiga.com, www.kolosej.com, www.us.imdb.com). Around 200.000 people saw the movie in first three months.

[5] Vesna Milek, In v cem je fenomen? Kajmak z marmelado, *Delo* 7, 10. 1. 2004:24-25.

[6] Sasa Erzen, Djuro brani Sarajevo, *Mladina* 34, 2003 (http://www.mladina.si/tednik/200334 /clanek/

sarajevodjuro, 5. 9. 2005).

[7] Silva Mežnaric, *Bosanci. A kuda idu Slovenci nedeljom?,* Ljubljana, Republiska konferenca ZSMS, 1986:55.

[8] Bojan Dekleva and Spela Razpotnik (eds.), *Cefurji so bili rojeni tu*, Ljubljana, PeF, 2002:23.

[9] *Idem.*

[10] Immigrants are no more criminals than other Slovenes as one sociological survey showed: between 1980 and 1994, approximately one third (1/3) of all criminal acts in Slovenian capital were committed by immigrants, which exactly corresponds with the proportion of immigrants in the population of the capital. (Dekleva and Razpotnik, *Cefurji…*260)

[11] Although at the end of the joke they often win, get the woman, benefit most from many situations.

[12] Niko Tos (ed.), Vrednote v prehodu II. Slovensko javno mnenje 1990-1998, Ljubljana, FDV IDV-CJMMK, 1999:201, 202

[13] Idem.

[14] Zdravko Mlinar, Trendi in problemi druzbenoprostorskih sprememb, *Teorija in praksa* 31, 11-12, 1994:817.

[15] Niko Tos (ed.), Vrednote v prehodu II: 272.

[16] Niko Tos (ed.), Vrednote v prehodu III. Slovensko javno mnenje 1999-2004, Ljubljana, FDV IDV-CJMMK, 2004:363.

[17] As it was done for example in another Slovene movie Spare Parts, that literally shocked many spectators by an insight in trafficking. Although the story was fictional, after this movie no one can pretend any more that Slovenes are not involved in trafficking!

[18] Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam and John C. Turner, Politika, predsodki in mit v preucevanju stereotipov. In: Mirjana N. Ule (ed.), *Predsodki in diskriminacije*, Ljubljana, Znanstveno in publicisticno sredisce, 1999: 77-79

Literature, Cinema and Television Productions in Migration Museums[1]

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

Modern day Portugal, like many other countries, is a country that combines a strong emigratory tradition to regions on all five continents with a vigorous influx of immigrants from all over the world who have chosen this country as their place of work and residence. As such it seems important to care for and preserve the memories of these experiences.

Whether at the individual, the collective or the institutional level, the ties established between communities sharing opposite perspectives of the migratory phenomenon and between pairs of countries (of origin and destination, respectively) which characterise the respective flows of human mobility, are always worth noting.

For this intermingling of outlooks and perspectives to materialise and endure beyond the people who experienced them directly and the time they took place, it is absolutely essential to create permanent structures to house such memories: in other words it is necessary to create Migration Museums where present and future generations may find familial, social, cultural and geographic references of their past. Such references (in literature, cinema, television or in digital format) shall constitute the sum of the rich content associated with the multiple facets of the migratory phenomenon, thus contributing to an environment of interculturality that enriches its surroundings rather than dividing and distancing them, as often is the case when individual and cultural differences are misunderstood.

1. To Find, Preserve, Research and Communicate

Encompassed within the wording of this title is a brief summary of those steps deemed indispensable for the transmission of memory beyond its immediate physical space and time frame which is, in fact, the driving force behind the science of Museology. The same general formula holds true for the role of archives as well as for the objectives of museums, both of which are defined as cultural institutions destined to assist each generation, situated within its own particular socio-cultural context, to better understand both the synchronous

dispersions and the diachronous evolutions which have lead to the present.

Museology is not, in any sense of the word, a novel science: the timing of the birth of museums as organised systems can be traced back to when the joy and habit of collecting objects - whether for their exotic appearance, their rarity, their intrinsic value or simply for their sheer and utter beauty - gave rise to the institutionalisation of public spaces dedicated to the free appreciation of such objects; Museology, then, is the study of the appropriate techniques and methods used to collect, classify, conserve and exhibit such objects.

Given the recent developments in other fields of science, of technology and in the very evolution of values and behaviour within human societies, new concepts and a new outlook in the field of Museology has emerged; new frameworks and models for such institutions have been theorized and subsequently tested; collection and classification methods applied to specific types of objects have been perfected; sophisticated restoration and conservation techniques invented, developed and adapted. Finally, there has been a strong drive to attract new segments of the population, taking, to that end, full advantage of the changes in habits and tastes, arousing new interests as well as putting more efficient means of communication to work between the museum and its visiting public.

Once a scholarly space of interest only to a very limited group of specialists, aesthetes or curious and enlightened members of the general public, modern day museums strive to broaden the spectrum of their visitors to as wide a group as possible: children, adults and senior citizens, tourists and casual passers-by, students as well as the studious. The cold, severe rooms of the past, replete with stiff and locked display cases bearing museum show pieces that could only be observed from a safe distance have given way to contrasting backgrounds of dark and a dramatic oasis of light and colour bearing successive delights and one surprise after another.

The objects on display are not merely shown but explained and interpreted as well; nor do they exist in isolation but rather are portrayed both within the context from which they arose and the function they may have served in the past. The items on display call to mind situations and problems, evoke topics for discussion, relate events of the past with those of the present and link locations, different ways of thinking, of producing, of feeling and even of living.

The almost sacred silence which accompanied the manner of displaying objects in the past gradually gave way to new environments equipped with ambient sounds, background music, the rotation of the showpieces, subtle variations in the intensity of the lights; an electronic guide speaking to the audience whenever a particular object is approached; the multiple processes of creating an interactive dialogue between image and sound, between the creator/museologist and the visitor. Museums have now entered an era of make-believe and showmanship, of seduction and, above all, of communication.

On the other hand, recent times have borne witness, whether as a direct

result of the evolution of big museums or simply as a parallel trend, to the rebirth and broadening of the taste for preserving everything and anything that may be at a risk of being lost forever, or which may have a hitherto unappreciated value, in terms of both material or cultural heritage. Today, abandoned old mansions are being recovered, antiques which were once simply tossed away and considered worthless are being unburied and preserved and renewed interest is being shown for that which was ignored and even thrown away in the past (Rocha-Trindade, 1993:17).

From this perspective and, considering that international migrations are a phenomenon which, by their very nature cross wide geographic spaces and which occur repeatedly throughout the course of time, it is important to museumize migrations.

2. Searching for Roots

For those migratory flows that have achieved a certain level of stability and continuity, the question of searching for ancestral routes is frequently posed. If first generation immigrants *per se* vividly maintain those cultural traits which are characteristic of their place of origin, it is possible that their immediate descendants, who were already born and raised in a particular host country, virtually ignore those roots, due not only to their desire to discard their immigrant status (so often seen from a negative perspective) but also to the crushing pressure exerted by the surrounding society's culture.

Various studies of a sociological and anthropological nature carried out from diverse migratory contexts have revealed that it is commonplace for the third generation to express a rekindled interest in the society and culture of origins of their forefathers, which is often accompanied by a strong drive to identify and insert themselves within that particular lifestyle. In other words: it would appear that the passing of two or three generations is enough to erase the memories of all the hardships associated with the integration of immigrants, the potential discrimination and lack of citizenship to which they were exposed, choosing instead to recall a mythified image, somewhat romantic and fairy-tale-like, of the ancestral origins of their families.

This, then, explains the enthusiasm with which many Brazilians speak of their Portuguese, Italian or German roots: the success with which "genealogical consultants" who, particularly in the Americas, try to locate family names and places of origin; and the growing interest in the so-called heritage tours which visit regions and locations from which their ancestors supposedly hailed.

Often times, this search for more-or-less ancient roots also gives rise to earnest initiatives and active interventions such as the constitution of clubs and associations, the learning of one's particular language and culture of origin, the endeavour and practice of preparing traditional meals [1] and even the organisation of commemorations and the regular celebration of festivities which are characteristic of the particular culture of origin.

From a modernised perspective of Social Anthropology, the conscious assumption of a hybrid past (referring both to the local society and the ancestral culture) constitutes an enriching factor for both individuals and groups as these promote openness, put differences into clearer perspective, encourage a growing respect for cultural diversity and, consequently, bolsters the self-esteem of minority populations. At a time in history when many and varied processes of globalisation are being put into effect - among them it is worth mentioning that of human mobility - the rupture with cultural isolation, ethnic and/or religious fundamentalism and ethnocentrism must be viewed in an essentially positive light.

3. Traditions and Reference

From an emotional perspective it is naturally very gratifying to locate and identify the thread that will lead us to identify a past which is uniquely ours and to better understand the place and context in which that past was experienced. However, this is no easy task, particularly when it leads to an increased generation gap and when the spatial divergence may involve other continents.

Only rarely is the precaution of maintaining personal documents over more than one or two generations actually taken. Likewise, the recounting of facts and stories stored in the minds of the elderly gradually loses its precision over time and something is invariably diluted and eventually lost in the process of oral transmission. Indeed, not only are the fine details of the reality of

the past lost but each time the story is told one or more aspects are also added for embellishment...

In this way, a person whose geographic origins are traced back to Bragança may be quite easily transformed into a person of royal lineage[2]; and a lack of precise geographic knowledge can confound the Ribatejo with Alentejo or even place Locarno in Italy instead of in Switzerland where, in reality, it belongs. Distance likewise leads to the erroneous switching of references or yet regional or local stereotypes may be generalised to the entire population: an example of such a mistake could be assuming that the Minhota regional dress[3] is the popular costume of all of Portugal; a similar mistake would be to mistake an Algarvian chimney for a common architectural characteristic seen throughout the entire country; or the kitchen fireplace interpreted as a catalyst for gatherings among family members and neighbours throughout the entire Portuguese territory when, in fact, they are only found in the northern provinces of that country where bitter cold winters justify their existence. Without reliable records, then, the portrayal of the past runs a serious risk of becoming a mere caricature, in no way reflecting the reality of those bygone times.

4. Migrations and Media Production

Whenever the phenomena related to emigration (or immigration) are very obvious and considered socially relevant in a given country or region, it is only natural that cinema, television and literature try to explore these fields in search of suitable subjects, events and people,

to include in the corresponding productions, so as to attract the adhesion of audiences and readers. In this context, books, chronicles, newspaper reports and documentaries, both in television and cinema, may provide accurate descriptions of migratory situations and problems and so they become natural pieces of information deserving to be included in the ensemble of documents preserved in migration museums.

The initiative of producing such documents may take place both in countries of origin and of destination of migrants, depending on the interest a given subject is able to raise within local audiences and readers. Immigrant communities are in great part the sources of such documents and they can be found, not only in the archives of local newspapers or television stations, but also in the hands of private individuals as amateur photo, cinema and television pieces of production.

Nevertheless, one should not rely just upon authentic objects or documents to illustrate the past: research scientists have recognised literature and other expressions of fiction as appropriate sources to characterise past times, events and social atmospheres (Rocha-Trindade, 2005), provided a careful critical appraisal is made about these kinds of documents.

5. Migrations and Literature

A very interesting source of information about immigrant societies is provided by writers who dedicate some of their works to analysing and describing the day-to-day life and events occurring within their communities. Either as regular articles in the local press or assuming the shape of a book, these chronicles may embrace moments of interest, comments and opinions, political considerations, descriptions of successes or conflicts that may be important to their readers, as well as providing a general outlook on the social and cultural atmosphere of this particular society.

Two Portuguese writers who are also immigrants and reputed academics in the USA are good examples of this kind of authorship: Eduardo Mayonne Dias, of UCLA (*Coisas da Lusalândia*, 1986; *Novas Crónicas das Américas,* 1986; *Falares Emigrezes,* 1989); Onésimo Teotónio de Almeida, of Brown University (*Sapateia Americana,* 1983; *Lusalandia - A Décima Ilha,* 1987; *Rio Atlântico*, 1997); Francisco Cota Fagundes, of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (*Hard Knocks an Azorean American Odyssey,* 2000; *Desta e da Outra Margem do Atlântico: Estudos de Literatura Açoreana e da Diáspora,* 2003).

Again in the case of Portuguese literature, with which the present author is most familiar with, one should mention a number of well-known fiction writers who experienced themselves the life as immigrants abroad and, for this reason, are able to describe accurately the corresponding situation, social environment and psychological atmosphere.

Referring to the main destination of Portuguese emigration during the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, Brazil, we should mention: Ferreira de Castro, who worked as a «seringueiro»[4] in Amazonia in the early 1920s (*A Selva,* 1930*; Emigrantes,* 1945*)*; Miguel Torga, also an emigrant in Brazil

during his years as an adolescent (*A Criação do Mundo,* 1937).

Now addressing more recent years, when intra-European migration was dominant, we refer, among many others: Olga Gonçalves (*A Floresta em Bremenhaven*, 1975; *Este Verão, o Emigrante, là-bas*, 1978); Herberto Helder (*Os Passos em Volta*, 1970); Laura Bulger (*Vaivém,* 1986); Modesto Navarro (*Emigração e Crise no Nordeste Transmontano*, 1973); Joaquim Lagoeiro (*Viúvas de Vivos,* 1973)*;* António Pires Cabral (*Bacalhau com Todos em Osnabrück, 1987).*

This last author is also the editor of an anthology about literature related to emigration (*A Emigração na Literatura Portuguesa: Uma Colectânea de Textos,* 1985*)*, probably the most comprehensive review of Portuguese fiction authors who have dealt with migration issues. Fausto Avendaño is the author of another anthology of authors writing in Portuguese in the United States (*Literatura de Expressão Portuguesa nos Estados Unidos,* 1982*)*. The present author has also dealt briefly with Portuguese authors and artists in countries of the diaspora (*Intelectuais e Artistas Portugueses da Diáspora: A Emergência do Talento*, 1997)

We mention also briefly that emigration having been always an important and ever-present phenomenon in the Portuguese society, many classic fiction authors have included the character of the «Brazilian»[5] in their novels: Camilo Castelo Branco (1825-1890), Julio Diniz (1839-1871), Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900) being the most well-known at national and international level.[6]

In terms of world literature, we may mention just a few relevant examples. *The Chinese in America*, by Iris Chang (2003), is a non-fiction book about Chinese immigrants in the United States of America, but including many comments and opinions on her own immmigrant experience. *America is in the Heart* is an autobiographical novel, written by the Philipino-American Carlos Bulosan (1946). *Mexican Village*, a remarkable novel by Josephina Niggli, appeared in 1945 and it was the first literary work by a Mexican American to reach a general American audience. Saul Bellow, a Jewish American author, won the Nobel Prize in literature in 1976 "for the human understanding and subtle analysis of contemporary culture that are combined in his work". Assia Djebar is one of the greatest voices of Algerian literature today, living in France and writing in French. And we cannot miss mentioning *The Emigrant*, a three-volume novel by Vilhelm Moberg (1949-1959), describing his own experience as a Swedish emigrant to the United States.

Our choice of examples may be a little unfair, for we have selected the above-mentioned books because they have already been validated by social scientists and migration specialists, as to their value in terms of the interest of data included and accurate description of context and environment. This may not apply to many other pieces of literature dealing with migrants or their specific problems, for the literary value of these other books may relate to the unexpected, improbable circumstances

of the plot or to the creativity of the author describing social and geographical landscapes, with no necessary correlation with reality. Consequently, only by comparing the contents of a given fiction work with the available information issued from reliable sources, *a posteriori,* may we validate the former and enrich our understanding of the latter.

6. Cinema

We should clarify issues about movie-making by considering separately fiction and non-fiction productions. About the latter, there is a well-defined set of films that we may classify as documentaries suitable for general entertainment; and another set, produced for more serious purposes and that could properly be included in the scientific field of Visual Anthroplogy. Exponents of film directors fitting in this category and who have also dealt with migration issues, are: the Irish-American director Robert J. Flaherty (1884-1951) and the French film-maker Jean Rouch (1917-2004). The filmography of fictional movies dealing with migration problems and contexts is too big to support even a brief overview. Nevertheless, we shall provide just a few well-known examples to illustrate this point.

Professional cinema has given us, for instance, *The Immigrant* (1917) with Charles Chaplin as an immigrant who endures a challenging voyage and gets into trouble as soon as he arrives in America. *Captains Courageous* (1937) has Spencer Tracy as the main star, playing the role of an Azorean-Portuguese whale-fisherman. The French film *O Salto*, by Christian de Chalonge (1967) tells the story of a paradigmatic case of clandestine emigration of Portuguese into France. *The Hawaiians* (1970) with Charlton Heston playing the main role, tells the story of the arrival of Chinese immigrants in these islands and their struggle for survival and, in the long run, achieving prosperity. *O Quatrilho* (1994) is a Brazilian movie, directed by Fábio Barreto, nominated for an Oscar as the best foreign picture, about the life of two couples of Italian migrants in Rio Grande do Sul, in the Southern part of the country.

All these productions are quite accurate regarding the background of the main characters, as well as the context and social atmosphere described therein. Taking this into account, they should be regarded as documents deserving to be included in a Museum of Migration.

7. Television Productions

Apart from an enormous amount of news, documentaries, interviews and debates about current migration matters that take place on television channels in all countries that send or receive international migrants, and that could properly be considered as relevant documents of museum value, fictional productions of good quality should also deserve a similar attention. Good examples are a number of Brazilian soap-operas, (*telenovelas*) immensely popular in this country,that describe immigration situations and the corresponding communities. The most remarkable is *Terra Nostra* (1999), directed by Benedito Ruy Barbosa, dealing with the Italian immigration to São Paulo during the

last decades of the nineteenth century.

On the reverse side of the same coin, the series *America* (2005) directed by Marcos Schechtman looks into present-day emigration of Brazilians to the United States. Apart from the convoluted psychological situations and romantic events described and beautifully played by high-quality authors, both *novelas* have benefited from good and careful historical and sociological research and show, with a high degree of accuracy, the social and cultural background of the corresponding stories and a comprehensive reconstruction of material scenes, architecture, furniture, clothing and many other interesting details.

8. Migration Museums

The designation proposed in this title is a simple extrapolation of previously materialised experiences from various countries around the world, organised whether from the point of view of the sending or receiving country. The examples that follow thus constitute a mere illustrative selection of the variety of typologies used[7]. In this sense it is useful to bear in mind that each migratory flow possesses its own unique characteristics and, as such, the reality of each is quite specific. On the other hand, the methods used for the museological organisation of such historical events may be generalised to all migrations, given the uniqueness of the human species and the generic character of the migrations of these individuals.

In reality and in diagrammatic terms, the emigration process begins with the moment and manner by which that decision to depart is taken; it continues throughout the actual physical materialisation of that fateful decision, including with the manner by which the distance between the point of exit and the point of arrival is crossed; with the process of settling in and adapting to the country of destination; and comes to an end, eventually, with the return of the immigrant to his country of origin.

This succession of events may be applied just as easily to the emigration of Italians and Germans to Brazil in the nineteenth century, as well as to the Turks who settled in Germany, or yet to the Portuguese who moved to France in the twentieth century or even to the intense migratory currents between Eastern and Western Europe in the early twenty-first century. Viewed from this perspective it may appear that these museums dedicated to the subject of international migrations from specific point of the globe must differ very significantly from one another, both in terms of the conception as well as their content. Having said this, however, they all share the same reasons for being, their internal organisation as well as the typology of the materials placed on display for the visitors.

In addition to those items which have taken on an essentially illustrative, descriptive function - such as letters, diaries, photographs, sound records, personal objects and even reconstructions of plans intimately linked to the migratory process - those documents with relevance to this particular subject matter, and recovered, classified and archived in a systematic manner are becoming

increasingly important since they make it possible to find new clues both with respect to the localisation of individual references as well as supporting soundly-based scientific research. The ship passenger lists, the records of passports granted, of the number of exits from the country and the number of entries into other countries; the residence and work permits issued in those countries, the collective contracting of foreign manual labour; all the censuses; lists or simple counts which refer to immigrant populations *etc.* are all precious elements to a migration museum.

9. 'Museumising' Migrations in Portugal

Because of still relatively recent structural changes, Portugal continues to blend the two opposing aspects of the international movement - namely, emigration and immigration. For this reason it is pertinent to document both the presence of Portuguese and Luso-descendants found throughout the globe as well as the wide variety of foreign groups and communities which at present (and in the future) have (or will) taken up residence in Portugal, putting down their roots and eventually giving rise to successive generations of descendants.

In order to do justice to this phenomenon in Portugal, it is essential to proceed with the planning, creation and construction of a true Migrations Museum. In fact, despite various initiatives to create individual exhibits focusing on this subject matter we have yet to take the next qualitative step forward in this country - that being to turn the temporary or circumstantial

into something structural and confer a permanent character on many of these worthy initiatives which have already been developed - worthy not only for their intrinsic quality but, naturally, for their ephemeral character as well. To this end, and referring to the entire scope of migration and of its material manifestations, it is important to locate and consult an enormous volume of documentation of a variety of sorts, widely distributed throughout both space and time, held by distinct entities as well as government bodies, the police and administrative branches, to name but a few.

The next step, then, would be to digitise such documents in order to preserve them and subsequently proceed with the classification of the information contained therein, thereby creating a database on migrations which would be accessible to both present and future generations. Such a compendium of information, once adequately classified and indexed, would be generically referred to as the Migrations Archive[8].

Our aims are on a more modest (not to mention more realistic) scale in what concerns the possibility of collecting a sufficiently representative number of authenticated objects from each historical period and from each country or region: this seems unnecessary to us because the visualisation of such objects, as well as the geographic, temporal and social environments in which they existed can be achieved by virtual means, via the use of magnetic and/ or optic supports.

A collection of this kind could be referred to as a *Virtual Migrations*

Museum. There, one could observe the landscapes of the places of origin and the environment of the country of destination side by side; the social experiences and cultural manifestations therein; the products of artistic and intellectual creation; the oral records of memories and the expression of hopes - all of which are intimately tied to the migratory condition, both in its temporal flow and its spatial determination. Such a virtual museum would likewise include professional as well as amateur film collections, records of exhibitions and festivals, television and radio reports, audio records of oral narratives or musical works – in short, everything that contains the subject of migrations at its focus.

To complement the Virtual Museum and Archive, a *Migrations Library* would be created that would contain a wide collection of both books and periodicals, whether in paper or optical record form, in general related to the universal subject of human mobility and those specific aspects which affect Portugal, in particular. Basic good sense tells us that the process of creating a good specialised library is a long, drawn-out process, particularly when its central theme is as diverse as the subject of migrations intrinsically is. Just the consideration of scientific documents such as academic theses, specialized books, scientific articles and reports related to migration phenomena, both of general and of specific nature referring to a single origin country and the migrant communities that have settled elsewhere, may amount to a huge volume of diverse titles and references. To this should be added all documents of different natures and media supports that belong to the world of fiction and that may be relvant to illustrate migration situations, issues and problems. In this sense, the priority of the creation of a migration library would focus, above all, on the complex and extensive system of file classification and localisation brought about through the creation of a computerised navigation and classification system that is as efficient and complete as possible.

Of course, functioning alongside this combination of Archive, Virtual Museum and library would be the *Research Centre*, simultaneously a cause and consequence of the creation and activity of the Migrations Museum. It does not seem necessary to insist upon the need and urgency of creating a cultural institution of this nature in our country, for the education value it would represent, both for present and future generations.

The following point deals with a number of migration museums operating in different parts of the world and which characteristics present different outlooks on migration issues, related to marked differences in history, culture and tradition.

10. A Pleiade of Migration Museums
10. 1.Migration Museums in North America: Ellis Island Immigration Museum - New York (United States of America)

Ellis Island, situated on the estuary of the Hudson River, was the mandatory point of passage for the many millions of immigrants who arrived on the shores of North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centu-

ries. Here identification procedures, as well as medical and documental control required for entry into the United States were carried out. During the mid-twentieth century the vast installations on Ellis Island were converted into a library dedicated to the subject matter of immigration. This library contains vast archives of both written and photographic material which have become the object of study and research from all corners of the globe. In 1973, the Ellis Island Museum launched *The Oral History Project*, which involved (and continues to do so) the interviewing of thousands of those transatlantic immigrants who passed through that point, in an effort to reconstruct and preserve the memory of their life histories, from their country of origin to their settlement in the United States. Audio and video transcripts of these interviews are available for scientific research purposes. (www.ellisisland.org)

10. 1. 2. Other Museums

In the United States of America alone we may find a number of museums dedicated specifically to the subject of Portuguese emigration to that country, including: the Museum of the *Portuguese Heritage Society of California*, located in San José (Santa Clara Valley); in terms of a virtual presence. The work carried out by the *Portuguese-American Historical Research Foundation* on Portuguese Roots deserves special mention and may be consulted at the following site: www.portuguesefoundation.org. Also to be mentioned are: the *Danish Immigrant Museum,* in Elk Horn, Iowa, U.S.A.; the *Nordic Heritage Museum,* in

Seattle, U.S.A; and the section entitled *The German-Canada Migration*, belonging to the *Virtual Museum of Canada* (which has no physical address), located at the site www.virtualmuseum.ca.

10. 2. Migration Museums in Brazil

10.2. 1.   *The Memoriais da Imigração Polonesa, Italiana e Ucraniana* (The Polish, Italian and Ukrainian Immigration Memorials) - Curitiba, Paraná (Brazil)

10.2.1.1. *The Memorial da Imigração Polonesa* (The Polish Immigration Memorial) is made up of a group of seven log cabins representing a typical Polish village. The houses are furnished with faithful replicas of objects commonly used during the initial phase of that migratory current which had its origins in the year 1971. Two characteristic elements stand out from the rest: the barrel used to make sauerkraut and the image of the Black Virgin of Czestochova.

10.2.1.2. The *Memorial da Imigração Italiana* (The Italian Immigration Memorial) is located in the Italian forest and includes a replica of the first parish church, the *Santa Felicidade*, a stage for artistic presentations, kiosks, arcades and fountains evoking Roman architecture as well as a place dedicated to the production of *polenta*.

10.2.1.3. The *Memorial da Imigração Ucraniana* (The Ukrainian Immigration Memorial) includes a chapel dedicated to the Archangel Saint Michael, a typical Ukrainian home, an open-air stage and a votive doorway, all of which, including the roofing, are made of wood.

10.2. 2. The *Museu da Casa Suíça* (The Swiss House Museum) - Nova Friburgo, Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

The *Casa Suíça* (The Swiss House), inaugurated in 1996, following the construction of the Swiss Cheese-Dairy and School in 1987, strives to illustrate and document the settlement of the Frisburgese of Switzerland in Brazil from 1819 onward.

These initiatives resulted from the interest generated in such matters following the publication of Martin Nicoulin's doctoral thesis, a work dedicated to studying the colonisation process of Swiss immigrants of Nova Friburgo, Brazil that led to the strengthening of cultural ties between these two countries. Faithful to its foundation aims, the Museum continues to carry out historical and genealogical studies while simultaneously serving as a repository to both a wide variety of documentation dedicated to that immigratory flow and a collection of period objects related to the immigration process. This Museum's rich permanent exhibition is organised in an efficient and educational fashion which aims, above all, to inform younger generations of the journey taken by that city's founders using, for that purpose, a sequential description of the various steps endured by these individuals.

10.2. 3. In the Southern State of *Rio Grande do Sul*:

10.2.3.1. The *Museu Municipal* – Caxias do Sul, RS (Brazil)

We can find the immigrants to this region of Brazil, through their working tools, domestic objects and children's toys.

10.2.3.2. The *Museu Histórico Visconde de São Leopoldo* – São Leopoldo, RS (Brazil)

Founded in 1959, it is the largest museum dedicated to the German immigration in Latin America, dating from 1824.

10.2.4. In the State of *Canta Catarina:*

10.2.4.1. The *Museu Nacional de Imigração e Colonização* (National Museum of Immigration and Colonization) – Joinville , SC (Brazil)

The Museum tells the story of the German immigration to the *Colónia de D. Francisca* (now the city of Joinville), beginning in 1851.

