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Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp, Belgium
Two million passengers travelled from Antwerp, the Red Star Line's main European port, to North America on board Red Star Line ships.
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Selected papers

from the 28th AEMI Conference in Gdynia, Poland, 2018

Challenges of Contemporary Migration

and from the 29th AEMI Conference in Antwerp, Belgium, 2019

Migrating Memories. Dialogues on the Relationship between Memory, Heritage and Migration

Editors

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From the Editors

Over the last six years, double issues seem to have become the norm for the publication of the AEMI Journal. This volume is no different. We are pleased to present the AEMI Journal 2019-2020, Volume 17/18, with selected contributions from the 28th AEMI Conference in Gdynia, Poland in 2018 and the 29th AEMI Conference in Antwerp, Belgium, last year.

As it sometimes happens, some written materials are lost in the digital communication worlds only to be found again later. Then, however, they receive full and sustained attention. Therefore, in addition to selected contributions from the two respective conferences, we present with pride - and with apologies for the late publication - the opening lecture at the conference "*At Home and Abroad*" in Husum by Thomas Steensen, entitled "*What is a Frisian and How to Become One*", and a methodological article from María Gonzáles Blanco and Vicente Peña Saavedra "*Possibilities and Limits of the Statistical Sources for the Study of Educational and Cultural Profiles of Spaniards in Current Emigration*". Both were presented at the 27th AEMI Conference in Husum, Germany, already in 2017, but were inadvertently not included in the previous volume of the AEMI Journal.

The decision on the double issue 2019-2020 was taken by the AEMI Board when it became clear that the papers submitted after conference in Gdynia would not be sufficient for the publication of a single issue in 2019. Publishing papers from different conferences is not always an easy task or a wise decision, due to the different topics and the many different theoretical and methodological approaches and perspectives that migration research can have. But here too we were lucky. The focus of the AEMI conference in Gdynia was on the challenges of contemporary migration, while at the Antwerp Conference the focus was on *Migrating Memories. Dialogues on the Relationship between Memory, Heritage and Migration*. Not an exciting connexion at the first sight, but the contributions of the last conference accordingly complement the theme from Gdynia, introduce interesting new topics and propose a response to the challenges of contemporary migration.

The Gdynia papers include two contributions. Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić and Marina Perić Kaselj discuss the challenges of the current emigration of citizens from the Republic of Croatia, with a special focus on working-age population. In the second paper, Jacek Barski discusses how many people of Polish origin, mostly families with school-age children, who have lived in Germany for generations and some of whom do not speak Polish, are now wishing to return to Poland. The reasons for this phenomenon are changes that German society has been experiencing due to increased immigration since 2015.

In the second part of this issue, papers from the Antwerp Conference bring forward diverse historical contexts that link heritage and migration, recalling that

historical and contemporary migration have many similarities and that the migrants' trajectories are interrelated. Patrick Fitzgerald and Catherine McCullough discuss the first stage of every migration - migrant departures, with a focus on the trans-Atlantic Irish emigrants. Linda Haapajärvi, Jean-Barthélemi Debost and Nada Afiouni argue that Islamic cemeteries are sites of the politics of belonging and in this context, they try to understand the negotiation of national belonging in the face of death and burial. The specific sites to which this article refers are in Helsinki (Finland), Paris (France) and London (United Kingdom). Another Polish case, yet with a completely different geographical and chronological background, is presented by Marcin Szerle. It offers a complete picture of immigrant lives in the first months after their arrival, with comparisons of their life in very different environments in North and South America. Kris Tolomei's (hi)story of Italian labour migration to Belgium concludes the current issue of the AEMI Journal. The author discusses the Italian mosaic workers and their social connections, everyday life, family life and arts and crafts during their stay in Belgium.

This issue would not be possible without the support of the AEMI Board. Special thanks go to Dr. Patrick Fitzgerald for his voluntary proofreading. Our thanks also go to our colleague and journal's Editor-in-Charge Janja Žitnik Serafin, who has retired from active migration research, for her active cooperation and advice not only as editor of this journal, but also as an active and always supportive member of AEMI. Kristina Toplak, Research Fellow at the Slovenian Migration Institute took over her responsibilities and duties as the journal's new Editor-in-Charge.

Finally, we would like to draw your attention to the call for contributions for the next issue of the AEMI Journal, including all necessary deadlines and contacts. Despite the unfortunate development of events due to the pandemics, all papers to be presented in the cancelled Omagh Conference are welcome to be submitted for publishing. Helpful instructions for authors are on the very last pages of this issue.

What is a Frisian and how to become one? An inclusive approach to minority affiliation

Opening lecture at the conference "At home and abroad", 27th AEMI Conference, Husum, October 5, 2017

Thomas Steensen[1]

May I offer a very warm welcome to all of you! We are glad and proud to have you here. Thank you very much for coming to North Frisia. Thank you to the AEMI-chairperson Hans Storhaug, to Uwe Haupenthal and Franziska Horschig in the Nordfriesland Museum Nissenhaus and to Paul-Heinz Pauseback, well-known to you all, who made the North Frisian institute a member in the Association of European Migration Institutions and who prepared this conference with his great enthusiasm in a fantastic way. Let us give him a great applause.

Paul asked me to give a short introduction and of course, I said yes. However, when he passed me the programme of the conference, I was astonished and a bit horrified. Paul had formulated a very easy question – at first sight. In fact, it is one of the most difficult questions one can conceive of. I have been trying to find an answer to it for several decades. But I'll have a try in this lecture. What I want to do is to give you a short survey on the history, the culture and the language of the region you fortunately have come to.

Firstly, I would like to introduce to you some North Frisians who partly have become famous. Let me begin with the most popular man from Husum: Theodor Storm made his town Husum ("the grey town by the sea") well-known in the world of literature. His novel "Der Schimmelreiter" ("The Dyke-Master") became the "national poem" of the North Frisians, because it deals with the most crucial topic of Frisian history: gain and loss of land. Even a "Koog", (a piece of land gained from the sea), has been called

after the main figure of his novel: the Hauke-Haien-Koog, gained from the sea in 1958-60. Theodor Storm introduced North Frisia into the world of literature. For the world of fine arts this is true for Emil Nolde. His paintings of North Frisia are shown in several great museums around the world.

At least three North Frisians played an important role in the world of science:

- Theodor Mommsen – a typical North Frisian name –, author of the "Römische Geschichte" (Roman History), was the first man from Germany to win the Nobel Prize for Literature. He was professor at Berlin University, where a monument was established for him, created by Adolf Brütt, also incidentally from Husum.
- Friedrich Paulsen from the Frisian village of Langenhorn, professor in Berlin too, was a pioneer in educational science, and
- Ferdinand Tönnies, born on the North Frisian peninsula of Eiderstedt as the son of a rich farmer, and became the founder of Sociology in Germany.

Also women played an important role in North Frisian culture, for example Margarete Böhme, (her maiden name being Feddersen) from Husum, who became famous as a writer. They mostly wrote in German. One of the outstanding poets in North Frisian language was Jens Mungard from the island of Sylt. He wrote poems against National Socialism and died in a concentration camp.

The main issue in North Frisian history is the never-ending fight against the North Sea. Storm floods with thousands of deaths shaped the landscape and also the mentality of the Frisians, especially the two great "Mandränken", the first one connected with the mystical place Rungholt. Piles were set up in remembrance of that. The wadden in North Frisia have in many parts been settled by Frisians in former times. In this sense they have become the "cemetery of the marshland". Here we find those unique wonderful tiny islands, the "Halligen". Their land is 'drowned' several times a year, only the "warfs" with their houses are to be seen then ("Landunter"). It is said that God created the sea, but the Frisians made the coast. Land was gained (172 Köge), because the ground was very fruitful. The Frisian dykes rank among the biggest structures in the whole of Europe. Agriculture has been the most important source of income through the centuries. Today wind energy is a significant factor.

The Frisians on the islands mostly were seafaring men. Whale hunting brought prosperity to the islands, but it was very dangerous and many men died. They started their cruises in Hamburg, the Netherlands or Copenhagen. North Frisia, we should note, was connected with Denmark until 1864. Then it became part of Prussia and Germany. Many Frisians emigrated to America, when the seafaring period was over. The most famous emigrant from North Frisia has been Ludwig Nissen, who gave the present-day Nordfriesland Museum, Nissenhaus a present to his hometown Husum. Paul-Heinz Pauseback and the staff of the Nissenhaus created an exhibition about him.

In the early nineteenth century, tourism developed – and has become the most important source of earnings today. Some less positive aspects must be mentioned. Especially on the island of Sylt, where the houses have become so expensive

that some Frisians cannot afford to live on their own island. This has caused Frisian villages to increasingly lose their distinctive vernacular appearance and to depreciate into meaningless facades of prestigious status symbols for well-to-do second- or third-house owners and their smart investment jugglers. "Expensive and Dead" ("*Teuer und Tot*") was a headline in a newspaper not long ago. In this sense, Sylt is 'deathly ill', and Föhr and Amrum have been infected by their big sister. The islands are changing into a moneymaking machine. Sylt has literally been sold out; now the neighbouring islands of Föhr and Amrun are the next targets.

North Frisia is a land of variety and diversity. Frisian, Danish, German and Dutch influences have met here. Nowhere in Germany can we find in such a small region five different types of farmhouses. There are also, for example, beautiful costumes in a considerably wide variety. A tradition that can only be found in North Frisia is the 'Biike'bonfire. Every year, on the evening of 21st February, the 'Biiken'are lit and a lot of people meet and gather around it. The tradition dates back to spring fires of ancient times. The first book ever printed in the North Frisian language in the year 1809 tells about the 'Biike' and its celebrations. The Frisian word 'Biike' is related to the English word 'beacon'. In 1972, in the course of a growing regional awareness, a group of young people organized a 'Biike' bonfire on top of the Stollberg to revive the tradition on the mainland, too. More than 60 'Biiken' are annually lit in North Frisia. The tradition has the reputation of a kind of North Frisian 'national festival', which also attracts many guests from outside. In the meantime, the 'Biikebrennen' has been declared part of the 'Cultural Heritage'.

Thereby the *Biike* in its present-day form is really the grandiose invention of the chronicler and school master Christian Peter Hansen (1803–1879) from Sylt. He stated that the Biike reached back to ancient times and to Germanic deities. In our time on February 21st crowds of tourists travel to the islands in special excursion trains of the Deutsche Bahn. Several islanders do not want to be instrumentalised for this tourist spectacle, in which they themselves feel more and more estranged even at their own *biike*.

A lot of legends and clichés circulated about Frisians at all times and are still in circulation, and have left their firm mark upon the public image of Frisians. Advertisements for tourism for example show a high, usually dramatically cloudy Nolde-like sky, a flat landscape with a distant horizon and an unending view, high dykes upon which hundreds of white Frisian sheep graze, and cozy Frisian houses with thatched rooves. The Frisian inhabitants of these snug houses are shown sitting quite contentedly on a Frisian bench in front of their Frisian home, drinking Frisian tea and enjoying their Frisian biscuits.

Frisians have long been considered as being silent, blond, blue-eyed, courageous or even fearless against danger, but also stubborn and inflexible. One only needs to recall poems and ballads about the Frisian hero 'Pidder Lyng' or the brave Frisian sailor 'Nis Randers', poems that today are still found in many German school reading-books. Further, one need only remember the Frisian slogan "rather dead than enslaved" ("*Lewer duad* üs *slaaw*"), which itself is a nebulous myth.

As early as the *Schedelschen Weltchronik* (World Chronicle) of 1493, we can read about Frisians in this sense. The "coat of arms" with the slogan "Lewer duad as Slaaw" refers to the "Frisian Freedom", given to the Frisians by German Emperors, according to a legend by Charlemagne. The oldest banner with this coat of arms can be seen in a new exhibition of the Nordfriisk Instituut.

Now, the likely most conspicuous and surely most important cultural feature of the North Frisians must be discussed, namely their language. North Frisia is a land of languages. Five languages are to be found in North Frisia: Frisian, Low German, South Jutish, Danish and German. That kind of diversity can hardly be found anywhere else in Europe. Several years ago the Nordfriisk Instituut received a letter from a student in Tel Aviv, a convinced non-smoker. He collected the words for "No smoking" in the languages of the world, and he asked us to send him the Frisian expression. We could help him in several ways...

Among the Germanic languages, Frisian is the most divided one. First of all, there are three branches: West, East (Sater) and North Frisian. Most striking about North Frisian is that there is no uniform language, neither in spoken form nor in writing. The small-scale way-of-thinking and perception of North Frisians has led to the situation that there are up to nine, sometimes strongly diverse dialects, which render an understanding between two Frisians of different origins difficult sometimes. When the writer Johann Georg Kohl (1808–1878) visited North Frisia in 1846, he stated: "I know of no language, with the exception of the Caucasus mountain people, that would have so many, completely different dialects."

Every island and every region on the mainland developed its own variant of the Frisian language. This is due to the fact that there did not exist a common cultural and/or political centre. The North Frisian language is a genuine language consisting of several dialects and is different from all other languages. In view of all that is known from socio-linguistic research, this small-scale use of North Frisian dialects should actually no longer exist; they should have long since died out. Several dialects are only spoken by a handful of people. But they do exist, on the island of Föhr even with a slightly increasing number of speakers, among these surprisingly many children and immigrants. Many of the latter do not have a Frisian background, but have learned this language in courses or indirectly, 'on the street', from neighbours or colleagues at work.

Frisian has been spoken in this area for more than 1000 years. It came here with the arrival of the Frisians from the Southern North Sea Coast. Frisians have been merchants, a European dealer folk in the early middle Ages, and in this way they "discovered" North Frisia. In the last 300 years the North Frisian language has been under pressure from Low and High German. Nevertheless, it has survived to this day. Today, North Frisian is spoken by less than 10,000 people. Genetically, the language is a West-Germanic language, which considering its historical development both lexically and phonetically as well as in the structural grammar finds correspondence above all with English – both languages are "North Sea Germanic". A church, for example, is "schörk" in the North Frisian dialect "frasch", a knife

is "knif", a sleeve is "sliiw". Starting in the Middle Ages, the Frisian language in North Frisia adopted words from the Danish language, later from Low German, Dutch and High German.

The first documents in Frisian still preserved, are two hand-written translations of Martin Luther's "Small Catechism" from approximately 1600 A.D. After 1850 North Frisian literature was increasingly published in print. Many poems, songs, stories and comedies have been written. Quite a few Frisians had to be far away from home, before they began to engage in literary pursuits. Compared to the relatively small number of speakers a large number of literary works came into being. Today, writing in Frisian is encouraged by regular literature writing contests.

Beginning in the 1800s, awareness for the characteristic of the North Frisian language grew. Many North Frisians, especially teachers, made up word lists for the various dialects. The North Frisians became a "nation of dictionary writers". After 1900, work on North Frisian dictionaries began at an academic level. Since 1743, almost 50 dictionaries have been compiled, some of them nowadays published onlinet – and there is no end in sight. Most of the North Frisians were and are multilingual. Aside from the mother dialect and High German, the North Frisian can normally speak Low German more or less fluently, and in some areas near the German-Danish border often Danish, and on Föhr and Amrum strikingly frequently fluent English, although – because of the emigrants to America – in a pure and broad New York slang.

In everyday life, Frisian language is of great significance for many families. Only 25 years ago, the Frisian language had been described as 'the best guarded secret in Germany'. Over the past decades, the language has become increasingly visible: on place name signs, street signs, and train stations and in administrative buildings. In several schools, the Frisian language is a teaching subject.

Today there are many Frisian organisations working together. Nevertheless, some decades ago there was a serious conflict between the German minded Frisians on the one hand, the National Frisians cooperating with the Danish minority, on the other. Their common organisation is the "Frisian Council". North Frisians have a scientific institute of their own: Nordfriisk Instituut in Bräist/Bredstedt. Many hundreds of publications have been edited from there. Since 2018, the institute has run a multi-media-exhibiton on Frisian history, culture and language with the name "Nordfriisk Futuur". Let us now deal with the key, or shall I say, crucial question: Who is a Frisian? I must admit that it is not easy to define what distinguishes a Frisian from their German, Danish or other neighbours. However, never would I deny the existence of a separate Frisian identity. Of course, there have been manifold, and in some cases comprehensive, attempts to characterise the Frisians, the Frisian language and the land of Frisia. Most descriptions are imbued with a kind of 'exoticism'. One of the most renowned incorrect judgements was allegedly already made in A.D. 98 by the Roman historian Tacitus, who maintained that "Frisia does not sing" ("*Frisia non cantat*"). Whoever has the opportunity to visit a village festival in North Frisia, will quickly learn quite the opposite. However, here it should be stated in defence of Tacitus that this

often cited quote was attributed to him at a much later time, presumably in the nineteenth century.

What is genuine Frisian – or better – North Frisian culture? I would like to use a paradox: The special aspect about Frisian culture is that THE Frisian culture does not exist. That which we find in North Frisia is far more a multifaceted culture, which seeks an equivalent in the present form in Europe. In the branched amphibian landscape of the North Frisian Wadden Sea with all its islands and Halligen, its streams and marshes, there is no natural centre. Every island, every partial area is self-contained, the view is directed outwards, the inhabitants are content with their small, perceptible micro-cosmos. A common national consciousness, like other European minorities, is foreign to many North Frisians. For example, the majority of the inhabitants of Föhr, many of whom have lived most of their life on their island, have a deeply rooted Frisian identity, although it is doubtful whether their Frisian consciousness extends beyond the island of Föhr to the same degree. The common administrative district, the "Kreis Nordfriesland" had not been founded before 1970.

The renowned Schleswig-Holstein art and cultural historian Ernst Schlee (1910–1994) describes this situation, that seems to be full of contradictions as follows: "Whoever feels at home in North Frisia, particularly in the houses of the islands, is familiar with the unique mixture of quite different forms of thought and perception in the nature of the people there: persistence in maintaining tradition united with worldly experience, while bias for a since narrowed custom and rigid pettiness are alongside a superior, almost urban noblesse." The historian, Schlee, notes that despite the remoteness of the land, especially of the islands, from the great streets and cities, there is nonetheless a surprising openness and receptivity for new things and distant places.

In this respect, one can view this cultural diversity, the fragmentation of North Frisian identity into many small-scale, local identities, as an essential feature of the North Frisians. Indeed, many North Frisians, especially those living on the islands and the Halligen, have a rather a-nationalistic attitude. They were at home in all harbours of the world, but presumably inwardly only at home in the small Frisian micro-cosmos of their respective island. Rooted in a small world, yet open to the big wide world: this might describe their 'two-faced' nature. In the worldview of the Island-Frisians New York lay just around the corner, whereas Berlin was galaxies away. One could therefore consider this slightly a-national attitude among insular North Frisians as a further typical Frisian feature. In this way, Europe is a case of good fortune for all Frisians.

Volkert Faltings, from the island of Föhr, has tried to summarize thus "how a typical North Frisian might look: The typical North Frisian could be someone from Föhr, who after his confirmation like many before and after him migrated to New York, where he – like most of his countrymen – ran a delicatessen shop, lived on Long Island, and there naturally spoke Frisian with his children. Ultimately, driven by a swelling 'island syndrome' from within, he returned to Föhr, rented apartments to tourists, participated in public life on Föhr, and moreover became very involved in actions

for the island's well-being, although he, as a US-citizen, is a foreigner and not allowed to vote. To top off all of these attributes, he is a fervent supporter of FC Bayern München as well as the New York Yankees. Yet otherwise, he only wants to be what his parents and grandparents as well as his siblings, his friends and neighbours wanted: to be a Föhrian! This would suffice in almost all spheres of daily life on the island. Cases of this kind of person are not at all seldom on Föhr and Amrum."

It took a long time before the Frisians were recognized as a minority of their own in Germany. In the year 1990, the land Schleswig-Holstein granted the Frisian "Volksgruppe" protection and promotion. On the level of the Federal Republic of Germany, Frisians were put on an equal footing with the other national minorities, those are in Germany, the Danes, the Sorbs and the Sinti and Roma ("Gypsies"). It is said that the confession to a national minority is free. It is up to the individual to decide about it.