10.2.4.2. The *Museu Municipal Andreas Thaler* – Treze Tílias, SC, (Brazil)

This city was founded by Austrian immigrants to this region, through an initiative of the Agriculture Minister of Austria, Andreas Thaler, in 1933; the region is now known as the "Brazilian Tyrol". The Museum is dedicated to this immigration and the cultural features of its people.

10.2.4.3. The *Museu do Immigrante,* Timbó, SC (Brazil)

This museum is dedicated to the memory and the identity of immigrants that settled in this city, through the characteristics of their dwellings.

10.2.4.4. The Casa dos Açores, Museu Etnográfico (*Etnographic Museum, House of Azores)* Biguaçú, SC (Brazil)

This museum deals with the history and ethnography of the presence of Azorean colonizers coming to Santa Catarina during the eighteenth century.

10.2.5. The *Museu da Imigração Japonesa (*The Japanese Immigration Museum*) - São Paulo (Brazil)*

This Museum, set against the backdrop of the Bairro da Liberdade in the city of São Paulo, was inaugurated in 1978, thus commemorating the 70th anniversary of Japanese immigration to that country. The Museum possesses approximately one thousand objects on permanent display, including books and periodicals edited by emigrants, old photographs, household utensils, reproductions of the first homes of these immigrants as well as examples of their clothing, works of art, religious objects, musical instruments and a replica of the ship christened the *Kataso–Maru*, on which the first Japanese immigrants arrived in Brazil.

This Museum possess a collection of approximately 15 000 pieces which are periodically displayed at temporary exhibitions. These are divided into three general categories: «The Japanese in the New World», «Contributing to Development» and «In Search of New Directions». Electronic and audiovisual panels display various aspects of the day-to-day lives of these immigrants in Brazil, as well as that of their descendants.

10.2.6. The *Memorial do Imigrante* (The Immigrant Memorial) or *Museu da Imigração* (The Immigration Museum) – Mooca, São Paulo (Brazil)

Located within the grandiose building known as *Palácio do Visconde de Parnaíba,* located at the end of the railway line beginning at the city of Santos harbour, it was commissioned in 1888 by the *Sociedade Promotora de Imigração* (The Immigration Promoting Society)

for the initial purpose of receiving those immigrants arriving from Europe and Asia. Since 1993 the museum houses the memory of all migratory currents that converged upon the shores of that country. Aside from the numerous rooms displaying period objects related to the conditions of the voyage and reception of the immigrants, the day-to-day lives in the city as well as the countryside (particularly of those who dedicated their lives to the production of coffee) between the end of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th, the Museum likewise possesses numerous illustrations and photographs addressing these very subjects.

Particular reference is due to another type of collection: the document archive containing invaluable information on immigration to Brazil, which includes maritime transportation manifestos, lists of individuals who entered the country and a variety of other documents which illustrate all the steps involved in the immigrants' journey. Not only has this vast collection of documents been digitised, thus permitting researchers to consult an image of each original document, but a powerful database was also created which enables the consultation of information related to each individual or family: names, nationality and place of origin, arrival dates, the ship on which they travelled and even the transportation company that brought them there. Thanks to this powerful tool, the Museum has the capacity to issue official certificates declaring the origin of immigrants and their date of arrival in Brazil (which are necessary, for instance, to request passports from European

countries) and evidence of descent, in inheritance cases. Other integral components of the Museum are the *Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação* (The Research and Documentation Centre) and the *Núcleo de Estudos e Tradições* (The Studies and Traditions Centre). (Vd. www.memorialdoimigrante.sp.gov.br).

10.2.7. *Other initiatives in Brazil*
It is of great interest to recall two separate Brazilian initiatives, covering subjects very similar to those already described here, which occurred approximately 20 and 10 years ago respectively and which, unfortunately, were not followed through in the end. The first of these initiatives, which resulted from an idea of the then Town Councillor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Wilson Leite Passos, took the form of a Bill presented to the Prefecture of this city (Bill Number 512/83) which aimed to create a *"Museu da Colonização Portuguesa" (A Portuguese Colonisation Museum)* locally. This Bill was vetoed in the following year (1984) by Prefect Marcello Alencar who gave reasons of a financial and bureaucratic nature for his decision.

The second initiative dates back to 1993 with the development of Law Number 1988 dated the 8th of June of 1993 and Decree-Law Number 12 116 dating the 24th of June of that same year, which instituted the programme known as the "*Museu da Presença Portuguesa na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro*" (*The Museum of the Portuguese presence in the City of Rio de Janeiro).* Under this programme, for which the Municipal Secretary of Education was directly responsible, article 2 postulates the creation of a his-

torical exhibit created with the objective of collecting, conserving and displaying documents concerning the Portuguese presence in the city of Rio de Janeiro to public visitors on a permanent basis. Article Number 5 states that "In each year, the month of June shall be set aside for the realisation of the Luso-Brazilian Community month, complete with a festive programme including the realisation of a solemn event at the City Hall …." As far as it is known, this initiative has not been followed through despite the vested interest, maintained up until the present day, of the President of the Federation of Portuguese and Luso-Brazilian Associations in such an initiative.

10.3. *Migration Museums in Europe*
Given the importance of Nordic countries' emigration to the United States of America and Canada during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is not surprising that Museums and similar initiatives in those countries are dedicated to transatlantic migratory flows and the "American Dream".
10.3.1. *The House of Emigrants - Växjö, Småland (Sweden)*
One of the more interesting elements that make up this institution, founded in 1965, aside from an admirable collection of period objects dedicated by the emigrants themselves, is that documentation which served as the basis for the novel entitled "The Emigrants" (Moberg, 1949) which recounts the story of a Swedish family who risk crossing the Atlantic in search of the Promised Land. This work is a relevant piece of Swedish contemporary literature that is the compilation of both in-depth

historical research as well as the author's own personal experience. Another important element of this Museum is its immense collection of envelopes mailed from across the Atlantic whose addresses and mail stamps pay tribute to both the passing of time and the variety of places of origin as well as of destination of Swedish immigrants in America. The Museum includes also an extensive archive of microfilmed documents, most notably those lists bearing the names of emigrant embarkations.

With respect to the Museum's scientific activity and services to the community of Swedish origin, the institution carries out notable work in the fields of family reconstitution and localisation of one's origins. (www.swemi.nu) A mention should also be made about the Åland Islands' Emigrant Institute Society that aims to promote research on emigration from the Åland Islands and to collect, catalogue and distribute material connected with this emigration and to function as a link between Ålanders all around the world.

10.3.2. The *Danish Emigration Archives* – Aalborg (Denmark)

Although it does not encompass all of the characteristics of a museum, this institution houses a large number of documents of various types (including letters, manuscripts, diaries, newspapers and photographs) related to the subject of Danish emigration. Here, one may also find a database, containing elements dating back to 1869, which contains lists of names of emigrants, compiled by the Copenhagen Police Services. Genealogical research can be conducted thanks to the Archives which are linked to 600 genealogical associations located throughout the country. This institution published several books on Danish emigration to the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. (www.emiarch.dk)

10.3.3. *The Finnish Institute of Migration* – Turku (Finland)

The purpose of this Institute is to collect, treat and display documents and artifacts related to Finnish emigration, particularly to the United States, as well as databases containing personal information on emigrants and a genealogical research service. Recently the *Peräseinäjoki National Culture Centre* was inaugurated, bearing those characteristics typical of a migration museum, as a delegation of the Institute of Migration of Turku, which aims to offer a variety of leisure activities on the subject of emigration for its visitors on a permanent basis. It is interesting to note the concern that this institution has in making its activities profitable and, to that end, its project ties together the scientific value of its activities with its leisure space which is frequented by both national and foreign visitors. (www.migrationinstitute.fi) Special reference must also be made to the intention to creare a Finnish emigrant Museum, possibly in Kalajärvi, Seinäjofi, through the efforts of a Support Association specially created for this purpose.

10.3.4 The *Museo de la Emigracion – Fundacion Archivo de Indianos*, in Colombres, Asturias, (Spain)

This museum, located within the

Quinta Guadalupe Palace*,* is dedicated to Spanish emigration to Mexico, Cuba, Argentina and other South American countries specifically during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was built with the aid of the personal and material estates of considerably wealthy returnees from that part of the globe, complemented by the extensive and continuous collection of documents on that subject. The Museum is organized according to the chronological development of the emigratory process and includes ten theme rooms that illustrate the personal life stories of many successful emigrants living abroad who maintained close ties with their country of origin, particularly through charitable actions in their homeland. (www.archivodeindianos.es) In the general neighborhood of Colombres, in the Llanes area, there are a large and valuable number of palaces showing their own particular architectural style, referred to locally as the *Arquitectura de Indianos* (Architecture of the Indians). They were built using money from Spanish emigration to South America.

10.3.5. The *Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines* (Documentation Centre on Human Migrations), Dudelange, Luxembourg
This Centre is aimed at developing research and organizing exhibitions in the field of the history of migrations, namely those related to Luxembourg and neighbouring regions.

10.3.6. *Other Museums in Europe*
Aside from those which have already been described here, a number of additional museums dedicated to the topic of migrations also exist. These include: the *Culkin's Emigration Museum*, in County Sligo, Ireland; the *John F, Kennedy Trust*, New Ross, Ireland, which rebuit a ship dating back to 1845 that was used for the transportation of emigrants from Ireland across the Atlantic to the United States and Canada and which is now used as the physical space for an emigratory museum. (www.iol.ie/~jfktrust/home); the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh, Northern Ireland, which is a university-related research centre that uniquely brings together the elements of Migration Library, Virtual Archive and Museum (www.folkpark.com); the *Research Centre German Emigrants in the USA*, in Oldenburg, Germany (www.dausa.de); the *Migration Experience*, in Bremerhaven, Germany; very recently, the *Projekt Migration,* wishing to create a Migrations Museum in Köln, Germany (www.domit.de); the *Icelandic Emigration Centre*, in Skagafjördur, Iceland, which has specialized in cultural tourism aimed specifically at the descendants of emigrants (www.hofsos.is); the *Norwegian Emigrant Museum*, in Hamar, Norway, whose main interest is to offer scheduled tours between the various sites imitating the numerous points or stages of the migrant journey (www.museumsnett.no/emigrantmuseum) and which includes the *Norwegian-American Collection,* in collaboration with a National Library, in Oslo; the *Museum of the Emigrant*, in San Marino, which tells the story of a massive exodus that took place in the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries using for that purpose 8 exhibition rooms as well as audio-visual technology (vd. www.museoemigrant.sm).

A word of mention should go to the role carried out by the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI), founded in 1991 with its headquarters in Denmark, in the diffusion of knowledge of study centers, documents and museums on the subject of those migrations that have taken place within the European context. (www.aemi.dk)

10.3.7. *Other Initiatives*

In France, at the moment, this subject is of great interest given the publication (2001) of the "Rapport pour la Création d'un Centre National de l'Histoire et des Cultures de l'Immigration" (*Report on the Creation of a National Immigration History and Cultures Museum*), including a proposal for the creation of a "*Musée de l'Immigration*" (*Immigration Museum)*, which was presented to the Prime Minister of that country on the 22nd of November of that same year. This project came in 2004 to the creation of the *Cité Nationale de l' Histoire de l' Immigration* (National City of the History of Immigration) at the *Palais de la Porte Dorée*, in Paris, its formal opening to the public being scheduled to 2007. Several exhibitions taking place in different French cities have meanwhile taken place.

Likewise, in Germany the "*Museum für Europäiche Migration*" has been inaugurated under the auspices of the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research, whose primary objectives are:

to alert both politicians and the general public to the cultural values of immigrants settled within the boundaries of that receiving society; to stimulate the interest of teachers, artists and researchers alike with respect to paying greater attention to the subject of migrations; and to reduce the friction between foreign residents living in Germany and the German population in general.

There is an interesting intiative of European-wide scope, launched by the Council of Europe, the largest umbrella organization wherein all European States are represented. Its *Institut Européen des Itinéraires Culturels*, aiming at the promotion of knowledge about the different countries and cultures in the European space, now decided to include "Migration Itineraries" within the many thematic approaches already considered.

A wide variety of additional study centers and cultural diffusion centers exist in numerous European countries, funded by the national institutions whose primary interest is the subject of international migrations, which constitute an integral part of the history of those countries. With respect to Southern European countries, the destination of these migratory movements focused essentially on the South American continent.

The particular case of Portuguese emigration is dealt with in the following section.

10.4. Migration Museums in Portugal

10.4.1. The *Museu da Emigração, das Comunidades e da Luso-Descendência* (The Emigration, Communities and

Luso-Descendency Museum) - Fafe (Portugal)

This Museum is the direct result of an initiative of the Fafe City Hall and is counting on the collaboration of the *Casa da Cultura* (The House of Culture) as well as that of the *Associações Portuguesas de França* (The Portuguese Associations of France). Recounting the strong tradition in this area of emigration to Brazil since the nineteenth century and which has left behind numerous architectural reminders of excellent quality both within the city and the surrounding region, the Museum strives to honour this patrimony, which includes palaces among a variety of other buildings, gardens and the city's Public Walkway the origins of which lay with Portuguese emigrants living in Brazil, who returned from that country or who have made extended visits to Portugal. An important component of the Museum's activities consists of creating a very comprehensive portal with an ingenious and friendly navigation strategy imcluding many different kinds of data, arranged in Virtual Rooms (Memory; Diaspora; Ancestry; Communities; Lusophony; Knowledge) allowing for a better understanding of the local emigratory reality. The Museum has been successful in establishing a large network of collaboration with Portuguese Comunities abroad and with Portuguese Universities, through protocols designed to foster joint research on migration issues (www.museu-emigrantes.org).

Another initiative with similar nature has recently (2005) been launched in the border city of Melgaço (in the pro-vince of Minho, Northern Portugal); the convenient neighbourhood of this city with Spain has facilitated clandes-tine emigration to Europe in the mid-twentieth century. This new museum, named *Espaço Memória e Fronteira,* aiming at preserving the memories of emigrants of that origin, is associated with the above-mentionned Museum of Emigrants.

10.4.2. The *Museu: Espaço-Memória de Exílios (*The Museum: Space-Memory from Exile) - Cascais (Portugal).

Although distinctly different from all of the other previously described muse-ums, both with respect to its very nature and the motivation of the protagonists involved, the latter is, generally speak-ing, made up of individuals and families of royal lineage deposed from countries all over Europe and who sought out Portugal as a receptor of refuge, this museum nevertheless obeys the same methodological principles as the other migration museums. Regardless of their favourable economic situation, these exiled families underwent an uprooting and transition process which, at least from a psychological perspective, was not so very different from that experi-enced by the average migrant, although the respective material living conditions of these two groups were, quite obvi-ously, by no means comparable. The idea of creating such a museum arose from an exhibit entitled «Cascais-Esto-ril, a Place of Exile», an initiative which was created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Second World War, thus making definitive the recovery and collection of documents of a very wide

variety concerning famous personalities (and not merely members of royal families but also writers such as Thomas Mann, Ian Fleming, Stephen Zweig and Saint-Exupéry; cinematographers such as Max Ophuls and Jean Renoir; and financiers such as Calouste Gulbenkian) who took refuge in Portugal during that same conflict.The Museum is located in the Post-Office Building in Estoril www.cm-cascais.pt).

10.4.3. *Other Initiatives*

The Portuguese are also not without their own failed initiatives. By an Order passed on the 24th of August of 1984 by the Secretary of State of Emigration, the undersigned was attributed the mission of developing "the embryo of a future live Museum of Emigration and the Portuguese Communities, with the creation of a Documental and Iconographic Fund". Despite it being well structured, in terms of both its objectives and its functions, this project was not followed through, in large part due to the lack of human resources, materials and logistics mobilisation.

10.5. *Migration Museums in Oceania*

10.5.1. The *Immigration Museum* at Melbourne (Australia)

The museum is installed at the magnificent nineteenth-century building of the Old Customs House, since 1998. Apart from memorabilia and all kinds of documents related to the history of immigration to Victoria, Australia, since the nineteenth century, the museum displays, for educational purposes, video and audio documents that help to understand the stories of many people that make Australia a multicultural country. The museum organizes summer courses, workshops and other events about immigration themes, aimed at different age and educational levels (www.immigration.museum.vic.gov.au).

10.5.2. The *Migration Museum* at Adelaide (Australia)

The museum aims at showing visitors the multicultural variety of people in the Southern part of Australia, from immigrants to native populations. Within the museum perimeter, the Settlement Square is built with bricks bought by visitors, engraved with their name and country of origin of their family (www.history.sa.gov.au).

11. *Final Summary*

A museum is, above all else, an instrument of cultural diffusion and of education aimed at creating visible and concrete references which can overcome the passage of time. All over the world, in Europe and in Portugal, a Migrations Museum should cover both aspects of the migratory phenomenon, namely emigration and immigration, both of which presently characterise the international context in the framework of international human mobility. For each facade of this dual universe those perspectives bridge both each country of origin and the corresponding country (or countries) of destination. It is the crossing points of these experiences that best portray a reality founded on diversity and the cultural riches which they encompass.

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Special Issue on

Cultural and Economic Links in Diaspora

Editor
Hans Storhaug

Trogir is situated close to Split in Croatia, on the eastern coastline of the Adriatic Sea. The heart of Trogir is a small islet of 12,000 inhabitants between the gentle hills on the mainland and the coast
Photo*: Hans Storhaug*

of the Island of Ciovo. As it is on the list of UNESCO protected sites, it was the perfect venue for the 2006 Annual meeting of the Association of European Migration Institutions.

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

Trogir, Croatia
28 – 30 September 2006

Members of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI) and other specialists in the field, met for a three days conference in the UNESCO protected heritage site Trogir, near Split in Croatia. The conference included a memorable voyage to the island of Vis, where this picture was taken.

Photo: Hans Storhaug

THURSDAY 28.09.06
Conference members assembled at 9.00 am on board the Adriatic Paradise in the harbour of Trogir, near Split, which is a major heritage site, protected by UNESCO. This most unusual venue, and one most appropriate for the theme of migration, had been kindly organized for us by Dr Silva Meznaric, director of this year's host institution, IMIN (Institut za Migragije I Naradnosti), the Institute of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Zagreb. Silva welcomed those present and spoke briefly

about the work of her Institute, which is financed by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports. Its activities include interdisciplinary research, communication of sciences, lectures and the organization of conferences such as this one, which are aimed at contributing to knowledge about socio-political conditions and consequences of migrations, ethnic development, ethnic relations and different forms of identity. The Institute publishes a journal, Migracijske i etničke teme, which deals with aspects of migration, ethnicity and identity, from the viewpoint of various social and humanistic disciplines: sociology, anthropology, history, demography, human geography, psychology, political science, economics, law, linguistics, etc. Being an international journal, its sphere of interest truly covers the entire world: papers are published mainly in four languages (Croatian, English, French and Russian).

On behalf of the Association, the Chairman, Dr Brian Lambkin, thanked Silva and her colleagues for their kind welcome. He referred to messages received from members unable to attend this year's meeting, including Knut Djupedal, Wolfgang Grams and Sarah Clément and regretted that Michel Thomas-Penette and Sorina Capp from the Institute of European Cultural Routes, Luxembourg, had been prevented at the last moment from attending. He also reminded members of previous occasions on which AEMI had taken to the sea in this way, which include the meeting in Portoroz, Slovenia in 1999,

the meeting in Stavanger, Norway in 2002, and the legendary meeting that took place in 1994 on the Queen Elizabeth II, en route for New York. It was hoped that this meeting would also have the effect of promoting empathy with earlier migrants and encouraging good communication between those present as members of a floating community.

Silva Meznaric then introduced the theme of this year's conference, 'Cultural and Economic Links in Diaspora: Comparative Studies' and the programme for the day, which was as follows:

Thursday 28 September
10.00-12.30

Session One:
Cultural and Economic Links: Croatian Diaspora. Panel.
Topics: Diachronic and synchronic overview of diaspora from contemporary territory of Croatia; demographic, statistical, political and economic features of Croatian diaspora; economic migration and consequences, 1965-1975. Independent Croatia and economic/cultural links with diaspora. Return flows: motives, flaws, policies.

Panelists:
Boris Skvorc (Croatian Studies Centre, Macquarie University, Sidney, Australia)
Silva Meznaric (IMIN, Zagreb),
Ruzica Cicak Chand (IMIN, Zagreb), 'Croatian ethnic parishes in Canada: their significance in preserving

Croatian identity'
Marina Peric (IMIN, Zagreb),
'Croatian Immigrants in Chile'
Simona Kuti (IMIN, Zagreb).
Panel facilitator: Sasa Bozic (IMIN,
Zagreb)

Lunch: on board

14.00-16.30
Session Two:
Transnational Identities: Cultural Links
in Comparative Perspectives
Topics: Is "transnationality" a viable
option for building up communities
and links in diaspora? Theories, case
studies, perspectives.

Panelists:
Sasa Bozic (IMIN, Zagreb), 'Defining
"Diaspora" and "Transnational"'
Adam Walaszek (Jagielonian University,
Krakow);
Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade (Centro
de Esudos da Migracoes e das Relacoes
Interculturais/ CEMRI, Lisbon, Portu-
gal), 'Cultural Issues in the Portuguese
Diaspora : Tokens of Identity'
Jure Gombac (SAZU, Slovenia),
Kristina Toplak (Slovenia), 'Slovenes in
Argentina and Transnational Art
Worlds'
Panel facilitator: Olavi Koivukangas
(Finland).

16.30-18.00
Guided tour of the town of Trogir,
including the Church of St Dominic,
the Cathedral with its magnificent west
door and the convent of St Nicholas
with its 'Kairos' art collection.

19.00-21.00
Reception at Trogir Civic Museum,
hosted by the Director on behalf of the
Mayor, Mr Vedran Rozic

Friday 29 September
9.00-11.00
Session Three:
Technology, Science, Economics and
Diaspora Links. Comparative cases
Topics: Diaspora of Populations
– diaspora of Knowledge and Technolo-
gies? Case studies and comparisons:
Slovenia, Nordic Countries, Ireland,
Croatia, Germany, Basque Country,
Luxembourg, Finland.

Jernej Mlekuz (SAZU, Slovenia), 'Sym-
bolic aspects of immigrant material
culture: burek and "Slovene" ethno-
national discourse'
Henning Bender (HVB, Denmark),
'Migration Search Databases on the
Internet'
Benan Oregi (Basque Government,
Relations with Basque Communities
Abroad), 'From an Ethno-Diaspora to a
Techno-Diaspora: the Basque Case'
Olavi Koivukangas (Finland), 'Chal-
lenges of Present Migrations in Europe
and Finland between West and East'
Panel facilitator: Brian Lambkin (CMS,
Northern Ireland)

11.00 – 18.00
Voyage from Trogir to the island of Vis

18.15-19.30
Komiza Town Hall, Vis
Session Four:
Presentation of Causes and Conse-
quences of an Insular Emigration; Island
of Vis

Speaker: J*osko Bozanic* (University of Split)

Professor Bozanic spoke particularly about the remarkable Croatian contribution to the world fishing industry and about the research project he has been involved in to preserve the oral history of the fishermen of Vis and their distinctive vessel, the gaeta falkusa, which is rowed by four men standing facing the captain, who also rows, in similar fashion to Venetian gondoliers, but in the open sea.

20.00 Conference Banquet
This delightful meal took place in the courtyard of the house of Professor Bozanic's sister. The after-dinner entertainment included a recitation by Professor Bozanic of a poem in the lingua franca of Mediterranean sailors that struck a particular chord of recognition with the Basque delegates, a range of operatic arias performed by the captain of the Adriatic Paradise, as well as spirited contributions by representatives of every country represented at the table, including some long-standing AEMI members who revealed hitherto hidden talents.

Saturday 30 September
Komiza Town Hall
10.00-12.00

Session Five: Cultural Roots, Museums and Diaspora
Topics: Departures, arrivals, links – memories, archives, roots.
Presentations – virtual arhives, contemporary museology. Innovations and Fresh ideas.

Panelists:
Steffen Wiegmann (German Emigration Center, Bremerhaven), 'Current Research on German Emigration and Report on the First Year of Opening'
Ljerka Galic, (Croatian Heritage Foundation, Zagreb), 'The Work of the Croatian Heritage Foundation: Plans for the Future'
Lidija Nikocevic, (Ethnographic Museum of Istria, Croatia), 'Representing Istrian Migration in the Museum'
Brian Lambkin, (Centre for Migration Studies, Northern Ireland), 'Studying European Migration in Comparative Perspective: the potential of the 'Art of European Migration' Virtual Archive'

Panel facilitator: Antoinette Reuter (Centre de Documentation sur les Migrations Humaines, Luxembourg)

15.00-21.30
Return voyage from Vis to Trogir

16.00-18.10
General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions (AEMI)

Minutes of Meeting
The General Assembly of the Association of European Migration Institutions was convened on board the Adriatic Paradise, en route from Vis to Trogir, Croatia, and called to order at 16.00 by the Chairman, Brian Lambkin.
Present
The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Zagreb, Croatia, represented by Dr Silva Meznaric

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

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

Génériques, Paris, France, represented by Mr Patrick Veglia and Ms Delphine Folliet

The German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven, Germany, represented by Mr Steffen Wiegmann

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 Norwegian-American Collection, National Library of Norway, represented by Ms Dina Tolfsby

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 Ms Kristina Toplack

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

The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute, Mariehamm, Finland, represented by Dr Eva Meyer

The following institution applying for membership was represented:
Croatian Heritage Foundation, Zagreb, Croatia, represented by Ms Ljerka Galic

Also in attendance were:
Directorate for Relations with Basque Communities Abroad, Basque Country (Spain), represented by Mr Benan Oregi and Mr Joseba Inaki Arregui
Ethnographic Museum of Istria, Croatia, represented by Dr Lidija Nikocevic

Apologies
Written apologies were received from:
Norwegian Emigrant Museum, Ottestad, Norway, represented by Mr Knut Djupedal
Routes to the Routes, Oldenburg, Germany, represented by Dr Wolfgang Grams

The following member institutions were not represented:
Rozmberk Society, Czechia
Archives Department, Merseyside Maritime Museum, Liverpool, England, UK
North Frisian Emigrant Archive, Bredstedt, Germany
Research Center for German Emigrants in the USA, Oldenburg, Germany
Friends of the German Emigration Museum, Bremerhaven
Centro Italiano di Studi Sull Emigrazione, Tramonti, Italy
County Archives, Sogn og Fjordane, Kaupanger, Norway
Museum of Emigration and Communities, Fafe, Portugal

San Marino Emigrant Museum and Study Center, San Marino
Museum of Scotland International, National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK
Scots Abroad, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, UK
Slovene Ethnographic Museum, Ljubljana, Slovenia
Kinship Center, Karlstad, Sweden

There were no representatives of associate members or personal members present.
Apologies were also received from: Dr Michel Thomas-Penette and Ms Sorina Capp, European Institute of Cultural Routes, Council of Europe, Luxemburg

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 and Professor Walaszek took the chair.

2. Minutes of General Assembly 2005
The Minutes of the General Assembly 2005, held in the House of Europe, Paris on Saturday 1 October 2006, posted previously on the AEMI website, were approved.

3. Chairman's Report for 2003-2004
The Chairman gave his report. The full text is given separately at the AEMI website.
The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the Chairman's Report. The meeting adopted the motion.

4. Secretary and Treasurer's Report: Financial Statement and Accounts, 2005-2006
The Secretary and Treasurer, Henning Bender presented the Financial Statement and Accounts for 2005-2006, as posted previously on the AEMI website. He reported that all members, with the exception of the National Museums of Scotland, had paid their subscriptions.

The Association's Auditor, Dr Eva Meyer, who was present, confirmed that she was satisfied with the Accounts for 2006 and had signed them.

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

5. Editor's Report
The Editor of the Association's Journal, Hans Storhaug, reported that unfortunately it had not been possible to produce the fourth issue, which is to include papers given at last year's Annual Meeting in Paris, in time for this year's Annual Meeting. He now aims to produce the fourth issue by Christmas, which will include articles from both the Paris meeting and the recent one in Trogir. Alternatively he is planning to publish a double publication with articles from the 2005 and 2006 meetings to be ready for the 2007 Annual meeting in Turku, Finland. He agreed to look into the practicality of a suggestion made by Professor Rocha-Trindade that any additional illustrative material provided by authors might be

made available in CD-ROM format along with the Journal.

The Presiding Officer thanked the Editor for his continuing efforts on behalf of the Association.

6. Admission of New Members
The Presiding Officer asked the Chairman and Secretary/Treasurer to speak to the admission of new members.

The Chairman referred to the presentation made in Session 5 by Ms Ljerka Galic on behalf of the Croatian Heritage Foundation and proposed its admission to membership. This was agreed by acclaim.

The Secretary/Treasurer reported that the Association pour la Maison de la Memoire de l'Emigration des Pyrenees et du Sud-Ouest, France, had requested to continue being designated as 'applying for membership'. This was agreed.

The Secretary/Treasurer reported that CISEI (Centro Internazionale Studi Emigrazione Italiana), Genoa, Italy, who had been represented at the Annual Meeting in Lisbon in 2003, had been in communication with him through its representative Silvia Martini. Unfortunately she had been unable to travel to Croatia but requested that her institution be admitted to membership. This was agreed.
The Secretary/Treasurer reported that he had received a communication from Ms Ursula Wöst on behalf of BallinStadt, Hamburg, requesting to be admit-

ted to membership of the Association. This is a new emigration museum located in Hamburg, Germany which is due to open in July 2007. Hamburg was one of the most important European Emigration Ports in the beginning of the 20th century. About 5 million people left Europe via Hamburg. The Hamburg State Archives holds original Passenger Lists from 1850 – 1934. BallinStadt will offer family research, based on the information given in these lists (most important the hometown of the passengers). On the original place of the emigration halls, built by Albert Ballin / HAPAG around 1900, BallinStadt will present an innovative exhibition on emigration as well as a reconstruction of parts of the historical emigration halls. BallinStadt is a public-private-partnership between the City of Hamburg and a small enterprise, Leisure Work Group (see **www.ballinstadt.de**). It was agreed to admit this institution to membership.

The Chairman referred to the presentation made in Session Three by Benan Oregi on behalf of the Directorate on Relations with Basque Communities Abroad and invited him to explain more about the development plans of his institution. Mr Oregi concluded by saying that it would be necessary for him to consult further with colleagues about applying for membership. The Chairman proposed that the Association would welcome an application for membership from his institution. This was agreed.
The Secretary/Treasurer reported that he had received a communication from

Ms Ana Maria da Costa Leitão Viera on behalf of Memorial do Imigrante, Brazil with the request to be admitted to associate membership. This was agreed.

The Secretary/Treasurer reported that the Immigrant Institute, Boras, Sweden, had paid its subscription arrears and requested to be readmitted to membership. This was agreed.

It was noted that although the new Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration had been designated as 'applying for membership' at last year's meeting, following a presentation by Dr Marie Poinsot, no representative of the institution was present at this year's meeting.

7. Proposed Budget for 2006-07
The Secretary and Treasurer spoke to the proposed budget for 2006-07, 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 again (as he had the previous year) that unless additional funding was obtained, the Association would be unable to maintain its current level of activities beyond 2007.

The Presiding Officer moved the adoption of the proposed budget and the meeting accepted the motion.

8. Appointment of Auditor
The Presiding Officer asked the Association's Auditor, Dr Eva Meyer, if she would be willing to continue serving as Auditor for the coming year and she confirmed that she was.

The Presiding Officer thanked Dr Meyer on behalf of the Association.

9. Venue of Annual Meeting 2006
The Chairman reminded members of the procedure by which the venue is chosen for the Annual Meeting. The Association relies on member institutions coming forward and offering to act as host. In the event of more than one offer being received in a given year, consideration is given to desirability of moving the location of the Annual Meeting around Europe as inclusively as possible. Thus over the last four years the meeting has alternated between north and south (Norway 2002, Portugal 2003, Sweden 2004, France 2005, Croatia 2006).

The Chairman reminded the meeting that, at the Paris meeting in 2005, Professor Olavi Koivukangas had expressed his strong desire, as a founder member of the Association, that his institution should host the Annual Meeting once more in Finland, before he retires in a few years time, preferably in 2007. Professor Koivukangas confirmed that his offer still stood. The Chairman proposed that the Association accept this offer and the meeting did so by acclaim.

The Annual Meeting of the Association in 2007 will therefore take place in Turku, Finland, 26-30 September. Professor Koivagangas said he would aim to confirm the theme of the conference as soon as possible and circulate infor-

mation a preliminary programme along with information about accommodation and travel early in the new year. If members are interested in contributing to next year's programme, they are asked to contact Professor Koivagangas as soon as possible.

As to further future venues, the Chairman reminded the meeting that in Paris Dr Erik Gustavson (Sweden) and Dr Simone Eick (Germany) had both expressed interest in hosting future meetings. Further expressions of interest were gratefully received from Henning Bender (Denmark) and Silvia Martini (Italy).

A decision on the venue of the Annual Meeting in 2008 will be made at the next Annual Meeting in Finland in 2007.

10. Members Projects
(a) Antoinette Reuter reported on the role of the Centre des Documentations in a project on migrant biographies that is part of Luxemburg's European Capital of Culture programme in 2007. A further seminar on Migration Archives took place May 26-7, 2006. She also reported on the work involved in producing the European Week of Migration Heritage poster and programme 2006. The idea is that members should make use of the poster year on year, adapting it to their own situation, and that they should contribute information about their 'events' in good time for inclusion in the programme. Antoinette was congratulated by members on what she and her

colleagues had achieved this year. The Chairman thanked her for being willing to continue the work of co-ordination in the year ahead.

Antoinette reported as follows. Since 2003 and the presentation of the first outlines of an 'Migration heritage route' to the staff of the European Institute of Cultural Routes, a Council of Europe's agency, in Luxembourg (autumn 2003) and to the board of the advisors of the Cultural Committee of the Council of Europe by AEMI (beginning of 2004) several steps were achieved.

The Cultural Committee agreed the idea as a valuable one and made the route an "elected theme" (May 2004). Evidence of this and more details can be found at **www.cul**ture-routes.lu by clicking first top left on "atlas of cultural routes" and by choosing second top right "migration heritage routes"

This means, first, that you have now through the commitment of the European Institute of Cultural Routes a showcase where all the information you send in during last year's and this year's "Heritage week" is archived. Moreover you can make use of this site when ever you like by sending in information of your activities to either sorinacapp@culture-routes.lu or institute@culture-routes.lu , your information by this being displayed on the top page of the site to a large group of visitors from all over the world. Additionally the information is gathered in a special newsletter "migration" sent out several times a year by the Institute. Second, you can put the logo of the Council of Europe and the mention "in the framework of the "European

Migration Heritage Route" on your activities, a detail which may help you to gather national money. In fact each of the 46 member states of the Council of Europe has a cultural agreement with this institution. In this agreement is money dedicated to cultural activities.

Various workshops, conferences and meetings were held to get a better understanding of what the design of a "European Migration Heritage Route" could be and also a clearer designation of "migration heritage". This process is still ongoing. Institutions willing to be more closely involved in this questioning should let me know, so that representatives can be invited to the possible next meetings. As a result of these discussions the following points were made. The AEMI-network is by itself an itinerary, but still migrants did and do walk physical routes, so we should try to have some local, regional, national, trans-national routes which could be also sorted by themes. As this year's migration heritage week shown a range of good examples is already working. The very successful and now well supported "Jewish Heritage Route" is a good example of what thinking global and acting local could be in our case. As you can see on www.culture-routes.lu some very interesting potential partners could be found outside of AEMI : the "Diaspora" (history) laboratory of the University of Toulouse which through the various interests of its members brings in some museums and "lieux de mémoire" linked to migration, the "Erase" (history and social sciences) which could help us through "cultural

management studies" with students running the design and practical work of the "Migration Heritage Route" within their curriculum, two Berlin museums in Neucölln and Kreuzberg largely involved in migration topics, a young researchers network "Migration Europa" having good connections to the German "Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung", the in-migration agency of the German "Land Nordrhein-Westfalen" and several initiatives in Antwerp (the latest showing by the way interest to ask for AEMI-membership in Turku). A scout team out of AEMI and these partners will have to discuss in the next months the future organisational (working groups within AEMI?) and financial (serious opportunities for European money) issues of these developments.

On an institutional level we are waiting for the decision of the Cultural Committee to designate us "Elected Route of the Council of Europe". This mention would give us more reconnaissance through an official election ceremony and the handling over of a charter by Council of Europe officials

I prepared dossiers of the Route programme for the European Institute's stand at the International Paris heritage fair (October 9th to 12th) . Perhaps this may be a way to gather new membership.

The 2007 'Migration Heritage Week' will be October 7th to 14th. The topic proposed is 'Food and Migration' (for instance dishes, ethnic restaurants, vegetables, cooking books, vegetables and

fruit etc.). Allow me to explain for the new members once more the idea of the week in order to invite more institutions to get involved. The principle is to display the various activities of the membership during the week in order to show the potential and the richness of our holdings and/or skills in the field of migration. The 'week' is to be understood very widely. It can be the 'month' or the 'season'. In the same way, the yearly topic is a suggestion, but it is not mandatory that all institutions stick to it. Just report on what you are doing.

The poster is to underline the common ground. For the moment I am under negotiation with Aurelio Giordano from the Tramonti institution to give him commission to realize next year's poster. I will ask him to have the template ready by the end of January 2007 to leave us more time for promoting the week. By the way I ask those institutions having images on food, restaurants, etc. to share, to send them to **reuteran@pt.lu** as soon as possible in a printable quality (300dpi).

(b) Hans Storhaug gave an update on the Youth and Migration Project which is part of the Stavanger European Capital of Culture 2008 programme, including a demonstration of the on-line attitude questionnaire which has been developed for the project.

(c) Per Nordahl gave an update on the re-structuring which is currently in process at the Swedish Emigrant Institute, which is to be re-named the Swedish Migration Institute.

11.0 Any Other Business
There being no other business, the Chairman thanked Professor Walaszek for acting as Presiding Officer and the General Assembly concluded at 18.10.

The Annual Meeting was formally closed when the Adriatic Paradise reached harbour once more on the Croatian mainland at 21.30. A small presentation was made to Silva Meznaric and her colleagues as a token of the thanks of the Association for all their hard work and kind hospitality.

Brian Lambkin
20/11/06

The Association of European Migration Institutions Chairmans Report 2005-2006

Brian Lambkin

Dr. Silva Meznaric at the Institute for Ethnic and Migration Research, Zagreb, welcomed AEMI members to Trogir in Croatia. Here together with AEMI chairman, Brian Lambkin on board 'Adriatic Paradise' bound for the island of Vis
Photo: Hans Storhaug

Ladies and Gentlemen:
In reflecting on the past year I would like to begin by recalling our Annual Meeting last year which took place in France in the splendid setting of the House of Europe in Paris, thanks to the generous hospitality of Driss El Yazami and his colleagues at Génériques. As ever, we rely on our Annual Meeting as our main means of renewing old friendships and making new ones, for reviewing progress, and for charting our direction for the coming year. We thank Silva Meznaric and her colleagues at the Institute for Ethnic and Migration Research, Zagreb, for welcoming us to

Trogir in Croatia.

In Paris last year we welcomed several new members, launched the third issue of our AEMI Journal, heard many interesting papers on the theme of 'Cinema, Literature and Migration' and engaged in discussion. Highlights were the visits which our hosts organised for us. We remember particularly our guided tour round the Palais de la Porte Doré, which is to be the site of the new national museum of immigration history, Cité de l'histoire de l'immigration, which is due to open in April 2007; our visit to the Belleville district, which was to feature so prominently in the news a few weeks later; and the fascinating tour of Paris by bus, designed by the staff of Génériques, based on the them of migration.

The programme for the Association remains that adopted in Lisbon in 2003, which is comprised of four main project activities, in addition to the establishment of the Association's Journal:

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

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

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

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

So how much progress then have we managed to make against these objectives over the course of the last year? Your

Board, for the first year of this current three-year cycle, has been Henning Bender (Denmark) as general secretary, Hans Storhaug (Norway) as editor of the Association's Journal, Driss El Yazami (France) as representative of last year's host institution, Silva Meznaric (Croatia) as representative of the host institution of 2006, and myself as chairman (Northern Ireland).

It did not prove possible for us all to meet face-to-face this year. We have held a Board meeting immediately before the Annual Meeting here in Trogir, and, thanks again to the generous good offices of Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues in Luxembourg, Henning Bender and I were able to meet in May in Luxembourg, outside the seminar organised by the Documentation Centre for Human Migration, Dudelange.

In order to carry forward European Migration Heritage Week 2006 Antoinette Reuter kindly agreed to continue acting as co-ordinator and members will already have appreciated the digital poster especially designed and circulated by her and her colleagues for use by us this year. It is true that we still have some way to go before the idea of this 'Week' becomes established but at least momentum being maintained and is still there for us to build on.

So far as the idea of a 'European Migration History Search Database' is concerned, the Colloquium on 'Les archives des migrations: un état des lieux européen', organized by Antoinette and her colleagues in Luxembourg, 26-27 May 2006, included a series of papers on Migration Databases. Evidently, there is a large range of interesting pro-

jects underway. For example, Henning Bender spoke about 'Search databases on migration history on the Internet in Scandinavia', Per Nordahl spoke about 'Digitizing Emigrant Letters', and Piero Domenico Galloro of the Université Paul Veraline, Metz, spoke about the 'BAMI' Database, which is a huge database concerned with miners of the Bassin region. What is still eluding us is a critical mass of institutions with an interest in taking forward the idea of a European Migration History Search Database and the drive to seek the necessary project funding. Perhaps we may have succeeded in making further progress in this direction at this year's meeting.

So far as progressing the idea of the 'European Migration Heritage Route' as a Cultural Route is concerned, we are indebted once again to Antoinette Reuter and her colleagues for their efforts in maintaining good relations between the Association and the European Institute of Cultural Routes. We are delighted that the Director of the Institute, Michel Thomas-Penette, is able to be with us once again this year. As with developing a 'European Migration History Search Database, the challenge remains to establish a critical mass of institutions with an interest in taking forward the idea, especially in terms of publishing an associated book, leaflet and website that will highlight as much of the migration heritage of Europe as possible, and once again with the drive to seek the necessary project funding.

Finally I turn to the aim of the Association to enlarge its membership to include at least one institution in each European state. We were delighted last year to welcome as new members the Museum of Emigration and Communities in Fafe, Portugal, represented by Miguel Monteiro, and the Kinship Center, Karlstad, Sweden, represented by Erik Gustavson. We were pleased to welcome intentions to apply for membership from representatives of the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration, Paris and the Association pour la Maison de la Memoire de l'emigration des Pyrenees at du Sud-Ouest de la France, and also to receive an application for associate membership from the Lower East Side Tenement Museum, New York.

It is pleasing again this year to be welcoming new institutions to membership. As in the past the Association continues to grow mainly by word of mouth as existing members encourage new institutions with whom they have personal contact to join. I should say here that it is a special pleasure to welcome Benan Oregi from the government of the Basque country who visited several member institutions, including my own, this summer. Such work by existing members is much appreciated and this has been the pattern of growth of the Association since its inception in 1989, making the transition from a small organization to a middle-sized organization.

The transition to becoming a large organization is still the challenge before us. We are in no doubt that there are more migration-related institutions in Europe than are currently members of the Association and with the recent enlargement of the European Union,

including Romania and Bulgaria next year, our aim is still to be as inclusive an organization as possible. In this context the initiative taken by the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in Paris in June this year to undertake a survey of existing migration-related institutions world-wide and to establish a database of information to which there will be public access is to be welcomed. Questionnaires were sent to all AEMI members and I would encourage members again, if they have not already done so, to support this initiative.

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

The specific challenge for our Association is to try and ensure that it responds to growth in the field by becoming as inclusive as possible. The value of belonging to an international network

of similar institutions is self-evident, particularly to new institutions seeking to establish their position in their own country. If AEMI did not exist now it would have to be invented. However, a main obstacle in the way of our more rapid expansion is one of resources. The time that present members of your Board are able to devote to development activities, including recruitment of new members, is more limited than we would wish. For this reason we should be open to new initiatives and proposals from whatever direction they come, bearing in mind the strategic objectives that we have set ourselves.

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. All being well, he will be distributing copies of the fourth issue of the Journal to us before Christmas. Do help to ensure its continuing success by supporting it in whatever way you can.

We thank again Driss El Yazami and his colleagues for hosting the Annual Meeting in Paris in 2005. And we also thank Silva Meznaric and her colleagues for undertaking the task of preparing to host us in Croatia in 2006. May our deliberations here in Trogir prove fruitful in the year ahead.

Brian Lambkin
Chairman

Migration of Young Croatian Scientists

Mirjana Adamović
and

Silva Mežnarić

The migration from Croatia during transitions period assumed a form of drain rather than circulation of labor. The exact scale of brain drain remains unknown because the topic of external migration of scientists had been neglected for years and is still insufficiently investigated. Scientists who migrate have high educational qualifications as well as specific motives (self – development and educational reasons for leaving).
The multiple regression analysis (N=536) and predictors achieved show that potential migrants are mostly young scientists that are satisfied with their positioning within the current system of opportunities but not satisfied with their perspectives in Croatia.
E-researches and the new kinds of collaboration help the transformation of brain drain process into brain circulation. The EU has been developing positive immigration policies, especially favorable to highly qualified immigrants from the field of natural sciences and computer technology. It could be expected that Croatia will experience in the next few years both circulation of labor and outgoing/ingoing brain drain; the latter from surrounding Balkan countries. The problem is still persisting inadequate social valorization of science subsystem in Croatia.

Facts and predictions

Migration is a population phenomenon that is difficult to make predictions about (Le Bras, 2002:65), especially the migration of a highly skilled workforce. That segment of the population is a lot more than any other subject to the synergistic impact of a host of different economic and political factors. From that point of view, the effort to explain and predict the international migration of a highly skilled workforce could be a risky task. Failed attempts and wrong predictions are usually a part of that risk. The migration of a highly skilled labor force could be described as a complex field of individual decision interacting with system factors: time (short or long migration), information (level, selectivity, transparency of information), networking (before and after the migration), globalization, policy of employment, transportation (the costs and accessibility of global transport) and the exploiting of intellectual resources (global and local governments' policy and economy).

The same factors that are important to understand the 'field migration' constitution are also important for understanding of the rest of educational population segments, but in the case of 'brain drain' processes, they have very specific structure. Those specific struc-

tures, in the 1990s, form a new, penetrating form of brain drain and circulation processes in the world. These assumptions are supported by many empirical researches (Massey 1993, Tandonnet 2003, Diaz-Briquets and Cheney 2003, Grdesic and Meznaric 1990, Faini 2003, Benson-Rea and Rawlinson 2003, Iredale 1999).

The characteristics of 'brain drain' migration are: much more drain than the circulation of people, much more highly selected, well informed, professional and friendly networking migrations than mass, non-individualized recruiting of work force through agencies.

In this article we will indicate the structure of real and potential brain drain from Croatia as a South Eastern European country in a period of transition. We are questioning the migration of 'brains' in the context of general international migration flows of highly skilled human resources.

On the global level it was not possible to predict migration flow in the 1990s based on the knowledge of migration flows in the 1980s. Projections were not established. Two main world sources of population predictions (World Bank and UN) gave completely contradictory predictions of migration trends (Arnold, 1990, Meznaric, Adamovic, 2003). These predictions of migrations also hide the predictions of highly skilled migration flows from 1990 – 2000. UN data sources contrasted with World Bank data indicated: United States, Canada, Saudi Arabia, France and Germany are more attractive than the World Bank predictions supposed, moreover

Australia's attractiveness was decreasing. At the same time, the UN predictions of Great Britain attractiveness showed immigration surplus.

In only ten years, we have witnessed great changes in structure and location of what used to be the big export countries. The Asian continent has become the centre of emigration processes. The main senders have become China (five times more emigrants than expected), India (three times more) and Philippines (two times more). China has in the meantime become the most important sender of students and professionals in the world, with more than 460,000 students and with a returning rate of only 30 percent (Guochu Zhang, 2003). At the same time, China has in 2001 been the main source of foreign students enrolled in the USA (Gouchu Zhang, 2003:82). The most important educational destinations in the meantime have become the US, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Australia and the Great Britain.

Why have so many false predictions occured? Could we really talk about such changes and transformations in the emigration processes in China, India, Mexico or immigration processes into the Germany, USA, Canada in only five or ten years? The main reason for mistakes lies in the methods of approaching the migration processes and in the ideology or political premises underlying the facts. According to the Hervé Le Bras, there are three sources of so many disparities in the predictions of migration flows. The common generators are 'political premises' of migration statistics (Le Bras, 2002:66-68). Sources for such

an effect are self-fulfilling prophecy, wishful thinking and ethnocentrism in data collection and predictions. In the first case, data is purposely exaggerated or diminished in order to avoid the immigration push. Wishful thinking connotes predictions which are in deep relations to wishes. For example, in the projections for Mexico and other Central American countries (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Salvador, Honduras) only the migrations toward USA were taken into the account and at the same time migrations toward other, European and Asian, destinations were neglected. In the 2000 Census immigrants constitute one third of the demographic growth in the USA and they have been the main reason for considerable changes in ethnic structure of population in general. Moreover, it is not possible to describe or test the hypothesis about the trajectory and assimilation processes of the second generation of immigrants on the basis of this Census, because the data about ethnic origin of parents was not collected since 1970. Without such analysis someone could get the impression that the new generations of immigrants follow parent trajectories and are not moving on the social structure levels (Farley and Alba, 2002).

A critical overview of international migrations today and analysis of the same problem in one of the transition countries, such as Croatia, indicates the following:

1.   Brain drain from transition countries should be seen in the context of general international migration processes in Europe.

2.   Researching that process should take into consideration the validity of migration statistics.

3.   Every country, especially Croatia, has its own history and tradition of migration. War and specific science policy have also been among the main reasons which have been favorable to brain drain processes.

The case of Croatia
In Croatian science and in the popular media we could find all three ideologically tainted statistical data. For example, in the field of population phenomena we could find political and scientific manipulations of data on natality and national depopulation. We were witnessing dramatic brain drain data from Croatia in the 1990s accompanied by a nationalistic interpretation about loss of young people, representing the 'essence of the nation'. Brain drain explanations were based on false interpretations: especially wishful thinking and ethnocentrism. The political elite found it very profitable to announce the information about Croatian 'loss of the future', invoking arbitrary numbers without scientific background or statistical base.

There have been no exact indicators on the number of scientists who left the country in the past decade. One of the political estimations said that Croatia lost 140,000 highly skilled. In a couple of our articles[1] we showed that such arbitrary evaluation was not based on Census or any other empirical data because it would mean that in the last ten years Croatia lost almost the whole contingent of graduate students. If we

talk about scientific migrations, we should emphasizes that Croatia has only 0, 74%[2] MA and PhD related to total number of citizens.

Scientists who migrate have high educational qualifications as well as specific motives (self-development and educational reasons for leaving). Furthermore, the non-transparency of this process creates difficulties in gathering valid statistics.

It is necessary to say here that the

nor in the present has the data about 'brain drain' processes been reliable or valid.

Nevertheless, some of the facts could be taken as having high validity: the source are present empirical researches of drain from Croatia (Prpic 1989, Meznaric 1990, Golub 1992, 1996, 2004) which also include the data from the Ministry of Science and Technology. According to official statistics of the Ministry of Science, Croatia in the

Table 1

Potential Emigrants - Young Researchers in Croatia – 1990, 1998, 2000.

«Wide» (A) and «narrow» (B) potential migrant basis	Young Researchers 1990*	Young Researchers – 1998*	Young Researchers 2000**
Thinking about leaving (A)	78.7%	56.0%	66.7%
Decided to go, or on leaving (B)	11.7%	7.3%	2.4% (on leaving) +21.7% «received an offer for the job»)

*Source: Golub, 2000:134-139

basis of an open, modern democracy should not be the counting or forbidding of migration, which is the main difference between Croatia and the former Yugoslavia (since 1965) related to the rest of former Eastern European countries. The data about those processes could be found in domestic statistics and SOPEMI. But neither in the past,

1990s lost 849 scientists: of that, 249 from the field of technical sciences, 244 from natural sciences, 139 from medical sciences and 217 from other sciences. The scientists were mostly between 40 and 49 years old. The majority of them had PhD (346 or 40.75 percent), followed by MA or MSC (319 or 37.57 percent), and young researchers (184 or

21.67 percent).

Empirical research of potential and real brain drain have shown that 85 percent of scientists who left the country were under 40 years of age. Most of them had PhD (45.8 percent) and 54.2 percent were young researchers (Golub, 2001:10).

Statistical comparison of analytical data gathered in the 1990s shows that the share of young scientists who were ready to leave the country has been decreasing; 1990 (78.7 percent) - 2000 (66.7 percent).

Table 2
Distribution of young researchers according to sex, University of Zagreb, 2000

Sex	Sample	%	Population	%
Women	303	56.5	587	55.4
Men	233	43.5	473	44.6
	N=536	100.0	N=1060	100.0

Source: *Adamovic, 2003*

Table 3
Distribution of young researchers according to age, University of Zagreb, 2000

Age	Sample	%	Population	%
under 25 years	32	5.97	55	5.19
26 - 30	320	59.7	575	54.25
31 - 35	164	30.6	362	34.15
more than 35 years	18	3.35	68	6.42
n.a.	2	0,37	-	-
	N = 536	100%	N= 1060	100%

Source: *Adamovic, 2003*

The two empirical studies which are mentioned here are not fully comparable because of the sample structure, but the results suggested in an unambiguous way that the potential bases were reduced.

The results of research 'Migration of young scientists: real and potential brain drain from Croatia during the nineties' (Adamovic, 2003) which we will further describe were conducted on a sample of half of the population of young researchers who were employed at Zagreb University in the year 2000 (N=536, the size of population were N=1060). The post questionnaire was anonymous and respondents individually decided whether to take part in the research. They were very interested in answering the questions, which is how we are interpreting the fact that over 50 percent of the population answered the questionnaire.

The sample was representative according to sex and age (Table 2 and 3).

Most of the respondents were between 26 and 30 years old, employed in scientific projects in the natural, technical and medicine sciences (77 percent), while a minority of them (22.5 percent) were working on humanistic, biotechnical and social sciences projects. (Table 4).

Most of them were PhD candidates (47 percent), while 10 percent had already finished their PhDs.

Table 4

Distribution of young researchers by scientific fields, University of Zagreb, 2000

Scientific fields	number	percentage
Humanistic sciences	75	14.2
Medicine sciences	80	15.2
Natural sciences	180	34.2
Biotechnical sciences	24	4.6
Technical sciences	124	23.5
Social sciences	44	8.3
	N=527	100.00

Source: *Adamovic, 2003*

Work dissatisfaction as an important variable in explanation of potential migration interests

Research into potential brain drain from Zagreb University in 2000 has shown that there are 24,1 percent serious candidates for leaving (Table 1). We tried to find whether a relationship exists between satisfaction with the field of work or work context and the reasons for potential emigration. Scientific equipment, salary, job security, perspective in the institution were the primary reasons, followed by other 'nonscientific' push variables

The significance of the relationship between the field of science (humanistic, medicine, natural, biotechnical, technical and social) and other variables was tested with λ^2 square. The *scientific field* was found to be related to variable *field of research* (λ^2=14,531, df=6, p=0,024, c=0,164), variable *quantity of routine tasks in daily work* (Picture 2) (λ^2=27,226, df=6, p=0,000, c=0,222), variable *career in the institution* (λ^2=17,709, df=6, p=0,007, c=0,180) and *perspective in the institution* (λ^2=30,194, df=6, p=0,000, c=0,233).