To identify a North Frisian may be as difficult as I described to you today. But to become one is easy – Frisian identity is not exclusive like belonging to a nation, it is inclusive to the bone: Everyone who wants to be a Frisian and feels like a Frisian is welcome. No matter where they were born and comes from. If a person wants to live here, if he or she identifies him- or herself with Frisian culture and/or history and/or language, then it is up to this person to decide whether he/or she wants to be a Frisian or not. No one can and will refuse it. This is just the contrary of "blood and soil". In a time of migration, this might be a good concept for the future! In conclusion, may I wish you success for the conference, success for your work, and hope that you all have a good time in North Frisia!

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Thomas Steensen, Prof. Dr. phil., born 1951, 1987–2018 director of the Nordfriisk Instituut in Bräist/Bredstedt, Germany.

Volkert F. Faltings: Nordfriesisch – was ist das? North Frisian – what's that? In: InselAlltag. IslandLife. Einblicke in friesische Lebenswelten auf Föhr. Insights into Frisian Lives on Föhr. Für das Museum Europäischer Kulturen zu Berlin hrsg. von Irene Ziehe, Husum 2017, 89–104.

Notes

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Possibilities and limits of the statistical sources for the study of educational and cultural profiles of Spaniards in current emigration

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Abstract
Since the outbreak of the crisis, the socioeconomic situation has led to various changes in the migratory flows in Spain. Several authors cite the resurgence of emigration in a country that had attracted many immigrants, who have now decided to return to their countries of origin or to re-migrate to another country owing to the current economic situation.

This paper focuses on presenting a representative overview of the official sources for emigration registration in Spain, a review of the existing literature and a brief outline of the research we are conducting on this issue under a perspective of analysis focused on educational profiles of Galician emigrants.

Introduction

The present study, still in the developmental stage, focuses on investigating current emigration of Galician young people to Europe. Its aim is to identify the educational profile of emigrants and the correlation between their studies or qualifications and their integration into the labour market.

As this paper deals with emigration, it should be noted that quantifying the emigration flow poses an inherent problem. This problem has been identified for some time in several research papers (Prieto Rosas 2008: 22–26; González-Ferrer 2013: 2–10; Aparicio 2014: 5–6; Cabré, Domingo 2014: 21–26; Cachón 2014: 47–50; Herrera 2014: 92–97; Navarrete 2014: 17–25; Arango 2016: 6; Domingo, Blanes 2016: 157–160; Bermudez, Brey 2017: 86–90) and from different fields of study such as Economy, History, Sociology and Geography.

This phenomenon about the emigration flow brings us to address hereafter, in a concise and descriptive manner, the general characteristics of the three main Spanish statistical sources that provide data that is relevant for analysis. Their limitations and general defects with regard to the study of the educational profile of emigrants will

also be taken into account. The informative and statistical sources are: The Electoral Census of Absent Residents or CERA (also known by its English abbreviation ECAR), the Register of Spaniards Resident Abroad or PERE (English: RSRA) and the Consular Register or RMC.

The main Spanish sources regarding registration of migrations and the issue of quantification: CERA, PERE and RMC

CERA is an information source provided by INE (the National Statistics Institute in Spain) that registers the number of voters living abroad (absent residents), through a monthly updated census, the deadline being on the first day of each month. Consular Offices supply the data about absent residents abroad.

The CERA register only counts people registered as residents in the Consular Register (RMC) and thus provides an estimation of the number of absent residents living abroad that can take part in electoral processes in their country of origin (except on local elections). Nevertheless, Spanish Royal Decree 1621/2007 on the regulation of the voting process for Spaniards living abroad established that people registered as non-residents are also allowed to vote on the electoral processes of their country of origin, even if they are not registered in CERA. Many people are not registered in either of its two categories (residents or non-residents) due to the specific characteristics of their migratory process (temporary or permanent). Therefore, the obtained data does not constitute an exact quantification of the actual reality of emigration.

The investigation now in progress is studying Galician emigration within a geographical context of 16 countries (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom). The analysed data comes from CERA, from 2007 to 2016. The general trend regarding the number of registrations in all the above-mentioned countries is to increase, with the exception of a variation found in the figures related to Germany, Denmark and Portugal. Specifically, there was a decrease in registrations in Germany during the year 2008, with 405 less than in 2007. A reduction was also found in Denmark, with 43 registrations less in 2008 than in 2007, and in Portugal, with a total of 670 registrations less in the year 2009 than in 2008.

Out of the 16 countries, the ones with a higher number of registrations of Spaniards living abroad from 2007 to 2016, according to CERA, are the following: France, Germany, Switzerland and the United Kingdom, in that order. This is evidenced by the last figures from the census, as of the first of December of last year, as shown in Table 1.

In the case of the Galician emigrant community, the number of registrations in CERA during the same research period (2007-2016), as of the first of January of each year, indicates that the number of residents living abroad is progressively increasing in each of the four Galician provinces (A Coruña, Lugo, Ourense and Pontevedra), as shown in Table 2. Out of the four provinces, A Coruña and Pontevedra are the ones showing a higher number of registrations.

PERE is another source for INE and is devoted to listing the registrations of

Table 1

Electoral census of Spanish nationals abroad (CERA): total figures

Destination country	Registration up to the 1st of december 2007	Registration up to the 1st of december 2008	Registration up to the 1st of december 2009	Registration up to the 1st of december 2010	Registration up to the 1st of december 2011	Registration up to the 1st of december 2012	Registration up to the 1st of december 2013	Registration up to the 1st of december 2014	Registration up to the 1st of december 2015	Registration up to the 1st of december 2016
Austria	1,305	1,422	1,515	1,708	1,950	2,236	2,674	3,030	3,429	3,765
Belgium	33,717	34,020	34,903	36,222	37,438	38,593	40,597	42,228	44,193	45,550
Denmark	1,531	1,488	1,502	1,561	1,679	1,743	1,957	2,200	2,682	3,039
Finland	717	752	823	868	930	987	1,184	1,329	1,500	1,596
France	160,013	159,999	160,085	164,854	171,113	176,790	184,390	190,391	195,865	202,599
Germany	83,387	82,942	84,027	85,700	88,248	90,932	96,451	102,389	109,409	115,553
Iceland	44	48	71	81	85	98	110	124	151	192
Ireland	3,315	3,424	3,438	3,518	3,631	3,763	4,139	4,589	5,227	5,714
Italy	11,538	11,935	12,455	12,923	13,408	13,790	14,672	15,350	15,919	16,810
Luxemburg	2,393	2,471	2,537	2,546	2,649	2,829	3,054	3,189	3,455	3,808
Netherlands	14,127	14,438	14,852	15,262	15,700	16,175	16,987	17,889	18,886	19,870
Norway	1,330	1,442	1,493	1,628	1,809	2,014	2,363	2,744	3,143	3,530
Portugal	7,723	7,398	6,728	7,125	7,443	7,819	8,025	8,340	8,621	9,037
Sweden	3,656	3,750	3,956	4,191	4,559	4,813	5,231	5,660	6,210	6,751
Switzerland	70,002	70,532	71,552	73,277	75,354	77,522	81,000	84,224	88,152	91,665
United Kingdom	46,000	46,646	47,974	50,727	54,321	57,358	63,048	69,918	78,188	87,275

Source: Prepared by the author, based on data supplied by CERA, as shown by INE

Table 1: Electoral census of Spanish nationals abroad (CERA) (source: prepared by authors, based on data supplied by CERA, as shown by INE).

Spaniards residing abroad or Spanish nationals living abroad. This register consists of information about people registered as residents at the Consular Register of the Consular Offices or the Consular Sections of Spanish Diplomatic Missions abroad.

In this respect, registrations on the RMC are regulated by Spanish Royal Decree 3425/2000, which establishes that people can register through two methods: as residents or as non-residents. The main difference between both registration categories is that people registered as residents are then included in PERE and in CERA, while people registered as non-residents are still part of the census of their country

Table 2

Electoral census of Galician people abroad, sorted by province of registration:
deadline: 1st of January of each year

Province	01/01/2007	01/01/2008	01/01/2009	01/01/2010	01/01/2011	01/01/2012	01/01/2013	01/01/2014	01/01/2015	01/01/2016	01/01/2017
A Coruña	112,885	115,090	117,465	122,461	128,692	135,186	140,275	144,890	149,197	152,276	155,050
Lugo	40,640	42,161	43,847	46,493	50,704	54,740	57,407	59,879	62,112	63,347	64,693
Ourense	70,187	72,014	74,250	77,658	82,551	86,925	90,355	93,325	96,080	97,688	99,212
Pontevedra	93,286	96,001	98,768	102,001	106,736	112,005	116,912	120,964	124,523	127,046	129,290

Source: Prepared by the author, based on data supplied by INE

Table 2: Electoral census of Galician people abroad (source: prepared by authors, based on data supplied by INE).

of origin. The act of registration, as stated by Romero-Valiente (2017: 316–317), "is a voluntary act regarded as a duty, but not as an obligation." The above-mentioned Royal Decree states literally that people "should register", but fails to mention whether registration is mandatory. That is the reason why registration will directly depend on each person's particular situation and on whether that person needs the registration or not.

There is another issue preventing emigrants from registering in RMC, which is the lack of incentives or benefits associated with the procedure (González-Ferrer 2013). Many times, the registration process is rather considered an inconvenience, because people willing to register have to travel to go to the consulates or consulate sections in person, pay registration fees, provide documentation to prove their employment situation, etc.

Quantifying the number of people is therefore only possible as an estimation, because many people do not register in RMC under any of its categories, and the number of people registered at PERE is under-recorded, as is the case with CERA. As a result, it does not convey an accurate number of emigrants. According to a study performed by Romero-Valiente (2017), there are three main motives for Spaniards to fail to register: They do not need to register, they do not know or have not been informed about the process or they refuse to do the paperwork out of laziness.

Despite the difficulties PERE poses for quantification, an analysis was performed in order to get a general perspective on the situation of the Galician emigrant community. Such analysis was performed based on data made available by INE regarding registration by Galician people residing abroad from the year 2009 to 2017, sorted by country of residence (all information is available at the INE website). European countries presenting a higher number of Galician residents were classified into three groups, based on total figures for the years 2009 to 2017: Those with more than 100,000 people (Switzerland: 342,847; France: 164,810; Germany: 144,525; United Kingdom: 109,805), those with more than 10,000 people (Portugal: 32,545; the Netherlands: 26,108; Belgium: 24,151; Italy: 10,763) and those with up to 5,000 people (Luxemburg: 5,216; Ireland: 3,894; Sweden: 2,756; Austria: 1,614; Norway: 1,394; Denmark: 1,350; Finland: 584)[3]. An increase in figures was observed in every country, with only three occurrences of decreases:

- In France, there were 48 registrations less in the year 2010 (17,762) than in the year 2009 (17,810).
- In Portugal, there were 109 registrations less in the year 2010 (3,162) than in the year 2009 (3,271).
- In Luxemburg, there were 4 registrations less in the year 2011 (543) than in the year 2009 (547).

The other relevant source of information for the study of emigration, as mentioned above, is the Consular Register. This register is kept by Consular Offices or Consular Sections and helps configure PERE. Complementing information can be retrieved, because people registered as residents can voluntarily declare, on registration documents, not only their address and personal and labour-related data, but also their level of education. Consequently, RMC is perhaps the only source that can provide information regarding the educational profile of emigrants registered as residents,

although gaining access to it is certainly complex and can take quite some time.

In this context, the first data obtained from RMC is presented below, as a summarised description. This information alludes to Galician emigrants residing in Germany[4] aged between 18 and 45 and registered (either as residents or non-residents) from the year 2007 to the 7th of July 2017 (last data provided by the Sub-Directorate General for Protection and Consular Assistance of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation).

The total number of people registered as residents or as non-residents with the characteristics described in the preceding paragraph is 1,157 people, according to RMC in Germany. In this country, there are 6 consular departments, with the following number of registrations: Berlin, 211; Düsseldorf, 204; Frankfurt, 148; Hamburg, 207; München, 221; and Stuttgart, 166. The available information does not specify the gender (women or men) of registered people, so it is unknown whether there are significant differences between both groups in relation to the number of registrations, type of registration, level of education or main age group.

The most common ages among each of the consular representations are:

- In Berlin, 134 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37 or 38, with more than 10 registrations.
- In Düsseldorf, 111 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40 or 41, with more than 10 registrations.
- In Frankfurt, 35 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 37 or 38, with more than 10 registrations.
- In Hamburg, 62 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 30, 33, 35 or 36, with more than 10 registrations.
- In München, 151 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 or 42, with more than 10 registrations.
- In Stuttgart, 76 registered people (residents and non-residents) are aged 30, 34, 35, 36, 37 or 38, with more than 10 registrations.

With regard to the educational profile, the most common level of education is "Upper Secondary *(Bachillerato)* or Higher Education", followed by "Basic Education" *(Graduado escolar)*. Total figures for the level of education are as follows:

- 863 people with a level of "Upper Secondary or Higher Education" allocated as follows: 168 in Berlin, 132 in Düsseldorf, 96 in Frankfurt, 148 in Hamburg, 194 in München and 125 in Stuttgart.
- 131 people with a level of "Basic Education" allocated as follows: 13 in Berlin, 39 in Düsseldorf, 13 in Frankfurt, 28 in Hamburg, 16 in München and 22 in Stuttgart.
- 15 people with a level "lower than Basic Education" allocated as follows: 1 in Berlin, 3 in Düsseldorf, 6 in Frankfurt, 3 in Hamburg, 1 in München and 1 in Stuttgart.
- 148 people with an indication of "no data" in relation to level of education: 29 in Berlin, 30 in Düsseldorf, 33 in Frankfurt, 28 in Hamburg, 10 in München and 18 in Stuttgart.

Regarding the main age groups for each consular demarcation and the level

of education, the following data can be observed:

- In Berlin, for the ages of 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37 and 38, there are 114 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 4 people with "Basic Education", 1 person with a level "lower than Basic Education" and 15 people of which no data regarding the level of education is available.
- In Düsseldorf, for the ages of 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 40 and 41, there are 78 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 21 people with "Basic Education", 1 person with a level "lower than Basic Education" and 11 people with no data regarding the level of education.
- In Frankfurt, for the ages of 37 and 38, there are 19 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 5 people with "Basic Education" and 1 person with no data regarding the level of education.
- In Hamburg, for the ages of 30, 33, 35 and 36, there are 44 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 7 with "Basic Education", 1 person with a level "lower than Basic Education" and 10 people with no data regarding the level of education.
- In München, for the ages of 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 42, there are 139 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 8 with "Basic Education", 1 person with a level "lower than Basic Education" and 3 people with no indication as to their level of education.
- In Stuttgart, for the ages of 30, 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38, there are 58 people with the level "Upper Secondary or Higher Education", 14 with "Basic education" and 4 people with no indication as to their level of education.

In light of the above, it can be concluded that, out of the analysed statistical sources, only RMC provides data about the educational profile, since it conveys information about the level of education, although with no further details.

Registration of the educational profile in some recent publications

There is little information about the registration of the educational profile both in Spanish official statistics and in published studies. However, several works have been found during our research process that do provide general data regarding the level of education or the academic background of the emigrant community, although not being focused exclusively on analysing this profile.

That being so, the following studies are to be highlighted:

The results of a research by Aparicio (2014) identify the young emigrant population with studies at a university level, the most common among people emigrating to Frankfurt and London being Undergraduate studies, followed by Master's Degrees and doctoral studies. Data was obtained through an online survey created for this specific research and answered by 203 emigrants living in Frankfurt and 245 living in London.

The study by Bygnes (2015) focuses on highly qualified Spaniards living in Norway, so it only takes into account people with university studies (doctoral, master's, undergraduate, etc.). Data for this research was obtained through 23 in-depth interviews with Spaniards that emigrated after 2008 and had an educational

profile of high qualification, in 3 Norwegian cities.

The work by Gómez Sota and Moldes (2015) studies emigration by Spanish nationals aged between 20 and 36, with Germany as their destination country, since the year 2008. The results regarding educational profile suggest that these people either had university studies or vocational training. Data was collected through 34 interviews with people within the emigrant community and also with experts.

The research by González-Blanco (2015) focuses on the Galician emigrant youth community in Germany since the year 2007. The main educational profile for this group was identified as university studies, in this particular order: Master's Degree, short Undergraduate Degree (*diplomatura*) and Bachelor's Degree. Furthermore, the most common fields of studies among the emigrant community were shown to be Engineering and Architecture, followed by Health Sciences. Data was obtained through 9 in-depth semi-structured interviews with Galician young emigrants and through online questionnaires that were answered 34 times by people aged between 18 and 41.

A survey was carried out by Real Instituto Elcano (2013) in collaboration with other European research centres (the European University Institute in Italy, the University of Lisbon in Portugal and the Trinity College of Dublin in Ireland). This survey suggested that most of the analysed groups of emigrants (Spanish, Greek, Irish, Italian and Portuguese) had studies at university level, the higher percentage of people being specialised in the field of Engineering. Data for the Spanish emigrant community was obtained through an online questionnaire that was available for 3 months (from May to August 2013) and was answered by a total of 1,543 people.

The research lead by Navarrete (2014) indicates that the educational profile of emigrant Spaniards corresponds mainly to university studies, the most common being a Bachelor's Degree. The most represented fields of knowledge among the Spanish emigrant population are: Engineering, Architecture, Business Management and Administration, Biology and Biotechnology. There is also a group of people with higher vocational studies, although not as large as the one with university studies, the most common areas being Management and Administration, Computing and Telecommunications and Health. Data was obtained through 10 interviews with Spanish emigrants living in Germany, France and the United Kingdom. Moreover, an online questionnaire was sent to Spanish emigrants and to people who are currently Spanish residents but regularly check websites with emigration information. The group of emigrants was formed by people aged between 18 and 30.

The research by Nelson (2015) addresses analysis of highly qualified emigration by Spaniards to several countries, like the United Kingdom or Germany. Although the level of education is not specified, the information given throughout the research indicates that it refers to university studies. Data was obtained through interviews, both in person and online.

Conclusions

Research on current emigration from an educational point of view is certainly complex, inasmuch as no statistical sources from either Spain or the countries of destination include data about the

educational profile of the emigrant community. This information is only possibly obtained by directly contacting emigrants. In order to give a general perspective, it is also possible to refer to already published researches or on-going studies performed in the last few years. Nevertheless, this latter source has certain limitations, as the contexts and main goals of these analyses tend to be highly diverse in relation to the countries of destination, age groups, period of emigration, etc. In addition, some researchers (González-Ferrer 2013; Navarrete 2014; Arango 2016) point out that quantifying the emigration flow based on official statistics both in the country of origin and destination is certainly a difficult task. Samples used on researches about this matter cannot be considered exhaustive or representative of the current emigration reality, because defects may arise due to the complex process of locating and directly contacting these people that are the subject of study.

In order to improve the registration of the educational profile, we believe that official sources devoted to studying migratory movements, and particularly to quantifying the emigrant community, should lay down some kind of mechanism for the registration of this profile. The registration process should somehow benefit emigrants so as to favour an increase in participation. The idea we propose (still to be developed at length) is the creation of an official European source: The "Education and Labour Statistic for Emigration". People would register and provide a high amount of information regarding education and employment, and then they would receive guidance about training and employment in their country of destination. A collaboration with the country of origin would be needed through some sort of agreement, just as it happens with the process of recruitment of qualified staff from abroad. In this manner, emigrants could be advised beforehand by several institutions in the country of destination about the possibilities of employability, training, etc., thus helping in making the migratory process at least as beneficial as possible for each particular situation.

Finally, another proposal for improving studies on emigration from an educational point of view is to perform more in-depth research comparing the situation between different Spanish Autonomous Communities and different European countries in order to contrast results in each of the researched contexts and try to create registers that are similar or designed based on equivalent criteria.

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Notes

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3. Iceland is not included in the data provided by INE.
4. Data for the other 15 countries relevant to this research is still being currently analysed.