Satisfaction with the field of work prevailed in all categories of respondents, regardless of scientific field. In the humanistic and social sciences it was the

Table 5

(Dis)satisfaction of young researchers with work context

Rank	Push factors	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation
1	Scientific equipment	2,34	1,20
2	Wage	2,48	0,96
3	Job security	2,57	1,18
4	Perspective in the institution	2,59	1,08
5	Appreciation of scientific achievements	2,69	1,06
6	Collaboration with eminent scientists	2,80	1,10
7	Quantity of routine tasks in daily work	2,82	1,19
8	Possibility for scientific improvement	2,85	1,19
9	Scientific environment and its achievements	2,89	1,20
10	Career in the institution	2,94	0,99

Lickert scale: 1 – total dissatisfaction to 5 – total satisfaction.

Source: *Adamovic, 2003*

highest (84.9 percent). Natural sciences followed with 80.6 percent, medicine sciences with 77.2 percent, and was lower among young researchers working in technical and biotechnical sciences (66.9 percent).

Young researchers who were mostly employed in medical sciences (48.8 percent) were more than the others dissatisfied with *quantity of routine tasks in daily work*, followed by respondents technical sciences (46.6 percent) and natural sciences (44.1 percent). It is very interesting that in humanistic and social sciences 56.3 percent of young scientists were found to be dissatisfied with *the accessibility of scientific information.* The most satisfied with career development were humanistic and social scientists (42 percent). It is very important to say that the variable *perspective in the institution* is the most questionable for

Table 6
(Dis)satisfaction with work context

Rank	Job satisfaction	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Dissatisfaction / extremely dissatisfaction (%)
1	Modern scientific equipment	2,34	1,20	59,0
2	Wage	2,48	0,96	54,5
3	Job security	2,57	1,18	49,8
4	Perspective in the institution	2,59	1,08	47,3
5	Scientific results social recognition	2,69	1,06	42,3
6	Collaboration with eminent scientists	2,80	1,10	38,9
7	Quantity of routine tasks in daily work	2,82	1,10	36,9
8	Possibility for scientific improvement	2,85	1,19	43,4
9	Scientific environment and its achievements	2,89	1,20	38,4
10	Career in the institution	2,94	0,99	28,2
11	Scientific information accessibility	3,02	1,15	35,7
12	Complexity of work tasks	3,50	1,00	16,8
13	Field of research	3,94	0,96	8,4

Lickert scale: 1 – extremely dissatisfaction to 5 extremely satisfaction

employed in biotechnical and technical sciences (45.9 percent).

All of the respondents were satisfied with *the accessibility of scientific information*, which was the highest among respondents employed in medical sciences (50.6 percent), biotechnical and natural science researchers (53.6 percent) who were the most interested in leaving the country, followed by medical science researchers (52.5 percent) and biotechnical and technical sciences researchers (49 percent).

Table 7
Value of predictors set on the entire sample of young researchers (N=537)

Field of research	b=0,529	sig.=0.000
Complexity of work tasks	b=0,339	sig.=0.000
Job security	b=0,295	sig.=0.000
Perspective in the institution	b= - 0,242	sig.=0,001
Scientific information accessibility	b=0,156	sig.=0,011
Possibilities for scientific improvement	b= - 0,190	sig.=0,008
r=0,876, r²= 0,767, (adjusted r²= 0,764), F=289,974, sig.=0,000		

Push factors – multiple regression analysis
Further statistical operations (multiple regression analysis) were conducted on the set of push variables. The job satisfaction was tested on short form of scale 'work satisfaction'.[3]This set of variables was used as the main set of predictors in the multiple regression analysis. The main criterion variable was 'leaving'. From 13 predictors included in the regression analysis only 6 predictors were left and their relationships with the criterion variable had the following results (r=0,876, F=289,974, sig.=0,000).

The predictor variables *perspective in the institution* and *possibilities for scientific improvement* are negatively correlated with the criterion variable, which means we could expect that the respondents who are thinking about leaving Croatia are dissatisfied with perspective and pos-

sibilities for scientific improvement. At the same time they are satisfied with the other items. It is obvious that desire to improve knowledge elsewhere in world centers of excellence are the main push for thinking about leaving. If we have that fact in mind and have applied it to the reality of the situation there is no possibility that any improvement of these "factors" would stop those people from going abroad.

So we did another multiple regression analysis on a reduced sample (excluding respondents who decided to leave the country or made the strong decision to go abroad as soon as possible), with the same criterion variable. This reduced sample includes only the respondents who were uncertain about going abroad to find employment or take scholarship for further education. Multiple regression analysis gave a rather lower coefficient: r=0,312, F=14,269, sig.=0,000.

Table 8
Value of predictors set on the reduced sample of young researchers (N=491)

Value of predictors set on the reduced sample of young researchers (N=491)		
Perspective in the institution	b= - 0,136	sig. = 0,003
Wage	b= - 0,118	sig. = 0,006
Field of research	b= - 0,105	sig. = 0,033
Complexity of work tasks	b= - 0,101	sig. = 0,040
r=0,312, r²= 0,097, (adjusted r=0,090), F=14,269, sig. =0,000		

All beta coefficients have low values and are negative, which could be interpreted as dissatisfaction with crucial values related to work context. We have found the variable 'wage' to be very significant in this context, which together with all items constitute a very consistent, interpretative and 'resolute' set.

Huge differences between percentage of variance explained in these two different analyses could be interpreted on the basis of sample difference. Differences arise because from the exclusion of the respondents who made the decision to leave the country, or the respondents who were at that time looking into leaving.

The results of first analysis indicate the motivation for leaving of young researchers who know their field very well, they are excellent, they have all possible information and they are interested in their field of research. In short, they are very satisfied.

The second analysis indicate another type of motivation. Predictors set showed similar content but also indicate general dissatisfaction.

In the first case, we will have possible emigrants who will leave the country because they are satisfied but want to improve their knowledge, and in the second case we will have possible emigrants because they do not see perspective in the institution.

Why stay in Croatia?

We have also examined the reasons for staying in Croatia. Having in mind that the researched population was young and with the associated problems of youth, we were trying to find which the

Table 9 *Important reasons for leaving Croatia*

Rank	Reasons for staying	Arithmetic mean	Standard deviation	Important or very important (%)
1	Possibility of buying the flat or house	4,31	0,95	86,3
2	Quality of life	4,18	0,89	82,2
3	Job security	4,11	0,96	80,1
4	Good collaboration with mentor	3,95	0,98	75,4
5	Scientific improvement and development	3,93	1,13	72,2
6	Family, parents, friends	3,90	0,92	76,2
7	Relationships with colleagues and collaborators	3,84	1,06	66,6
8	Personal reasons	3,79	0,96	69,6
9	Scientific field	3,66	1,10	52,9
10	Carrier at the university/ institute / institution	3,57	0,98	62,0
11	Cultural life	3,52	0,95	55,1
12	General perspective of the country	3,51	0,97	54,6

most important factors were for stay-
ing; economic or scientific ones. It is
obvious from the Table 9 that economic
reasons were on the top of the list. The
possibility of buying a flat, quality of life
and job security were the most frequent
items.

Instead of conclusion
The migration of the highly skilled from
countries in transition, Croatia inclu-
ded, assumes a form of drain rather than
circulation of labor. The drain of highly
skilled human resources has its populist
publicity as well as factual (research-
based) one. The exact scale of brain
drain remains unknown, but in spite
of that we are able to state strong effec-
tion on the scientific community with
daily emigration of work colleagues.
Although as old as the science itself, the
topic of external migration of scientists
has been neglected for years and is still
insufficiently investigated.

Brain drain and depopulation pro-
cesses are widespread in both highly
developed and underdeveloped coun-
tries. European Union member states in
the closest neighborhood of Croatia are
interested in attracting the most talen-
ted and highly skilled young scientists.
In that context the EU has an ambition
to become aextren mely competitive,
dynamic, knowledge based society.
Therefore, the EU has been developing
positive immigration policies, especially
favorable to highly qualified immigrants
from the field of natural sciences and
computer technology.

Globalization, communication tech-
nology development and the internatio-
nal labor market have direct effects on
migration of the highly skilled. E-resear-
ches and the new kinds of collaboration
help the transformation of brain drain
processes into brain circulation. The
problem still persisting in Croatia is the
inadequate social valorization of science,
with knowledge not recognized as a
productive force and intellectuals still
located on the social margins. However,
considering the establishment processes
of nation states in the nearest past, the
nationalistic approach to brain drain in
Croatia is relatively understandable.

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Notes
[1] Mežnarć, Silva; Adamović, Mirjana. Emigracao de Jovens Cientistats do Sudeste Europeu: O Caso da Croacia. *GeoINova*. 8 (2003) ; 61-79.
[2]According to 2001 Census Croatia has 12 539 MA and 7 443 PhD.
[3] Job satisfaction scale by Hackman and Oldman, 1975:159-170.

Croatian Immigrants in Chile

Marina PerićKaselj
Simona Kuti

This article discusses various periods of Croatian emigration to Chile, reasons for the emigration, the characteristics of the emigration and immigration areas, as well as the foundation of the most important Croatian ethnic colonies, from the beginnings of immigration until today. Then a short description of the social contribution of Croatian people and their descendants to the development of Chile is presented. Finally, different types of ethnicity among the Croatian descendants today as well as their interest to bond with the homeland are presented. Despite the fact that only a group of around hundred Chilean Croats speak the Croatian language, that there is a large percentage of mixed marriages and that most of Chilean Croats belong to the third, fourth or even fifth generation of immigrants, Croatian identity in Chile is still very well preserved.

Introduction

Croatians who emigrated from Croatia to foreign countries, together with their descendants, are usually considered the Croatian emigrants. In Yugoslav practice, the emigrants were defined as persons who immigrated to transatlantic countries and who already became foreign or dual citizens of the receiving countries.

Nowadays, the term Croatian emigrants is often used for all Croatians abroad (in Europe and other transatlantic countries) regardless of their citizenship status and place of birth, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, or another country (Heršak ed., 1998: 78).

Causes and Consequences of Croatian Emigration to Chile

Emigration from the region of Dalmatia, at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, was caused by economic factors. Limited agrarian production and an undeveloped internal market could not provide for the needs of the indigenous population. That period was characterised by the indebtedness of Dalmatian peasants. Monetary relations were being developed at the same time as the colonial system[2] fell apart. The labourers could disentangle themselves from their dependent position only by buying the land they cultivated. Getting

into debt with the owner or usurer was common. Therefore, many agricultural households encouraged some of their members to go abroad and send their earnings back home to get out of debt.

The other cause of indebtedness was connected to viticulture. In the 1870s, pasture-grounds and other quality plots of land were being transformed into vineyards. Free peasants were trying to buy old vineyards from the owners, but the Wine Clause and grape-vine disease completely ruined Dalmatian viticulture. The people of Dalmatia found themselves in a difficult economic and financial position. They could not participate in the viticulture revival. Damage were enormous and indebtedness got out of control. The whole situation encouraged mass emigration.

At the end of the nineteenth century, another crisis emerged - the sailing-ship enterprises' crisis. The introduction of the first steamship lines replaced the sailing-ship fleets. Ship owners, sailors and captains lost their jobs. Croatian islands got overpopulated; there was a marked demographic expansion of the agrarian population.

Emigration from Dalmatia was caused by military-political factors as well. In 1852, Austria conducted the first census of persons under military obligation and most of the young island population was liable for long-term military service. Dalmatian young men did not accept the Austro-Hungarian military-political interests and they tried to avoid military service. The most vital island population immigrated to transatlantic countries with considerable demographic and economic consequences. It was mostly young single men who emigrated.

The military law was very rigorous. It was enough for a person under military obligation not to return from America and/or not to enlist for the service, to be considered an army deserter. If he returned, he would be liable for serious punishment. Apart from that, the return ship ticket was often too expensive.

This problem was very serious because in Dalmatia, especially in the coastal area, it was difficult to find a family without at least one son, brother or relative who left to far America and who cannot come back because the military law is so strict. They break the law, not because they have bad intentions or ill nature, but because they have to. (*Narodni list*, Zadar, 21.8.1897).

Emigration from Dalmatia was uncontrolled, with no specific emigration policy or legislation. The Monarchy did not consider Croatian emigration as a regional problem, but as an Austro-Hungarian social problem. Croatia was not allowed to have its own emigration policy; it had to fit into the Monarchy's emigration policy, which was rather difficult because Austria did not have an emigration law and Hungarian interests were opposite to Croatia's national interests. Throughout the emigration period, none of the Austro-Hungarian officials seriously considered the consequences of emigration.

The consequences were serious: since young single men emigrated, there was a shortage of agricultural work force; the proportion of female population increased; family life transformed and families split; a lot of children left and many never returned.

Emigration Statistics

In the Austrian part of the Monarchy (Dalmatia, Istria) an adequate emigration policy was never implemented. Even though the Dalmatian members of the Parliament practiced constant pressure, the coming of emigration legislation was slow.

Signs of war and the growing concern for enough recruits led to the prohibition of emigration to persons under 16. Emigration propaganda significantly decreased too. Only before the First World War, Austro-Hungary restricted emigration, in order to keep its potential military forces in the country.

Between the two wars, emigration decreased, but did not vanish. Emigration policy of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was based on the premises that emigration was a necessary evil if the part of the population, who cannot earn enough for a living in the homeland, leave to transatlantic countries to earn money. It should not be hindered, but regulated. The state should provide that the emigration followed certain criteria, e.g. the emigrant should immigrate only to countries with higher wages than in the emigration country; he should be treated correctly during his travel; the homeland should provide for him even when he reaches his destination, taking care he did not lose his national identity; the conditions for his return to the homeland and reintegration would have to be created; the money he earned should not get "lost" for the homeland; it should keep running in and making the home economy stronger and thus creating the conditions for his return. Based on those premises, the Immigra-

tion Law (1921) and the Regulations for the Implementation of the Immigration Law (1923) were brought together with its elaboration. (Hranilović, 1987: 329-330; Antić, 1996).

The Ministry of Social Politics also started dealing with emigration issues. Its main operative body was the Emigration Commissariat based in Zagreb, since Croatia had the most emigrants. The Commissariat dealt with the insurance of emigrants who died outside the homeland, compensations from various industrial companies and pensions. It was also in charge of statistics, the balance of emigrants' remittances and the land-registry of immigrant colonies. The whole emigration service was self-financed out of the Emigration Fund (emigrant taxes, shipping-companies' taxes).

Various non-government and private organisations also dealt with emigration issues. The impulse for their founding came from the emigrants who returned to the homeland. In 1928, most of those organisations founded the Association of Emigrants' Organisations (SORIS) based in Zagreb. Its aim was to protect and promote the interests of emigrants in foreign countries and in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Statistics of Croatian emigration to Chile are poor and imprecise. Since there was no official emigration policy, there was also no emigration data. The only source was the emigration press; it often reported about the numbers of Croatian people in Chile.

The existing research reports the following data: in 1907 immigration to Chile was intensified and, with the

natural increase in the population of Croatian immigrant groups, the number of Croatians in Chile rose to 5.000 by the First World War (Antić, 1991: 196). In 1914, there were 3.200 Croatians in Punta Arenas (Croatian emigrants without descendants, according to the census made by Petar Gašić, *Domovina*, Punta Arenas, 1914). By 1914, it is estimated there were around 25.000 Croatian emigrants in Chile (Lakatoš, 1914: 76).[3]

According to the statistics of the land-registry of the Emigration Commissariat, land-registry service for the countries of South and Central America reported about 15.000 Croatian emigrants in Chile. According to the official state statistics for 1937, there were 20.000 Croatian emigrants in Chile (Jonjić, Laušić, 1998: 1935).

Table 1: *Croatian Immigration in Chile*

Year	Number of immigrants
1921	78
1922	7
1923	46
1924	182
1925	364
1926	243
1927	425
1928	375
1929	279
1930	184
1931	99
1932	97
1933	114
1934	48
1937	60

Source: P. Jonjić, A. Laušić, The reports of *Emigration Commissariat* in Zagreb, 1922-1939, IMIN, Zagreb, 1998.

Due to the absence of official statistics, it is very difficult to establish the total number of emigrants for the whole emigration period. Data of the Emigration Commissariat only cover the period after the First World War and they are not completely accurate and reliable.

Structural Characteristics of Emigrants According to Their Age, Sex and Education

Most of the emigrants were young persons, but there was also a small number of older persons, who often returned to the homeland after they completed their goals. The first ones who emigrated were fathers, followed by their sons, young men of 12, 14 or 16. Young persons emigrated permanently mostly because of the military law, but also because they did not have any family commitments.

Most of the emigrants from the island of Brač emigrated aged 15-30. According to the data, most of them were single men. At the beginning of the emigration, whole families rarely emigrated. Once the immigrants became materially secure in their new environment, they started to bring in their girlfriends and wives from the homeland (Derado, Čizmić, 1982).

Croatian immigrant in Chile, Mr. Ambrozije, while talking to a Croatian priest, described his arrival to Chile in the following way: 'When I was 12, I finished elementary school and started to work in the vineyards on the island of Brač. When I was 22, I went to the army and after the military service, when I was 26, I went to America. My first stop was Buenos Aires. I worked in the fields there for two months and then

I went to Antofagasta to my uncle's. I worked for him for eight months. I slept on the ground. My bed was made of couple of sacks. I did everything and anything. After eight months, I finally managed to borrow some money for my wife's transport. When she arrived, we worked some time together to pay off the debt.'[4] (D. Bosiljevac, 1928: 56).

There were a number of young single men decided not to marry for several reasons: work in demanding jobs, helping the family in the homeland, planning to return in the long-run. In Punta Arenas, out of 846 adult immigrants, only 460 were married and those marriages were characterised by a small number of children (average of 2,2 per marriage) (Antić, 1991: 41).

A lot of men got married to women from the homeland through their family's mediation. The wife would 'meet' her future husband through letters and photographs and then she would come to Chile. The following example of immigrant Andrija's plea to his mother to find him a girl to marry is illustrative: 'You know I'm in the age when a man should get married. Being alone is difficult so I too would like to find somebody who would follow me till death. If I wanted to, dear mother, I could have had that here already... But I didn't want to choose the one you didn't know. What use would you have of her, if she didn't know how to talk to you?! Therefore, it would be the best, dear mother, if you sent me the girl you liked and whom I would like too …. I'm sending you my photograph; I had it made at the best photographer's. If she likes the photograph, she should come …

(M. Kukučin, 1975: 153)[5].

Most of the emigrants were poor. They were fishermen and labourers from the islands who came to Chile with only a couple of years of completed primary school education. Most of them managed to complete a 4 year primary school before they emigrated and only a few of them were illiterate. They came to Chile with Austro-Hungarian passports or naval certificates and most of them came from the island of Brač.

Croatian immigrants in Chile paid a lot of attention to the education and most of their children, the second generation, completed high schools and university education in Chile. They often held important positions.

Emigration Area

Dalmatia is the most significant area of Croatian emigration to Chile. According to some estimates, 90 percent of all emigrants came from the island of Brač, from villages Povlja, Milna, Sutivan, Supetar and else. (Antić, 1991: 10, Mataić, 1998). Another emigration area was the area surrounding the town of Omiš, especially the village of Mimice. Some emigrants also came from Drubrovnik area and from the islands of Vis and Hvar.

Individual migrations was already noted in the 1860s. Mass emigration by Croatians to Chile started in the 1880s. At that time, the region of Dalmatia was the Austrian political-territorial unit; it was the seventh largest region in Austria by its surface (4.2 percent of the surface of Austria) (Antić, 1991: 11).

The region of Dalmatia was poor. Communications were underdeveloped

and agriculture, as the main economic sector, did not meet the needs for cereals due to the poor land quality. The most important cultures were grapevine and olives. Cattle-breeding was quite developed and most of the population lived in the country. Investments were necessary, but they were absent because it was not in the capitalists' interest to invest in such a poor region. There was the absence of state interventions too, because Dalmatia was viewed by Austria solely as a strategic area (Antić, 1991: 12).

The State, with its political means, negatively influenced the Dalmatian economy. The Wine Clause (1891), which was an integral part of the Austro-Italian traffic agreement, almost completely ruined Dalmatian viticulture. The market became dominated by cheap Italian wine and the Dalmatian wine could not compete with its prices. The negative impact of the Wine Clause on the undeveloped and mono-cultural agricultural production of Dalmatian islands was even more pronounced by the spread of *Phylloxera* (Lajić, 1992). The crisis that hit Dalmatia at that time was characterised by emigration, mostly from the island of Brač.

Brač is the biggest Dalmatian island (395 km²). It has around 30 boroughs, villages and hamlets. The traditional island's economy consisted of agriculture and cattle-breeding. The main agricultural sector was viticulture, but olive cultivation was also of importance. Cereals were cultivated too, even though the ground conditions were not suitable enough. In the island's inland, cattle-breeding was developed, mostly

to provide for the needs of the island's population, even though the part of the produce was exported. Apart from that, the inhabitants of the island were also involved with fishing. Maritime affairs and shipbuilding had a long tradition too and island's inhabitants sailed all over the world as captains or sailors.

In the nineteenth century, rapid changes hit the economy of the island. The Wine Clause and the grape-vine disease (*Phylloxera*) caused a crisis in the island's viticulture. Soon after, the crisis hit the island's maritime affairs because steam-ships were replacing sailing-ships. The decline of sailing-ships of both long and coastal navigation did not effect the sailing-ships' owners solely; it also effected a number of island's families whose members were sailors or captains.

The inhabitants of Brač therefore started to return to traditional cattle-breeding. Low prices of meat and wool together with difficulties in finding a market for the goods could not offer any safety nor prospect to island's cattle-breeders. The knowledge of the New World quickly spread amongst the inhabitants of the inlands, who were mainly involved with the cattle-breeding. They quickly adapted to conditions in Chile and became thepromoters of economic progress.

Immigration Area
Chile - historical and geographical characteristics
With its length of 4.235 kilometres and average width of 300 kilometres, Chile is a country of characteristically long shape. Its surface is 756.950 km². According to some, the word '*chile*' originates

in Asia and means the snow or winter. According to the other, it is an onomatopoeic word describing some songbird's singing. The opinion of some is that the country is named Chile because it resembles the narrow and long leaf of the plant *ahi*, which is also vulgarly called *chile* (D. Bosiljevac, 1928: 42). In the language of some Indian tribes, the word chile" means the place "*where the Earth ends*" (M. Mataić, Geographical Horizon, 1995: 83).

The landscape of Chile is characerised by three longitudinal belts: the Andes in the East, the coastal highlands in the West and the long valley in the middle. The climate of Chile is very heterogeneous. Desert and semi-desert types of climate are characteristic of the North of Chile; in Central Chile the climate is subtropical of the Mediterranean type; Southern Chile is characerised by the humid, sub-polar climate. Humboldt's stream runs through the Chilean part of the Pacific, bringing cool waters to the northern ports and providing plenty of fish.

The first European to step on the Chilean ground was the famous seaman Hernando de Magallanes. The first Spanish expedition came to Chile in 1534. After the sixteenth century conquests, Chile was colonised by the Spanish. At first, Chile was the province of the Spanish sub-empire based in Lima (Peru). In 1810 the first independent Government of Chile was assembled. The final independence of Chile was secured in the battle at Maipu on 5th April 1818, by Jose de San Martin and Bernard O'Higgins. Chile became a presidential Republic run by General O'Higgins.

His dictatorship lasted until 1823. The first Constitution was introduced in 1828 and revised in 1831. Later on, the Chilean territory was enlarged after battles with Peru and Bolivia (1879-1884), in the *Gerra de Pacifico* (war). Tarapaca and Antofagasta provinces became parts of Chile.

Chile of that time consisted of 23 provinces and 1 territory: Tacna, Tarapaca, Antofagasta, Atacama, Coquimbo, Aconcagua, Valparaiso, Santiago, O'Higgins, Clochagua, Curicó, Talca, Linares, Mamule, Nuble, Concepcion, Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia, Llanqueihue, Chiole and Magallan territory.

After the Spanish, other Europeans came to Chile followed by the Arabs and Asians. In the nineteenth century, Chile was very sparsely populated with 5 inhabitants per square kilometre. Therefore, an active immigration policy was implemented, planning to exploit the country´s great natural resources. The liberal Constitution guaranteed the following: equality before the law; equal division of property taxes; assembly and association right; freedom of education, religion and press. (Matulić-Zorinov, 1923). Chilean immigration law permitted the immigration of all age groups, but the immigrants had to be literate, healthy and capable for work. Women and children had to present an invitation from their relatives. If a woman immigrated in order to get a job, she had to present a job contract, when entering the country (Čizmić, Mikačić, 1974: 376).

At the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century,

Chile was famous worldwide for its nitre which was used until the discovery of the fertilisers. The Germans and British started the nitre production; Croatians continued it. Today, Chile's iodine production ranks second in the world. There are also many deposits of salt, sulphates, calium salt and mines of gold, silver, sulphur and copper. The main traditional export product is copper and the mine Chuquicamata, 230 km northeast of Antofagasta, is the biggest copper mine in the world. Fish and fish flour are the Chilean products of a more recent date. In the south of Chile, cattle-breeding cattle-raising and sheep-farming) is developed. Frozen meat and wool are the main export products.

According to 1992 census, Chile has 14,418.800 inhabitants; 12,213.866 live in cities and the remaining 2,204.998 in the country; 95 percent of the population is European by origin; there are 140.000 inhabitants of Croatian descent or 1 percent of the population (S. Letica ed., 2001: 46).

Today's Chile consists of the following 13 regions: Tarapaca, Antofagasta, Atacama, Valparaiso, Region Metropolitana, Libertador General Bernardo O' Higgins, Mamule, Bio-Bio, La Araucania, Los Lagos, Aysen del General Carlos Ibanez del Campo, Magallanes and Antartica Chilena. The capital of Chile is Santiago with the population of 6,000,000. The official language is Spanish.

Periods of Croatian Emigration to Chile
Croatian emigration to the countries of South America was already noted in the 1850s, although those were individual migrations of marines and sailors who disembarked on the shores of various countries of South America. The last two decades of the nineteenth century were characterized by the mass migrations of Croatian people, mainly from Dalmatia and especially the islands, to both North and South America.

Croatians populated the South (the Magallanes region) and the North of Chile (Antofagasta and Tarapaca regions). They lived in so-called 'colonies' which varied in size from ten immigrants to several thousand. Croatians first came to the Magallanes region in the 1870s and in larger groups in the 1890s. They populated that particular region because of the gold which was discovered in 1869 in the river *Rio de la Minas* which runs through Punta Arenas, where the first Croatian immigrant colony was founded.

The second immigrant colony was founded in the town of Porvenir on the island of Tierra del Fuego. Croatian immigrants started to inhabit the island in the 1850s. They were living in small and scattered groups and working as gold miners. More Croatian immigrants came in the 1870s and 1880s. Their arrival was related to the gold-fever too, but also to Julius Popper's activities in the field[6]. Once the gold-fever ceased, the immigrants either gradually reoriented to the other activities or left the island. The ones who stayed, reoriented to cattle-breeding.

Later on, the industry of nitre attracted a large number of immigrants to the warm areas in the north of Chile, to Iquique in the Tarapaca region and to the town of Antofagasta in the region

of the same name. Croatian immigrants arrived there either by sailing trough the Magellan strait, or they first arrived to Buenos Aires by ships and then travelled through the Andes.

Croatian colonies in those regions grew gradually. Croatian immigrants were the pioneers of nitre extraction and processing. They were active in all production phases and occupied various jobs: from factory owners to workers or administrative staff. Most Croatians in the north of Chile lived in the Antofagasta region and their most organised colony was in the town of Antofagasta.

Initially, a lot of Croatian immigrants were engaged in trade, but later on they engaged with other businesses as well and many of them invested their possessions in the production of nitre, mines of brimstone or crystal salt.

At the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth , a smaller number of immigrants inhabited the towns Calama, Tocopilla and Chanaral. They were mostly involved with the trade too. Few Croatians also inhabited the towns of Valparaiso and Santiago in the Central Chile.