Programme of the 28th AEMI Meeting Challenges of contemporary migration

Gdynia, 3-6 October 2018

Wednesday 3rd October

18.00–20.00 Gathering meeting in the Emigration Museum in Gdynia

19.00–20.00 Visiting the exhibition with a guide

Thursday 4th October

8.30–9.00 Registration

9.00–9.30 Welcome remarks (multimedia room)

9.30–10.00 Key-note speaker Adam Walaszek *'Has the Salt-Water Courtain Been Raised Up? Globalizing Historiography of Polish-America'* (multimedia room)

10.00–11.30 I session Museums` activities in the field of migration and discussion (multimedia room)

Chair: Freja Gry Børsting

Randi Marselis *'Remembering refugee routes'*

Bram Beelaert *'In the land of Lazarus – memory and migration in the United States'*

Anders Thorkilsen *'Putting a face on migration'*

Patrick Fitzgerald *'Irish Emigration in three Paintings'*

11.30–12.00 Coffee break

12.00–13.45 II session Museums` activities in the field of migration and discussion (multimedia room)

Chair: Nonja Peters

Sebastian Tyrakowski, Rafał Raczyński, Katarzyna Morawska *'E-migration. Polish technology diaspora'*

Katie Heidsiek *'Using Augmented Reality to Build Empathy for the Migration Experience'*

Freja Gry Børsting *'Let's talk about it- Addressing sensitive topics in the museum'*

Grzegorz Labuda *'The Central Archives of Polonia* (Orchard Lake, MI). *Introduction to research on Polish diaspora'*

13.45 Group photo

14.00–14.45 Lunch Mondo di Vinegre Restaurant (Emigration Museum in Gdynia)

14.45–6.00 Workshops in parallel panels

Panel I Workshop '*Failures and successes in integration in Poland. Lessons learned of the "culture" working group implementing Immigrant Integration Model in Gdańsk*' (multimedia room)
Moderator: Anna Fedas, European Solidarity Center, Gdańsk

Panel II Workshop *'Solidarity across sectors. Managing integration through integration'* (cinema room)
Moderator: Marta Siciarek, Karolina Stubińska, Immigrant Support Center, Gdańsk

Panel III Workshop *'Oral history of Polish emigrants'* (temporary exhibitions room)
Moderator: Barbara Majchrowicz, Emigration Museum in Gdynia

16.00–16.30 Coffee break

16.30–18.15 III session Museums` activities in the field of migration and discussion (multimedia room)
Chair: Bram Beelaert

Jesse-Lee Costa Dollerup *'Navigating within a changing dynamic: Maintaining relevance in the development of museum educational and intercultural initiatives for adultsecond-language learners of Danish at the local museum in the face of changing migration patterns and shifts in integration policy*'

Michalina Petelska *'March `68 and emigration to Denmark: museum's projects in Poland and Denmark*'

Laurence Prempain *'What do we learn from literature of exile on refugees` crisis?'*

Christos Zisis '*Visual and Material displays of Migration Histories in Museums in Germany. Case study: Greek Gastarbeiter in the BRD. Towards collaborative museum work with migration actors*'

Christina Ziegler-McPherson *'Public-Private Partnerships in Migration: the Power of Place in Migration Museums in Europe and the United States*'

20.00 Dinner in Browar Port Restaurant (address: Bulwar Nadmorski im.Feliksa Nowowiejskiego 2, 81-371 Gdynia)

Friday 5th October

09.30–11.00 I session Historical aspects of migration and discussion (multimedia room)
Chair: Patrick Fitzgerald

Gorka Alvarez Aranburu '*An unusual regulation to open border to Basque refugees*'

Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade '*Forced Return of the Venezuelan-Portugese*'

Aneta Nisiobęcka, Agnieszka Kulesa ' *An untold history: Polish migration to and from Belgium in 1918-1950'*

Nonja Peters *'Milk & Honey But No Gold: Postwar European migration to Australia 1945-1973'*

11.00–11.30 Coffee break

11.30–13.00 II session in parallel panels

Panel A: *Past and present migratory issues and discussion* (multimedia room)
Chair: Hans Storhaug

Helen Singleton *'Australian life-writing from Polonia: Unlocking Pandora`s box on pre-war Polish ~intelligentsia~ identity'*
Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell *'Two Polish Men in Russian America (1800-1867)'*
Kristin Mikalsen *'A common space: Migration and Intercultural Learning'*
Anna Domańska *'Visual representation of refugees in the media'*

Panel B: Contemporary migratory issues and discussion (cinema room)
Chair: Heike C. Spickermann
Solange Maslowski *'The influence of Central and Eastern European enlargement on the evolution of intra-EU mobility'*
Špela Kastelic *'2030 Agenda approach to Migration and Human Security'*
Jacek Barski *'Remigration or movement back to the roots? A new phenomenon among the people with a Polish background in Germany'*
Rebeca Mesarić Žabčić, Marina Perić Kaselj *'Emigration from the Republic of Croatia: the present situation and consequences for Croatian society'*

13.00–14.00 Lunch Mondo di Vinegre Restaurant (Emigration Museum in Gdynia)

14.00–15.15 Workshops in parallel panels: Refugees' life stories as European cultural heritage. The EU-Project "Specially unknown" as a way to cultural participation and integration of refugees in European cities

Panel I Workshop: *Oral history methods and practice* (multimedia room)
Moderator: Bram Beelaert, The Red Star Line Museum Antwerps

Panel II Workshop: '*Newcomers in Emigration Museum in Gdynia – good practices'* (cinema room)
Moderator: Anna Posłuszna, Emigration Museum in Gdynia
Panel III Workshop: *Working with refugee communities* (temporary exhibitions room)
Moderator: Dietmar Osses, LWL Industrial Museum, Bochum
15.15–15.45 Coffee Break

15.45–16.45 Presentation of a short documentary movie "Past States" and discussion (cinema room)

16.45–18.30 III session Philosophical and theoretical considerations about migration and discussion (multimedia room)
Chair: Emilia Garcia Lopez
Artur Kołodziejczyk *'Fear of the immigrants and stateless people as one of the causes of the catastrophe of the 20th century according to Hannah Arendt – philosophical analysis'*
Heike C. Spickermann *'Consistency of Interculturality. Awareness distant from Utopia, Dystopia and Atopy'*
Sara Ingrosso *'Postmodern migrations from a linguistic perspective: The case of Italian Newcomers in Munich'*
Antonello Scialdone *'Family issues in migrant's integration'*

20.00 AEMI Dinner at Vinegre di Rucola Restaurant (address: Naval Museum, III floor, Zawiszy Czarnego 1, 81–374 Gdynia)

Saturday 6th October

9.30–12.00 Annual General Meeting for AEMI members (multimedia room)
Chairman of AEMI Cathrine Kyø Hermansen
Outlook on the AEMI Meeting 2019 in Antwerp

12.00 Lunch Mondo di Vinegre Restaurant (Emigration Museum in Gdynia)

13.00 Trip to Gdansk

14.00–16.00 Visit in European Solidarity Center

16.00–18.00 Free time in Gdansk

18.00 Return to Gdynia

Emigration from the Republic of Croatia: present situation and consequences for Croatian society

Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić[1]
Marina Perić Kaselj[2]

Abstract
This paper discusses the emigration of citizens from the Republic of Croatia. Even though Croatians finally have their own state, emigration remains a constant part of their history and present condition. Following the entry of Croatia into the European Union on July 1, 2013, former procedures for emigration from Croatia were simplified as well as witnessing previous and new attractive and repressive factors triggering new emigrant waves from Croatia to European Union countries. A vital, actively working population of highly educated individuals and people with professional qualifications, who can find jobs outside the borders of Croatia, are emigrating from Croatia. The most common destination for Croatian emigrants is Germany, whose statistical data is important for estimating total emigration numbers.

Introduction

This new wave of emigration of citizens from Croatia after 1 July, 2013 was recognised as a pertinent problem for the future of Croatian society. A particularly important issue that concerns and alarms demographers is the increased departure of young people and whole families who are part of the fertile, vital and working population of Croatia. In most cases, emigration is not temporary migration, but definitive and permanent migration, which for Croatia in the long term represents the loss of demographic, economic and general social capital in the widest possible sense of these words.

Demographic changes in Croatia should become a priority issue in the coming years and decades for Croatia's government because, according to available data and estimates of future Croatian demographic trends, it is possible to foresee that Croatian citizens will continue to age and Croatia will be a nation of older people within the European Union due to low birth rates, extended lifespan and emigration beyond its borders.

Human capital is a main contributing factor to the economic and social development of each country, and in 2017, Croatia saw its lowest number of

births per annum at 36,647. At the same time, the largest number of annual deaths occurred since 1991, this being 54,261, which means that on average 150 people died each day in Croatia. According to provisional data from the Croatian Central Bureau of Statistics, 33,295 people emigrated, and 14,856 more died than were born.[3] The birth rate trend is also accelerated due to emigration, as young people emigrate as well as young families, which is worrying for Croatian society.

The red alarm in Croatia is on and in the long run such a situation for Croatian society is not optimistic. The social and economic consequences of an aging population and depopulation will have consequences not only at the local, regional, but also at the national level. It is possible that an increase in the older population will lead to an increase in the distortion of the balance between rural and urban environments, an increase in local and regional differences, which may affect local and regional competitiveness, and stimulate a collapse of the economic, educational, health and pensions systems.

Considering the available data, it is to be assumed that the emigration of Croatian citizens outside the borders of the Republic of Croatia will not stop in the near future. The places where Croatians decide to live will mainly depend on the economic situation in the Republic of Croatia, job supply and demand, and on the degree of security in European countries such as security from terrorism. In general, emigration and depopulation are the most serious and long-term problems for Croatian society and the Republic of Croatia. Population is the foundation of every state and society, which is of clear importance as is the impact of population for the functioning of the state and economic and social development. It is also important that the state invests in human capital and its own population, ensuring long-term stability, economic activity and economic development. Human capital is the main factor in the economic and social development of every country.

Human capital is the most valuable capital of each country. Without a population, a country cannot exist, and one of the most important structures of a population is the age structure as it affects the social and economic development of a country. The age structure of the population of the Republic of Croatia can be compared with most developed countries internationally. When the proportion of young and aged population in the Republic of Croatia is compared, the results display worrying data as a consequence of the long-term emigration of the younger population from the Republic of Croatia. In addition, a decrease in the typical natural increase of a population, which for Croatia has been negative since the beginning of the twentieth century, adds to the grounds for future concern. Following the entry of the Republic of Croatia into the European Union, on July 1, 2013, emigration from the Republic of Croatia was simplified, and the "doors" for emigration of the population were opened to many European Union countries, as well as the practice of former emigration procedures and old/new attractive and repressive factors triggered new emigrant waves from the Republic of Croatia towards the countries of the European Union. Massey's law of migration states that international migration is much harder to stop than begin (Massey et al. 1993). In addition to the previous sentence, globalisation,

accessibility of information, and legal and organisational ease of movement enable ever faster and simpler mobility of the population. At the same time, in the labour market, there is competition in the struggle for population growth, which can be considered as workforce, consumer or human capital.

The data of the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Republic of Croatia differ significantly from the data of foreign statistical offices because they are based on the deregistration of residential addresses at the Ministry of the Interior, due to migration abroad and thus represent only a fraction of the total emigrant population. The Republic of Croatia does not have a comprehensive population Register and therefore accurate data does not exist on the emigration of the population from the Republic of Croatia. The actual and complete extent of emigration from the Republic of Croatia will be known only according to the results of the list of the population census in 2021.

Push and pull factors

Push and pull factors influence each individual's decision as to whether to move from his/her birthplace and to choose a new destination and country for a new life and work. A whole set of push and pull factors have developed through various historical periods and dictated the waves of emigration.

Often the current high unemployment rate, still unfavorable economic conditions, inability to find work in one's own profession, inability to progress in that profession, inability to solve the housing issue, besides many other personal and psychological reasons, are some of the factors that encourage people to decide on whether to migrate. On the other hand, they are attracted by the opposite "pull" factors for which they are moving to the new state/society that offers everything that, in general, relates to a satisfying standard of living for each individual

All migrations have a double effect, first in the place of departure, and the other at the place of arrival, affecting the population change, their distribution, and their structure.

The most prominent *Push* factors which affect the emigration of Croats are according to Wertheimer-Baletić (1999):

- Unemployment,
- Loss of employment,
- High rates of corruption,
- Inability to progress at work and in the profession,
- Inability to resolve housing issues,
- General dissatisfaction with political parties.

The most prominent *Pull* factors which affect the emigration of Croats, according to the same source, are (Wertheimer-Baletić 1999):

- Possibility of employment,
- Advancement in the profession,
- New or different activities: intellectual, recreational, business, social,
- Safer living conditions,
- Lower rates of corruption,
- Greater personal wealth,
- Political security.

The countries to which the Croats population are emigrating

For several years Germany has been the most attractive destination state for life and work and is the first place to which Croatian citizens are going. The German Migration and Refugee Office (BAMF) in

its migration report stated that 110,526 Croatian citizens have moved to Germany in 2016 and 2017, mainly those of younger age, which is of particular concern to the Republic of Croatia. Increased emigration and the new recent wave of emigration from the Republic of Croatia actually begin after 2013 with the entry of the Republic of Croatia into the European Union.

The sudden rise of the emigration of Croatian citizens from the Republic of Croatia began in 2014. In 2016, the restriction of temporary employment was lifted with more Croatian citizens migrating to Germany. From Croatia's entry into the European Union until the end of 2017, 189,633 Croatian citizens had left for Germany.[4] It is important to be careful with the data if comparing it with Croatian statistical data on immigration because the German data does not only refer to the emigration of Croats from the Republic of Croatia, but to all emigrants with Croatian citizenship, and Croats from Bosnia and Herzegovina may also hold Croatian citizenship. In addition to Germany, Ireland has emerged in recent years as one of the most desirable states for life and work for Croatian citizens to emigrate to. This is also supported by the fact that in 2013 Ireland announced that it would not limit the immigration of Croatian workers to Ireland, which resulted in the beginning of increased emigration of Croatian citizens to there. Prior to 2013, emigration of Croatian citizens to Ireland was limited, however, after this change and by 2014 the number of people seeking a PPSN (Personal Public Servis Number) grew significantly. In 2016, the official Irish population census shows the largest relative increase of immigrant population born in the Republic of Croatia between 2011 and 2016. This also shows the PPSN, without which one

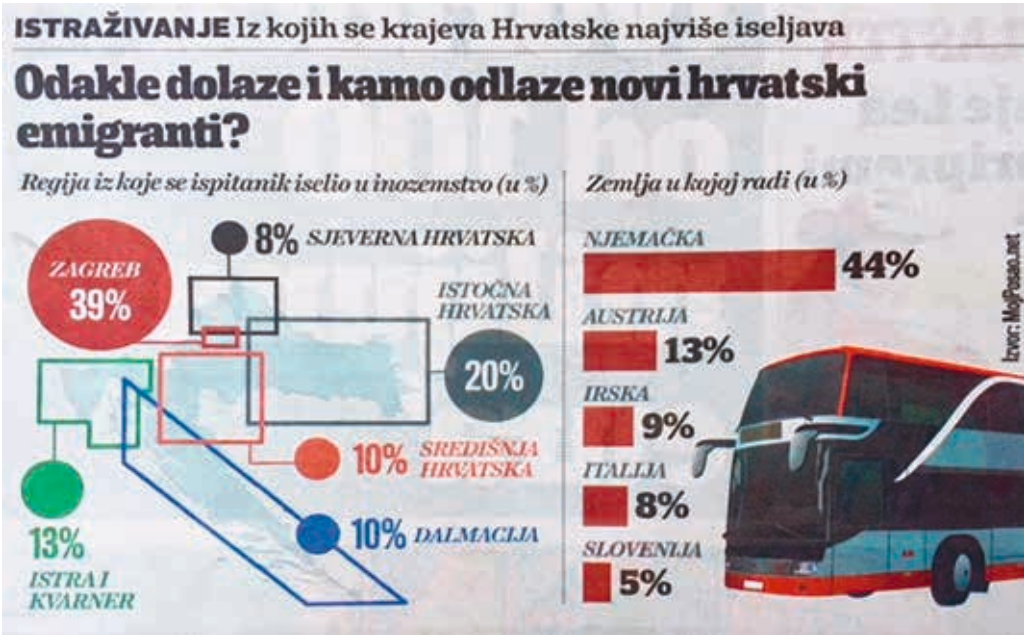

Figure 1: Croatian daily newspaper, Jutarnji list, 21 June 2018

cannot gain employment in Ireland, open a bank account, access health insurance, which is issued by the Ministry of Social Protection on a monthly basis.[5]

In recent years, Austria among the EU member states, has become ranked third in the overall number of expatriate Croatian citizens. In 2014, the number of Croatian citizens living in Austria was drastically increasing, not surprising given the historical connection between Croatia and Austria during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the physical proximity of Austria to the Republic of Croatia. Free access to the Austrian labour market was provided to Croatian workers only as recently as 2018, so a further rise in the number of Croatian citizens living in Austria could be anticipated.

The above statements are confirmed by the daily Jutarnji list (Figure 1). While on the other hand, Figure 2 shows a call to all citizens of the Republic of Croatia wishing to work in Germany to contact the advertised telephone numbers on the job posters in Germany in relation to the jobs offered on the poster.

The consequences of emigration for Croatian society

Increased and consistent emigration beyond the borders of the Republic of Croatia will have long-term consequences for Croatian society for many reasons that will not be able to be controlled or mitigated. With the daily migration of the population from the Republic of Croatia, the share of the young within the total population in Croatia is steadily decreasing. The inevitable consequence of this increasing phenomenon is the demographic decline of Croatia's society and the increasing demographic aging of the population. Ultimately this disrupts the share of the working-age population and reduces the share of the working-age

Figure 2: Advertisement on the roadside in Croatia for employment in Germany, author of photo Rebeka Mesarić Žabčić, 29 June 2018

population in the total population, which in effect disrupts the Croatian labour market. The Republic of Croatia is already facing a shortage of workers in the hospitality industry and the medical sector with insufficient staff, and workers in technical professions (Pokos)[6]. This is why economic productivity is reduced and the economic, educational, pension and health systems are in question. Also in question is the security of the state and factors of imbalance in society and the area/location, the security of pension funds is questionable, loss of children leads to the loss of talent and skills, there will be a reduction in the number of pupils in schools and at faculties, which will result in a surplus of professors in educational institutions whose lectures will have reduced attendees.

Relating to the consequences of emigration, Croatian demographer Nenad Pokos[7] points out that due to the departure of the youth and working population of Croatia, there will be a growing feeling of dysfunction of the state. "The working-active population, which continues to decrease, will not be able to support the growing number of pensioners."

Conclusion

The recent wave of emigration of Croatian citizens beyond the borders of the Republic of Croatia after 1 July, 2013 was identified in the Republic of Croatia as an important problem for the future of Croatian society. Of particular concern is the fact that there is an increase in younger people and families leaving. Given that the citizens of the Republic of Croatia are aging, with an increase in emigration of younger people, negative demographic trends are intensified with potentially negative consequences for the economy, health, science and education. The question for reflection, discussion and new research would be: how to achieve and harmonize the increased emigration of Croatian citizens of the younger age and entire families, beyond the borders of the Republic of Croatia and the negative demographic processes in Croatian society?

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Notes

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2. Marina Perić Kaselj, PHD, Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Trg Stjepana Radića 3, HR-10000 Zagreb
3. Data available at: https://www.dzs.hr
4. http://www.bamf.de/EN/Infothek/Statistiken/statistiken-node.html
5. https://www.cso.ie
6. https://narod.hr/hrvatska/pokos-posljedice-iseljavanja-radnika-osjecat-cemo-desetljecima, 6 July 2016.
7. https://narod.hr/hrvatska/pokos-posljedice-iseljavanja-radnika-osjecat-cemo-desetljecima, 6 July 2016.

Re-emigration or return? A new phenomenon among Poles in Germany

Jacek Barski[1]

Since the escalation of the refugee crisis in Europe in 2015, we have observed a new phenomenon among Poles in Germany. Numerous people of Polish origin, mostly families with school-age children, that have often lived in Germany for generations and some of whom no longer have any knowledge of the Polish language are now expressing a desire to return to Poland. The reasons often cited include growing alienation in German schools as well as the fear of foreigners and, above all, of Islamic cultures and lifestyles. In order to understand this phenomenon better, we should call to mind a few historical facts.

The three partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795 by Prussia, Russia and Austria- Hungary meant that Poland no longer existed as an independent state in Europe until 1918. Of course, Poles were still present as an ethnic unit battling to maintain and continue their national identity. This not only applied to the military uprisings in 1831, 1848 and 1863 but also in the areas of culture and emigration. The defeat of national uprisings led to a mass emigration from Poland, above all to France. Here we are talking about the "Great Emigration". The centre of the movement was in the Hotel Lambert in Paris. Over the course of time, Poles in exile were distributed all over the world, and not only to typical emigration countries like the USA, South America and Australia.

The effects of such an emigration are still visible today. Around 20,000,000 Poles or people of Polish origin are now living outside Poland. The independence that had been won in 1918 did not last for long. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and the new political order in Europe after 1945 made an independent Poland impossible until the change in the political system in 1989. After 1945, Poland had a government in exile in London, and in 1977, a Standing Conference on Polish Museums, Libraries and Archives in the West was set up to maintain the cultural heritage of Poles living abroad.

Despite the impressive cultural battle at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in Europe between 1850 and 1870, no Poles possessed a Polish passport. Around this time, employers in Prussia were searching for workers in the new

industrial area of the Ruhr Valley, and it was only natural for them to look for well-trained workers in former Polish industrial areas, above all in Upper Silesia, which was also a part of Prussia. There were a lot of publicity activities, etc, and from around 1870 onwards, a huge number of Poles and other Prussian citizens of Polish origin came to the Ruhr. Was this really an emigration? The Prussian Poles were, in fact, citizens of the Prussian state, and in practical terms, they simply moved from one home to another. However, it is logical that the local population in the Ruhr Valley perceived them as Poles and thus as foreigners. Over the years, around 500,000 Poles arrived in the Ruhr in this way. At the start, they were very careful to keep up their nationality and led an active Polish-based life, for example by setting up a huge number of Polish organisations. A new term was thus invented to describe them: Ruhr Poles.

Despite the fact that they cultivated their national identity intensively, Ruhr Poles were very quickly integrated. Here the Catholic Church was an important common focus, because it was something they shared in common with the local people. Moreover, a Polish middle-class began to develop over the years that also played a part in the workings of society in Prussia. At the time, Poles had the status of a national minority. For example, they could be directly elected to the Prussian Reichstag. Polish social life in the whole of Prussia and later in the whole of Germany existed on a huge number of different levels. From around 1890, for example, there were several hundred Polish art students studying at the Academy of Arts in Munich. Nonetheless, when I look back from today's point of view, I would not say that Poles, and especially Ruhr Poles, at the time constructed a parallel society, as we now say. They were more a powerful national community that were very conscious of their origins and did not shrink from taking an active part in shaping society.

It goes without saying that from 1933 onwards, during the National Socialist regime, the Poles were subject to chicanery and persecution, which led the Ruhr Poles either to take refuge in a radical nationalism or, at the other extreme, led them to compulsorily assimilate, so to speak. Thus on the one hand there was a new self-conscious feeling of nationalism amongst Poles in Germany and, on the other hand, a tendency to make themselves invisible by assimilating. We may assume that many people decided on an individual basis, on the grounds of their particular family situation.

Nazi persecutions and the decision to become assimilated also had a side-effect: many Ruhr Poles simply destroyed any documents that might point to their Polish origin, a factor that makes itself felt only too clearly today at the Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of Poles in Germany.

The special situation of the Poles in Germany resulted in a huge number of paradoxical, and sometimes tragic, situations during the Second World War. One of these was the participation of Ruhr Poles as soldiers in the German army during the Polish campaign.

The fact is that after the war many Ruhr Poles did not return to the new Communist society in Poland. The effects of new integration and assimilation processes led to Poles being practically invisible in the Federal Republic of Germany.

The refugee crisis in Europe in 2015 and the burden taken on by Germany has indirectly led to the creation of a completely new phenomenon that might be called the renaissance of Ruhr Poles: at least this was the justification mentioned by those involved. There is a strong wave of completely integrated Germans who have suddenly discovered their Polish roots and want to return to Poland. This has resulted in a paradoxical situation, because it is diametrically opposite to the migration movements between Poland and Germany between 1980 and 1990. At that time, many Poles moved to the Federal Republic on economic grounds and used their German origins to gain from the mostly generous social benefits on offer. This had been made possible by German laws that allowed so-called "late emigrants" to claim German nationality and a huge number of social privileges immediately, simply by making a verbal declaration.

Today, we can observe that the situation is precisely the opposite. German Ruhr Poles are looking for their Polish origins in our documentation centre in order to leave Germany and emigrate to the allegedly "refugee-free" Poland! How should we define this? Is it immigration, mobility, a re-emigration or a return? At the moment, it is impossible to give a clear answer, especially because this is a completely new phenomenon for which there are no statistical surveys or further studies at the moment. Nor is it possible to make further evaluations of this process and forecasts at the moment.

For me, as someone who was given political asylum in Germany in 1981, it is astounding that people wish to leave their old home country and seek a new home country simply because they oppose the idea of refugees. I got into a detailed conversation with such a person, and you can read his story on our website[2].

Patrik Bartelt is a German in his early forties who has made a conscious decision to publicise his fate. He has Polish origins that go back a long way: to be precise back to the time of the industrial revolution in the Ruhr. He cannot speak Polish and has never been socialised in a Polish manner. He is married and has two children of preschool age. His wife comes from Poland and has been living in Germany for the last 20 years. His children speak Polish as a second language. In 2016, he made a firm decision to leave Germany and "return home" to Poland.

The reason he gave was that life had become more difficult in a problem area in Oberhausen. But the main reason was the fact that his children would probably have to attend a primary school with children of Arabic background or other foreign origins, and that they would almost certainly be the only Germans in the class. This problematic situation inspired him to begin researching his Polish roots intensively. Unfortunately, he could only find a few documents. So he decided to apply for Polish nationality, and because the necessary documents were missing, he came to confide his story to us.

It is striking that he does not want to live in Poland as a German but as a Pole. It seems that formal recognition now has a deeper significance for him. Seen in purely formal terms, according to European law, it would not be necessary for him to change his nationality simply because he was moving to live in Poland.

Because we are only a documentation centre, we were not really able to help him

in his application for Polish nationality. But it is interesting to note the reaction of the official Polish authorities in Germany at the General Consulate in Cologne, who were responsible for his case. I happen to know the General Consul very well, and when he rang me, he was at his wits end because to date there were no existing procedures for such cases. In the end, the Consulate sent on the application to the authorities in the town where Herr Barteit was living. Unfortunately, this made the case even more difficult, and his first application was turned down. As a result, he has entered an appeal to the President of Poland.

This case should not be regarded as a phenomenon or a special case but rather as a striking example of the renaissance of Ruhr Poles in Germany.

Notes

1. PhD, Director, Porta Polonica - Documentation Centre for the Culture and History of Poles in Germany, Bochum, Germany, Am Rübenkamp 4, D-44793 Bochum, Germany
2. https://www.porta-polonica.de/de/Atlas-der-Erinnerungsorte/remigration-oder-rueckkehr-als-ruhrpole-zu-rueck-die-alte-heimat

PROGRAM
29th annual AEMI meeting

Migrating Memories Dialogues on the relationship between memory, heritage and migration

2-5 October 2019
Red Star Line Museum, Antwerp, Belgium

Wednesday, October 2nd
Venue: Red Star Line Museum, Montevideostraat 3, 2000 Antwerpen

18:00–21:00 Opening reception

19:00 Speeches

19:30 Tours throughout the permanent exhibition of the Red Star Line Museum and the temporary exhibition 'Roots Seekers'

Thursday, October 3rd
Venue: Auditorium, Felixarchief, Oudenleeuwenrui 9, 2000 Antwerpen

9:00–9:15 Welcome
Cathrine Kyø Hermansen, AEMI

9:15–9:30 Reflections on the International Meeting for Migration Museums in Antwerp
Kevin Jennings, Tenement Museum New York (US)

9:30–10:00 Keynote
Karen Moeskops, Red Star Line Museum Antwerp (BE), *Safeguarding memories of migrants in a genuine participatory way as an inclusive museum - by the Red Star Line Museum.*

10:00–11:00 Contributions: material memory
Chair: Hans Storhaug, Museum of Stavanger

10:00 Gerrit Verhoeven, University Antwerp (BE), *Anna's Box. Material culture*

and memory of the Belgian War refugee Anna Bosmans (1914-'18).

10:15 Anders Thorkilsen, The Danish Immigration Museum (DK), *Breaking bread – sharing the old country and the new.*

10:30 Kris Tolomei (BE), *Italian mozaïst in Belgium during the bel époque.*

10:45 Discussion

11:00–11:15 Coffee break

11:15–11:55 Panel: Muslim heritage in immigration. Cemetery comparison between Finland, France and Great Britain.
Soraya El Alaoui, Muslim Cemetery in Bobigny (FR), Linda Haapajarvi, Institut des Migrations (FR), Nada Afiouni, University of Le Havre (FR), Jean Barthélemi Debost, Institut des Migrations (FR)

11:55–13:10 Contributions: museum projects
Chair: Dietmar Osses, LWL Industriemuseum Zeche Hannover in Bochum (DE)

11:55 Lien Vloeberghs, Red Star Line Museum Antwerp (BE), *'Destination Sweetheart' On creating an exhibition on love and migration.*

12:10 Hilde Langeraert, Industriemuseum Ghent (BE), *Their Work, Their Lives, Their Migration Stories. Oral History at the Museum of Industry.*

12:25 Veerle Vanden Daelen, Laurence Schram & Dorien Styven, Kazerne Dossin Mechelen (BE) *Kazerne Dossin: How to Merge Traces of Migrants and Migrating Memories into one Memorial, Museum and Research Centre and Beyond?*

12:40 Malene Dybbøl, The Danish Immigration Museum (DK), *Can museums make a difference…really?*

12:55 Discussion

13:10–14:00 Lunch break

14:00–14:40 Workshop contemporary collecting in museums
Randi Lorenz Marselis & Freja Gry Børstig, The Danish Immigration Museum & Roskilde University (DK)

14:40–15:40 Contributions: migration and trauma
Chair: Bram Beelaert, Red Star Line Museum (BE)

14:40 Ruth Kevers, KU Leuven (BE), *Remembering collective violence in exile: The role of collective identifications in Kurdish refugee families' post-migration life.*

14:55 Sarah Kaerts, Workshop Intangible Heritage (BE), *The use of Intangible Cultural Heritage in dance movement therapy with involuntary migrants.*

15:10 Katarzyna Salski, Documentation Centre for the Culture and the History of the Poles in Germany (DE), *NS crimes against Russian forced labourers in the Sauerland 1945.*

15:25 Discussion
15:40–16:15 Coffee break

16:15–16:55 Panel: A Kaleidoscoop of Stories. Families, Neighbourhoods, Churches,

Trade Unions and Governments.
Marijke van Faassen, Huygens ING (NL), Ton van Kalmthout Huygens ING (NL), Rik Hoekstra Huygens ING (NL), Meghann Ormond, Wageningen University (NL) & Nonja Peters Curtin University, Perth (Australia)

16:55–18:00 Film screening 'The 32nd Day'
Screening of the film *Why I became a fieldworker for 'Specially Unknown'* by Andrés Lübbert (BE). Q&A with the director.

Friday, October 4th
9:00–10:15 Contributions: communities
Chair: Nonja Peters, Curtin University, Perth (Australia)

9:00 Rafał Raczyński, Emigration Museum in Gdynia (Pl), *E-Migration. Polish Tech Diaspora*.

9:15 Raphael Tsavkko Garcia, University of Deusto (ES), *Transnational networks of the Eritrean, Tamil, Kurd and Basque diasporas. Political mobilisation and online political engagement.*

9:30 Romain Landmeters, University of Saint-Louis-Bruxelles (BE), *Burundian, Congolese and Rwandan in Brussels city after WWII. Cultivated immigrants in (de-) colonial context*.

9:45 Mika Tervonen, Migration institute of Finland (FI), *Minorities as migrants: overlooked histories?*

10:00 Discussion
10:15–10:30 Coffee break

10:30–11:40 Panel and contribution: interdisciplinary approaches
Chair: Jean Barthélemi Debost, Institut des Migrations (FR)

10:30 *Panel: A researcher, an association, a museum, an exhibition.*
Hélène Bertheleu, Institut des Migrations (FR), Bambi Ceuppens, Africa Museum (BE), Muriel Cohen, Institut des Migrations (FR), Jean Barthélemi Debost, Institut des Migrations (FR)

11:10 Solange Maslowski, Charles University in Prague (CZ), *The multi-purpose role of 'ties with home' in EU intra-mobility.*
11:25 Discussion

11:40–12:30 Contributions: diaspora's
Chair: Karen Moeskops, Red Star Line Museum Antwerp (BE)

11:40 Emilia García López & Xosé M. Núñez Seixas, Consello Da Cultura Galega (ES), *The project for a Museum for Galician Migrations (Diasporas. Museo das Migracións Galegas). Towards an entangled view of human mobility.*

11:55 Catherine McCullough & Patrick Fitzgerald, Mellon Centre for Migration Studies (UK), *'Derry mountains no more': Irish migrant departures in historical context.*

12:10 Discussion

12:30–13:30 Lunch break

13:30–14:10 Panel Heritages of Ireland's Famine Diaspora Transcultural Legacies, Transforming Perspectives.
Chair: Patrick Fitzgerald, Mellon Centre for Migration Studies (UK)

Marguérite Corporaal Radboud University Nijmegen (NL), Angela Byrne, EPIC The Irish Emigration Museum (IR), Robert Kearns, Ireland Park Foundation, Toronto (Canada), Jason King, Irish Heritage Trust, Dublin (IR), William Jenkins, York University, Toronto (Canada)

14:10–15:15 Contributions: Polish emigration
Chair: Emilia García López, Consello Da Cultura Galega (ES)

14:10 Adam Walaszek, Polonia Institute in the Jagiellonian University, Cracow (PL), *Life in Polish Chicago Memorized by an immigrant woman.*

14:25 Marcin Szerle, Gdynia City Museum (PL), '*The Book of Gdynia's Citizens' as an Element of Collective Memory and a Form of Documenting Migration Heritage Passed Down to the Next Generations.*

14:40 Michelina Petelska, University of Gdańsk (PL), *Memory of immigrants from Polish lands in European narratives.*
14:55 Discussion

15:15–15:30 Coffee break

15:30–16:15 Contributions: testimonies
Chair: Maddalena Tirabassi, Centro Altreitalie (IT)

15:30 Laurence Prempain (FI), *A memory journey through silence and secrets to reach roots. Nicolaiev, Russia, 1911 – Lyon, France, May 2018*

15:45 Maria Jarlsdotter Enckell, The Åland Islands Emigrant Institute (FI) *Monuments of Migration with a focus on the receiving end.*

16:00 Discussion

16:15 Conclusion of the conference
Palhik Mana, Playback Theatre

20:00 CONFERENCE DINNER
Members & invitations only
Venue: Groote Witte Arend, Reyndersstraat 18, 2000 Antwerp
https://www.degrootewittearend.be/

Saturday, October 5th
10:00–12:00 Annual AEMI Meeting (members only)

13:30–16:00 City walk *The World in the City, the Central Station neighbourhood*
Start: Train station *Antwerpen-Centraal*, Koningin Astridplein 27, 2000 Antwerpen, main hall

"Derry mountains no more": Irish migrant departures in a historical context

Patrick Fitzgerald[1]
Catherine McCullough[2]

Introduction

On the morning of the twelfth of June 1824, a young County Tyrone emigrant by the name of James Humphrey departed for Quebec from the port of Derry in the northwest of Ireland. Over three months later, in writing home to his parents, he recounted his experience of leaving Ireland and simply declared "we took our departure from the Derry mountains and saw no more" (MCMS IED 9310464 – www.dippam.ac.uk). We can envision Humphrey on deck at the stern of his sailing vessel, progressing up Lough Foyle towards the open Atlantic but looking back landward towards what he called the Derry mountains, which are more appropriately known as the Sperrins. Perhaps he was recalling in his mind's eye the scene of departure from the home farm near Coagh, in the neighbouring county of Tyrone, about 40 miles to the southwest, on the far side of the Sperrins. His correspondence tells us little about that parting, but the description of his voyage up the Foyle clearly suggests that this young migrant thought that he was likely taking a last, final view of a landscape he had grown up observing. Like most contemporary trans-Atlantic Irish emigrants, the decision to emigrate was for good – there was little prospect of return in the early nineteenth century (Fitzgerald 2011).

All migrations, irrespective of distance, consist of three stages. Firstly, we have the leaving of an 'old world', secondly the crossing of an intervening obstacle and thirdly arrival into a 'new world' (Fitzgerald & Lambkin 2008: 16–68). In this paper, we wish to focus upon the initial stage, with particular attention to Ireland and Irish practice at the point of departure, but with a view to understanding leaving within a comparative European frame of reference (Schrier 1956: 138). We hope that our colleagues across AEMI will share their existing knowledge with us and/or raise the issue of departure in their consciousness and within their respective research agendas. Of particular interest for us is the issue of ritual or patterned modes

of behaviour that may have characterised the point at which migrants underwent the act of parting from family and friends at home.

Leaving home, farm, townland, county and country was marked from the late eighteenth century onwards by a family gathering, known as a "living wake" (Lambkin 2007: 154–5; Fitzgerald 2003: 22). "Waking" is the custom in the Irish funerary tradition where, upon the death of a family member, the corpse is laid out at home. The wake generally lasts at least one night, and people visit during this period to remember the deceased and keep company with the family. Close family members remain with the corpse overnight and organise 'shifts' to ensure that the corpse is never alone, offering prayers for their soul to prevent evil spirits from entering the body (Schrier 1958: 87).

The 'Living or American Wake' enacted many of the customs of the wake for the dead with the announcement of the emigration/death; staying up all night to mark the transition with family and friends; activities including dance, song and sharing of food and alcohol; a great outpouring of emotion to mark the grief of loss, particularly by the female members of the family, and the procession or 'convoy' when the emigrant was accompanied to the point of departure (Metress 1990: 147–53).

Whilst the customs of the American wake were common to all these events, it is interesting that there were a variety of names used for the occasion (Miller 1988: 556–564; Neville 2000: 119). It is recorded that this inevitably sad, sometimes traumatic, leaving party was known in Wexford as a 'parting spree'; in Donegal as an 'American bottle night' or 'bottle drink'; in Galway as 'the farewell supper' and in Antrim and Derry as a 'convoy' (Schrier 1958: 89). However, in the literature the common designation for the occasion is the American Wake - even if the migrants were going to Australia, New Zealand, South Africa or Canada! (Schrier 1958: 93). It is interesting to note that if the emigrant was moving to England or Scotland, an American Wake was not held, as it was assumed that there was a greater possibility of return (Fitzgerald 2003: 22).

The American Wake was generally initiated by the emigrant themselves, who visited friends and neighbours, inviting them to the family home at nightfall on the evening before departure. The local community was invited either directly by the emigrant or word of mouth spread the news, and locals were expected to attend. Attendance was seen as a point of principle, as if one family did not participate, it was unlikely that they would get support in future should someone from their house emigrate (Schrier 1958: 89).

The normal pattern was that food was prepared by the women of the house, with contributions of food, whiskey, porter, stout and tobacco being brought by neighbours. The kitchen was cleared, stools and benches were set out around the hearth, a warm fire welcomed all visitors and the first fiddle note might be heard. Storytelling, dancing, singing, drinking, fun and frivolity ensued, but there was a recurrent undertone of sadness, often accompanied towards dawn by sorrowful lamentations, or 'keening', from the females present. Visiting Ireland in 1852, author Harriet Martineau came across such a parting, noting that "the last embraces were terrible to see; but

worse were the kissings and the claspings of the hands during the long minutes that remained…we saw the wringing of hands and heard the wailing" (Schrier 1958: 91–92).