The second significant period of Croatian emigration is the period after the First World War. At that time, the United States introduced the restrictive immigration quota system, so the emigration turned to the countries of South America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile).

By the end of the 1920s, the new colonies of Croatian immigrants were established in the towns of Santiago, Concepcion, La Serena, Ovalle, Viña del Mar and Valdivia as a result of the re-emigration of the Croatian immi-

grants within Chile, after the political centralization of the government, economy and high education in the capital of Santiago and after the shutting down of nitre factories, once the fertilizers were discovered. Many Croatian immigrants lost their jobs and Croatian entrepreneurs were forced to shut down their factories.

By the Second World War, significant Croatian emigration to Chile ceased. Apart from economic emigration, which marked the two previous periods, there was also a significant political emigration. Most of the Croatian so called 'political emigrants' came to Argentina, even though a smaller number came to Chile after the Second World War.

There are still Croatian ethnic colonies in Chile today; the largest ones are in Punta Arenas, Porvenir, Iquique, Antofagasta and Santiago. According to the estimates of the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there are around 150,000 residents of Croatian descent in Chile today, which is 1.5 percent of the population. The number of the first generation of Croatian immigrants in Chile is inconsiderable. The term which is often used in Chile to refer to a specific ethnic category of Chilean people of Croatian descent is the 'Chilean Croats'.

Social Contribution of Croatian Immigrants and their Descendants in Chile
None of the Croatian immigrant groups in other countries were as successful as Croatian immigrants in Chile. One of the most prominent Chilean writers of Croatian descent, Roque Esteban Scarpa, said that their life in Chile was

fruitful 'because they gave people of great moral and social value' (Slobodna Dalmacija, 18.03.2003).

In his research conducted in 1990 professor Dane Mataić established that around 140 professors and teachers of Croatian descent were working at the universities in Chile; there were also 3 rectors, several deans, 17 academicians, around 80 journalists, 140 writers, 15 priests and nuns, 2 bishops and a large number of sportsmen.

Chilean Croats were present in the country's political life as well, for instance in the management of several leading political parties. Around ten of them were the senators or members of Parliament and two were presidential candidates. After the Second World War, almost all the Governments in Chile had at least one minister of Croatian descent. Also, many Croatian descendants occupied the highest positions in the diplomatic service and around ten attained the highest national honours awarded to prominent individuals.

The many monuments dedicated to Croatian immigrants, who contributed to the development of Chile, are the evidence of the presence and importance of the Croatian identity. For instance, at the main square of the city Antofagasta *Plaza Coloon*, the Chilean *Chamber of Commerce* erected the copper monument of Josip Radanić, who was the Croatian immigrant from the island of Brač and who made an exceptional contribution to the development of Antofagasta.

On the island of Tierra del Fuego, in the town of Porvenir, there is a stone monument dedicated to Croa-

tian immigrants. The stone is from the island of Brač; Tomas Pavišić carved on it the lyrics of the poem *El Immigrante* written by the poet of Croatian descent, Desanka Vukasović: 'I will never look at you as the adventurer, for me you will be the man who came from afar with a poem on his lips and illusions in his heart'. Also, the monument shaped as the Croatian coat of arms placed in the square named after the Republic of Croatia, witnesses the importance and influence of Croatian immigrant colony in Punta Arenas. Numerous honours awarded to prominent citizens, intellectuals and entrepreneurs also demonstrate the reputation of Croatian immigrants in Chile.

In Santiago, there are 32 streets named after Croatian towns or islands (e.g. after Trogir, Vis, Brač, Split and Hvar). On the island of Tierra del Fuego, there are several rivers named after Croatian gold finders and miners (e.g. *Rio Pivčević* or *Charillo Paravić* named after Paravić who was one of the first founders of the alluvial gold). On Lennox, one of the islands near the Cape Horn, there is also the monument dedicated to Paravić. On the same island, there is a river *Borić*, named after Ivan Borić, the old gold miner. On the very Antarctic there are *Katalinić Hill*, *Kopajtić Island* and *Škarmeta Cliffs*, all named after Croatian immigrants, pioneers of the discovery of the area.

In the north of Chile, many nitre mines had Croatian names, for instance *Hrvatska*, *Sloga*, *Slavija*, *Naprijed*, *Dalmacija*, *Vis*, *Brač*[7] etc. (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 19.03.2003). One street in Santiago has the name *Baburizza*

and in the town of Los Andes there is *Instituto Agricola Pascual Baburizza*. They are both named after the famous Croatian nitre entrepreneur, politician and banker, who was one of the most powerful entrepreneurs in Chile.

Apart from being successful entrepreneurs and businessmen, Croatians in Chile stood out as successful journalists, poets, writers and painters. In the 90 year period, Croatian immigrants printed around 50 Croatian periodicals and 9 special editions of different magazines. A prominent journalist in Chile was Lenka Franulić, descending from the island of Brač. She was also a politician, theatre actress, the interpreter and the winner of several national and international awards. Today a prestigious award for journalism in Chile bears her name. Another successful Croatian in Chile was Lily Garafulić, who was the winner of the Chilean national award for sculpture in 1995. A grand recognition for his art in Chile was also awarded to Roko Matjašić, the painter from Brač. The pioneer of the Chilean cinematography was Antonio Radonić, the descendant of Croatian immigrants.

Croatian identity is recognizable in Chilean literature precisely because many names of Croatian immigrants and their descendants enriched the Chilean literary scene. Even some Croatians from the first generation of immigrants wrote for the Chilean press in Spanish. According to Ernest Livačić, an academician and university professor originating from the island of Brač, there are around 150 writers of Croatian descent in Chile. They hae participated in the Chilean literature for almost a century

and a half, writing mostly in Spanish, even though there were some born in Croatia. Most of them were the members of the second, third or even fourth generation of Croatian immigrants. Even though the literature of Chilean Croats is an integral part of the Chilean literature, there is, according to Livačić, 'often a clear evocation of the ancestors and their culture in those works'. (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, 20.3.2003).

Ramon Diaz Eterović (1956) emphasized the contribution of the Chilean writers of Croatian descent. 'It arose in accordance with the tendency and feelings toward the culture, the first immigrants brought'. (*Slobodna Dalmacija*, March 24, 2003). According to him, there is a form all of the Chilean writers of Croatian decent have in common; it can be defined as nostalgia that many of the first immigrants felt.

Among many Chilean writers of Croatian descent, we can single out: Roque Esteban Scarpa, the winner of the Chilean national reward for literature, Antonio Skarmeta, the most eminent Chilean and Hispano-American writer of the world-wide reputation, Sergije Vodanović, the winner of many awards in Santiago, and Ramon Diaz Eterović, the winner of around twenty national and international awards for literature. There are many contributions of Croats and their descendants to the social development of Chile in various fields: culture, economy, politics, art etc.

Today, the ethnic identity of Chilean Croats is recognizable in various social activities. There are over 22 Croatian ethnic organisations all over Chile[8] and they are active in preserving and presen-

ting Croatian ethnic heritage through different activities: folklore, sports or music. Within the Croatian organisations, there is a large number of Chileans who do not have Croatian roots, but who want to participate in Croatian culture; partly because of mixed marriages and partly due to the embodiment of Croatian culture in Chile.

There are also Croatian organisations gathering intellectuals of Croatian descent, for instance the Chilean – Croatian Institute for Culture or the Society of Intellectuals of Croatian Descent. Those organisations create a Croatian ethnicity giving it priority and eminent position in the mosaic of many ethnic cultures in Chile. Chilean intellectuals of Croatian descent initiated the organising of many events, such as Croatian language courses, evenings dedicated to Croatian literature and music, exhibitions of various forms of Croatian art (painting, photography etc.), visits of Croatian scientists to Chilean universities etc.

Apart from the cultural and political forms of engagements, there are economic ethnic organisations, such as the Chilean – Croatian Chamber of Commerce and groups within the society *Merkosurci*, the so called Chileans with the Croatian heart. Those organisations are facilitating the penetration of the Croatian economy into Chile.

Some Croatian ethnic organisations in Chile are presented at the web sites[9] so the distance between Chile and Croatia is no longer a considerable problem. At some of those web sites, different Croatian products are presented and advertised (e.g. traditional food and brandies, CDs of Dalmatian songs, CDs for learning the Croatian language, national cookbooks, specific cultural monuments in Croatia and famous Croatian cities, towns or islands).

Besides the institutional forms of ethnic togetherness, there are many forms of non-institutional social activities. There is an interesting form of family gathering of several generations of immigrants with the same last name (e.g. the family Kusanović whose members meet at the occasional feast, lunch or dinner). That is an example of the ethnicity being carried out across the generations.

One of the particularities of the Croatian immigrants in Chile is the fact that there was not a single Croatian parish in Chile. That circumstance, together with assimilation, accelerated the loss of the native language. In the other countries of immigration, Croatian catholic parishes were often the main initiators of the ethnic gathering and the preservation of Croatian customs and language.

Despite the fact that only about a hundred Chilean Croats speak Croatian, that there is a large percentage of mixed marriages, and also despite the fact that Chilean Croats are mostly the members of the third, fourth or even fifth generation of immigrants, Croatian identity in Chile is still very well preserved. Another proof is the number of young people who are the members of the Croatian ethnic organisations. They share an interest in the search of their roots, including the visits to Croatia and establishing many communication channels, as well as scientific, economic and cultural forms of cooperation.

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Notes

[1] The first significant work about the adjustment of Polish immigrants in the United Stated was "*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*" written by Thomas and Znaniecki.

[2] The system of social relations between landowners and agricultural labourers regulated by mutually accepted rules. It was typical for the Venetian Republic and especially Dalmatia.

[3] Different sources report different data. The reason is the non-existence of the official statistics. Data were often taken from the emigrant press which only roughly estimated the numbers.

[4] Croatian priest from the island of Brač conducted several interviews during his visit to Croatian immigrants in Chile. Those interviews were published in his travelogue "*Through South America*".

[5] The Slovakian writer Kukučin describes the life of Croatian immigrants in Punta

Arenas. Events and characters from his novel are based on real events.

[6] Popper, the Romanian with the Jewish background, came to *Tierra del Fuego* in 1886. He conducted geographical research and especially researched the placers of gold. In Buenos Aires, he founded the society for the use of gold placers and, later on, founded the base on *Tierra del Fuego*. He initiated the arrival of Croatians from Argentina to Chile.

[7] Croatia, Unity, Slavia, Forward, Dalmatia, the islands of Vis and Brač.

[8] In Antofagasta: *Hrvatsko društvo* (Croatian Society), *Hrvatski sokol* (Croatian Falcon) , *Daleki akordi* (Distant Chords) i *Hrvatsko vatrogasno društvo* (Croatian Firemen Society); *Hrvatski klub* (Croatian Club) in Vallenar; *Hrvatski klub* in Iquique and *Hrvatski dom* (Croatian Home) in Arica. In Santiago: *Hrvatska žena* (Croatian Woman), *Jadranska vila* (Adriatic Nymph), *Pjevačko društvo Jadran* (Society of Singers Adriatic), *Hrvatski klub*, *Društvo intelektualaca hrvatskog podrijetla* (Society of Intellectuals of Croatian Descent), *Centar hrvatskih iseljenika* (Croatian Immigrant Centre), *Čilensko-Hrvatski Institut* (Chilean-Croatian Institute) etc. The most active Croatian organisations are in the South of Chile. In the Magallanes region in Punta Arenas: *Hrvatska žena* (Croatian Woman), *Hrvatski klub* (Croatian Club), *Hrvatski sokol* (Croatian Falcon) and *Hrvatski dom* (Croatian Home), (Perić, 2003).

[9]   www.hrvatski.cl,   www.sociedadcroataantofagasta.cl,
www.estudiocroata.cl

Migration and Population Decline in the Island of Vis, Croatia 1910-2001

Ivo Nejašmić and Roko Mišetić

This paper discusses the population dynamics of the island of Vis, Croatia and the geographical, demographic and social characteristics linked to the process. Demographic statistics and the results of the research show the substantial population decline of the island of Vis. The process began at the beginning of the twentieth century and it accelerated after the Second World War. Lasting unfavourable demographic processes (emigration, depopulation, demographic ageing, decrease of the fertility) resulted in a population that can be classified as of the following demographic type - very advanced old age.

Introduction

The Croatian archipelago includes nearly all the islands of the Adriatic's east coast and, according to its size (i.e. the number of islands), it is the second archipelago of the Mediterranean. The Croatian part of the Adriatic consists of 1.185 islands, islets, rocks and rocks awash (718 islands and islets, 389 rocks and 78 rocks awash). Fifty islands are constantly populated and there are 313 island settlements (with an average of 373 inhabitants *per* settlement in 2001). The surface of the archipelago is approximately 3.300 km², or 5. 8 percent of the surface of the continental part of the Croatian territory.

The Croatian archipelago was subject to population decline for decades and today (together with the mountain areas) is one of the most depopulated parts of Croatia. Even back in the 1960s, it was possible to say '...that the islands, especially the smaller ones, are demographically dying out' (Friganovic, 1962:37). On the islands that did not engage in the tourist business in time, the emigration of the young population has all the characteristics of a complete exodus. Dying out is becoming the demographic perspective for more than the quarter of the island settlements (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1991). The fact that emigration is the main factor in population decline, itself indicates the deformed age and sex structure of the population, (the inevitable consequence of the selectivity of emigration). On the other hand, that includes the decrease of the fertile age groups, the weakening of the vital potential and the fall of the biorepro-

ductive power. In this way, population decline becomes even more the logic consequence of demographic ageing.

With the development of contemporary tourism and the rise of the social awareness of environmental issues, the archipelago once again is seen as one of the most valuable parts of the national territory. Concern for the problems of the islands has risen accordingly; the special attention of professionals and the general public is focused on the issue of demographic decline.

The population of the island of Vis has not escaped this decline. On the contrary, due to some geographical and other particularities, the island of Vis has had the most significant population decline of the fifteen biggest Croatian islands.

Geography
The island of Vis, famous in history as the Greek Issa and later as Lissa, is one of the islands of the middle-Dalmatian archipelago (figure 1). It is 44 km from the closest mainland (Višišće near Trogir) and, according to local standards, it belongs to the group of the so-called outer or open sea islands.

One of the specific characteristics of these islands is their isolation, that is, their separation from the mainland and other islands by the sea. Isolation has created special ecosystems and effects the entire socio-economic development, life conditions and the formation of the characteristic socio-psychological types of islanders and their communities (LAJIĆ, 1992). In the contemporary conditions of the spatial connectedness and socio-economic interrelations-

hip, the degree of an island's isolation depends on its distance from the coast and on the existing traffic connections with the coastal centres.

In the case of the island of Vis, its peripheral geographical position is fully expressed. Its distance to Split, the closest big coastal centre, is 55 km (figure 1). That distance is not so wide (especially in the global proportions), but it represents the significant 'barrier' to the accessibility of the coastal centres. Even today, Vis is outside of the commuting zone of the city of Split. The ferry-boat service between Split and Vis (the biggest island settlement), is the only regular service through the entire year and the voyage lasts for three hours, if the sea is still. The island's isolation, apart from the unsatisfactory connections, is also influenced by the price of the passenger and goods transport which is considerably higher in comparison to the price of the mainland traffic connections of the same distance.

Due to its outer, open sea position, the island of Vis has had great geostrategic importance in the nineteenth and the twentieth century. During the long period of the Venetian rule, it did not have the significant role, because it was outside the main naval routs that led along the eastern coast of the Adriatic (NOVAK, 1961). Under Austrian rule, Vis became the fortress of the Adriatic (until the 1873). After the surrender of Italy in the Second World War until the end of the war, Vis came to the centre of attention once again. It became the important military point through which the partisan movement received material aid from the western allies. In fact,

Fig. 1. *Geographical position of the island of Vis in the middle-Dalmatian region*

that was the beginning of the new era in valorising the strategic position of the island of Vis. After the Second World War, the Yugoslavian military strategists of that time considered Vis as the 'key of Adriatic'. For that reason, more than 18.000 barbed-wire posts were placed, a series of objects with different functions was built and a great number of bunkers, tunnels and shelters were constructed on the island. The island was closed to foreign tourists with the exception of a short period (1968- 1975). That significantly retarded development of the island´s economy. Only when the autonomous and independent Republic

of Croatia was established, Vis stopped being the 'island-fortress' and started opening itself to the world.

Natural resources

The surface of the island of Vis is 90,3 km^2; it is 17 km long at its longest part and 8 km wide at its widest part. According to its size, it is the tenth island amongst the Croatian islands. Two large bays are deeply embedded into the island's trapezoid, which stimulated the formation and the development of Vis and Komiža, the two most significant settlements of the island.

The island of Vis is characterised by the two limestone ridges which are,

considering the island's size, rather high (Hum, 587 m high). The ridges are separated by the two karst valleys which are covered by impenetrable sediments (ŠUŠNJAR, 1967). The sea shore of the northern island ridge is steep and inaccessible with the limestone cliffs. The southern island ridge is considerably more spacious with the larger number of small karst fields at the altitude of 100 and 250 m. Those are the richest soils of the island with numerous little settlements attached (figure 2). The southern slopes of this ridge are limestone so the shore is rocky, steep and inaccessible.

The island of Vis, as the whole middle-Dalmatian area, has the Mediterranean climate with dry and hot summers and mild and rainy winters. The acute summer aridity, additionally intensified by the karst terrain, has a large influence on the life of the islanders. The climatic element of the special importance is the wind; the life of the islanders, especially the ones related to the sea, fully depends on it. Vis is the Adriatic island most exposed to the winds. The wind also affects its agriculture, the position of the settlements, the connections with the mainland. Therefore, it is not surprising that the older islanders know and distinguish more than thirty types of wind according to the direction, strength, moving in currents, humidity etc. (FRLETA, 1958).

The island of Vis, like many other islands, suffers from deficiency of water. That is the consequence of the limestone geologic structure in which most part of rainfall is lost, together with its unfavourable distribution. Somewhat more significant water-springs are situated in the proximity of Komiža. However, those water-springs have the limited significance for the island's water-supply. That is what caused the century-long islanders' struggle for water-supplies; they used to collect rain-water in public (village) and private (household) water-tanks.

In the absence of cultivable surfaces, shallow slope grounds were used. Thanks to the big effort of the local agricultural labourers, the terraces were formed and they are among the most impressive parts of the island's landscape. The terraced slopes are abandoned today, so the former olive-groves and vineyards are being more and more covered by the natural vegetation: garig, coppice and the forests of the seaside pine (*Pinus maritima*).

Settlement structure
The aforementioned natural conditions significantly determined the settlement structure, but the social factors determined its final form. As already noted, the two biggest settlements, Vis (1.776 inhabitants in 2001) and Komiža (1.523), rose and developed in the most suitable spots, at the bottom of large bays. Only three other smaller settlements are situated on the coastline: Rogačić (8 inhabitants in 2001), Rukavac (47 inhabitants) and Milna (19). The remaining eleven settlements are situated inland (0,8 to 3 km from the sea) and only Oključna (5 inhabitants) is outside the area of the main concentration of small settlements: Borovik (15 inhabitants), Podhumlje (40), Duboka (6), Podšpilje (14), Žena Glava (54), Dračevo Polje (8), Marinje Zemlje (35),
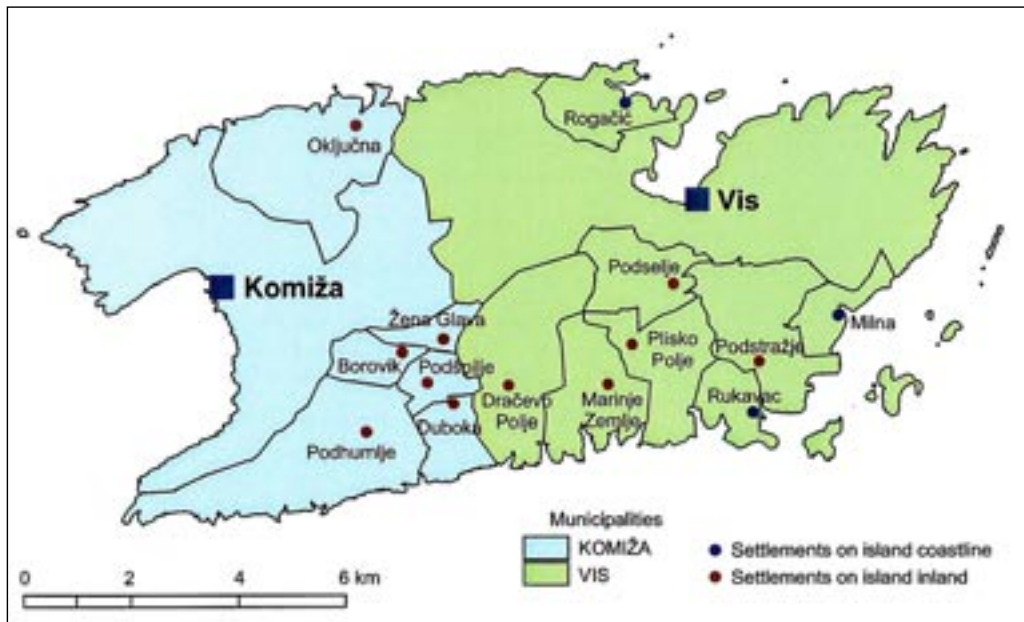
Fig. 2. *Settlements of the island of Vis*

Plisko Polje (21), Podselje (23) and Podstražje (23). At the time of the maximal island population density (1910), between 17 (Dračevo Polje) and 355 inhabitants (Podhumlje) lived in these settlements. Settlements in the island's interior rose at a time of considerably different social and spatial relations and their position and size was determined by the disposition of the more valuable agricultural land.

Settlements of the island of Vis
The island of Vis is characterised by a distinct bipolar functional spatial organisation with Vis and Komiža as central settlements; 93% of the entire island population lives in the two settlements. The existing social infrastructure of these settlements provides only for the primary needs of the island's

population. In order to provide for the other needs, the population is directed to the remote Split, which in this case has the function of the regional centre. Nowhere else in continental Croatia, or its surroundings, the regional centre is three-hours-drive away (in the case of Komiža, another half an hour of bus-drive to Vis should be calculated). That undoubtedly contributes to the island's isolation, its socio-economic lagging behind and high level of emigration.

Population Change
Since 1910 Census data clearly show that the island of Vis has been an area of continous decline. (table 1). The biggest number of inhabitants was recorded in 1910, when Vis was the most densely populated Dalmatian island (108 inh./km²).

Table 1. Changes in the number of inhabitants of the island of Vis in the 1900-2001 period (for census years)

Year	Population	Basic Index (1900.=100)	Chain Index
1900	9 650	100,0	-
1910	9 810	101,7	101,7
1921	9 511	98,6	96,7
1931	8 496	88,0	89,3
1948	7 230	74,9	85,1
1953	7 643	79,2	105,7
1961	6 834	70,8	89,4
1971	4 970	51,5	72,7
1981	4 090	42,4	82,3
1991*	3 856	40,0	94,3
2001*	3 566	36,8	92,5

*Due to the changed methodology in the 2001 census and in order to make the two last censuses more comparable, the data of the population "in the country" was used. The total number of inhabitants (including the contingent abroad) was 4 338 in 1991, and 3 617 in 2001.

Source: KORENČIĆ, 1979 for the 1900-1971 period; population censuses, Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb, for the years of 1981, 1991 and 2001.

In the period from the 1900-2001, the number of inhabitants decreased by 63.2 percent, which is over twice that of the entire Croatian archipelago (30.0 percent). At the same time, the number of inhabitants of Croatia as a whole increased by 32.9 percent (Fig. 3).

It is important to stress that the difference in population decline between the Municipality of Komiža (seven settlements) and the Municipality of Vis (ten settlements) is inconsiderable: Vis 63.4 and Komiža 62.9 percent.

On the other hand, the differences between the coastline settlements and the ones in the interior are considerable. In the 1900-2001 period, settlements on the coastline (Vis and Komiža include 98 percent of the population of the coastline settlements) recorded a 58.1 percent decrease in the number of inhabitants. For the settlements in the island interior, the corresponding decrease was 86.0 percent.

Such differences were to be expected. It was already noted that the interior is characterised by the small settlements and that the population of those settlements is traditionally engaged with agriculture and cattle-breeding. When the processes of urbanisation, deagrarisation and deruralisation came to Croatia in full swing, the small rural settlements were the most affected by emigration and population decline (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1991a).

In the entire century, population increase was registered only in two inter-census periods. In the 1900-1910 period, the increase was rather insignificant (0,16% *per annum*), while in the 1948-1953 period it was somewhat more significant (1,11% *per annum*). The increase in the post-war period can be explained by the fact the emigration to foreign countries was not permitted. Apart from that, industrialisation and deruralisation were not strong enough to stimulate internal migrations. According to the data (table 1), the most significant population decline before the Second World War was registered in the 1921-1931 period (average of 1,13% *per annum*).
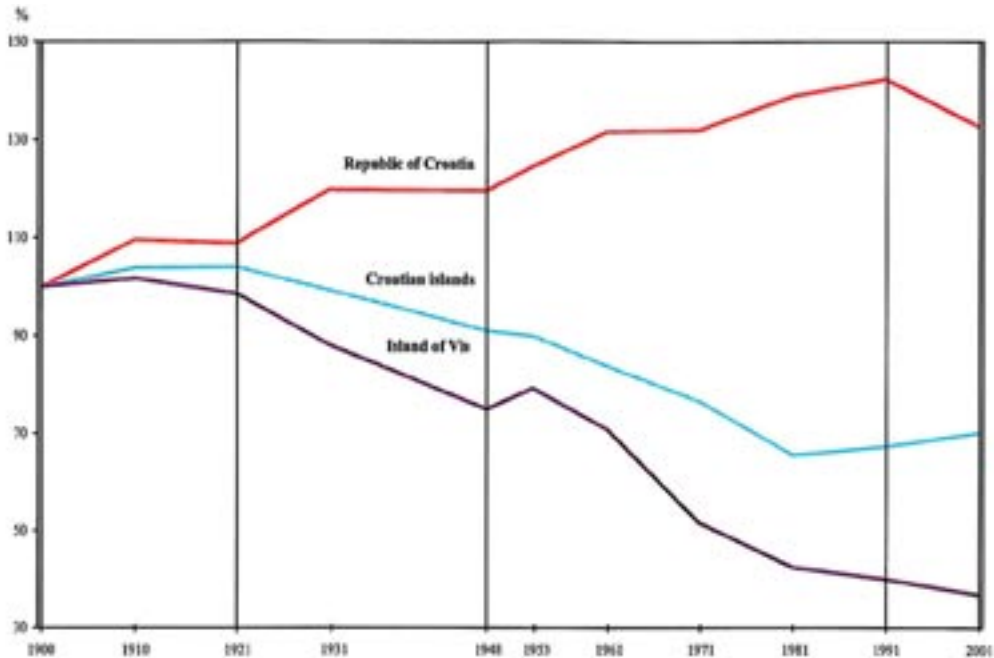
In the post-war period, the decline

Fig. 3. *Population dynamics of the Republic of Croatia, Croatian archipelago and the island of Vis for 1900-2001 period, for the census years (1900= 100,0)*

intensified. The most significant population decline was registered in the decade 1961-1971 (3,16% *per annum*), followed by the period of 1971-1981 (1,94% *per annum*). That kind of dynamics was congruent with the general conditions of the time when the focus of socio-economic development shifted to urban-industrial centres. The mass transfer of agriculturalists to non-agricultural activities followed, coupled with the abandoning of the country and the general neglect of rural values (PULJIZ, 1977).

The differences between the inland and the coastline settlements are also visible in the intensity of the change of the numbers of inhabitants in the particular inter-census periods. Starting

as early as 1910 (with the exception of 1948-1953 period), the settlements on the coast (Vis and Komiža) were continuously losing people, while the settlements in the interior registered some stability, until 1953. Since then, the interior settlements also register an abrupt fall in the number of inhabitants (Figure 4).