An Emigrant's Farewell

At the break of dawn, the emigrant would start to take their leave – this moment was powerfully described in 1926 – "Before the dance ended, Grania's brother went from us, and we saw him take the harness down from the wall. It was an action as significant as anything in drama. The dance went on, but we heard the stamp of the awakened horse and the rattle of the harness as the conveyance was made ready for the journey" (Colum 1926: 172–178).

In Ireland, we are particularly fortunate to have access to the work of the Irish Folklore Commission, which recorded oral traditions and cultural memories between 1935–1970 (Glassie 2010: 1–18). Its successor, the National Folklore Collection (NFC), has made this material, much of it gathered throughout the whole of Ireland, available online. The NFC is recognised as one of the largest collections of folklore in western Europe, and the Schools' Collection, gathered between 1937–1939, is a treasure trove for historians. For the duration of this project, more than 50,000 schoolchildren from 5,000 schools in the 26 counties of the then Irish Free State (now the Republic of Ireland) were enlisted to collect folklore in their home districts. Michael O'Leary, a pupil in Gortnaprocess School in County Kerry, recorded the following testimony from Mrs E. O'Leary, aged 45:

Figure 1: Image of a re-enactment of the American Wake at the Ulster American Folk Park, National Museums NI (image courtesy of National Museums NI).

> "Long ago, when a person was going away to America, he gave a dance to his friends the night before he left, and that dance was called an 'American Wake'. Then the following day, when the person was leaving for the train, about ten horse-cars would go to the railway-station in procession. These cars were called an 'American Funeral'."

Then, Michael goes on to record "an old Irish verse" outlining the sadness of parting, the convoy to the railway station and an acknowledgement that the emigrant will never see Ireland or the family circle again. This was narrated to him by his respondent, who we might surmise was his mother (O'Sullivan 1969: xxxv).

"You brave Irish people where-ever you go, I pray stand a moment and listen to me,
Your sons and fair daughters are going far away,
And thousands are sailing to America.

The night before leaving, they bid their neighbours good-bye.
And early next morning their hearts give a sigh.
They kiss their fond mothers, and those words they will say.
Good-bye darling parents we are going far away.

The tears from their eyes fall down like the rain
As the horses are starting going off for (the) train

Figure 2: 'Irish emigrants leaving home', Harper's Bazar, 10 December 1870; image courtesy of Mayo County Library

> Before leaving the station and after leaving the strand (or beach)
> They give one look round at their own native land
> Their hearts, they are breaking, for leaving the shore
> Good-bye to old Ireland shall we ne'er see you more"
>
> (NFC, Schools' collection, vol. 415, 415 – www.duchas.ie)

Almost seventy years before Michael O'Leary recorded these memories, the image below entitled 'Irish emigrants leaving home' clearly illustrates the sadness, regret, sheer hard work and upheaval of moving home. One couple embraces, another pair dance and a mother laments while trunks are loaded for New York.

The ritual as a publicly witnessed contract

It may be argued that the ritual served to acknowledge that the emigrant had sought and obtained parental permission to go, and that it released them from their current domestic and communal obligations but on the unspoken condition that they were effectively renouncing any future claim to the family farm. However, as a new obligation, they embraced their duty to write home regularly and enclose such remittance as they could spare.

The American Wake could be seen as fitting into the conceptual scheme of the "rites of passage" as defined by anthropologist Arnold van Gennep in his seminal work published in 1909 (Van Gennep 2019: 3). Using his three-fold structure: rites of separation, rites of the margin and rites of incorporation, the American Wake appears to fit into the first category (Van Gennep 2019: 11, 35). The rite of separation marks the transfer of the individual from his or her previous role as son or daughter and dependent to becoming an independent, discrete entity whose new duties included the sending home of monies to support the family and keep the farm intact.

Social and historical context

In considering this ritual of departure as it evolved during the post-Famine decades, we might direct our attention to two pronounced features of that society. Firstly, significant changes that were occurring with regard to the inheritance of land, and secondly, evidence that points to the relatively low levels of return migration to Ireland by those from trans-oceanic destinations. Traditionally, in pre-Famine rural Ireland, partible inheritance predominated and ensured that a farm would generally be divided (usually equally) among inheriting sons. Inevitably, this practice served to fuel the subdivision of holdings and increasingly threatened the viability of holdings, particularly where land quality was poor. In the wake of the Great Famine, there was a gradual but clearly perceptible transition to impartible inheritance, as primogeniture became increasingly established as the norm (Clear 2007: 77). Increasingly, non-inheriting siblings with few alternative income streams in Ireland looked out towards the Diaspora for their futures, and having gone overseas, they had limited reason to return to the home place. In 1993, Cornell University historian Mark Wyman explored the phenomenon of return migration from the United States to Europe in the half-century after 1880. His research

confirmed that apart from European Jews, the Irish propped up the European league table for returnees. By the opening decades of the twentieth century, Wyman estimated that only 11% of Irish emigrants to the US returned permanently to Ireland. This compared with an overall rate across the continent of 35% (Wyman 1993: 10–12). In other words, emigration from Ireland in this time frame was generally for keeps; those who went were not expected back in the home place again. Clearly this helps us understand the deployment of the funeral custom of the wake to the emigrant departure. Recent work by David Fitzpatrick has revised the picture somewhat, suggesting that, particularly in the rural west of Ireland after 1890, return rates from North America increased, particularly for those visiting 'home' on a temporary basis (Fitzpatrick 2020). Nonetheless, reverse migration in Ireland remained modest in relation to overall European levels.

Departure Rituals and the Mellons of Castletown

Whilst much of the writing about the American or Living wake has focused on post-Famine Catholics from Ireland, we can identify at least one reference to the custom being practiced by pre-Famine Protestants. Thomas Mellon, who emigrated from the townland of Castletown in County Tyrone in 1818, recorded his memories of the departure of his grandfather and other family members two years previously in 1816. Writing many years later in the early 1880s, the now elderly Ulster Presbyterian recalled the scene with impressive clarity. He recorded the circumstances as follows:

> "The jaunting car with the female portion of the family going before, and the carts with the goods following, then a long escort on foot, resembled a funeral procession more than anything else, and was pretty much the same in feeling. At the top of a hill on the road, was the place of parting. That was the last point from which the old homestead could be seen: a homestead which had sheltered the family and their ancestors for so many generations. It was sad to look back upon it for the last time. After a great deal of tear shedding and hand shaking, and good wishes and blessings, the kind hearted crowd turned homeward, and the little emigrant party continued their solitary way onward with sad hearts." (Mellon 1885: 12).

This account presents us with a description of the ritual as early as the second decade of the nineteenth century amongst a family who were Presbyterians, who Mellon described as having come to Tyrone from Scotland in the mid-seventeenth century. A second passage reaffirms the strong sense of emotional trauma associated with the rupture and reminds us of the parallel with a funeral cortege noted above by Michael O'Leary on the Cork/Kerry border. We speculate that this parting occurred at a point identifiable on the old road from Omagh to Derry, about two miles northwest of the Mellon farm. Here, the emigrant party said their sad farewells and looked back at the old world homestead for what was likely to be the last time.

Figure 3: The old road from Omagh to Derry

Conclusion

As stated at the outset, this short review of the evidence relating to the ritual of departure in Ireland was consciously intended to invite comparison from those in the audience in Antwerp, drawn, as they were, from many ethnic groups across Europe. A key question was whether the American or Living wake in Ireland was quite as unique or unparalleled as had been assumed heretofore. Following the presentation, over coffee, we had several conversations with delegates, particularly our friends from Poland, who seemed to suggest that nothing quite comparable with this ritual accompanied the moment of parting in their homeland. We continue to hope that others, upon a reading of this article and some reflection, can get back to us and allow us to construct a more comprehensive sense of the Irish and comparative European pattern.

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Muslim cemeteries and politics of belonging

A comparative case study of France, Finland and Britain

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Abstract
There are minimal core practices, specific to Muslim burial rituals, which appear problematic in different national contexts. The premise of this article is to understand Islamic cemeteries as sites of politics of belonging and the negotiation of national belonging in the face of death and burial. The specific sites to which this article refers are Helsinki (Finland), Paris (France) and London (United Kingdom). In these countries there are various Muslim minorities, but they also differ in their respective migration histories, the legal framework of burial regulation and their traditions of regulating cultural diversity. The article examines the question of Islamic burial as problematic in selected national contexts at different times. By visualising the specific burial sites in all three ethnically and religiously plural societies, it aims at concretising and unravelling the comparative analysis of contemporary Muslim practices in selected locations.

Introduction
Over 258 million people around the world do not live in the country in which they were born. Today, in Western Europe an average of 10% of the total population are migrants. Even if some migrants do ultimately return home, many settle, establish roots and stay in their new home countries. As a consequence, an increasing number of individuals do not only live but also die outside of their country of origin, in settings where their conceptualisations and practices of death and burial often differ from those of the national majority. In Western European countries, nowadays one typically dies in a hospital, is deposited to a morgue with little ritual pretence and remains there up to weeks before ultimately entering

eternity in the adjacent churchyard or a secularised cemetery. If this all seems quite natural to native-born citizens, to migrants and minorities, some of the state-regulated steps of the funeral process may appear highly problematic, as violating their very conceptions of a dignified death.

This is the case for Muslims, in particular, who have traditionally been cast as the ultimate "Other", exotic Orientals essentialised as antimodern, anti-egalitarian, irrational and undisciplined, whereas Europeans have constructed their self-image as enlightened, democratic and freedom-loving superior people and nations (Said 2003). Despite the general trend of secularisation, which is especially strong in France, Christian heritage casts a long and permanent shadow on the legal and cultural norms of burial to which Islamic traditions form an exception. To be sure, Muslim identities are multi-faceted and multi-ethnic, and it is difficult to separate the field of religious beliefs from customs rooted in different cultural backgrounds. Grouping diverse populations under the label "Muslim" runs the risk of essentialising minority individuals and masking the internal heterogeneity of European Muslims.

However, our respective research projects point out a minimal core of practices that are specific to Muslim burial rituals and appear as problematic in the national contexts that this article pertains to: Finland, France and the UK. Mainstream Islamic tradition bans cremation and imposes three norms for the funeral ritual: body washing or *ghusul*, shrouding the body or *kafan* and quick burial and burial prayers. Muslim tradition firstly requires that the body be ritually washed before burial. This requires the availability of a room, with running water and a drain, that in principle should not be too far from the cemetery. Secondly, according to Islamic Canonical Law, the body must be buried in a shroud, the *kafan*, rather than in a casket. Burial without a coffin, where the body is laid directly in the ground, is not a prescription of Sunnah in its strict sense. In fact, it is recommended that the body be buried in the simplest manner, as the prophet Mohammed had been. Thirdly, it is recommended that the burial occur on the day of the death or at the latest within 48 hours following the death, with the face of the deceased turned towards Mecca. The prayer ceremony takes place in the cemetery, and only men participate, the women remaining in the vicinity of the cemetery.

These pragmatic concerns relative to funeral organisation faced by the Muslim minority raise important questions over national belonging. For if we align ourselves with the scholars who see the very foundations of the human species and culture in our propensity to bury the dead and care for burial sites (Ariès 1975; Harrison 2004; Laqueur 2015), funeral rites and in particular cemeteries emerge as a fascinating entry to the study of negotiations over belonging. These questions matter to individuals, families and communities, who perpetuate their sense of togetherness and lineage through rites of burial and commemoration (Déchaux 1997). Consequentially, the ways they are regulated speak of their great importance for the continuous (re) construction of nation-states. In a diasporic context, choosing where to bury a relative is never entirely a question of free, individual choice. The options open to the families and the possibility of burying the

deceased in accordance with the previously outlined burial norms depend on the legal, cultural and political conditions of the Muslim minority's home country. They are expressed through a distinct vocabulary that echoes structural differences in each country. Indeed, the issues involved in funerary policies are intertwined with broader political discourse on cultural and religious pluralism, identity and diversity.

Set against these pragmatic and political concerns, this article is premised on the understanding of Islamic cemeteries as sites of *politics of belonging* – here understood, following Nira Yuval-Davis (2011: 10), as "specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging to particular collective/s which are themselves being constructed in these projects in very specific ways and in very specific boundaries". By examining the particular case of Islamic cemeteries, it sets out to understand *how national belonging is negotiated in the face of death and burial* in France, Great Britain and Finland, three countries that differ from each other with regard to their Muslim minorities as well as in terms of their migration history, the legal framework of burial regulation and their tradition of regulating cultural diversity.

The three countries' Muslim populations also differ from each other - by size as well as by origins. France currently hosts Europe's largest Muslim minority. Based on measurement by self-declaration, 4.1 million individuals living in France identified as Muslims according to a 2008 survey – approximately 6% of the total population (Simon 2019). 70% of France's Muslims are of North African origin, and half of them were born in France. The official estimates foresee an increase in this growing and aging population up to 9-13.5 million individuals by 2050. According to the latest British census of 2011, 2.7 million Muslims live in England and Wales, constituting 4.8 per cent of the population. Muslims in Great Britain have diverse ethnic backgrounds, yet 68% come from the Indian subcontinent. In Britain this religious group increased by 3.5% from 2001 to 2011. Based on the current age pyramid of the British population, the Office for National Statistics estimates that by 2021, 190,000 Muslims will be aged between 65 and 84. As a colonial hinterland rather than an epicentre, an agrarian country with no history of labour migration, Finland is set apart from Britain and France by the modest number of Muslim residents or citizens, which amounted to approximately 60,000 individuals in 2006. The number represented less than 1% of the country's population (Martikainen et al. 2008). The largest groups by national origin are Somali, Turkish and Iraqi. What the three country cases have in common, however, is the nature of the Muslim minority, which is both growing and aging. In Finland, the growth of the Muslim population has been dramatic, from a mere thousand individuals in 1990 to 65,000 in 2015, and it is expected to reach 190,000 by 2050 (Pew Research Center 2015).

In the three subsequent sections, this article asks how the issue of Islamic burial has been problematised in each of these national contexts at different points in time. We start out by shedding light on the historical background and especially the late 19th century as a foundational moment of including Muslims in the national community through burial customs. We then compare the national legal frameworks

of Muslim burial practices and discuss them as a neglected element of politics of belonging. The final section examines the most recent developments in Muslim funeral practices through the analytical lens of different national traditions of governing belonging in the three ethnically and religiously plural societies. Throughout the article, the central argument on cemeteries as strategic sites for negotiations over national belonging is concretised by a visual approach: the reader is invited to unravel the comparative puzzle picture by picture in Helsinki, Paris and London.

Military conflicts as milestones in the management of Muslim burials

Despite the diversity of national contexts, the comparison of France, Britain and Finland reveals a common pattern of development of Muslim burial grounds that in all three cases mirrors past military engagements. More precisely, the historical comparison shows how the question over Islamic burial is closely connected to the participation of Muslim colonial subjects in the war efforts of the French, British and Russian Empires, notably in WWI in the case of France and Britain and in the 19th century military conflicts involving Imperial Russia in the case of Finland. The first Muslim burial sites in these three countries indeed express a common concern of offering a dignified burial for minority subjects among casualties of war. However, both the politics of memorialisation and the politics of belonging are anchored in political and national contexts. Based on a brief overview of the pragmatic organisation of burials of Muslim casualties and civilians during the war years, this section highlights the facts, key similarities and differences in the management of Muslim burials in the three countries and thus starts to unravel the historical roots of the differences in national traditions of governing diversity that in contemporary scholarship have typically been captured by distinct "national models of integration": a Republican one in France, a liberal multiculturalist one in the UK and a Nordic variant of multiculturalist in Finland.

Finland: The Prästö military cemetery and the imperial legacy of management of diversity

The first Muslim burial grounds in Finland date back to the 19th century, to the era of Russian Imperial rule over the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland. The earliest records of Muslim burials in Finland reflect this imperial connection: the first Muslims known to be buried in the country were soldiers or convicts of the czarist army stationed in Finland. Although there are written records of Muslim soldiers being buried in the fortress of Viaborg that lies on an island in front of the Russian-founded capital of Helsinki as well as at the grounds of the military hospital that functioned in the central neighbourhood of Lapinlahti, no material remains, human or monumental, have survived to this day.

The earliest signs of Muslim burials in Finnish soil can be found in the quaint commune of Prästö on the Åland islands lying between Finland and Sweden in the Baltic Sea. Following the annexation of Finland to the Russian Empire in 1809, military construction projects were started in order to defend the territory against the Swedes. At the time, the Bomarsund fortress in Prästö was among the largest military construction projects in the

country. Between the 1820's and 1860's, hundreds of soldiers and war prisoners were brought to work at this site, where many of them died, notably of disease.

According to the current Prästö Museum data, the first burials took place in the 1820's in the Prästö cemetery. The Prästö cemetery is divided into five confessional sections, set apart from each other by stone hedges. Approximately 50 funeral monuments crafted out of granite can still be found in the site's Lutheran, Roman Catholic and Orthodox sections. The smaller Jewish section still comprises piles of stones, most likely where Jewish individuals were buried. Although no identifiable vestiges of Islamic graves remain, one can distinguish mounds of land and scattered pieces of wood that most likely indicate the spots where Muslim individuals were buried. According to the present day Prästö Museum, circa 500 Muslim members of the penal companies brought to work at the Bomarsund fortress were buried here. These Muslims likely came from the areas of conflict within imperial Russia (Central Asia) and from the border regions with Turkey – with which the Empire was at war.

The cemetery is an interesting entry to the analysis of the historical formation of the Muslim minority's membership in Finnish society. First of all, it allows for critically examining myths of Finns as an unusually ethnically homogeneous group and of population diversity as a historical novelty (Tervonen 2014). The case indeed draws attention to the *de facto* ethnic and religious plurality of 19th century Finland and to the anomalous nature of the period between Finland's independence and internationalisation (1917–1990), characterised by historically

Figure 1: The Islamic section of the Prästö military cemetery (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

low levels of foreigners residing in this politically unstable and economically backward European periphery (Leitzinger 2008). Secondly, the cemetery hints at an alternative origin of the Finnish "multiculturalist" tradition of managing diversity, typically attributed to the Swedish and Canadian examples (Saukkonen 2013), i.e. "multiculturalist" logics inherited from the Russian imperial administration, having opted for separating the casualties by religion and allowing for each confession to follow their specific traditions in terms of burial practices and monuments.

Great Britain: Woking, recognising the "Muslim soldiers"

The presence and the death of Muslims are directly linked to Britain's colonial history. Throughout the 19th century, Muslims were buried in non-conformist public grounds in Britain. WWI triggered the first official changes to this pattern. The colonies participated in the war efforts and sent soldiers to fight and die in the ranks of the colonial armies. During WWI, nearly 1.2 million soldiers from India went to war for Britain. The War Office initiated the first dedicated Muslim

cemetery in 1915; wounded Muslim soldiers were treated for their injuries at the Indian Army Hospital set up in Brighton's Royal Pavilion (Tibawi.al 1981: 195). Contacts were established between the hospital's officers and the Imam of the Woking Mosque, which was the only and first purpose-built mosque at the time to ensure that deceased Muslim soldiers were given the appropriate religious Muslim burial. A decision was made to purchase land near the mosque for a burial ground, and the religious funerary rituals were performed at the nearby Woking Mosque (Islamic Review: 5532). It is located on the southeast corner of Horsell Common, near the Shah Jahan Mosque in Woking. It was originally known as the Woking Muslim Military Cemetery. 17 soldiers from WWI were buried there and 8 from WWII. In 1969, the Commonwealth War Grave Commission made the decision to exhume the bodies and reinter them in the Brookwood Military Cemetery. Since then, the site has slowly fallen into neglect.

Figure 2: Woking Garden of Remembrance, Peace Garden (photo: Nada Afiouni)

In the wake of the commemoration of a century since WWI, the empty Muslim burial place in Woking benefitted from a renovation program**.** During the summer of 2013, works to restore the unique Muslim military burial ground began. The Peace Garden of Remembrance features 27 Himalayan birch trees, representing the number of Muslim soldiers formerly buried at the site, and a water feature incorporating a memorial stone bearing their names The Muslim Burial Ground Peace Garden was inaugurated by the Earl of Wessex in November 2015. The rehabilitation of this empty burial ground can be analysed as a means to highlight Muslim soldiers' participation not only as individuals but more importantly as a group. Thus, the attention paid to this group repositions them as "the Muslim Soldiers" and inscribes the group in a different narrative perspective, as part of the national "Us" within a multicultural frame that acknowledges and recognises group rights. This group of Muslim soldiers who died more than one hundred years ago has become in the 21st century a symbolic element, important enough to be included into a common national history, where the rhetoric of inter-faith dialogue is deemed crucial for national cohesion. The rehabilitation of the empty cemetery gives new contours to the past, with an overarching perspective embracing the present.