Emigration
Since the island of Vis was characterised by the positive natural population dynamics until the 1960s, it is easy to conclude that the main factor of population decline, until then, was emigration. Two phases of emigration can be distinguished: the first, before the Second World War, which was dominated by emigra-

tion to foreign countries, especially to transatlantic countries, and the second, after the Second World War, with the growing significance of internal migra-

for immigrants, it is possible to consider the resulting sums as the numbers of emigrants, of course with some caution. The other difficulty is the absence of the
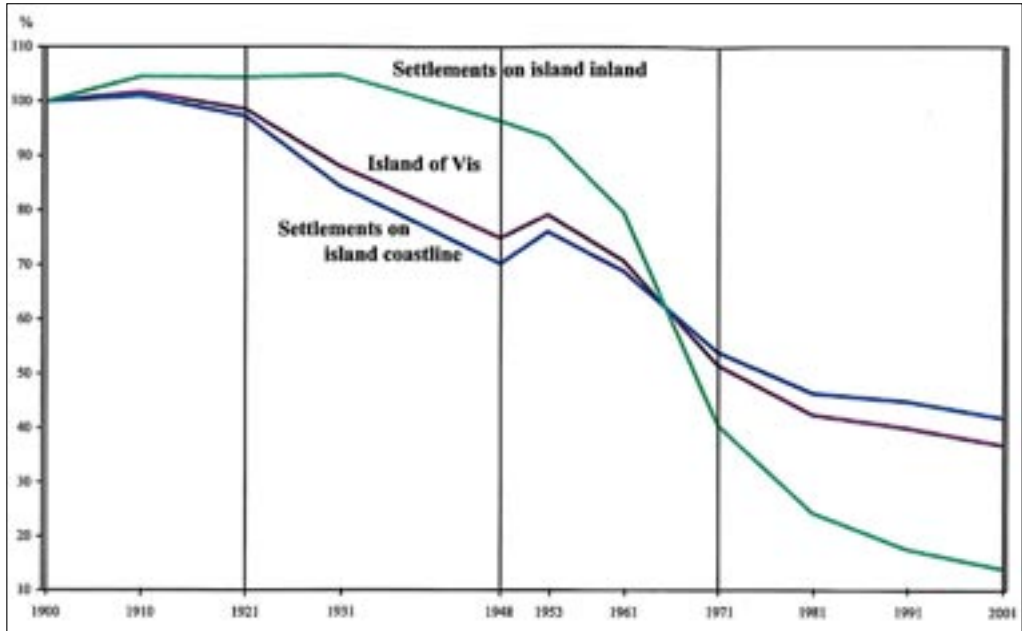

Fig. 4. *Population dynamics of the island of Vis, coastline and inland settlements in the 1900-2001 period, for census years (1900 = 100,0)*

tion, especially emigration from the island to Split and other centres on the mainland. In the absence of data on the numbers of emigrants from the island of Vis, and even the absence of the relevant estimates, we shall try to estimate the number using the vital statistics method. It is based on the comparison of data for the total population dynamics and the natural increase between the two censuses. The result represents the net migration, i.e. the difference between the number of the persons who immigrated and emigrated from the specific area. Regarding the fact that the island of Vis was not an attractive destination

reliable sources on natural population dynamics. Therefore, the rates for the whole Dalmatian population have been used for the island of Vis (following GELO, 1987).

The results show that in the first half of the twentieth century, around 6,500 inhabitants emigrated from the island of Vis, or around 135 *per annum* (table 2). In that wave, the entire natural increase in the population was lost (it was approximately 4,000 persons), including part of the basic population. Further, it is evident that there was significant emigration in all inter-census intervals. Emigration that was above the average

occurred in the 1921-1931 period when 2.000 (exactly) people emigrated, on average 200 *per annum*. Out of the total number of inhabitants who left their home island, most of them migrated to foreign countries. According to the information we obtained from older islanders, leaving Split or other parts of the country was not especially significant. We can therefore estimate that, in the first half of the twentieth century, around 5,500 inhabitants of the island of Vis went abroad, particularly to the United States, South America, Australia and New Zealand. The most famous immigrant enclave of the former resi-

dents of Komiža is in San Pedro, where they continued their engagement in the fishing industry and greatly advanced that aspect of the economy in California.

Causes of the emigration before the First World War can be found in the general economic and political backwardness of Dalmatia, which existed at the edge of the state 'like the empire's appendage'. In the region with poor quality soil and with unfavourable climatic conditions (summer aridity), most of the population nevertheless engaged in the agriculture (FORETIĆ, 1969). Direct causes of the emigration

Table 2. *Migration balance of the population of Vis 1900-1948, inter-census intervals.*

Year	Listed number of inhabitants	Natural population increase between the two censuses*	Expected number of inhabitants, based on population increase	Migration balance**
1900	9650			
		1255		
1910	9810		10905	- 1095
		942		
1921	9511		10752	- 1241
		997		
1931	8496		10508	-2012
		850		
1948	7230		9346	-2116
Total maigration balance 1900-1948				-6464

* Calculated by the authors based on annual natural change rates, following GELO, 1987.
** Difference between the actual and the expected number of inhabitants.

from the island of Vis were the viticulture crisis (that hit the whole of Dalmatia) and the decline of fishing.

Viticulture was by far the most important agricultural activity of the Dalmatian agricultural labourers, including the ones form the island of Vis. The greatest part of the cultivable soil was covered by vineyards. In the year of 1900, out of the total of 2.825 ha cultivable plots on the island of Vis, even 96,6 percent were under vineyards (PERIČIĆ, 1999). Wine growing started in the 1870s, with the growing demand for wine in the French market (the consequence of *Phylloxera* which had devastated the French vineyards). After the renewal of the vineyards, the French market was closed to foreign wine import. That was the beginning of the wine crisis in Dalmatia which hit all social stratums, from agricultural labourers to tradesmen. The only way out was re-orientation to the internal market. Once in the crisis, the Dalmatian viticulture was hit by an even harder blow - a trade treaty between Austro-Hungary and Italy. The beginning of its application was February 1st, 1892 and the treaty enabled Italy to find a market for its wine in the great empire under the favourable conditions (PERI , 1978). The prices of wine started to drop rapidly and, once the *Phylloxera* appeared in Dalmatia, the region was hit by severe economic crisis.

Life on the island of Vis was unimaginable and unsustainable without the fishing. With the lack of the fertile soil (especially surrounding Komiža), the local population got involved into fishery in order to secure the means for life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Komiža became the main fishing centre of the whole Dalmatia. Fishermen from the island of Vis, and especially from Komiža, were famous for their experience and skill. But on the eve and during the First World War, fishing was hit by a decline in the hauls of sardines and other fish. The Brijuni convention in 1923 limited the right of the inhabitants of Komiža to fish in the waters of Palagruža, the island that fell under Italy's rule. All of that left a deep mark on the fishing industry of the island of Vis, which is also visible from the following data: in 1924 there were 745 fishermen and 149 boats, in 1926 there were 365 fishermen and 69 boats (PERIČIĆ, 1999).

The political and economic situation in the interwar period was, in a certain way, a continuation of the previous situation under the Austro-Hungary. Most of the population continued working in agriculture, while several hundreds of workers found work in Komiža's fish factories (in 1923, there were even seven departments for sardine processing). Nevertheless, the island had more available work-force than work-places. Few opportunities outside agriculture were the cause of the incessant splitting of agricultural estates and the creation of smaller and smaller properties. The agrarian population density was enormous. In 1931, Vis had approximately 240 agriculturalists (including the supported family members) *per* 100 ha of cultivable soil. At that time, in the developed parts of Europe, there was a shared opinion that the optimal density was 35 to 45 agriculturalists *per* 100 ha of cultivable soil (BIČANIĆ, 1940).

The way out of agrarian overpopulation was the enlargement of the cultivable plots, which, in the case of the island of Vis, was not easy to accomplish. If a piece of land was laboriously transformed into the cultivable plot (e.g. terraces), that enlargement would be annulled by the natural population increase. The second possibility was industrialisation, which was completely limited in the given conditions. Finally, the third possibility was to leave the island and it was used frequently.

After the Second World War, rather high agrarian density continued to exist for another ten years. Therefore, it was still a strong emigration push factor. Emigration was mostly directed towards Split and other urban-industrial centres on the mainland. But the emigration to foreign countries still existed as well, especially after the opening of the borders in the mid-1960s.

It was already mentioned that the most significant population decline followed after the 1961. At the beginning of the 1960s, the official statistics started keeping records of the natural population dynamics at both the communal and settlement level. Therefore, it is possible to calculate the migration balance using the vital statistics method.

Table 3. *Migration balance of the population of Vis 1961-2001, inter-census intervals.*

Year	Listed number of inhabitants	Natural population increase between the two censuses*	Expected number of inhabitants, based on population increase	Migration balance**
1961	6834			
		-195		
1971	4970		6639	- 1669
		-274		
1981	4090		4696	- 606
		-366		
1991	3856		3724	132
		-404		
2001	3556		3452	104
Total migration balance 1961-2001				*-2039*

* Calculated by the authors based on the census data and official vital statistics of the Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics.

** Difference between the actual and expected number of inhabitants.

In the period from 1961-1981, more persons (2,275) emigrated than immigrated (therefore, it is the smallest possible number of emigrants). It represented 33.3 percent of the entire island's population at the beginning of the period in question (1961). Likewise, it is important to stress that the migration is 'responsible' for the 82.9 percent of the decrease in the population in the 1961-1981 period (decrease amounts to 2,744 persons, table 1); the remaining 17.1 percent is the result of the negative natural increase.

After 1981, positive migration balance was recorded, even though it was not very significant. This means that the population decrease in the 1981-2001 period (decrease amounts to 534 persons) was exclusively caused by the negative natural increase.

What had happened? Had the island become an attractive immigration destination? The answer is manifold. Firstly, one should bear in mind that the contingent of young population has completely narrowed - the main emigration base. Secondly, the demographic pressure to the island's resources weakened; in comparison to the 1953, the number of inhabitants had halved. Thirdly, emerging tourism, directly or indirectly, stimulated new work-place openings. Fourthly, orientation to the market economy offered new possibilities for the valorisation of the island area. But, it seems artificial (administrative) immigration also exists. Particularly, a lot of the owners of summer-houses and places for rent to the tourists have declared their place of residence at the island of Vis in order to avoid paying real estate taxes. Whatever the truth, it seems that Vis reached the point where the stabilisation and even the increase in the positive migration balance can be expected. In that case, the further possible population decrease will be exclusively affected by the negative natural dynamics.

Natural population dynamics

It is important to note that the emigration has two time effects: a) the momentary, instantaneous one which immediately changes the number of the population, and b) the long-term (delayed) effect which follows out of the instantaneous one and '…it is manifested in the fact that the inhabitants, who leave their home area, at the same time "take away" the future births, deaths, marriages and divorces they would experience during their lifetime in the place of their origin, if they had not emigrated' (WERTHEIMER-BALETIĆ, 1999: 284). Apart from that, concerning the selectivity of migration (and it is well known that it is younger persons who are emigrating), certain population structures in the emigration areas, such is the island of Vis, alter as well. They then create the conditions for the future natality and mortality dynamics.

The delayed effect of the emigration on the natural dynamics was fully evident after the Second World War; it was stimulated by the war demographic losses as well. Simultaneously with the development and the modernisation of society, natality transition took place (changes in the number of children *per* family). Total fertility rate (TFR), as the best aggregate indicator of repro-

duction (it is possible to say, the average number of children in the family), records low values. In the 1990s, long-term unfavourable dynamics obviously accelerated. In the 1991 the TFR for the middle-Dalmatian group of islands amounted to 1,67 (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1997). It is possible to assume that it is identical for the island of Vis, as for the entire middle-Dalmatian archipelago. On the other hand, the total fertility rate for Croatia in the 1990 was 1,75; it dropped to 1,35 in 2000. We can estimate that the TFR was 1,25 for the island of Vis. It is almost less than a half of the critical value of TFR (2,1) which (theoretically) guarantees simple reproduction; therefore, the generation renewal is not assured.

The fertility rate of the population of Vis is constantly decreasing (Figure 5, following page). At the beginning of the 1960s, it was approximately 12 ‰, to drop to around 9 ‰ at the end of the 1990s (Figure 5). On the other hand, in the same period the mortality rate increased from approximately 14 ‰ to the high 21 ‰. The vitality index (the number of births *per* 100 deaths) shows more and more 'liabilities'. In 1961, the vitality index for the population of Vis had the amount of 105.3 (it was 180,5 for the total population of Croatia), in 1981 it was 57.0 (Croatia 134,2), in 2001 it was 27.8 (Croatia 92,7). It is clear that the death dominates in the kind of 'life and death' balance of the island of Vis, starting already at the beginning of the 1960s.

The island interior, where mainly the (not numerous) older population remained, is characterised by the especially adverse natural dynamics. In the village of Žena Glava, the biggest settlement in the inland, only 13 children were born in the period of 1963 to 2001, and none in the last five years. Therefore, it is self-evident that the settlement in question and ones like it are on the verge of dying out. In the near future, those settlements will lose their permanent and native-born inhabitants.

We can state that on the island of Vis (bio)reproduction of the population is significantly under the level that would guarantee the simple renewal and that the unfavourable dynamics is becoming more and more severe. Strong reproductive and generational population decline is at work.

Age and Sex Structure of the Population
The sex (and age) population structure is not influenced solely by the natural dynamics, but also by the migration and other factors (especially wars). Therefore, interruption of the numerical relation is a common phenomenon. This is also the case with the population of Vis.

The general coefficient of femininity (k_f, marks the number of female *per* 100 male inhabitants) for the year of 2001 was 108,6; the comparison with Croatia (111,4) does not show a significant difference. For that reason, it is important to examine the indicators according to single age groups. Especially indicative is the imbalance in the age groups of 20-34 (the extended group of the so called marital age). The imbalance directly affects the number of marriages (nuptiality) and, by that, the general level of the fertility as well. The

coefficient of femininity for those age groups for the population of the island of Vis in the 2001 was 84,3, while it was 102,1 at the level of Croatia. For the population of the island's interior, the marital age group has significant imbalance, the coefficient of femininity is 57,1 (the population is small so the relations have a different weight; there are 14 men and 8 women in that group). Significant absence of female inhabitants in the age group of 20-34 is not a particularity of Vis; it is a characteristic of all depopulated rural areas (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1991a). It can be explained by the selectivity of emigration according to gender. In other words, in the first phase of the rural exodus, men leave to find work, while the women do not have enough reasons to leave because they cannot find work outside the village. Once the emigration from

the village gains momentum, the women leave faster than men and in larger numbers. Because of the system of successive inheriting, the men are more attached to their estates. 'All research shows that the women are, in fact, more sensitive than men to the hardships of the life in the country' (MENDRAS, 1986: 207). The population imbalance of the sexes in the most vital age groups contributes to the further population decline of the island of Vis because, by chain reaction, it leads to (bio)reproductive disorders.

The age structure of the population is one of the most important indicators of the potential liveliness and biodynamics of the population of the certain area and it is especially important because of its social and economic implications. What is the situation on the island of Vis? The population of the island was already caught up by the process of demographic

Fig. 5. *Natural population dynamics of the island of Vis in the period of 1963-2000*
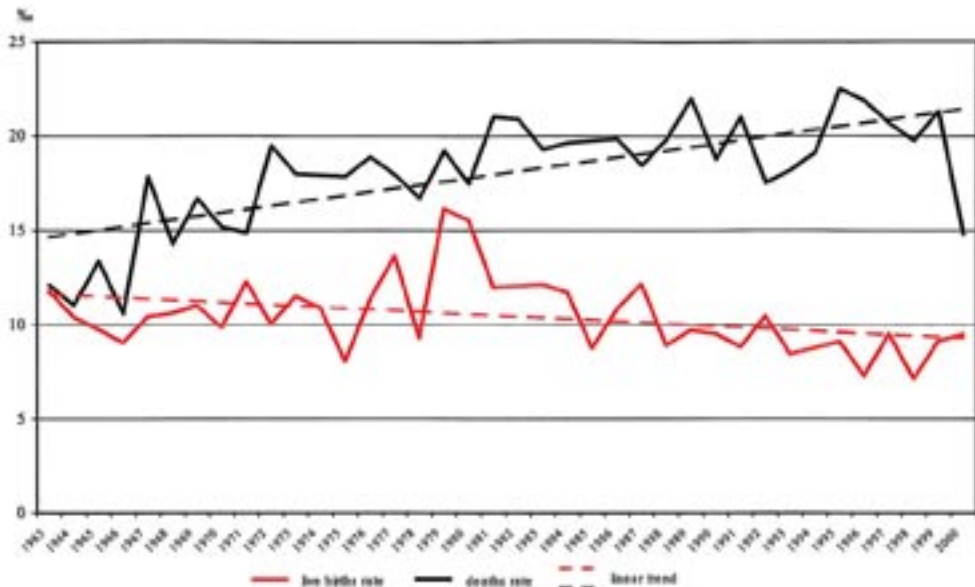
ageing in the 1953 (the proportion of the inhabitants of the 65 and more was higher than 8 percent). Primarily, that was the result of the many decades of the substantial emigration and the significant selectivity of migration according to age (generally, the younger persons are leaving). By the end of the century, the population of Vis was strongly affected by that undesirable process. Out of the comparison to the entire population of Croatia, which is also caught by the process of demographic ageing, it is evident that all the parameters of the population of Vis are significantly more unfavourable (table 4, following page).

On the island of Vis, every fourth inhabitant is 65 years old or more. The percentage of 'grandparents' (65 and more) is nearly twice bigger that of the the percentage of the 'children' (0-14). The coefficient of age dependency of the old population is significantly high as well. Average life expectancy is 44,3 years and it is even five years higher than the average age of the population of Croatia. The structure of the population of the interior settlements of the island is especially unfavourable.

We already stressed that the population decline in those settlements is quite significant, so the bad demographic picture is entirely expected. Almost half of the population belongs to the contingent of elderly persons, while the young persons are under nine percent (there are 56 elder *per* 10 young inhabitants). There are twelve persons in the post-working age *per* ten persons in the working age. Average age is very high, 57 years. Everything points to the fact that the villages in the interior of the

island have become the communities of old people's households, with less and less youth and successors. It is not the isolated case of Vis, but the characteristic of the entire Croatian archipelago (NEJAŠMIĆ, 1992).

It is unnecessary to explain the consequences of the old composition of the population. It is enough to point to the fact that it significantly decreases the (bio)reproduction of the population and leads to the so-called biological population decline (population decline as the result of the negative natural increase in the population). The old population is characterised by the decrease in the economic activity and the social and cultural life declines as well.

It is possible to assert that the observed differences in the age and sex structures are the main malady of the island´s population dynamics, and they are clearly demonstrated by the so-called age-sex population pyramid. It reflects the past, the present and the future of a population. The eroded age-sex structure of the population of the island of Vis is reflected in the asymmetrical pyramid (Figure 6). It belongs to the old (contractive of regressive) type of the pyramid shaped as the urn (it can have the symbolic meaning as well). The pyramid's base ('children's base') is significantly narrowed, the middle part is convex and the 'head' (the old population) is much wider than the base. This type of the pyramid points to the low and decreasing natality and to the negative natural population increase. This description obviously corresponds to everything we 'diagnosed' when discussing the demographic processes on the

Table 4. *Analytic indicators of age structure of the population of Vis, inland settlements and Croatia in 2001*

	Island of Vis	Settlements in the island inland	Croatia
Percentage of youth (0-14)	14,0	8,8	17,0
Percentage of the elder (65 +)	24,5	49,4	15,6
Index of ageing*	175,2	561,9	91,9
Coefficient of age dependency of the old population**	40,5	112,4	26,0
Average age	44,3	56,9	39,3

* Showing the numerical relation of the elder (65 +) *per* 100 young persons (0-14).
** Showing the numerical relation of the persons in the post-working age (65 +) *per* 100 persons in the working age (15-64).
Source: Calculated by the authors according to the data: Population Census 2001, Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics, Zagreb.

island of Vis.

On the pyramid, it is possible to notice the niches (grooves of trenches) pointing to the influence of some specific factors (emigration, wars). The previously mentioned absence of women in the age of 20-34 and the common surplus of women in the older age groups is noticeable. The deep niche in the 55-59 age group is especially visible. The contraction of that age group was affected by the two factors (if the mortality is omitted): a) the fertility decrease during the Second World War (the age group in question was born between the 1942 and 1946) and b) in the time of the most significant exodus from the island (1961-1971), the most part of that age group were between 14 and 24 years old

and were more intensively affected by emigration.

For the settlements in the island interior with the most substantial population decline, the age-sex population pyramid is completely deformed with the shape of the inverted pyramid (figure 6). The base of the pyramid is very narrow and the "head" is very wide and extremely asymmetrical (surplus of the female population). The aforementioned absence of the female population in the marital age group (20-34 years) is visible as well.

The age structure is not merely the consequence of the unfavourable demographic dynamics, but it is the important factor for future population changes. For that reason, the considera-

tions of the age structure tend to more precise evaluations. Since the island of Vis represents the case of the advanced process of demographic ageing, the evaluation should be adapted to that fact and types should be created for the various stages of the population's ageing. Instead of the classification based on the mere combination of 'young' and 'old', the indicator of population ageing was obtained by the special pointing method. The classification of the seven types (degrees) of ageing was created, and every type has the corresponding

Fig. 6. *Age-sex population pyramid of the inhabitants of the island of Vis and inland settlements for 2001*
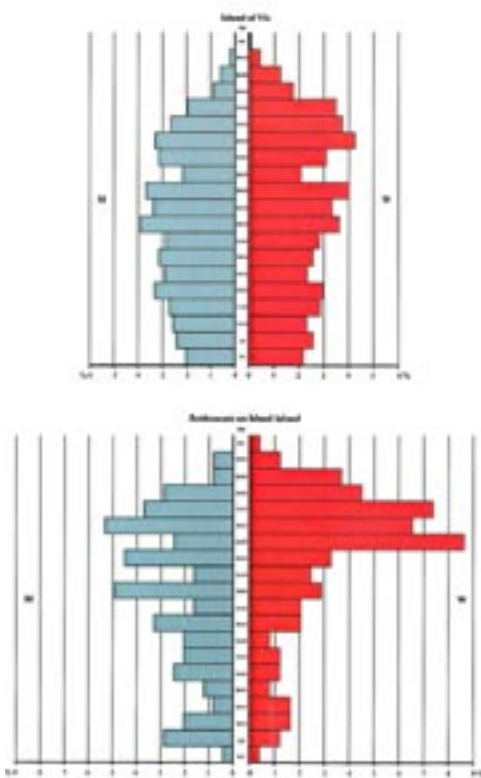
descriptive characteristic: 1) on the verge of ageing, 2) ageing, 3) old age, 4) the advanced old age, 5) very advanced old age, 6) greatly advanced old age and 7) extremely advanced old age (NEJAŠMIĆ, 2005).

It was possible to classify the entire population of the island of Vis in 2001 as the 5th type - very advanced old age. The population of island's interior belonged to the 7th type - extremely advanced old age. For comparison, the population of Croatia belongs to the 3rd type - old age (but it is on the verge of crossing into the 4th type). It has become evident that, on the island of Vis, the stage of the population ageing could easily lead to the worsening of the already unfavourable conditions and even to the demographic dying out of the small settlements.

Conclusion

We can conclude that the island of Vis, apart from the substantial population decline in the twentieth century, is also affected by the advanced process of demographic ageing. Population decline, on the other hand, has passed its way from the consequence of the social events to the important factor of the social and spatial processes. The erosion of the age population structure we demonstrated, undoubtedly leads to serious consequences. It unfavourably affects the series of social and economic parameters with the possible result of emigration of the remaining part of the island's youth. In that way the socio-demographic depression is deepening and it limits the possibilities of stabilising unfavourable demographic

and developmental tendencies. The experiences of the developed countries show it is not possible to stop depopulation tendencies unless socio-economic circumstances change considerably. In other words, only the socio-economic revival can cure the consequences of the substantial emigration and denatality more permanently and revitalise the part of the island settlements. In that case the islands, including Vis - the 'island rich with the time', will become the Croatian developmental advantage.

It is important to point to a certain doubt concerning the general development of the Croatian islands in the light of current and future demographic characteristics. Namely, it is the question whether the population should follow development or, conversely, should development be adjusted to the population. The view that it is not acceptable to force development over the needs of the local population is becoming more and more common. When the islands are in question, it is necessary to find the balance which would respect the material and the spiritual wealth of the people and preserve its foundation.

The islands represent the extremely valuable and very sensitive geographical, economic and anthropogenic surroundings. When discussing the Croatian archipelago, it is important to stress the specific complex of the developmental characteristics, the surroundings and the mentality, i.e. the unique harmony of the natural and cultural landscape. Therefore, when creating the developmental strategy, it is necessary to respect the special characteristics of single islands or island groups.

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Challenges of Present Migration in Europe and Finland: Between East and West

Olavi Koivukangas

Introduction

Between the end of the Napoleonic War and the 1960s about 70 million emigrants left Europe for destinations all over the world. Then Europe became a continent of immigration, both from internal and external sources. Europe is not an entity, but every country has a history of emigration and later immigration of its own. In France and Great Britain there are large and old ethnic minorities attracting newcomers. Portugal get people from its former colonies. Also the size of immigrant populations varies greatly between the countries. In 2005 37.4 percent of the population in Luxembourg were born abroad, in Germany 12.3 percent, in Finland 3 percent and in Poland only 1.8 per cent. The reasons for immigration have also been different; Germany, France, and Holland have often been targeted by family migration, while Southern Europe has mainly attracted individual labour migrants. The movement from East Europe to the West has also been mainly labour migration. Then there are the asylum seekers; in 2005 there were 250,000 applicants, mainly to France, Great Britain and Germany. The third group are illegal immigrants, estimated to be about half a million persons every year coming through the Mediterranean area, via Eastern borders and through airports.

This short review indicates, that as during the past, also in the future migration will be a permanent part of the development and history of Europe. Net immigration into Europe is increasing and having a big effect on population structure. Already about 14 million third-country nationals live in the EU, four percent of the population. The immigrants are not evenly distributed but are concentrated in certain areas and especially in the big cities. Nowadays

migrants come from all over the world and bring a great diversity of cultures and languages. Some European states, especially in Central and Eastern parts of the continent, have become countries of immigration only recently and have not expertise enough to tackle problems of immigration and the integration of new arrivals.

On November 9, 1989 the Berlin Wall was breached, the pressure to migrate being a major cause. Since the early 1990s the barriers between East and West, both in Europe and elsewhere, have come down and the pressure to move west has manifested itself. This is a big change from the cold war period when East did not want people to move West.

But now when people are allowed to go, is the West and Western Europe saying 'No' ?

Already in 1991 Lal Jayawardena, Director of WIDER Institute in Helsinki wrote: 'Europe should permit immigration of skilled workers on the same scale as the United States does. … this can do little if any harm to the existing western workers.' And he concludes that to deny all hope of exit is to deprive the East of a vital safety valve and its citizens of a basic human right (Figure 1).

The Enlargement of the EU
In 1995 Austria, Sweden and Finland joined the EU. The year 2004 witnessed the expansion of the EU by 10 new member states including the free movement of labour movement between the old and new EU countries. This eastward enlargement and earlier collapse of the Soviet Union and the removal of the

Fig.1. *Inflow of foreign nationals as a percentage of total population 2004. Selected OECD countries, harmonised data.*
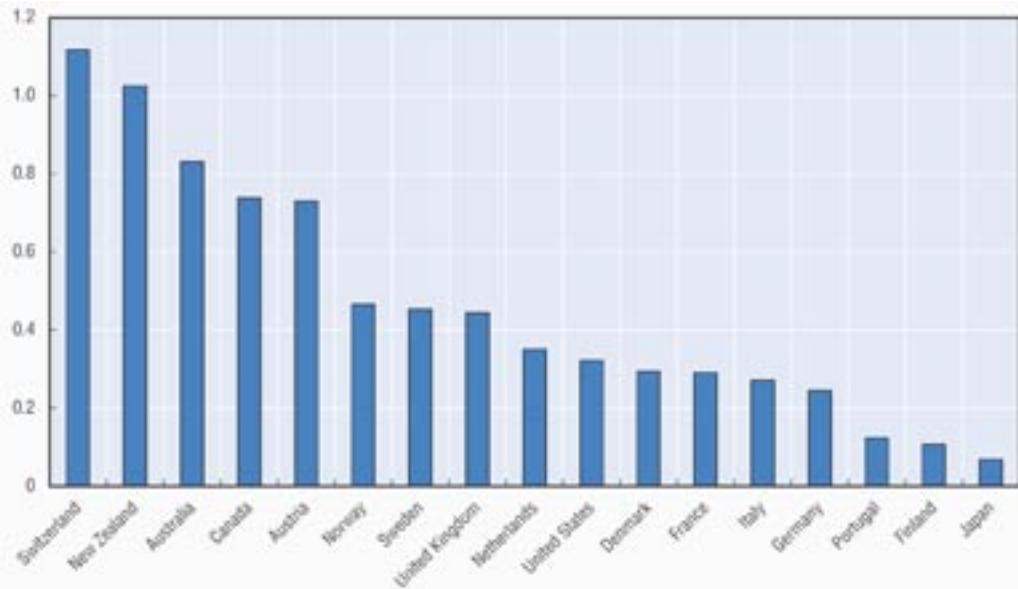
Source: International Migration Outlook. Annual Report 2006 Edition. page 32.

Iron Curtain created a completely 'new world' in Eastern Europe. This was followed by the orientation of the former socialist countries towards the market economy. The internal market of the EU is based on free mobility of labour. Consequently the old member states launched in 2004 transitional periods restricting free mobility. Especially trade unions felt the need for protection from foreign labour. After this period, however, no mass immigration happened when the obstacles were abolished in 2006. Mobility flows between the old EU and the new 10 member countries have been quite limited and do not affect much the EU labour market in general.[2]

Concerning the further expansion of the EU, it is interesting that Finland was the first EU country to approve the free movement of labour from Romania and Bulgaria, after these two countries joined the EU 1 January 2007. The accession means that EU now has 27 members and half a billion people, and stretches as far east as the Black Sea. These two countries need to take more dramatic steps than the EU entrants of the year 2004. Then come the new candidates, Turkey, Croatia, Albania etc. and when joined this will much change the whole concept of the EU. Not only Eastern Europe will change much but also Western Europe and the old EU countries. A good example is Ireland where immigrants from Eastern Europe, and especially from Poland, have been arriving in great numbers since 2004. Another example perhaps could be Austria.

The Challenges of Migration Movements and Policy

For Western European countries to be able to create sustainable economic growth, with ageing populations, there will be a growing demand for skilled workers in the future. Concerning migration pressure and potential migration flows there is need for understanding the socio-economic changes both in the 'old and new' Europe. The focus is on the cross-border mobility of human resources and integration. The border problems are essential to many Central and Eastern European countries, which suffer from transit migration due to inadequate border control. The EU has paid a special attention to this problem. It is also important to have a close co-operation with Russia in this field of development. But the fundamental challenge for Europe is its ability to create jobs to provide its citizens with employment and prosperity. The enlargement brings a growing heterogenity of the Union.[3]

But Europe is only one corner of the world, and consequently a global perspective is important. In the world there are 190 million immigrants; half of them women. Most of the immigrants are skilled workers who change the country mainly for the reason of employment. However many immigrants work for low pay and in occupations not favoured by members of the host society. It is not often remembered that in 2005 the immigrants sent 160 billion dollars to the countries of their origin. This is twice the amount of the international aid for the undeveloped countries.[4]

Migration issues were a high priority during the Chair of Finland in the EU in the second half of the year 2006. A major aim was to develop immigration policy based on the economic developments and needs but taking into consideration also the human rights of immigrants moving to new areas to work and live as equal as the citizens of the host society. This, that immigrants are first of all human beings and not only a abour force, is a great challenge to all partners involved.

Immigration is generally a positive phenomenon from the point of view of the individual and the country receiving a young and often well-educated labour force. But in the movement of people across borders there may be also many negative aspects. The country of emigration loses human resources also needed in their own area. Then there may be trafficking in people, prostitution and other more or less forced movement of people from undeveloped areas to the more developed countries with a higher standard of living. Also in the countries of immigration the new arrivals may experience xenophobia and even racism and similar attitudes making integration difficult and slow.

Migration flows of Europe are very complex, including also asylum seekers and displaced persons in addition to economic immigrants. There are also a large number of illegal immigrants in the EU and smuggling and trafficking has increased. Generally EU has tightened asylum and immigration policy. In this field international co-operation inside the EU as well as with the neighbouring countries is most important.

With the ageing populations of the old EU countries in the future there will be a growing competition for skilled workers, including foreign students.

In addition to the new arrivals it must be borne in mind also the millions of the post-war immigrants in the old EU countries. As stated earlier, some 14 million third-country nationals live in the EU. But only recently have European politicians and public opinion leaders started to talk about the need to focus on the integration of these immigrants and their children. As many experiences and studies indicate, the social integration of various ethnic groups is a very slow process. As most European countries have become countries of immigration they have to build policies to promote the integration of immigrants. In 1999 the European Council in Tampere Finland focused on co-operation in developing a comprehensive strategy of integration under the title "fair treatment of third-country nationals.[5]

Migration and population mobility are basic elements of the development of the 'new Europe'. Europe, and first of all the EU, needs an effective, cohesive migration management strategy to manage migration movements. A special emphasis should be on the strategies to smuggling and trafficking of human beings. This is of course also a global struggle with the United Nations and its special organisations in this field. After these European and international strategies come national migration policies of Poland, Finland etc., covering also the countries joining the EU in the future. But a new concept is that national migration policies and management

is not effective enough and for the big challenges only the establishment of a comprehensive and multilateral co-operation and an internationally harmonized migration regime for the whole continent is vital. International migration has risen to the top of the global policy agenda, not only in the EU but all over the world.[6]

The Tampere EU-meeting, September 2006
During September 21 - 22, 2006, the EU Ministers of the Interior met in Tampere, as an initiative of Finland concerning the control and solidarity in immigration issues. There were four major points as follows:

1. The expense of immigration, ie. reception, maintenance, administration and possible returning of immigrants to their areas of origin.
2. The registration of illegal immigrants.
3. The responsibility of the first EU country to take care of the immigrants.
4. To have common - and transparent- EU policies and rules for the border control authorities in various countries.

Another initiative in the Tampere meeting of September 2006 concerned the development of the common European asylum policy. Also emphasised was close co-operation with Russia with the EU border countries. There are already good results of this collaboration during the past 10 years.[7]

In short Finland is trying to encourage the EU towards a common migration policy, step by step. New

solutions are necessary, when neither British multi-culturalism nor French assimilation seems to work any longer.

It is estimated that every year about a half a million illegal immigrants enter EU countries. A recent feature is the boat people from South Africa to the Canary Islands of Spain. Over 20,000 persons reached land on the Canary Islands while an estimated 800 to 3,000 persons were lost at sea (Amnesty International). Also other former emigration countries of Southern Europe have increasingly become targets for immigration flows, which has radically changed their role in migration dynamics. Finland, having the Chair of the EU in the second half of the year 2006, encouraged discussion to promote a wider solidarity in immigration, border control and asylum policies in the EU, as well as to combine in harmony immigration movements and human rights.[8]

The proposal of Finland that the EU countries should share the expenses of illegal immigration more evenly, and also to be paid more by the EU, received both support and dubious comments. This Tampere meeting was more or less unofficial, and most likely the progress in this area will be slow in the EU.

In the Tampere meeting there was also some critics by Daniel Cohn-Benditin, 'Red Danny' of the year 1968 in Paris, saying that The EU is in great need of a common immigration policy, and he continued:

'We are building a European house without any doors. And when people are coming inside through windows, even those are closed. This is the way how Europe is isolating itself from the world.'[9]

Finland between East and West

Finland has traditionally been a country of emigration. Since the 1860s 1.3 million Finns emigrated all over the world, but mainly to North America and Sweden. Since the 1960s Finns started to settle in Central and Western Europe, and the newest emigration has been directed mainly to the 'old' EU countries (Figure 2).

Although Finland has old ethnic minorities, the Swedes, Sami, Romani etc., Finland was quite a homogeneous society up to the 1990s. The situation was very much similar to that of Sweden a few decades earlier, as Harald Rundblom pointed out: 'The language and culture in Sweden had become extremely homogeneous when immigrants arrived in large shares. Hence Sweden lacked both the practical experience and legal traditions how to treat mino-

rities.'[10]

In 1994 the unemployment rate in Finland was as high as 16.6 per cent. In spite of high unemployment there were no major migration flow to the EU countries after Finland joined the Union in 1995. It is worth noting that in the old 15 EU countries only two per cent of population lives in another EU country. This indicates that also after the expansion of the EU in 2004 the migration flow between 25 countries will remain on a relative low level. Concerning immigration to Finland, the changes and developments in Russia and Estonia are most important.

Since the early 1990s Finland has transformed its depressed economy into a knowledge-intensive winner and a world-class competitive economy. A spearhead was NOKIA and especially its mobile-phones. This example could

Fig. 2. *Emigration from and immigration to Finland 1945 - 2006*
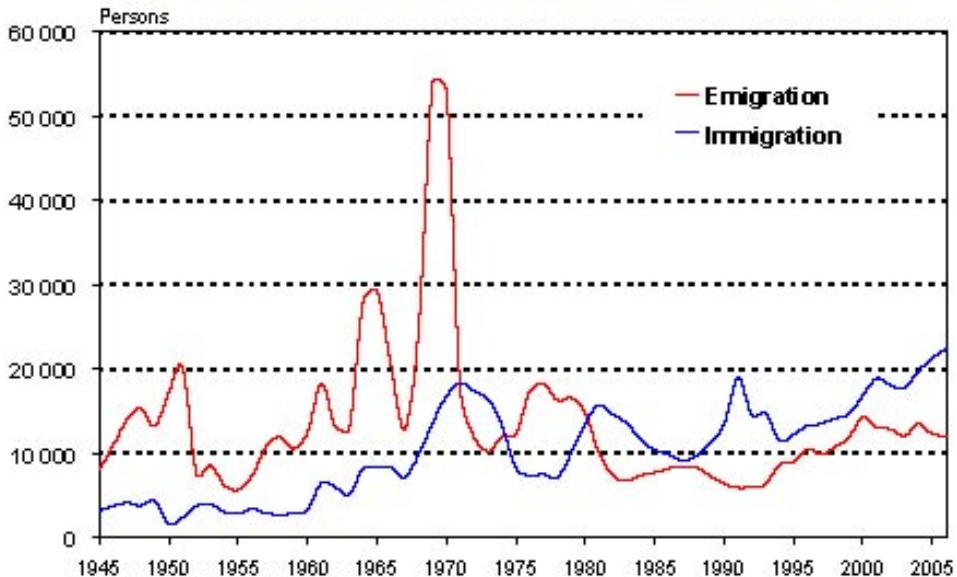
Source. Statistics Finland, Figure. Jouni Korvasaari, Institute of Migration 2005

well shape the entire EU objectives and policies.[11]

During the past few years immigration and integration matters in Finland have been undergoing a major transition. EU membership and recovery from the depression of the early 1990s has made Finland an attractive destination for immigrants. However, the number of immigrants to Finland has remained relatively small. Consequently there are no immigrant 'ghettos' nor pronounced ethnic conflicts. The goal of Finland´s integration policy has been to treat immigrants as an active individual party, better matching language training, and to get proper work for newcomers.[12] But there is still much work to be done, especially in dealing with the negative attitudes of public opinion.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude by a quotation from my old friend Tara Mukherjee, Chairman of the European Multicultural Foundation, London, when he stated that immigrants are here to work, not to scrounge and continued:

'Immigrants are not a problem but an opportunity. They are not a liability but an asset.'[13] This is very true especially in Europe with rapidly ageing populations.

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Transnational Identities and Cultural Links: The Challenge of Building 'Transnational Art Worlds'

Kristina Toplak

This article is based on a paper presented at the annual AEMI Conference in Trogir in 2006, entitled Cultural and Economic Links in Diaspora – Comparative Studies (panel Transnational Identities: Cultural Links in Comparative Perspectives).

I focused my research on Slovene immigrants in Greater Buenos Aires and their cultural production, fine arts in particular. The article therefore connects two complex concepts, migration and art worlds as it addresses the individual's notion of transnational identities in connection with art. The Slovene community in Buenos Aires has created a ghetto that congregated around political and religious leaders who emphasized Slovene national identity. Subsequently, a limited, ethnically identified art world in multicultural Argentinean society emerged. However, individual Slovene artists have also taken part in transnational art worlds, where cultural and economic ties intensified following the independence of Slovenia. At this micro level, the articulation of transnational identities helped constructing new, although informal art groups.

How people experienced migration in the past and what meant to be a migrant in a new, different social and cultural environment has been explained in detail in abundant sources, including diaries, newspaper articles, short stories and novels. But, when we look closely at the work of renowned artists or creative amateurs that migrated in the course of lifetime we also come upon *visualisation* of migratory experience.[1] Mobility in the contemporary world is increasingly captured in various expressive art forms and helps us understand human dimensions in particular of migration and displacement. Artists create works which represent important documents on the migration process and the artists' new environments as well as reveal individual's intimate perception of the migration experience, estrangement, displacement, exile, and reaction to a new life in a (most often) multicultural environment. At the same time migrants establish connections and construct networks within the immigrant community, between themselves and the new society and even between the

country of emigration and the receiving country.[2]

In my research I have dealt with Slovene immigrants in Greater Buenos Aires, and their cultural production, fine arts in particular.[3] Artistic creativity is founded in an ideological framework of production and reception of created works or in an art world as defined by Howard Becker (1982). I have therefore focused on symbolic interactions (see Erving Goffman 1959) that take place between fine-art producers, distributors, and the public in concrete migration contexts. An important role is played in this context by individual's motives for migration, the migration policy of the receiving country, the intercultural contacts that immigrants are exposed to, the relations between individuals and an organised ethnic community, and social networks, especially transnational networks.

By considering two painters, sisters Andrea and Marjeta Dolinar, I propose to address the role of individuals in the construction of cultural ties and the construction of 'transnational art worlds'. The Dolinar sisters, especially after 1990, have been actively involved in the construction of cultural ties between Slovenia and Argentina. As a result, transnational connections or better, a whole transnational network has been created by these two sisters, one living in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the other in Ljubljana, Slovenia.

Transnational identity, transnational connections and transnational social activities (activities in an art world, for example), refer to the multiple ties and interactions that link people and communities across borders. Transnationalism is a social process whereby migrants operate in social fields that transgress political, geographic and cultural borders. (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton Blanc 1992) If I paraphrase Caroline Brettell's words "immigrants in the transnational and global world are involved in the nation-building of more than one state" (Brettell 2002), immigrants in the transnational world are involved in social and cultural processes of more than one society. This is possible owing to a strong collective memory of the "old country" and also because the immigrants consider themselves as members of more than one national (ethnic) community.

Transnational identifications emerge when ideational connectedness has turned into actual, i.e. physical connectedness as a consequence of technological progress in telecommunications and transport while in the case of the Slovenes in Argentina, the additional reason has been the political transformation of Slovenia. Post-second World War Slovene immigrants in Buenos Aires were political refugees fleeing Communism and had almost no contact with their homeland and as little as possible with the Argentinean society. They created a hermetically sealed community, almost an ethnic ghetto, relying heavily on political and religious leaders that emphasized Slovene national identity and the conservation of Slovene cultural heritage. This development has had an implicit impact on the creation of relatively closed, local, ethnic art worlds in multicultural Argentinean society. In Becker's conceptualisation, an art

world is a network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that the art world is noted for. (Becker 1982) These include a set of persons including artists, producers, people from institutions like museums and galleries, critics, philosophers of art, and audiences. Art worlds differ in how they are organized, what form of art they engage in (music, film, paintings, literature, etc.), and who takes part in them.

Art worlds may also be limited to different time periods and are dynamic, intertwined constructions. Art worlds expand and differ also with regard to space and size – we are ware of local, national, international, and global art worlds. According to Becker a local art world is defined by the circle of participants that cannot exceed a local community based on personal contacts (1982: 314). A local art world has its own network of actors, distributors and groups that deal with issues of aesthetics, standards and evaluation of art works. Artists in local art worlds are informally supported by local audiences. In this manner, the Argentinean Slovenes developed local art worlds right after they settled down in Argentina, in the late forties and early fifties of the last century. However, these were not only local art worlds geographically, but even more so from the ethnic viewpoint. Artists, the distribution of art works within institutions (societies, ethnic organisations) or auto-distribution, critics, audience and even conventions (as part of the cultural capital and

habitus) were ethnically founded. Slovenes in Argentina created a local (ethnic) art world of literature and an art world of theatre, which were based on ethnic language (Slovene) and they also created a local art world of music and an art world of fine arts.

However, an art world can expand beyond the local level. If participants in an art world live in different states and they cooperate in creating or distributing art objects across borders, they construct transnationally based art worlds. Similar to other art worlds, the Slovene Argentinean art world of fine arts, which is here in focus, has been subject to change with time. Major changes occurred specially after Slovenes in Argentina started forming more intensive transnational connections. However, the conception of an art world's basic structure has been inherited by younger generations and an exclusively Slovene art sub-world therefore still exists today within the Argentinean art world while individual Slovene second- and third-generation artists connect and engage in other art worlds as well.

What is the role of an individual in this dynamic process of art world change? This is illustrated by the case of the Dolinar sisters. Andrea and Marjeta Dolinar were born in the nineteen fifties in Argentina to post-Second World War Slovene immigrants. Both are professional painters. Andrea was educated at *Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes Manuel Belgrano* (National School of Fine Arts Manuel Belgrano) and worked many years as a fine-arts teacher. Marjeta graduated from CONSUDEC *Consejo Superior de Ensenanza Catolica*

mujer, arte para todos

Six members of the art group *Ocho mujeres en obra*. Andrea Dolinar is to the right. Source: Argentinean newspaper *Clarin*, 31. 8. 2005.

(Institute of Catholic Education) and was also a teacher before she moved to Europe. Both sisters have been very active within the Slovene community from their childhood on and also attended the Slovene Ethnic School in Buenos Aires. They were part of a wider (Argentinean) society at the same time and later they took active part in Argentinean cultural and art circles. Together they started exhibiting in 1986 and have had more than ten exhibitions all over Argentina. Older sister, Andrea, is still very active within the Slovene ethnic community, politically and culturally. She coordinates the fine arts section of the Slovene Cultural Society and is leader of the Argentinean faction of one of the Slovene political parties. She speaks Slovene fluently and has achieved a notable position as a painter and cultural worker in the Slovene ethnic community, not only in Buenos Aires, but also in other parts of Argentina. She is also member of the art group *Ocho mujeres en obra* (Eight Women at Work) that unites eight Argentinean artists, as well as of several important art societies in Argentina.

Following the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the younger sister Marjeta moved to Ljubljana or 'back home' as she put it, emphasizing the Slovene identity of the family. Nevertheless, the connection between both sisters has remained very strong. The Slovene sister, if I may call her that, reconnected with relatives and friends of her parents, and again constructed a strong social network. She has become involved in local political and cultural organizations and pursued her artistic production. She frequently travels back to Argentina and lives there for several months at the time. Thus, she keeps ties with acquaintances in Argentina as well and interacts in art circles in both societies.

The Dolinar sisters used Slovene and Argentinean cultural fields in order to penetrate the transnational fine arts world. From Slovenia they have also accessed certain cultural circles in Europe that would have been less accessible, if they remained limited to South America. They exhibited in France, Bel-

gium, and Germany (with the assistance of Slovene emigrant organizations and societies), and also in Japan. However, the "Slovene sister" has always kept in touch with her South American environment. Two artists could also take advantage of family relations in other countries, including the USA.
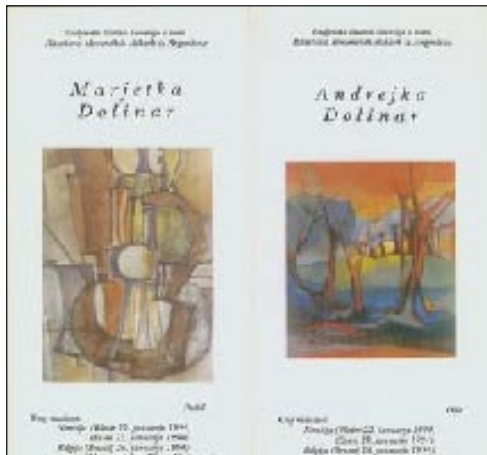
Picture 2: Leaflet on Dolinars' exhibitions in Germany and Belgium that were organized by the emigrant association *Slovenija v svetu* ('Slovenia in the World').

The Dolinar sisters also included other artists in this transnational network: some Argentinean contemporary artists that exhibited in Ljubljana with them or whose exhibits were organized by them. Young artists from the Slovene-Argentinean community in Argentina have used their transnational network to organize exhibitions in Europe, in particular in Slovenia. The Dolinar sisters have also acted as mediators for Slovene artists that looked to exhibit in Argentina.

Transnational connections of this kind have had an impact on the Slovene community in Argentina as other members of the Slovene Community have also been drawn to join in transnational art worlds, some quite independently of the Dolinar sisters' network. Transnational identifications are obviously being stimulated that way and furthermore, new although informal art groups are being created as a result. Fine arts have a universal meaning, unlike literature and theatre, whose consumption and interpretation depend on one's access to a particular language. Thus, immigrant painters and sculptors easily engage in the Argentinean art scene, exhibit and sell their works. Under the leadership of Andrea Dolinar the Fine Art Section of the Slovene Cultural Society and some Slovene clubs in Argentina are slowly changing their rigid cultural policy, and are attracting young artists of Slovene descent and also members of other ethnic groups in Argentina, as well as artists from Slovenia. Their exhibits have become important events that connected people in a simple and dynamic manner. The local, ethnic art world has liberated itself of the narrow ethnic dimension and has expanded.

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Notes

[1] An excellent example of visual documentary material on migration and migrants in comparative perspective is presented by the interactive, virtual art gallery *The Art of Migration*, designed and created by the Centre for Migration Studies at the Ulster-American Folk Park, Omagh in cooperation with the Association of European Migration Institutions in the year 2000. (http://aem.qub.ac.uk/index2.html#).

[2] In the past, artists have been frequent travellers and as such generated cultural ties.

[3] The topic of this article is part of a larger research done for the purpose of my postgraduate study at the University of Ljubljana.

Cultural Issues in Portuguese Migrations: Tokens of Identity

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade

Identity Issues

The concept of social (or cultural) identity, in sociological or anthropological research, has received renewed interest and attention lately, as a result of the increase in interactions within political associations between countries (whether the EU, MERCOSUL or ASEAN, among various others) in which the question of cultural differences (or coincidences), sooner or later, arises. On the other hand, the increase in international human mobility, whether via tourism, business travel or economics-based emigration, likewise conveys consequences of a cultural nature on which social scientists have increasingly dedicated their time and attention.

On the other hand, recent decades have witnessed a decrease in the relevancy and frequency of use of the concept of national identity, given that merely descriptive approaches towards contemporary societies in sociology and anthropology have given way to more integrated, more interpretive and, above all, more flexible research frameworks that avoid the temporal permanence of observed characteristics.

It is in this way that works intending to establish the defining features or traits of the then-called 'national character' or 'base-personality' of a given people or culture, as being applicable to the entire population as well as permanent and immutable, clearly fell out of fashion to the point of becoming nearly obsolete. On this subject refer, for example, to the reference works of Portuguese anthropologist Jorge Dias in *Ensaios Etnológicos* (Essays on Ethnology) which contains two of his works presented at the First and Second International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies (Washington, 1950; São Paulo, 1954) as well as a work by the well-known historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho (Lisbon, 1982), which takes a different-line on the same subject, separated in time by three decades.

Today, authors more frequently emphasize that social identity is in a permanent state of evolution with respect to the flow of time, whether because the age of each group of individuals increases, from youths to adults, from adults to middle aged and from these to senior citizens; or because the society

that integrates these individuals, and the diverse political contexts in which they exist, also evolve, together, as a result of the technological, economic and social changes that occur over time. From this particular perspective, it is worth citing the works of philosophers Eduardo Lourenço (1978; 2001) and José Gil (2004), both of whom reflected and wrote upon this particular subject. In the modern sense, identity is essentially a dynamic concept, which is in constant evolution as a result of the continuous change in context.

This issue is raised in the generic framework of human mobility, in which it is wellknown that a change in region or country or residence carries with it, albeit only in the medium or long run, changes in the identity profile of those involved. In the reference framework of internal migrations within a particular country, there are few, if any, environmental changes of a radical nature, given that, in this situation, the transition between a previous residence and that of a new region of settlement does not imply a change in language and the vast majority of cultural traits of the receiving society are the same as those of the region of origin. However, it is worth remembering that such a migratory trajectory is frequently related to a rural exodus, which implies a transition from a rural location of small size to an urban agglomeration of larger dimensions and metropolitan character, a fact that clearly influences, at least to some degree, the references, habits and rules of sociability previously experienced by the individuals involved.

Likewise with respect to professional activity, the individuals involved must often undergo a radical re-conversion from their original professions in the primary sector to the industrial or service sectors in their new environment. A significant part of family relations and neighborhood friendships, as well as some of the benefits of the spirit of solidarity that generally exists within smaller communities are lost whenever individuals abandon small-sized communities in order to live in the big cities.

In the context of international migrations, the pace of change that accompanies the transition from country of origin to destination country is much greater: the scenery is radically different, as is the climate, the habits, the professions, the daily life, the surrounding society, the laws and norms, the language used to communicate and, very likely, the mother tongue and language their children learn in school. Under these circumstances, the group's original identity is significantly influenced. These changes are usually both desired and accepted, or even unconsciously absorbed by individuals, and the resultant changes are very notable. As the duration of stay in the foreign country increases, the individuals and the immigrant groups may attempt to carry out some form of return to their cultural pasts: rekindling ties with family members, friends or fellow-countrymen from the land of origin; celebrating festivals and events that, in reality, only bear any sort of true significance many kilometers away, in the country of origin; and as for the generations already born and raised in the foreign country, these individuals

search for their roots in the country of origin of their parents or grandparents.

Each of these actions or compulsions perpetuates a diffuse sense of affective belonging to the country of origin, a sentiment that has been traditionally referred to as *longing*.[1] In this sense, a part of the immigrant's identity is the result of a conscious effort to dwell upon personal memories or memories passed on to them by their ancestors or the older generations of the group, in a search for elements that contribute to the re-creation of their identities (Rocha-Trindade, 2007). Obviously, this process and the results thereby obtained vary according to the destination country of the individual in question: Canada, the United States, Venezuela or France; likewise, this process differs according the place

House of Portuguese emigrant to Venezuela, built in the district of Aveiro (northern Portugal) depicting an allegory to Simon Bolivar

of origin of the immigrant: the Portuguese Atlantic Archipelagoes, Minho, Beiras or the Algarve.

Migrant Associativism
The battle against the migrant solitude in a strange land or a foreign country, the need for mutual support and the desire to conserve the identifying features of its origin give rise, almost naturally, to the development of aggregation mechanisms amongst those who are from the same country or region of origin, generally resulting in the foundation of immigrant associations. This type of social relationship is quite familiar among groups of individuals who have been uprooted from their place of origin and provides a means of social intercourse as well as the reconstitution of groups and communities, which progressively facilitates the process of insertion within the receiving societies.[2] Depending upon the size of the group in question, migrant associativism may give rise to different levels of formalization and institutionalization, ranging from simple sporadic meetings and informal get-togethers to the development of powerful, highly structured associations with their own

House of Portuguese emigrant to the United States, built in the district of Setubal (south of Lisbon)

hierarch and endowed with polyvalent social and cultural roles or functions.