France: WWI and the revelation of the Muslims in France

Until 1914, there were very few graves of Muslims in France. One can mention a handful of burials of Muslims from the high middle ages discovered by archaeologists in the south of the country, a funerary monument in memory of the 25 members of the suite of Emir Abd el Kader that died during his exile in Amboise and an ephemeral "Muslim enclosure" at the

Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris that was created in 1857. Created by the Ottoman embassy, this enclosure includes up to 44 graves and a prayer hall constructed with a very light oriental style. A project of enlargement was supported by the embassy with a "more assertive Islamic style". The building was demolished in 1914.

As of winter 1914, a circular from the Ministry of War defined the rules to be followed for the burial of Muslim soldiers. They fully respected the precepts of Islam. This position of the French army testifies, like the existence of Catholic, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim military chaplains, to a consideration of the religious beliefs of men that must go into battle and perhaps die. During the implementation of the great military necropolises in the 1920s, it was decided that the graves of Muslim soldiers would be memorialised by a stele mounted with a horseshoe arch, engraved with a crescent and a five-pointed star. An inscription in Arabic ("This is the grave of the reminder to God") and one in French recalled the name, the regiment and the date of death of the soldier.

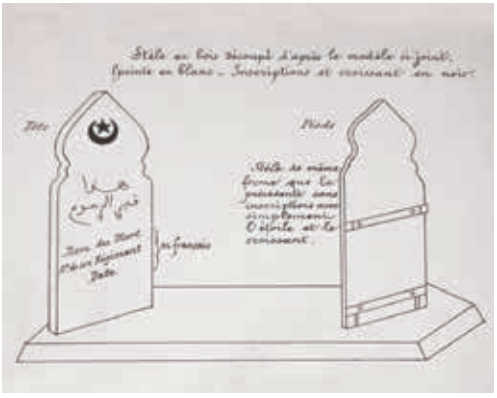

Figure 3: The original design of the official stele is supposed to have been created by Etienne Dinet, who was a famous orientalist painter. (photo: Jean-Barthélemi Debost)

When these tombs are numerous in a necropolis, they can be grouped in separate squares. Within the 10 necropolises comprising Muslim soldiers, these burials represent 8% of all funerary monuments.

This conception of secularism - freedom of belief and thinking - entering the public space of the military necropolis reflects the complexity of the secularisation process in the singular context of the sacred union under the tricolor banner that makes appeasement on the religious question a tool for patriotic mobilisation. Muslims "dying for France" benefitted from this situation.

Burials, law and the politics of belonging

Sovereign states use legal regulation as a key technique of governing their populations. Migration fluxes are regulated by sets of international laws and treaties as well as by national laws, decrees and policies. Formal citizenship, the ultimate seal of belonging to the community of citizens, grants particular legal rights and duties and is acquired through a carefully regulated process of naturalisation. Belonging to a national collective is not, however, only weighed in the face of formal citizenship and territorial boundaries, as Yuval-Davis (2011) has seminally argued, but it is negotiated in interactions in which particular projects of belonging are advanced. Negotiations over burial places and practices can be understood as an important site of negotiating membership in the national community. The course of these negotiations, which at the interactional level may involve the families of the deceased, public authorities, confessional representatives and commercial funerary agents, does not

however entirely depend on face-to-face exchanges. Individual partisan's margins of manoeuvring as well as the concrete possibilities for respecting the wishes of the deceased and their family depend to a great extent on the national legal framework, which itself has diverging ways of understanding the national community and regulating membership in it.

France: Confessional exceptions in the face of the trend of secularisation

In terms of legal regulation of burials, the French case is characterised by its strong secularising trend. In the aftermath of the Great Revolution, the decree of Prairial year XII (May-June 1803) removed responsibility over funerals and burials from the Catholic Church to the State both literally and figuratively. Cemeteries were made the legal property of communes and distanced in space from church buildings. Beyond the question of the ownership and management of the land, the "neutralisation" of burial places also involved their opening up to all citizens, not only members of the Catholic church or other confessional factions. From then on, everyone, whatever their religion, their job, the conditions of their death, their "morality", could access the cemetery (Ligou 1975). The revolution's aim was indeed to make cemeteries public property and to construct an imagery of the national community as a universal one, as one made of equal citizens unseparated from each other by religious, ethnic or class boundaries.

However, older confessional burial grounds formed a pragmatic problem. In order to respect the territories where Protestant or Jewish individuals had been buried, article 15 of the text resorts to promoting the creation of special sections, surrounded by walls, ditches or hedges, for different religions. This article was repealed by the law of November 1881, in the time of the third republic, which was stricter in the sense that it prohibited the creation or extension of religious burial sites. The 1905 law of separation of the State and churches, which sealed the secular character of the republic, affirmed the principle of the neutrality of the public parts of the cemeteries in opposition to the private parts, such as the graves themselves (Burdy 1995).

WWI, with the strong participation of soldiers and colonial workers, in particular Muslims, and the positioning of the army in the matter of burial of Muslim soldiers (Boniface 2017) reshuffled the cards of the movement of secularization of cemeteries that the Revolution had set in motion. From then on, the pace was set by colonial, international conflict and migration situations.

With the opening in 1925 of the Great Mosque of Paris and in 1935 of the Franco Musulman hospital in the commune of Bobigny, the question over the creation of a designated Muslim cemetery in the Paris area also emerged as a part of a dual issue of the colonial discourse on Muslim presence in France. On the one hand, in inaugurating these institutions, France was showing to the rest of the world that it yielded public recognition to the almost 400,000 Muslim soldiers and workers who supported the WWI effort. On the other hand, in the context of rising anti-colonialist discourses among the migrant workers, these institutions were intended to appease the relations with the French Empire's Muslim population.

In 1934, the decision was taken by the state and the local authorities of the Bobigny municipality, located in the North of Paris, to create a Muslim cemetery. This derogation to the 1881 law is pretexted by the dependence on the Franco Musulman hospital and the practical need of burial grounds for the deceased patients. In 1936, they were 85,000 Algerians alone in metropolitan France, mostly industrial workers, many of whom sought care at this hospital and were buried in its grounds.

The cemetery remains, to this day, the only Muslim cemetery in metropolitan France. While a large migrant population, with a substantial Muslim constituency, settled in the territory by the 1970's, the 1881 law was called into question in 1975 by the Home Office Minister Pasqua. From a legal perspective, there was no obstacle to the creation of Muslim sections within French public cemeteries. Legislation concerning the *carrés confessionels* (confessional sections) was scarce and boiled down to three *Circulaires* (bulletins) from the Home Secretary: that of 28 November, 1975, 14 February, 1991 and more recently 19 February, 2008. These

Figure 4: Entrance gate of the Muslim cemetery in Bobigny (photo: Jean-Barthélemi Debost).

Circulaires encouraged local councils to create such spaces, yet they were not legally binding and decisions bearing on the creation of such sections were made at the local level (Afiouni 2014: 80).

Its formal constitution inscribed it well in the colonial dynamics. Combining multiple references identified or fantasised by the Orientalists of the previous century, this style can be found in the Great Mosque, on the site of the colonial exhibition of Paris of 1931 and in the Franco Musulman hospital also founded in the 1930's. In stylistic terms, the cemetery's entrance gate exemplifies the 1930's attempts to domesticate the Muslim religion by means of funeral architecture and arts. It is a monumental Moorish style porch that welcomes families of the deceased who arrive through the gate for rituals of burial or of commemoration. As such, it can also be interpreted as a sign of making the exotic familiar – under the control of French authorities who have strictly overseen the building process.

Beyond this built-up area, the burial space itself, the burial management and the religious aspect of the place become a private affair entrusted to a local imam paid by the hospital. For nearly three generations, the imams who managed the cemetery were in charge of the norms and traditions of burying Muslim individuals, most often migrant workers. The ordering of the graves (disrupting the military order established by the colonial rulers); the separate management of social affiliation, gender and age (disrupting Islamic funerary norms); the welcoming of a diversity of branches of Islam (Shiite, Sunnite etc.); the transformation of the initial prayer hall into a mosque; and the absence of proper funeral grants have all

testified to the surprisingly great liberty the Muslim community enjoyed in running the cemetery as well as the liberal nature of interpretation of Muslim funeral norms (El Alaoui 2012).

Figure 5: Very modest, family-made grave in the Muslim cemetery of Bobigny. (photo Jean Barthélemi Debost)

Figure 6: Funerary Steles from the 1980s. The magnificence of the funerary architecture and the presence of photographs of the buried are contradictory to the Muslim norm (photo: Jean Barthélemi Debost)

At the level of the tomb, a great diversity of funeral architecture styles reigns at the Bobigny cemetery. From the austerity to the magnificence of granite, sculpture and gilding; from a Moorish style to a style typical of stonemasons in France; from the exclusive affirmation of Islam to a syncretism with photos of the deceased, toys, flowers and memorabilia. This too shows a creative and syncretic funeral practice, developing out of sight of the majority population with the cultural and religious elements proper to the different groups constituting the Muslim minority.

Great Britain: Muslim burials in the context of mixed management of cemeteries

Until the early part of the 19th century, burial facilities were provided by the Church of England in parish churchyards and by other religious bodies. In the mid-19th century in England, the Anglican Church handed over the management of cemeteries to public authorities. The Burial Boards henceforth funded, managed and created new City Council cemeteries. These latter are run nowadays by the Local Authorities Cemeteries Order (1977), which sets out the general powers and responsibilities of the Statutory Burial Authorities. They coexist with the Church of England churchyard governed by the Anglican Church Burial Grounds.

The Brookwood Cemetery, property of the London Necropolis & National Mausoleum Company (LNC), opened in 1854, exemplifies these legal trends. It gradually acquired a multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. The cemetery includes the oldest Muslim burial ground in England. It was the first cemetery that inscribed the Muslim community in its plurality within the British public landscape. The "Muhammadans" spot and the Hindus spot were originally purchased

in 1889 by G. W. Leitner, head of the Oriental Institute. The Oriental Institute soon closed, but the plot remained for the exclusive use of "Muhammadans" since June 1914 (Clarke 2004: 236). The landscape of death in both the Woking and Brookwood cemeteries is shaped by the discourse of the living, as both cemeteries reflect the changing patterns of the politics of diversity but also a shift of paradigm of what is important in a given society at a given time. Drawing on Katherine Verdery, "I think of such spatio-temporal landmarks as aspects of people's meaningful worlds", they are testimonies of the shifting memories in relation to the discourse on identity (Verdery 1999: 39).

Figure 7: The Muslim military ground at the Brookwood Cemetery (photo: Nada Afiouni)

The Muslim plot is organised in sections according to the various Muslim faiths: Sunni, Ithna Ashari, Ismaili and Bohra Shias and Ahmadiyya. Furthermore, there is a variety of architectural styles within the Muslim section reflecting the diversity of national and social origins of the deceased. Today, Brookwood cemetery offers an ethnically and religiously pluralistic character, and to quote Ansari, the Brookwood environment "allowed for the collectivising and anchoring their

Figure 8: Diversity of architectural styles in the Muslim section of Brookwood cemetery (photo Nada Afiouni)

common Muslim identities in a variety of ways; through the performance of rituals after their death; through the choice of signs, symbols and markers; and through

Figure 9: Diversity of architectural styles in the Muslim section of Brookwood cemetery (photo Nada Afiouni)

the choice of language for the inscription of the symbols on the gravestone which separated them from non-Muslim buried beside them" (Ansari 2007: 562).

Finland: Lutheran monopoly over cemetery management – with early legal exceptions

Finland forms a unique case in terms of legal regulation of burials in the sense that unlike in France and in Britain, the management of cemeteries has not been yielded to public authorities. As early as in 1686, the burial act made burial in "holy" land, e.g. the church yard, obligatory and anointed the Lutheran church with this practical monopoly. A series of laws and acts passed in the late 19th century reinforced the stately regulation of burials, which in practice were managed by the Lutheran Church, which still, together with the Orthodox church, enjoys the status of "state church" in Finland. From that time, all burials had to take place in "holy" land or in designated areas, apart from those in special cases such as the burial of stillborn children, suicidees, criminals, mental patients or people that died of contagious diseases such as cholera, which wreaked havoc in Helsinki in the 19th century. These acts also provided for heightened hygienic concerns in so far as they make mandatory the use of caskets as well as recommend burial outside of the city centre and on "dry" grounds that eliminate the risk of contamination of ground water in contact with dead bodies.

Finland also differs from Britain and France in terms of its tradition of management of burial grounds by confessional bodies. No private for-profit cemeteries exist up to today like in the British context. One does not find entirely publicly run

Figure 10: The entrance gate of the Helsinki Islamic Cemetery (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

burial grounds in France either, where the religious authorities' grip over the funeral market was curbed early on (Trompette 2008). In addition to Lutheran churchyards, Orthodox Christian cemeteries have been commonplace in all large Finnish cities as well as in the Eastern region of the country. In Helsinki, in the central neighbourhood of Hietaniemi, one also finds the country's historical Jewish and Islamic cemeteries. The latter were developed in the 1800's in the area of Lapinlahti for the burial of soldiers of the Russian army and those in forced labour who died while serving in the Grand Duchy of Finland. It was first run by the army in close operation with the military hospital that was located nearby. This site was where soldiers but also a motley crew of outcasts were buried: convicts, victims of cholera,

mental patients and suicidees. In practice, its operation had been handed over to the Helsinki Muslim community consisting of Tatars, a Turkic group that had formed in Finland under Russian rule and made up mostly of merchants trading in fur, textiles, carpets and exotic goods (see Leitzinger 2006). It took until the passing of the 1923 law on freedom of religion for the Tatar community to be registered as the Finnish Islamic Community and be granted the legal responsibility of running the cemetery. The Tatar community that had taken root in Finland during the Russian imperial era then amounted to circa 1000 individuals.

Today, the Tatars are considered an "old" minority, whose cultural, religious and linguistic particularities are thought to reflect the historical pluralism of the Finnish nation-state and a certain tradition of granting particular rights to minorities – the funeral heritage being intelligible against this particular logic of governing diversity.

Figure 11: Tombstones at the Helsinki Islamic Cemetery (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

Burial at the Helsinki Islamic cemetery is limited to members of the Finnish Islamic Community, consisting exclusively of Tatars. It is currently the only Islamic cemetery in Finland, in the sense that it is administered by the Islamic Community of Finland entirely independently from the Lutheran church. The graves are free of charge to the members of the community. Approximately 550 individuals have been buried there, with a dozen burials per year. No urns have been deposited there, because the minority group remains loyal to the prohibition against cremation. The deceased are buried in simple caskets, burying in shrouds being prohibited by Finnish law for hygiene reasons. One grave is permanently kept open in order to respect the norm of hasty burial.

Current trends in Muslim burial and governance of diversity

21st century France, Britain and Finland negotiate the administration of cemeteries with a view to a political commitment to the integration of Muslim families. Yet, as developed earlier, the issues involved in funerary politics link to broader political discourse on cultural pluralism, identity and diversity. The demands voiced regarding specific burial places act as markers of both individual and collective identity. They can be interpreted as a desire to access full citizenship while at the same time conserving a sense of community and the perpetuation of cultural and religious traditions.

Britain: Garden of Peace: the twenty first century Muslim Cemetery

Alongside confessional and public cemeteries, contemporary British law allows for the creation of private cemeteries. Both the

Church of England cemeteries and private cemetery companies are not subject to the local authority legislation. Furthermore, mixed management (private-public) of cemeteries is allowed, which makes it possible for local authorities to resort to private cemetery services to provide for the burial needs of their constituents. Thus, the British legal framework offers a large range of options concerning burial grounds, making it possible for ethnic minorities to create their own cemeteries.

In 2002, the first dedicated Muslim cemetery was established in Redbridge, northeast of London. It was initially designed for 10,000 burial places, yet the cemetery soon ran out of space, and it was extended in 2012 to fit 34,000 new burial spots. The cemetery exclusively serves the Muslim Sunni community, regardless of national or ethnic origin. It offers specific areas for miscarriages, stillbirth, children and adults. It also includes dedicated facilities for body washing, *Ghusul*, and a prayer hall. The graves consist of mounds of earth marked with marble slabs. The cemetery offers a stunningly homogeneous landscape, as specific tombstones are provided by the cemetery and flowers are not welcomed on the graves. The impression of uniformity and sameness is all the more reinforced by the absence of family plots. Bodies are laid in the ground on a first-come, first-buried basis. The landscape of the cemetery expresses both a strong feeling of belonging of a post-colonial population to a national community (the cemetery ground is in the outskirts of London) and an equally strong affiliation to Islam. These double bonds are crystallised in the expression "We British Muslims", which came up regularly during interviews dismissing any reference to possible countries of origin. Furthermore, all grave inscriptions are in the English language.

Figure 12: The 21st Muslim Private Cemetery Garden of Peace (photo Nada Afiouni)

Figure 13: The 21st Muslim Private Cemetery Garden of Peace (photo Nada Afiouni)

The cemetery's landscape is in sharp contrast with that of Muslim graves in Brookwood Cemetery. None the less, both can be considered as the by-products of multicultural management of

ethnic and religious diversity. The first one celebrating diversity and inclusion, the second participating in the creation of a new distinct post mortem Muslim British identity based on the rebranding of ancient Sunni Muslim funerary traditions while displaying the primacy and prevalence of religious identity over ethnic and national origin or family identities. The message that can be read in the demand and creation of specific funerary practices and grounds is in fact a dual one; on the one hand, religious affiliation fosters a sense of ethnic community, and on the other, it is simultaneously a statement of a new national belonging.

Finland: The "new" Muslim minorities and the politicisation of Islamic burial practices

The question of Islamic burial norms emerged in Finland at the turn of the 2000's, following an increase in deaths in the young non-Tatar Muslim minority. After a few burials of "fellow Muslims" in the cemetery in the early 1990's, the Tatar community stopped accepting the burial of non-Tatarsin at the cemetery out of concern over the space's limited capacity to accommodate the community's deceased in the future – and perhaps in order to demark itself as an established minority compared to the more recently arriving Muslim minority.

In the broader Finnish context, only since the 2007 act over non-confessional burial has it become possible for atheists or non-Christians to claim their right to be buried elsewhere than in the church yard *stricto sensu*. In practice, however, the majority of individuals aspiring for final deposit in non-confessional cemeteries still end up buried in the non-confessional sections of Lutheran cemeteries managed by the church and set apart from the rest of the burial grounds merely by the absence of Christian insignia in the funeral monuments. Although all Lutheran church run cemeteries are now obliged by the law to designate within the cemetery a separate non confessional section, these areas have often remained empty, since even non-devout Finns are rarely likely to be opposed to burial in the church yard. In the wake of the 2007 law, however, local sections of the Union of Free Thinkers – the largest national association of atheists – has funded a dozen non confessional cemeteries. These cemeteries are entirely independent from the Lutheran Church, set on land acquired and also managed by the union.

There has been movement in Finland in the direction of founding a new Islamic cemetery. Drawing upon the laws of 1923 and 2007, Muslim associations have launched petitions for the founding of an Islamic cemetery with the help of public authorities that should in the spirit of these laws as well as of equality of Finnish citizens (2015) guarantee access of all individuals, citizens or residents, to dignified burial within Finland. Various Islamic associations have actively searched for a plot of land in the capital region for the foundation of a cemetery complete with a prayer room and facilities for the ritual wash. However, as The Finnish Islamic Funeral Association for instance reports, the search has been inconclusive, from its perspective largely because of landowners' aversion to the Muslim faith and burial practices. The Muslim minorities' internal divisions, whether based on denominational differences or different national cultural traditions,

have also played a part in slowing down this process.

As it stands, Muslims in Finland are typically buried at the Islamic sections of Lutheran cemeteries, sometimes in the non-confessional sections, and even more rarely at the Free Thinkers' non confessional cemeteries. The ritual wash, *ghusul*, is always performed at the hospital and burying in shrouds only, *kafan*, is prohibited by burial law in the entire country. The Islamic section of Lutheran cemeteries is almost always organized so that the body may face Mecca and in large cities at least one grave is permanently open in order to guarantee a quick burial – the deceased typically spending several weeks at the morgue in Finland.

Figure 14: Standard Lutheran funeral monument at the Lamminpää Lutheran cemetery in Tampere. (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

Figure 15: A recent tomb of a Muslim individual buried at the Islamic section of the Lamminpää Lutheran cemetery in Tampere. (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

The current solution to Muslim burial can be thought to reflect a particular logic of governing diversity that is typical of Nordic countries, namely the logic of "institutional absorption of difference" (Borevi 2012). The Finnish variant of multiculturalism differs from the British version in that it is more timid in favouring legal exceptions granted to minorities, such as burying in shrouds only, and in setting up of minority confessional cemeteries. The Finnish case also differs from the French context's strong secular and assimilationist impetus in that within a given public institution, here the cemetery, room is made for minorities' customs. Muslims do not suffer from

Figure 16: A recent tomb of a Muslim individual buried at the Islamic section of the Lamminpää Lutheran cemetery in Tampere. (photo: Linda Haapajärvi)

the insufficiency of burial grounds, and the Lutheran church run sections try to accommodate for particular norms such as orientation towards Mecca, quick burial and diversity of funeral monuments. In other words, it seems as if the public authorities now attempt to make room for the Muslim minority in the national community of the dead, at least in the larger cities. However, they also define in the conditions of belonging in the national community of the dead and the living that the minorities should not trespass, unless they are ready to run the risk of appearing as a threat to the cohesion of the Finnish nation-state.

France: Late secularisation of the Bobigny cemetery

In 1996, an investigation conducted by the State Inspectorate General of Social Affairs found out that the common rules of a proper cemetery were not followed at the Bobigny burial ground. It was decided that the management of the burial part of the cemetery be transferred to the intercommunal syndicate of the Cities of Bobigny, Aubervilliers, La Courneuve and Drancy.

Very quickly, the local authority took the site in hand. The works undertaken showed new tension within the religious question in France. Repair of the networks; maintenance of the alley between the plots; creation of a new entrance "turning its back" on the monumental entrance ("the users should be able to come into a cemetery without passing by the architectural signs of Islam"); construction of a grid, with a portal between the burial part and the Moorish built part; construction of a new container-type manager's office and of a parking lot that required the burial recovery of a certain number of graves; systematic implementation of the funeral grant; etc. It is a matter of implementing public professional know-how without real adaptation to the religious and cultural identity of the place. This transition strongly secularises the site.

This radical transformation is to be understood in two ways. First of all, since 1996, the four cities were run by Communist city councils, nicknamed the "red belt" of Paris. The policies implemented in these four cities, by the Communist political majority, displayed hostility to any kind of religious expression in the public sphere. Secondly, that event took place in a national context of a strong

Figure 17: In the Muslim cemetery. In the background right, the new entrance welcome building. The military plot presents the official Muslim steles. (photo: Jean Barthélemi Debost)

desire to advance immigrants' and their descendants' integration into French society, even when that meant largely assimilationist measures, such as the 2004 law that prohibited the wearing of external signs of religions in school.

The heritage question arose with the local authorities during the restoration of the military plot containing the graves of 80 Muslim colonial soldiers that died between 1944 and 1954. In 2005, it was shown to require important work. A decision was made to undertake a more expensive but respectful restoration of the original Moorish style. This was done officially to preserve the military square and not to legitimate in any way the testimony of a Muslim heritage In 2006, the built complex and the military plot were protected as historic monuments "as an illustration of an important period in our country".

Conclusion

This article set out to understand how national belonging is governed and negotiated in the face of death in Finland, France and Great Britain. Although these three countries differ from each other with regard to their Muslim minorities as well as in terms of their migration history, regarding the legal framework of burial regulation and their traditions of regulating cultural diversity, significant similarities were found in all of them: the burial of Muslim subjects has always presented a pragmatic puzzle to these variably secularised nation-states imprinted by a Christian cultural heritage. More than depositories of mere matter, cemeteries are places through which citizens reunite with their ancestors, build a common present and imagine shared futures – sometimes by means of excluding from these places individuals and groups perceived as outsiders to the national community.

This has gone unnoticed in citizenship and migration studies that have concentrated on studying the living. This article, however, shows that nation-states claim their subjects beyond the grave. By governing the living and the dead, modern states seek to know their citizens and to "conduct their conduct" and, in in so doing, to guarantee the unicity and permanence of their population and territory (Foucault 2004). If states in the 19th century took an interest in guaranteeing a dignified death and burial to citizens of all social classes and thus actively participated in building a national "community of the living and the dead" (Esquerre 2011), today such debates pertain instead to religious and cultural differences.

With respect to the study of contemporary politics of belonging, this article draws

three main lessons from the particular case of Muslim burial grounds and practices. It is not intended as an expansive analysis of the issue but should best be read as an invitation to migration and citizenship scholars to dig deeper into the intertwined questions of death, burial and politics of belonging.

The comparison of early Muslim burial grounds in each country firstly underlines significant similarities across the three countries. In all of them, military conflicts constitute a milestone in the history of death management, and this also applies to Muslim burials. Throughout WWI in particular, European countries were confronted with large-scale management of the dignified burial and commemoration of citizens as well as of colonial minority subjects who died for these sovereign states on the battlefields. The solutions found in the 19th century and in the aftermath of WWI provide a pragmatic, even adhocratic, logic of managing Muslim burials, i.e. the participation in war efforts of these minority subjects was commonly regarded as worthy of public recognition or at least of burial conforming to a minimal set of Islamic norms. In a certain sense, more so than when alive, minority subjects redeemed their membership in these nation-states at the moment of their death.

The comparison of the legal framework regulating burials and thus directly influencing the possibility for respecting the three outlined norms of Muslim burial begins to highlight differences among the country cases. Individual partisan's margins of manoeuvring as well as the concrete possibilities for respecting the wishes of the deceased and their family depend to a great extent on the national legal framework, which itself has diverging ways of understanding the national community and regulating membership in it.

Finally, the article outlines current trends in Muslim burials in the three different countries. This last section, together with the first one, underlines the dynamic nature of politics of belonging as it shows how, despite fairly similar initial responses to the practical dilemma of burying Muslims, the three countries have largely diverged in modern times. The comparison casts light on the fact that death and burial have been and always remain contentious, political issues, a battleground of negotiations over belonging.

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Difficult beginnings in a new land – social and ethnic relations in the Americas in memoirs of immigrants from Polish territories

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Abstract
Getting acquainted with the "new world" and organizing life in utterly different conditions and surroundings was very problematic. My aim is to present the fullest picture of immigrant lives in the first months after their arrival, with comparisons of their lives in wildly divergent environments in North and South America, as well as presenting the researched relations (published memoirs) as sources of learning about the experiences of some "Polish" (in a wider meaning of the term) immigrants. This paper focuses on this initial period in the lives of immigrants from Polish territories to select countries in the Americas, as they themselves perceived it from a later perspective.

I have been researching the issues of migrations for several years now, focusing on emigration from Poland in the interwar period – the hubs for migration, the infrastructure and apparatus enabling the migration movement and the transatlantic liners. In 2014, I conducted the first stage of research on the experiences of people coming from Polish territories as immigrants in their new homelands. This resulted in a publication in *AEMI* (Association of European Migration Institutions) *Journal*, issue 12, 2014.

While that article covered the first impressions on arriving to American shores or to the final destination, now I want to focus on the next stage on the migration road – getting one's life organized in a new place and the early days of living in the Americas. In this paper, I can only present an outline of this subject, as it has to be noted that there is plenty of material to be researched – in my case, these are recollections written down in later years and published as "memoirs"[2]. Just the eight volumes that I utilized, from the years 1939–1982, contained more than 120 accounts. There are as many individual stories and even more interesting events and tropes – instances of the immigrants' experiences.

I chose as my sources the accounts written down after some years, often after

decades, when the authors' memories might have failed them, or the experiences and acquired wisdom might have changed their views of many things. As we can read in an account of a migrant in Canada: "And I felt as if the local people have such a different set to their faces compared to the people back in home country that it amazed me, and now I feel there is no difference" (Pamiętnik no. 16 1971: 461).

Recollections written down with many years' hindsight are not as exact as information taken down freshly in a diary. However, there are no widely known instances of such preserved diaries, and certainly there is no question of gathering enough of them for purposes of comparison. Among the multitudes of migrants, mostly people with none or minimal education, one would not find many chroniclers. Daily jottings might come from men of science and culture, travellers, journalists. For instance, the writer Henryk Sienkiewicz was a press correspondent. When writing of his safety in the US, he indicated that he was never threatened by [white] Americans, while the same could not be said "[…] of the Mexicans inhabiting the southern reaches of California, and of the half-civilized Indians: for both the former and the latter are fairly inclined towards snapping somebody's neck in a dark corner and pillaging the victim's bags" (Grzeloński 1975: 191). This is a direct and sharp opinion, albeit somewhat mitigated by the next sentences in that account.

It is the correspondence that is nearer to daily life, and – besides Sienkiewicz's – there were some collections of letters published, with solid editorial comments. Here one should mention the volumes of *Chłop Polski w Europie i Ameryce* [Polish Peasant in Europe and America] edited by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki and *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych* [Migrants' letters from Brazil and United States] edited by Witold Kula. There aren't many similar collections, and the remaining epistolary material is scattered far and wide, mostly unpublished despite the inroads of digitization. It is true, though, that they represent an almost "live" picture of the Americas. Antoni Zieliński wrote from Brazil: "Of people here half are white and half black, the black people being very good, better than those whites because the whites are more vindictive and more of non-believers. But the black ones are good Catholics" (Kula 1973: 227). Such opinions would be hard to find in accounts created after the years, not "in the heat of the moment."

Accounts published in collections of memoirs were mostly gathered through competitions. The Sociological Institute in Poznań started organizing them in independent Poland, on the initiative of the aforementioned Florian Znaniecki, but the greatest achievements resulted from the work of the Institute of Social Economy (ISE) in Warsaw, led by Ludwik Krzywicki. The institute advertised for its competitions in the press, proudly admitting that it encourages individual creativity and not mere filling out of questionnaires – "Do not be ashamed of what you have lived through. Describe it boldly. Your writings should be honest, heartfelt, as if you were describing your troubles to a nearest friend" (Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Ameryka Południowa 1939: XI).

Informal guidelines asked for descriptions of childhood, family and work in

Poland, of marriage, of circumstances of departure, organization of the journey, settling at the new place, job and housing conditions, relations with neighbours, the local population and authorities, of earnings, family status, Polish organizations and government institutions abroad, of connections with the home country and others (Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Stany Zjednoczone, part I 1977: 110).

The only volume in the Institute of Social Economy series published before World War II was *Pamiętniki Emigrantów. Ameryka Południowa* [Emigrants' Memoirs. South America], containing 27 accounts. As regards that continent, the volume is supplemented by individual accounts published in other collections.

Only a few scant accounts, short sentences, point to intriguing and exotic contacts with the indigenous population, although this felt like an obvious subject – and which, I admit, I counted on. This is also borne out by other research (Drozdowska-Broering 2017: 136). One of the memoir authors mentions "[…] grimy children, dressed mostly just in poor shirts," standing out of mud and wattle huts (Hessel 1965: 93). It is not quite certain whether the described people were Indians, Mestizos or perhaps other immigrants. Indians were suggested in a case described in Brazil, where the natives were to murder several workers by bow and arrow (Hessel 1965: 99). An account concerning the late 19th century relates an Indian raid on a settlement and a massacre of its inhabitants, along with killing of 18 men clearing the woods (Pamiętnik no. 14 1939: 207). Another one mentions several cruel attacks on Polish settlers and many victims, including children (Pamiętnik no. 17 1939: 299).

A Polish immigrant working in 1930 in a quarry in Argentina claimed years later that the Poles were treated just like other people. Another, a railroad worker, claimed they were rarely promoted at work. It all depended on area and employer, though – when Germans did not want to employ a Pole, he would pretend to be a German (Pamiętnik no. 1 1939: 16; Pamiętnik no. 2 1939: 25; Pamiętnik no. 5 1939: 52). What differentiates the South American accounts from the US ones is far greater rarity of descriptions of work in trade or industry. Most memoirs touch on the matters of nature's wildness and strangeness – of fauna and flora, which were difficult to tame and exploit, of endemic illnesses and of the aforementioned threat of attacks by indigenous peoples. The new Polish inhabitants of that continent only rarely settled in cities, usually blazing their way through rainforests or subjugating the interior. The settlements they lived in were smaller and more dispersed, sometimes practically cut off from the outside world due to poor communications and distance. The migrants also could not rely on support from the local Polish minority to such a degree as was normal in North America.

Edward Żebrowski, waiting in an Argentinian town for job opening in a packing plant, recalled a policeman shouting derisively: "Go to Poland, folks, you will get a job there." En route, in Mysłowice one could hear a German saying "To Parana with you, dumbasses" (Żebrowski 1960: 806; Kempa 1960: 816), and in Brazil – epithets such as *Polaco burro* (donkey [dumb] Pole) or *Polaco san bandeira* (a Pole without a flag) (Hessel 1965: 95; Pamiętnik no. 14 1939: 207). When on a ship, the migrants had to

suffer abuse from the crews (Wiśniewski 1976: 289) – they were often verbally abused at every stage of their journey.

A migrant coming to the US in 1913 was helped out by his family, at the same time getting to know "[…] the American life, that is the Polish emigrants, every once in a while there would come relatives from Poland to them, and some would come from diverse corners of the US, they would take 7 apartments and plenty of beds everywhere, like in a hospital. People would sleep two or even four to a bed, because as some got up to go to work, others lay down" (Pamiętnik no. 28 part II 1977: 54). Another Pole from the Poznań area, after a long stay in the US, put a valuable opinion in simple words: he noted the lack of leaders, "guides," among the Polish minority (Pamiętnik no. 30 part II 1977: 138). The community was divided along the lines of education, jobs, earnings as well as – interestingly enough – due to their territorial and political origin. Immigrants arriving from one part of divided Poland were often in conflict with the others. Tadeusz Kantor, newly arriving in 1913, was instructed by a colleague that "[…] the Poles in America are divided into 'the Russkies,' 'the Prusskies,' and 'the Galicians'" (Kantor 1960: 607). The Orthodox Christians were lumped with "the Russkies" as "[…] people of a different faith, […] their emperor is not Catholic, as he does not follow the Pope." (Albrycht 1965: 19). Marrying such an immigrant was considered sinful, and therefore the family was sometimes kept in the dark as to the origins of the beloved one. A former inhabitant of the Russian part of Poland, married to an African-American, excused herself by claiming that her sister abased herself more by marrying someone from Galicia (Austrian part of Poland) (Albrycht 1965: 30). Such distinctions became particularly important during World War I, when US and Canadian authorities treated immigrants from Prussian and Austrian-ruled areas as former citizens of the Central powers and thus potentially dangerous. This made it difficult for them to join the armed forces and fight for Poland's independence (Albrycht 1965: 45). During that war, there occurred a noticeable exacerbation of relations between ethnic Germans and immigrants from Polish territories (Hessel 1965: 103, 128).

One of the accounts expands on the subject of industrial workers' situation and workplace hierarchies. In one factory, approximately half the management consisted of Germans, the rest being Irish or Americans, which made it easier sometimes to communicate in German (Kazimierowski 1960: 723). Actually most accounts from the US, and not just from there, touch on the relations between company or factory employees, not on the local communities in which they lived. This might support the thesis on the emergence of ethnically or nationally homogenous neighbourhoods, often centred around a parish, where there was no opportunity to observe other minorities. It was most often at work that an opportunity for closer contact with representatives of other groups or minorities would occur.

The memoirs of migrants who, after a stay in the US, returned for good to post-World War II Poland, have a particular bent: one can read many negative opinions on the period spent in the States and – conversely – plenty of praise for Socialist Poland ("We, the migrants […] fully appreciate the benefits of people's rule") (Pastuszak 1953: 63). Those memoirs,

published in 1953, were utilized for purposes of propaganda. Purposeful intrusions could have occurred, and probably did occur, during the selection of authors, copy-editing or editions of the memoirs themselves. A comparison of manuscripts delivered to the publisher – Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (People's Publishing Cooperative, the publishing arm of the token peasants' party), or other publishing houses – with the versions that were finally published, would certainly be of interest here. I contacted the publisher, only to find out that the cooperative's archives were liquidated in 1990s, as the firm was relocating. The person I talked to divulged to me that after 1989 people whose memoirs were used would approach the publisher wishing that in the following editions the truthful version would appear (this does not necessarily relate to that particular collection of memoirs). No further editions were published, though. This is another occurrence, after the archives of Social Economy Institute, whose scientific successors I contacted some years ago, that there appears to be no possibility to access the manuscripts presented for the competitions. Probably the same state of affairs is in the case of other memoirs published half a century ago, but this question requires further study.

In the LSW-published book *Tułaczym szlakiem. Wspomnienia byłych emigrantów o Ameryce* [On the weary road. Former emigrants' memories of America], we can read, for instance, about the reality of seeking a job in industry in Argentina – "The struggle for survival killed humane feelings, tore at the brotherly ties between the Poles abroad" (Piotrowski 1953: 12). That same author listed the British, the Spaniards and the Germans as the privileged nationalities, with the French and Italians lower on the pole and the Slavs as the third category, sent to do the toughest jobs. "A Slav could not become a state official and was treated not much better than the colored indigenes." He also mentions the hard labour of Czechs, Slovaks, Poles and Ukrainians in gardening but also mentions that a Spanish janitor helped him greatly (Piotrowski 1953: 9–14). Another author, who returned from the States, touched on the hardships facing the African-American population, worse than the usual situation of white workers (Skulski 1953: 29). A Polish immigrant to Brazil, in turn, experienced the settlement of Poles, Lithuanians and Ukrainians far from the cities and land holdings, in the interior of the country, where conditions were the harshest, together with the Brazilian peasants. He also recalls the authorities' refusal to provide a Polish teacher, and the fact that a compatriot cheated him right after his arrival in Brazil (Denega 1953: 45–46). The discrimination shows also in memoirs of a migrant in Canada, who, being Polish, received 75% of a farm worker's wage. This author also recorded the low position of Slavs, who "were treated the worst right after the indigenous Indians" (Pastuszak 1953: 53).

To remain on the subject of Canada, the autobiographical material collected in 1939 for the volume *Kanada* [Canada], published finally in 1971, if the editors are to be believed – without changes or censored items, provides further interesting accounts of the situation in that country. The dominant note is that of wandering from farm to farm, or following a job with the railroad and the difficult climate. Here, as well as in other memoirs,

it is the journey (especially on a ship) and the first meeting with the family that appear as particularly memorable, while the following addresses or workplaces are described rather as a part of general flow, with no detail or care for chronology. Thus sometimes it is hard to ascertain which parts of a text deal with the first months abroad, as the general opinions and observations written down, as we know, many years later, might relate to various moments in the expatriate life.

What occurs repeatedly is the subject of migration chain, as the migrants sought out their relatives or former neighbours to start their new lives along with them. The matters relating to other nationalities are covered rarely, as for instance with a mining catastrophe where 52 people died – Italians, "Ruthenians", Poles, British, and others, but only the Italian consul came down, and the bodies were buried by a German and a Scotsman, whose quarrel over the dead clients had to be settled in court (Pamiętnik no. 13 1971: 371). A subsequent description of a settlement illustrates its multiethnic character. The priest was Irish, and then "[…] there is a Jewish woman I think, but she's Czech and with a German. As for the nationalities, there are five families of us Poles […], the most numerous are the Ruthenians and the Scots English and of course the guineas sons of the Holy Father, but there's a bit of almost all kinds of people" (Pamiętnik no. 13 1971: 381).