In countries with a strong tradition of physical and social mobility, such as Portugal (both within its borders and abroad, and directed towards various destinations), there is a tendency to create, increase and diversify a structured association network. The intensification of regular social intercourse stimulates broader knowledge, the diffusion and appropriation of symbolic objects and labels which members of the group resort to in their search for their own unique identity that, not unusually, bears a specific and utilitarian function throughout the process of insertion in the new place of residence.[3] From 'organized' to 'instituted', the convergence of wills that underlies the constitution of such organizations has remained intact, although it expresses itself in successively adjusted ways to meet social and cultural needs of its members and the situation of the group, overcoming difficulties and dissension, and impacting upon the lives of each of its members.

Internal Migrations and Regional Associativism

While an important and continuous associative movement, bringing together Portuguese immigrants living abroad, has developed, assuming various forms and developing distinct objectives (recall, for example, that the traditions of the Portuguese Associations in Brazil, in existence for over a century, is distinctly different from those that emerged from the 1960s onwards, when the presence of Portuguese immigrants in Europe intensified), there likewise emerged, in Lisbon, thanks to the initiative of internal immigrants who moved to that city, a significant associative movement that gave rise to the Casas Regionais (Regional Houses).[4]

From an initial confluence of wills that motivated the founders of the mother-houses', initially bringing together individuals from the various Portuguese regions in the same physical space, there emerged, from a single branch, a series of individualized ramifications from which sprung a variety of Unions, Societies, Commissions and local Improvement Leagues. These organizational structures assume particular importance among those internal migrants from the counties of Góis, Arganil, Tábua and Pampilhosa da Serra, all of which are situated in a mountainous region belonging to the district of Coimbra, referred to as Zona do Pinhal.[5]

Members of these associative organizations include fellow country-men, neighbors, and relatives who ideally fight for the introduction of improvements in the places where they were born and raised and who, in this manner, attempt to build, within the urban environment of the country's capital, a network of social relationships that encompasses the greatest number of people possible from the same region of origin. Through social intercourse based on rules that are familiar to all those involved, it is generally known which behaviors are valued and praised and likewise those that are criticized and deserving of reprimand.

Within these contexts there emerges a natural competition and the hierarchy of prestige that is drawn by placing each piece of this 'social puzzle' in the

place that the 'judges' deem fit, using an evaluation grid-sheet that allows each member of the group to ascend or descend on the social esteem scale.

The ideology that motivates these men, and women and that moves the chess pieces of associativism, is currently referred to as *Regionalism.*

Regionalism is therefore a rule of life that is unequivocally honored and that, in principle, confers all the qualities of a 'person of good upbringing and worth' upon those who identify with it. By definition, those who love their hometown, their family and who are competent professionals do not cave in to personal egotism but rather chooses to serve the common good.

Among the constellation of distinguished Regionalists one can find many names from a wide variety of professional backgrounds, all of which are a part of the history of Regionalism that bears, at its core, the towns and the villages that lend their names to each of the Associations, Commissions or Leagues that exist (Nunes Barata, 1974; Lopes Machado, 1994; 1998; 2004; Nogueira Ramos, 2004).

The counties of Arganil, Góis, Pampilhosa da Serra and Tábua have an extensive list of such institutions. Each of these has an activities program with a calendar of initiatives, including meetings and social events, distributed throughout the year and that favors the maintenance of social relationships between fellow countrymen. News from each institution circulates both within and among the different institutions: mention is made of the past, of both the older and the younger members of

the group, of those who have passed away, and plans are made for the future, at both the short and medium-term levels. The season of the year determines where the meetings are held: indoors in the winter and outdoors in the summer. Types of meetings include lunches, Autumn Feasts [6] , picnics[7] and religious celebrations. At each event, the association's banner, as well as the national flag, is always present.The former evokes a sentiment that is considered not only very important to the community but it also 'individualizes' each hometown that it represents: the name, the descriptive image or the stylized symbol of the object, activity or landscape of that community

The ties that these associations have established, between the rural and the urban environment, in a well defined and initially spaced-out manner, have come to be used on a regular basis, in both directions, and with increasing frequency. In this sense, these associations have brought together the countryside and the city. It is obvious that these internal migrations, in conjunction with the process of adaptation undergone by the rural migrants in and around the country's capital, where the majority of these individuals have settled, and the positive effects of regional associativism have induced significant cultural change. One of these changes can be defined as the assumption of a double, affective sense of belonging to both the hometown and the migratory destination, in which the former is always remembered with a sense of longing. An objective indicator of this dual attachment is the use of exterior signs of

Religious banner at Dornelas do Zêzere (county of Pampilhosa da Serra, district of Coimbra), gift of a Portuguese emigrant to France

this belonging, including the naming of shops in Lisbon after their hometown or region of origin and displaying photographs of these same places very visibly on the walls of their establishments. These signs become even more explicit within the confines of the association, and are used as a form of decoration in banquet halls, meeting rooms, offices and hallways, thereby leaving no doubt as to the identity, both geographic and affective, of the group's members.

Countrymanship and Professional Specialties

One of the steps of professional re-conversion that the internal immigrants from the *Zona do Pinhal* in Portugal had to undergo during their process of insertion in Lisbon was, naturally, undertaking and accepting some of the more menial, physically strenuous and low-wage jobs available on that city's job market. Undertaker, water carrier and door-to-door salesman were but some of the jobs that these individuals performed.[8] However, over time, these individuals rose progressively on the social scale as their jobs improved as did their wages, thanks to the hard work and dedication of the first waves of internal immigrants. There was a general tendency, among these rural people, based on a sense of solidarity, to call upon more of their fellow countrymen and family members to join them in Lisbon, introducing them to the professions in which they themselves and their ancestors had achieved visible success. This tendency survives to this day and, in fact, there are certain professions in Lisbon that concentrate a large number

of people from a particular town or village: the pastry-cooks from Sorgaçosa, the knife-grinders from Parrozelos, the junk-dealers from Pessegueiro, the undertakers from Trinhão, the shoeshiners from Góis, the taxi drivers from Cortes de Alvares and the bakers from Tábua are but some examples of this tendency. To further illustrate this point, we shall describe a real case in one of these professions.

In 1920, 30 year old Mario Domingos, originally from Sorgaçosa (a small village in Pomares, in the county of Arganil) left his mountainous and inhospitable hometown in search of a distant El Dorado – Lisbon. From this tiny and isolated village in the middle of the Beira Mountains located in the Portuguese interior, with roads to other settlements that could only be covered on foot, this man made his way to an urban setting. He started off working the land on a farm south of the Tagus River; later a new opportunity arose in the form of seasonal work during the summer on the Estoril Coast. It was there that Mario established his first contact with the 'world of bakery' and peddling, and soon thereafter he began producing his own goods, thus taking the first steps in a profession that would be shared by many men from the same village. One could say that his success motivated many others to leave their hometown, and follow in his footsteps, to Lisbon, where many took up the same profession. Three of Mario's children joined their father and took up the bakery profession and all three, in turn, bought their own confectioner's shop, then another, and another... In

the 1960s the three Domingos brothers were living very comfortably indeed. Each of them married a young lady from their hometown. Filomena, the sister who stayed behind in the village, married the owner of the local market (and the couple continues to live there and still run their own business). A third generation of this family was born and attended school in Lisbon. To them, Sorgaçosa remains an affective reference, a place to spend their holidays, a place to go for pleasure and find endogamous marriage opportunities between those who continue to live there and those who visit regularly from the city.

In this way, family ties are sown and strengthened and the pastry-cook profession is maintained. Given time and the changes in physical and social mobility, what will the future hold for these individuals originally from Sorgaçosa? At present, the situation is sufficiently clear: although few internal migrants who left the Mountains to live in Lisbon ever returned to their hometown to live on a permanent basis (with the exception of those who retired, or who suffered health or family problems), these individuals continue to divide their loyalties and their affections between these two poles in their life histories. Despite obvious differences in context, the same is likewise true of international migrations. The following example, presented as a paradigm of intra-European migrations, aims to illustrate this very point.

Queiriga, the 'French Village'[10]
The national census of 1960 and, subsequently, that of 1970, registered numbers that clearly illustrated the social reality that was to be known as regional depopulation, with large numbers of people searching for better living conditions abroad In the ambit of Portuguese emigration to Europe, namely to France, where the largest number of Portuguese emigrants headed during that decade, the village of Queiriga constituted a paradigmatic case. In 1960, this small village in the Beira Alta region was made up of a total of 1621 inhabitants, with this number dropping to 759 in a short 10 years. Of the 814 male residents, only 339 stayed behind; and of the 807 female residents, a mere 420 remained. This means that in only 10 years a total of 862 residents left Queiriga. Half of the inhabitants had taken their leave. It was thus necessary for the remaining inhabitants to reorganize their day-to-day habits, to distribute tasks that needed to be carried out, to encourage a sense of solidarity between the remaining inhabitants and to establish a means of contact with those who had moved to France.

Transnational interactivity was ensured by messages that arrived and those that were sent via intermediates who were 'making their way to France' or those who were 'returning to Queiriga'. Telephone calls were first placed at the public kiosk in the local market and, as time progressed, within each person's home. The bus, although not public, had all the advantages of that which is private, personalized and trustworthy. One individual from Queiriga, who had lived in France, transported people to and from that country throughout the year, including children and youths

during the summer holidays, and even dogs. Occasionally, this shuttle bus even brought local 'celebrities' such as the chairman of the parish council and the parish-priest to France and, in counterpart, it also brought French employers and friends who accepted invitations from these eleven-month expatriates, who were looking to recover in one short month all the strength they needed to return to their work for another year. The village was renewed and the traditional construction was offset by the architecture in granite covering new homes painted in lively colors and bearing slanted roofs, a style that clearly indicated success. The panorama changed radically, with new constructions dominating the scenery and relegating virtually all the old architecture to housing livestock, storage space or attachments to the main houses. In the newer houses, the inhabitants adopted the architectural habits imported from abroad: a living-room with a fireplace, a dining room and bathroom, central heating, verandas, gardens and a garage. During the month of August the cars, in permanent circulation on the main road (the lifeline of this village), revealed the 'location' (*département*) where their respective owners lived, via their license plates. Thanks to these license plates it was possible to know whether the respective car owners lived in the 'Altos' region (region of Orsay – Limours) or in the 'Baixos' region (the region of Pau) of France; a third pole was later established close to the Swiss border, in Annecy, thus breaking with the traditional routes marked by the Queiriguese, who first emigrated to France following the First

World War, and which were once again adopted in the 1960s.

In the village, innovation could be felt at all levels: cafés and esplanades, retail stores, even a night club sprung up; different habits and customs were introduced, marriages were held between locals and 'people from the outside' and holidays split between Queiriga, the homeland of the partner and the beach. The Algarve became a part of Portuguese geography that gladly welcomed the newer generation's projects. A part of the annual holidays was spent in the village, participating in religious and secular festivities, taking advantage of the opportunity to celebrate weddings and baptisms, and providing a chance for those who were visiting to socialize with those who had never left the village.

However, at a certain point this land of emigration started to receive many individuals who were returning perma-

Transnationality: Queiriga, in central Portugal, and the main destinations of its emigrants in France: Orsay/ Limours, Pau and Annecy

nently; it continues to receive those who go there to spend their short holidays as well as members of the older generations who continue to work the land and maintain their small businesses. These have largely given way to younger generations, many of whom have university degrees, who take on positions of responsibility; in the hierarchy of local administration, managing small and medium sized businesses; occupying jobs that require technical specialty in the fields of engineering and management; accepting teaching positions at all levels of education.

Many of those who passed away in France maintain, nonetheless, a presence in Queiriga, through funerary inscriptions that adorn their respective graves, that make reference to names and places where they once lived. Queiriga changed; it is still changing, and will continue to do so in the future. Despite the depopulation to which it was subject, this small village did not die socially, materially or emotionally. But the Portuguese from Queiriga are also proud to be French and the reciprocity of sentiment between those who live in either country is an immutable constant.

Tokens of Identity

While the younger generations tend in general to dilute, as much as possible, all external indicators of their regional or national heritage, seeking a personal appearance inspired by global paradigms seen on television, the other media and the global marketplace, the older people act differently. In particular, whenever a context of migration exists, either from a region to another within the national borders or as international emigration, there is a rather frequent trend of affirmation of both identities involved in the process, the original one and that one acquired at a later time. Showing mixed preferences in styles and uses, adopting tastes typical of one or the other context or combining the corresponding features in syncretised shape are rather usual attitudes found in groups or communities of migrants. One most visible token of that is the display of banners or flags evoking a specially cherished regional or national appurtenance; showing two such symbols entwined is a clear affirmation of shared love and identity.

Presentation Issues

The sort of subject that is developed in this text cannot be properly expressed unless one resorts to using a very long (and possible tiresome) collection of textual descriptions. Even this would fail to transmit the essence of this subject matter effectively without resorting to some form of complementary iconic illustration. In this sense, the present work, in its original oral format, was conceived to be accompanied by a substantial collection of digitalized photographs that aimed to illustrate the various sub-themes deemed relevant to the subject at hand. That which is referred elsewhere as the 'mediatization of the scientific discourse'[11] has proven to be an indispensable methodological tool that is crucial if this sort of work is to meet a minimum level of effectiveness.

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Notes

[1] In Portuguese language, *saudade*.

[2] The associative phenomenon among migrants, both internal and international, has caught the attention of a large number of both national and foreign social researchers. For the Portuguese case refer, for example, to: Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, 1986 (internal migrations) and 1995, pp. 178-189 (international migrations). Jocelyn George, 1986, has studied a homologous situation concerning internal migration in France.

[3] This role is frequently carried out by organizations of a more complex nature, such as regional federations of immigrant associations, newspapers, radios and television programs belonging to the immigrant communities. On the other hand, there is a transverse communication between all of these structures, which is facilitated by both modern technology (such as e-mail and Web sites) and the diffusion that the Portuguese media, with an international voice, are able to give to the news, concourses and reports that emanate from the Portuguese Communities living abroad. To illustrate this point, it is worth consulting the electronic address portugalclub@cardigos.com.br, given the variety of information that it provides on a daily basis on a plethora of subjects, from widely different sources.

[4] For more information of the foundation of the large Regional Houses, please refer to: Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, 1994.

[5] This region was the object of a very detailed study concerning statistical, administrative and demographic aspects, as well as the organization of the territory, by Alberto Borges Pinto (1982), then Director of the Technical Support Office (Gabinete de Apoio Técnico or GAT) of Arganil, a county belonging to the Coimbra Regional Coordination Commission .

[6] They are called *Magustos,* aimed at celebrating St. Martin's Day (11th November).

[7] The outdoor activities, each with an annual periodicity, are divided between the villages of origin and the area in and around the capital city, generally the Monsanto Park. All of these activities are widely publicized in the local newspapers, on posters and in commercials; at the event site the organizers ensure the proper guidance of the participants using marks on the ground that lead to the event itself. The name of the locality is thus repeatedly shown to all passers-by (Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, 1993).

[8] The same phenomenon has been observed in internal migrations in other countries. For a look at a French example refer to Girard, (1979), who described a series of professions, no longer in existence, adopted by the so-called «*métiers de rue»,* such as coal-merchants and taverners, taken up especially by migrants from Auvergne who, to this day, continue to bear the stigma of these professions, in Paris. Auvergne, much like the Portuguese *Zona do Pinhal* is situated in an economically unfavorable, mountainous region of the Portuguese hinterland.

[9] A similar situation has been described by Raison-Jourde, 1980, from a French perspective.

[10] The author of this text has, since the late 1960s, carried out a continuous study of this village, which has allowed her to follow its evolution over time. For further information refer to: Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade: Immigrés Portugais, 1973; Sobrevivência e Progresso de uma Aldeia Despovoada, 1973; Queiriga Revisitada, 1984; À Presença dos Ausentes, 1989.

[11] Maria Beatriz Rocha Trindade (1988).

The Art of European Migration Virtual Archive: Comparing 'Rituals' of Departure

Brian Lambkin

The Art of European Migration Virtual Archive is a database of images (paintings, drawings, photographs) that illustrate the European experience of migration (http://aem.qub.ac.uk/index2.html). It is concerned not only with the 'art' of migration in the sense of pictures of people moving from one place to live in another but also in the sense of the 'skill' of migrating successfully. The scale of European migration of course is huge. Between 1500 and 1800 between two and three million Europeans emigrated to the New World. Then between 1800 and 1960 at least 61 million Europeans participated in intercontinental migration. North America remained the main recipient of these migrants: 41 million (70 percent) went to the United States and Canada. The others went to South America (12 percent), to South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand (9 percent), and to the Asian part of Russia (9 percent). During the period 1945 to 1960, the total number of European emigrants came to about seven million, while the number of non-European migrants amounted to less than half of that

(Emmer and Mörner 1992:3-4). Not so huge is the number of images that have survived representing the experiences of these individuals. The virtual archive archive provides a means for collecting the corpus of surviving images and presenting them is a way that stimulates and supports comparative study. To what extent can we speak of 'European Migration'? Was it an experience common to all ethnic or national groups? Did different groups experience migration in distinctive ways? Through comparative study we can move towards a better understanding of what was common and what was distinctive in the European experience of migration. The images are broadly grouped according to ethnic group, time period (Age of Sail - 1860, Age of Steam 1860-1960, Age of Air 1960 -) and aspect of migration (Departure, Arrival, Return). The distinctive feature of the archive is that it allows any two images to be selected and placed side by side for comparison. Of particular interest is the extent to which they depict 'ritual' moments or patterns of behaviour that are characteristic of migration.

This article is based on a presentation that was given on the island of Vis, Croatia as part of the programme of the Association's annual meeting in 2007. In view of the large numbers who emigrated from that island (as reported on in this volume), it was perhaps not inappropriate that the focus was on the 'ritual' of departure, especially on that known in Ireland as the 'American Wake' or 'Living Wake'.

Fig. 1. shows how the Art of European Migration Virtual Archive can present two images from the collection side by side for detailed comparison. The painting on the left is from Ireland and the one on the right from Sweden but both depict a common theme 'The Letter from America'. The similarities are readily apparent but closer inspection reveal intriguing differences, such as the fact that it is the father (presumably) who is reading the letter aloud in the Swedish picture but in the Irish picture it is the younger daughter, raising questions about the level of literacy and access to education in the respective communities.

The act of 'leaving Ireland' seems to have been ritualized from an early period and signs of this are evident in the contemporary account of the departure of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in September 1607, known subsequently, not least in this year of the four hundredth anniversary, as 'The Flight of the Earls':

… he took leave of my Lord Deputy [Chichester] in a more sad and passionate manner than he used at other times; and from thence he went to Mellifont, Sir Garret Moore's house, where he wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because it was not his manner to use such compliments. … (Carty 1951:31).

Such solemn, face-to-face leave-taking, at a family gathering, accompanied by weeping, was the climax of a long-established custom of 'waking' departing emigrants. From the late eighteenth century onwards it became known generically as the 'American-

Fig. 1. *Screen from the Art of European Migration Virtual Archive*

Fig. 2. *Drawing by Daniel Maclise* 'Keening Women at a Farmer's Funeral'

Wake' - even if the emigrant was going to Australia (Schrier 1958; Miller 1985). As we know it mainly from the evidence of the nineteenth century, the 'American Wake' was an all-night party, mixed with joy and sadness, the night before departure. It echoed the funeral ritual of death in the Irish countryside, as in the painting by William Willes (1815-51) entitled 'The Mock Funeral' (Crookshank and Glin 2002:230-1), or in the drawing by Daniel Maclise in John Barrow's *Tour Round Ireland* (1836) of 'Keening Women at a Farmer's Funeral' (Fig.2)

If the emigrant was going further from Ireland than Britain, the likelihood of return was considered so remote that the departure was treated as if it were an actual death.

The ritual of leave-taking began with the intending emigrant making a round of final visits to the homes of neighbours, inviting them to the 'wake' at his or her home. The bounds of the family farm or townland might also be walked to take, as it were, a mental photograph of the home place. A final visit to church on the Sunday before departing would usually be made with ministers and priests keen to give advice and warnings about keeping the faith. Catholics might call at their priest's house to receive presents of prayer books, scapulars, holy pictures and medals as well as his blessing. On the evening of the 'wake', family and friends would gather in the kitchen for food and drink with music, dancing and singing till morning. Ministers and priests, often disapproving of such gatherings as much as they did of funeral 'wakes', would not usually attend until the time of departure to give a final blessing, as pictured by the *Illustrated London News*, 10 May 1851 (Fig 3; Griffin 1981:40).

Overnight there might have been gaiety mixed with sorrow because the

Fig. 3. *A final blessing at the time of departure as pictured by Illustrated London News, 10 May 1851*

pain of final physical separation was relieved somewhat by the shared belief that the emigrant was going to a 'better place', like 'heaven' or 'the promised land'. However, as at a funeral, the dominant mood was one of lamentation, not celebration.

The 'final parting' with family and local community might take place in stages: at the door of the family home; at a point beyond on the boundary of the local area to which the emigrant was accompanied or 'convoyed', such as 'The Rock of the Weeping Tears' in West Clare or 'The Bridge of Tears' (*Droichead na nDeor*) in West Donegal; on the platform of the railway station, or the quayside of the port. The 'last look' of departing children at their parents and their home place made the most indelible impressions of all, as illustrated in the 1904 painting by Francis Walker

of Killarney emigrants at a railway station (Aalen, Whelan and Stout (1997: 216). This was also the case with the Presbyterian Thomas Mellon, whose own family were waked and convoyed on their departure from Castletown, Tyrone, for Derry and Pennsylvania in 1816 (Briscoe 1994:12). Numerous songs of emigration illustrate how emigrants in their 'new world' would revisit these scenes in their mind's eye throughout the rest of their lives (Wright 1975:605-31; Moulden 1994:32). The inscription on the memorial stone to the right of the bridge reads: *Fad leis seo a thagadh cairde agus lucht gaoil an té a bhí ag imeacht chun an choigriche. B'a anseo a scaradh seo droichead na ndeor* ('This was as far as the friend and relations would go with those who were going abroad. It was here that they would part at the Bridge of Tears').

Fig. 4. *Droichead na nDeor* ('The Bridge of Tears'), Co Donegal, Ireland.

The immediate social purpose of the emigrant 'wake', as in the case of an actual death, was to honour the 'departed' and to share and assuage the grief of the 'bereaved'. But not only this, it also performed important longer-term legal, economic, religious and political functions. Like a baptism, wedding or funeral, the 'departure' was an event publicly witnessed by the community. Whatever the actual state of relations between them, the appearance presented was that of a new contractual arrangement, entered into willingly by the parties concerned. It was made clear that the emigrant had sought and obtained permission from parents of guardian, and received the blessing of the church. (We may note here that a feature of Hugh O'Neill's leaving was that he had not obtained the permission of the Lord Deputy, Chichester.) They were now released from their current domestic and communal obligations, but on the unspoken condition that they were effectively renouncing any claim to the family farm: normally it was not expected that they should ever return to make such a claim. At the same time, they were required to undertake a new set of obligations by promising to write home frequently, send money home regularly, and, paradoxically, to return home eventually. The intense emotion of parting was heightened, especially in Irish-speaking districts, by the formalized weeping and lament of the 'keen' (*caoine*). We have the following eye-witness account that describes 'keening' as part of the emigrant's departure: 'The day before was like a day and night of a wake. Desolate was the cry of the mother about to part for ever from her daughter or her dear son.'

This witness was able to give six verses of the 'keen' which included the following: 'Ochone my sorrow And my grief no telling Woeful the day And grim for your mother That's heartsick and woeful For her darling child Without means or profit On the ocean tossed Today and tomorrow And for half a three-month, Och ochone!' (Ó Madagáin 2005:8).

All this 'ritual' served to reinforce the bond between emigrant and home and increase the likelihood that he or she would prove faithful in the performance of their new duties, especially the economic duty of contributing materially to the well-being of the family farm by sending home money for the rent, or for slates to replace the thatch, or a pre-paid ticket for the crossing of a younger brother or sister (by the 1880s about 2 million dollars was being sent back to Ireland annually). Similarly, they might be more likely to keep faith with their church, becoming active members of it in their 'new world', and sending their children to church schools. In this way parents and priest or minister represented the interest of home and church in the success of the emigrant enterprise. Also entering into the relationship, although this is not so much written about, were the representatives of political and social organizations like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Masonic Order and the Orange Order who had a vested interest in emigrants establishing or joining local branches in the 'new world' (McCaffrey 1992: 47-88; Senior 1972:91-7; Buckley and Anderson 1988).

The general pressure to remember not only father and mother but also 'Mother Church' and 'Mother Ireland' led to emigrants being encouraged to practice social solidarity with their fellows in their 'new world'. Thus the emigrant would promise, as in the concluding verse of one of the most popular emigration songs, that '… If ever a friendless Irishman chances my way, with the best in the house I will greet him and welcome, when I'm on the Green Fields of America'. In short, the 'American Wake' was a powerful social mechanism for ensuring the successful operation of a communal migration strategy: the establishment of a 'community' of successful emigrants in the new world, showing social, political and religious solidarity with one another; the remittance of money to sustain the home community in Ireland; and support for further emigration – thus a self-perpetuating phenomenon.

Of course not all emigrant departures were such highly ritualized, communal events. Emigrant wakes were more likely in rural areas where the traditional funeral custom of 'waking' persisted, where attachment to the land was strongest, and where the practice of transatlantic emigration may have penetrated only recently. Emotion was likely to be at its most intense in cases where emigration entailed leaving the family home empty as the last members of the family left. In such cases it was customary in some places for the emigrant to carry a burning ember from the family hearth to that of a neighbour and to leave the tongs there, in the hope of returning

Fig. 5. *Screen from the Art of European Migration Virtual Archive*

Fig. 6. *'The Emigrants Farewell' by Ludwig Bockelman, Germany*

one day to take an ember from it back to the family home. In one poignant case in County Mayo, a man was reluctant to be the last to leave his home because he had 'four fires there' in his fireplace (Healy 1978:115). In more anglicized and more urban areas where a tradition of emigration was longer established it might be seen less in terms of disruption of communal obligations and more in terms of the exercise of freedom of individual choice and the pursuit of economic opportunity. In such cases departure was likely to be a less emotional, less public affair. So, for example, on the eve of the Famine, the Ordnance Survey Memoir for the Parish of Tamlaght Finlagan, County Londonderry (1834-5), reported that:

Emigration to the United States, the Canadas and New Brunswick prevails to a continually increasing extent: indeed notices of passages of ships are to be seen in every house. The favourite place seems to be Quebec or St John's [recte St John] in New Brunswick. The emigrants do not much regret their native land. Those who were sent out by the Fishmongers' Company felt themselves happy in having such powerful patrons among the opening difficulties of their change of state. "To emigrate" is a pleasing idea to all, except the old men who naturally wish, as they sometimes express it, "to lay their bones in their own country" (Day and MacWilliams 1994:92-3).

There is also the wider question of social control and the right of the individual to freedom of movement. No doubt many left with a complete absence of ritual, especially in cases where individuals needed to escape from family and local community with as little notice as possible. Nevertheless, we may see that, in the late nineteenth century at least, emigration from Ireland was strongly characterized in the minds of most by the image of the 'American Wake'. Such is the universal nature of the emigration experience that even those who did not actually experience departure as a 'wake', readily identified with its presentation in popular ballads as reflecting broadly the Irish Catholic majority experience of 'leaving Ireland'.

All this raises the question of the extent to which this is a pattern of behaviour that is distinctive of Irish migration and the need to find comparators for the Irish images of departure, as for example in Fig. 5.

The image on the right, 'The Emigrants' Farewell' by Ludwig Bockelman, is from Germany. The contrast between the central role of the priest in the Irish image and the absence of any clergyman from the German image is striking (Fig. 6.).

However, the father of the family group in the foreground, waiting to take farewell of the grandmother (presumably) as she embraces one of the grandsons, recalls the description of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone in 1607 as he 'wept abundantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house'. Such are the similarities and differences that lie waiting to be explored further in the images that represent the 'art' of European migration.

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