It is worth adding that several volumes of memoirs, results of a competition run by the Canadian-Polish Research Institute, were also published in Canada in 1970s, edited by Benedykt Heydenkorn (Heydenkorn 1972, 1978). In 2014, they also collected the memoirs from the most recent wave of emigration (1988–2012) (Kozak, Lustański 2014). The research from the last few decades is mostly based on transcriptions, and the interviews, recorded as video or audio files, are gradually becoming available online, which simplifies access. Very interesting for researchers is the collection of recordings from the 1970s – the Oral History of Chicago Polonia, held in the Polish Museum of America in Chicago. It contains very interesting data, especially since the questionnaire for the interviewees, among the 13 subjects, asked for accounts regarding the first months after migration and the ethnic relations. The members of Polonia spoke with many years' hindsight, but numerous additional questions and help from the interviewers resulted in material greatly differing from memoirs. It touches on the subjects of travel, education in US schools, family and work, but – despite the guidelines – relatively little is said on the ethnic relations. This might have been due to scant experience of the students conducting the interviews, and also it has to be said that the Museum does not have complete transcriptions of the interviews. A researcher well versed in the history of Chicago would be able, though, to trace the changes in the streets and neighbourhoods considered "Polish" that were then gradually taken over by new arrivals from Latin America (Polish Museum of America 1976–1977).

The memoirs written down many years after the fact are usually free from strong emotions, impressions or sensations as well as exact dates or details regarding people or places. They do not contain many descriptions of first contact with people of other nationalities or races, as after years of coexistence in multi-ethnic communities

such impressions would fade. The great majority of listed authors are male, and they also usually described the male world, with the exception of purely familial issues. These memoirs remain a valuable resource for sociologists, historians, linguists and cultural science researchers, providing additional interest both to the immediate reader and to the public readership. However, it would be a valuable effort to try and access the original manuscripts, to confirm or deny the probability of editorial changes. These documents provide plenty of practical observations on travels and living abroad, describing events that happened in majority to simple, poor people and conveying their observations and opinions. These texts allow us to show the familial dynamics, along with social and ethnic situation, as seen in first person perspective.

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Notes

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2. This article has been based on the paper with the same title, presented on the Polish American Historical Association 75th Annual Meeting in Washington D.C. in 2018. My participation there was supported by The Polish Studies Association.

Italian mosaic workers in Belgium during the Belle Époque

Kris Tolomei[1]

Abstract
Towards the middle of the nineteenth century artistic life in Paris and Brussels accelerated and the art of mosaic flourished. Well-known architects integrated mosaic into their innovative design, which gave status to the buildings of their wealthy bourgeois clients.

The first Italian mosaic workers came to Brussels in 1872. Most of them knew each other, because they came from the same village, or were related by marriage to other mosaic families. These artists/craftsmen worked extremely hard, and travelled extensively around the world to execute mosaics. After interviewing some members of the third-generation mosaicists, I gained more insight into the way of life of their parents and grandparents.

Introduction

Mosaics gave status to a building and its owner, it was an integral part of the architectural innovation in the Belle Époque period. Specialized Italian artist-craftsmen, who came from the provinces of Udine and Pordenone in the Friuli-Veneto region, carried out this work. They came mainly from the villages of Fanna, Spilimbergo, Sequals, Cavasso Nuovo, Travesio and Maniago. Some of them originated from other regions, including my grandfather, Silvio Tolomei, who was a citizen of Venice in the Veneto Region.

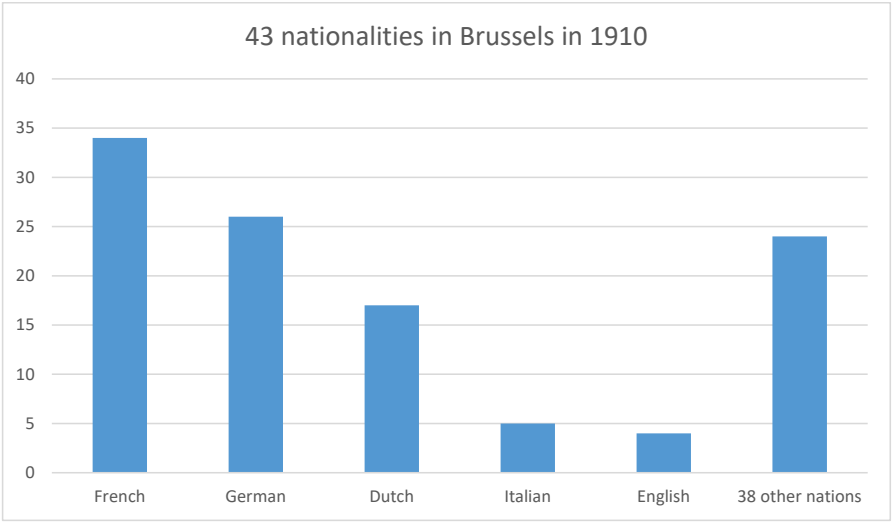
Silvio Tolomei was born in Venice in 1865 to a noble family. His father died a year later and his uncle became his and his brother's guardian. He attended the "Scuola Veneta d'arte, applicata alle industrie", and worked in Venice for ten years for the mosaic entrepreneur Salviati, and a further three years for Trevisan, a creator of machines and light armatures.

Map 1: The region of Friuli in Italy (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source: Archivio di Stato di Udine)

Figure 1: Silvio Tolomei °Venice 1865 +Rome 1930 (photo: Kris Tolomei, source: Archive family Tolomei)

In 1889 Adriana Ballarin became his wife. Five years later, they moved with their son to Paris, to be near Silvio's new employer, the mosaic-entrepreneur Henri Bichi. A few years later we will find Tolomei settled in Brussels running his own business. It was here that his second son was born. At the start of the twentieth century the family moved to Lyon, where they had two more children, a girl and a boy, both of whom died before their second birthday. After returning to Brussels he obtained several commissions in Belgium, establishing himself in Antwerp in 1907.

During the century the Friulans emigrated to other parts of Europe, the US, Canada and North-Africa, due to lack of employment and the fact that the region of Venice fell under Austrian rule in that period. At the beginning of the nineteenth century restoration projects of antique mosaics in France were executed by Giandomenico Facchina. Salviati, who was based in Venice, also carried out restoration projects in Italy and other countries.



Graph 1: 43 nationalities in Brussels in 1910. Only 5% are Italians (Graph: Kris Tolomei, source: Taschereau, Piette and Gubin 2001).

New buildings were often decorated with mosaics in the Belle Époque period.

Italians were a minority group in Belgium

By 1910 there were 43 different nationalities recorded as living in Brussels; the Italians were a minority group of only 5 % of the immigrant population. The French comprised 34 %, the Germans 26 %, the Dutch 17 % and the English only 4 %. (Taschereau, Piette and Gubin 2001: 7-62).

During the nineteenth century Italians were involved in a wide range of business ventures in Brussels, such as photography and furniture retail as well as the manufacture of shoes, gloves and carpets. There were also mosaic workers in the capital.

Before 1900 more than 35 % of the Italians in Belgium were mosaic makers.

Figure 2: Italians in Brussels. Thomasini, Fabrique de meubles et sièges (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source: Archive St. Jans-Molenbeek: Archive Pellarin)

Between 1900 and 1910 there was a decline in demand for their craft, which reduced their numbers to 30 %, and after World War I to as little as 10 %. The first Italians who worked in Belgium arrived in Brussels between 1869 and 1872 via France. These included Domenico Pellarin, Domenico

Figure 3: Mosaic entrepreneurs D'Agostin et frère, Roubaix -France (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source: family D'Agostin)

Figure 4: Wedding in 1930 between mosaic families in Roubaix -France. Alice D'Agostin married Nicolo Mongiat (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source: family D'Agostin)

Fuser, Bernardin, Jacomo Mion, Pietro de Bernardin. Later arrivals came directly from their villages in Italy and also settled in other parts of Belgium, such as Antwerp, Ghent, Aalst, Liège, and Ieper. They arrived by train, boat, tram and coach. Some of them came alone, others with their sons, brothers and/or cousins. Sometimes wives accompanied their husbands with or without their children.

Most of them went to live with their patrons. Pasqueli emigrated to New York and arranged accommodation for Friulans. D'Agostin & Frère, in Roubaix (France) had a dormitory above the workplace. Their wives cooked pasta every day for all their employees.

It was the norm for employees to sleep in the same room as the son of the patron (De Bock 2016). If they did not live with their employers they rented a room, flat or lodging house above a public house or shop. On work transfer it was the employer who paid for the room or hotel. Silvio Tolomei rented various rooms and flats above shops and pubs. He often used a colleague's studio or rented a premise at a different location. A few years before World War I he rented a house in the Belegstraat in Antwerp with a shop and studio. Here his wife set up a stationary and photography shop.

The life of Italian families abroad

In the Friulan villages, where many mosaic workers lived, the families were all related to each other. One mosaic family married another mosaic family who in turn was related by their mother or father to other mosaic families. For example: Isidor Odorico, mosaic worker, married Marcelle Favret, daughter of a mosaic worker. Through his marriage he was also related to Mander and Fabris and on his mother's side to Carera and Pellarin. All of them were effectively mosaic families (Guéné 2000).

Some of their wives did not come to Belgium but stayed in Italy with their children. In such a case a man and wife would see each other only during the holidays, but they stayed in touch by writing letters nearly daily. It was often on these holidays that single workers found their future wives. Some of them married Belgian women. Silvio Tolomei's Venetian wife did not come from a mosaic family. However, Adriana's brother was a mosaic maker, who worked several years with his brother -in- law in his mosaic business. All their children married Belgian women and became naturalized, except for the eldest son Giuseppe. He kept his Italian nationality, as he was born in Venice and lived there as a young boy. Adriana returned regularly to Venice with her children and stayed for long periods. She continued to cook authentic Venetian food even when abroad. As my father told me, every day she would cook fresh pasta, Venetian soup, polenta, risotto and so on. All these Italian immigrants carried on cooking their traditional food. They brought wine, parmesan cheese and grains from their homeland. As they used to do in Italy, they grew their own vegetables in their gardens or on the patios, and kept animals such as chickens, goats, ducks, cats and dogs.

While the Friulans spoke Italian and Friulan to each other, the second-generation spoke French and Dutch. Adriana spoke Italian with the eldest sons and French with the three youngest, who attended Flemish Schools in Antwerp.

They kept in touch with their homeland, not only privately but also professionally. Silvio obtained commissions from Italian companies, and imported smalti (glass tiles) from Italy.


STABILIMENTO D.r A. SALVIATI & C.ie - VENEZIA S. POLO, PALAZZO BERNARDO

Venezia, li 25 Novembre 1893.

Il sottoscritto a nome della Ditta D.r A. Salviati, dichiara che il Sig. Tolomey Silvio, ebbe a prestare l'opera sua in codesto Stabilimento per circa 10 (dieci)

Figure 5: Silvio Tolomei worked 10 years at the Stabilmento D.r A. Salviati -Venezia. Letter 1893 (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source Family Archive Tolomei)

How did one become a mosaic worker?

In Friuli the skill was passed down from father to son. Some also learned from a master-craftsman. Before 1900 there was a mosaic school in the province Udine, which to this day still exists in Spilimbergo. Some of them went to art school to learn design. Tolomei attended the "Scuola Veneta d'arte, applicata alle industrie" which also still exists today as the "Istituto d'arte Liceo artistico statale Guggenheim". It is possible that he was even a pupil of Salviati. Antonio Salviati, who was a lawyer, gave up his practice to set up glassworks in Murano and a mosaic workshop in Venice. Apprentices who worked in his workshop were required to also attend the academy.

Giuseppe, the eldest son of Silvio, was taught by his father. He also worked in mosaic paving for his father's colleague, Mion, in Antwerp.

Figure 6: Terrazzo or Venetian mosaic pavement (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

These mosaic workers needed to possess various skills, though not all of them were competent in all facets of the trade. Most of them were floor mosaic makers. There are essentially two types of floor mosaics. Roman floors are executed with cut marble stones and could suggest carpeting. Later mosaic floors no longer used figurative representations. Towards the end of the

Figure 7: Roman mosaic marble pavement, stylized plant motives (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

nineteenth century we see the emergence of more stylized plant and flower motifs. Terrazzo, or the Venetian style, utilized little cut stones in lime mortar, and in the Belle Époque, frieze around the floor in marble mosaic ornamentation.

There were few mosaic decorators in the world, and not all of them were qualified in all aspects of the trade. Some of them were specialized in ornamentation and others in figurative mosaics, but always in the Venetian/Byzantine, Art Nouveau, Art Deco, or modern styles.

First of all, one needed mosaic designers to make the sketch, the cartoon, and the drawing in actual size. Often the drawing presented some problems when it was undertaken by artists or architects, not being familiar with the techniques for mosaic execution. Silvio Tolomei was trained for, and experienced in all these skills. But he was mostly in demand globally for mosaic decoration.

The role of expositions

The role of international expositions in the nineteenth century became very important. Mosaics dating back to the middle-ages and beyond were already being restored from 1800 in France, Italy and other countries. In 1862 Salviati had a stand at the London expo to promote his glasswork and mosaics. The Paris Exhibition of 1867 prompted the "Opera Garnier" to decorate their interior with mosaics. Originally mosaics had been used in churches, public buildings, shops, schools, private homes, and on gravestones and furniture etc. Eleven years later, once again, at the Paris Exhibition, mosaic became a symbol of modern architecture for facades and interiors. Well- known architects invited these celebrated Italian artists to decorate their buildings (de Stefano Andrys 2007).

In Belgium, the architects Saintenoy, Blerot, Horta, Bascourt, Van Dijk and also wealthy bourgeois clients and industrialists used mosaic floor- and wall decoration with images in different styles. Between 1875 and 1885 more allegoric representations were being used. Figures on golden backgrounds were to be found in the Byzantine wall decoration. Around 1890 we see the arrival of the Art Nouveau style.

Figure 8: Architect Paul Saintenoy, Brussels 1862–1952 (Photo: Kris Tolomei, source: congress Familiekunde)

Mosaic execution

In ancient times mosaics were cut on location and placed in fresh plaster. This is called the direct method and is very costly to execute. Employers had to send their craftsmen on location, and also pay for their transport, lodgings and alimentation.

Figure 9: Cutting mosaic stones (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

Since Gian Domenico Facchina used the indirect method for the "Opera Garnier" in Paris, the cost became much lower. With the indirect method, the mosaic was made upside-down in the studio in pieces of 50 x 50 cm. These pieces were then sent by boat or train in large wooden boxes to the location, where they were fixed together by a few specialized employees. Both Salviati and Facchina claimed to be the inventor of this procedure.

For all these restoration commissions and new mosaics, they needed a lot of mosaic stones or smalti. In the seventeenth century Murano counted 300 smalti factories, and in the nineteenth century only two. For this reason, Salviati started his glassworks factory in 1859 in Murano and employed Lorenzo Radi as a chemist for the glass paste (smalti). He exported his stones to all corners of the world to be used in the restoration of antique mosaics and for newly designed commissions (Barr 2008). In 1877 Facchina set up a workshop/factory in Venice with the chemist Angelo Orsoni, which still exists to this day. In France, the Usine Briard factory, founded in 1837, began manufacturing enamel buttons and later

Figure 10: Above front door Royal Church St. Mary in Brussels (Belgium) the tympana in Venetian mosaic executed by Silvio Tolomei in 1905 (photo: Kris Tolomei)

Figure 11: Pharmacy Delacre in Brussels designed by architect Paul Saintenoy in 1898. Front decorated with mosaics – here the sun dial, executed in 1899 by Silvio Tolomei (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

started to make mosaics at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many large firms of artisans were established around the world and began using the smalti from these and other glasswork companies.

It's known that Silvio Tolomei in his capacity as entrepreneur, used, among others, the smalti of Salviati and Usine Briard. He obtained commissions from architects, entrepreneurs, merchants, parish priests, private persons and colleagues. Sometimes he worked on commission, as employee and in collaboration with Mion, Pellarin, Bichi, De Bernardin and others all over the world. The Friulans worked under contract, subcontract or on a freelance basis. If work wasn't finished on time, other firms helped out. Sometimes they divided the work up between them. Material was conveyed by handcart, train, boat, horse-and-cart and later by van. The employees reached the workplace by coach, car, van, train, tram, bicycle or sometimes on foot. For commissions further afield, they rented a room or hotel, paid for by their patrons. If they needed more stones they ordered them by mail. It was hard work, with long days, leaving home at 4 or 5 am. A workweek of 70 hours, including weekends and nights was quite normal. Sometimes employees were badly paid, or not paid in full for all the hours they worked.

Figure 12: Above front door Church St. Jan in Borgerhout, tympana in Venetian mosaic executed by Silvio Tolomei in 1898 (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

Tolomei travelled extensively both at home and abroad. He worked also on Sundays. Commissioners often didn't pay on time, and he had some untrustworthy clients. For that reason, his wife ran a stationary and photography shop to make ends meet.

Figure 13: *Zoo Antwerp, Lyon in mosaic. Mosaic decorator, Silvio Tolomei (Photo: Kris Tolomei)*

The mosaic work of Silvio Tolomei

In 1897 Silvio Tolomei left Paris and settled in Brussels to start his own business. He carried out work all over Belgium, France, Italy and other countries. In Brussels one can find some of his decorative works, such as the tympana above the front door of the "Royal Church of St. Mary" in Schaarbeek, a sun-dial for the "Pharmacy Delacre" and various decorations on private houses. From 1900 until 1903 Tolomei took up residence in Lyon where he possibly worked with other colleagues to decorate the "Basilic Notre Dame de Fourrière".

A few years later he moved to Antwerp, where he had already carried out work, either alone, or in conjunction with Salviati, Pellarin and Mion. More examples of his work are the tympana of the "St. Jan's Church (Peperbus)" in Borgerhout, the interior of the "St. Michael's Church" in

Figure 14: During World War I in 1915 is born the youngest son. James Tolomei with nurse in Chapel-en-le Frith in Derbyshire (photo: Kris Tolomei)

Antwerp, and the mosaics at the entrance to the "Antwerp Zoo".

The mosaic pavement worker Jacques Mion died in 1905, but his widow and son continued the family business. Was this the reason why Silvio, with his experience and expertise, moved to Antwerp to build up his business, and decided to settle here permanently? Business thrived for him until 1914, when the outbreak of World War I ruined everything. He escaped with his family to England and set up home in the grounds of a castle in Chapel-en-le Frith in Derbyshire. Their youngest son was born here and given the name of his benefactor, Lord James.

Work was scarce in this region, so the family moved to London in 1915 to try their luck there. Silvio worked for a while for a marble company as a designer. Finally, they found a big enough house for the whole family to live in, including Giuseppe's fiancée. She then came over from Antwerp to London to be with her future husband and found work in a munitions factory. After the War in 1919, a month before they moved back to Antwerp, they married in St. Pancras-London.

Having no home any more in Belgium, the whole family stayed with their colleague Mion.
After a year they rented a newly -built house with a studio in the same street as Mion. Silvio had to restart his business. The demand for new decorative mosaics was in decline, so most of the work was restoration. He began a shipping company in importing terrazzo stones with an Italian immigrant friend in Antwerp and in the meantime worked a lot abroad in Italy, France and in Jerusalem.

In Jerusalem he worked on the Church of Gethsemane, on the Mount of Olives, a project for Italian architect Antonio Barluzzi.

Silvio Tolomei died in Rome in 1930 while working on the St. Peters Basilica. His wife and sons lived on for the rest of their lives in Antwerp.

Conclusion

Not all Italian immigrants to Belgium since the nineteenth century left their native country for the same reason. Some came to work in their chosen profession and others for economic reasons. In this last group there are many subdivisions.

Figure 15: Publicity mosaic frieze on the house of mosaic entrepreneur Mion in Antwerp (Photo: Kris Tolomei)

The lesser educated immigrants ended up doing the heavier, dirtier work such as labouring in the coal mines in the twentieth century. Others saw an opportunity in opening up their own business, such as, a shop, an Italian restaurant or an ice-cream parlour. The making of specialist ice-creams can certainly be regarded as an

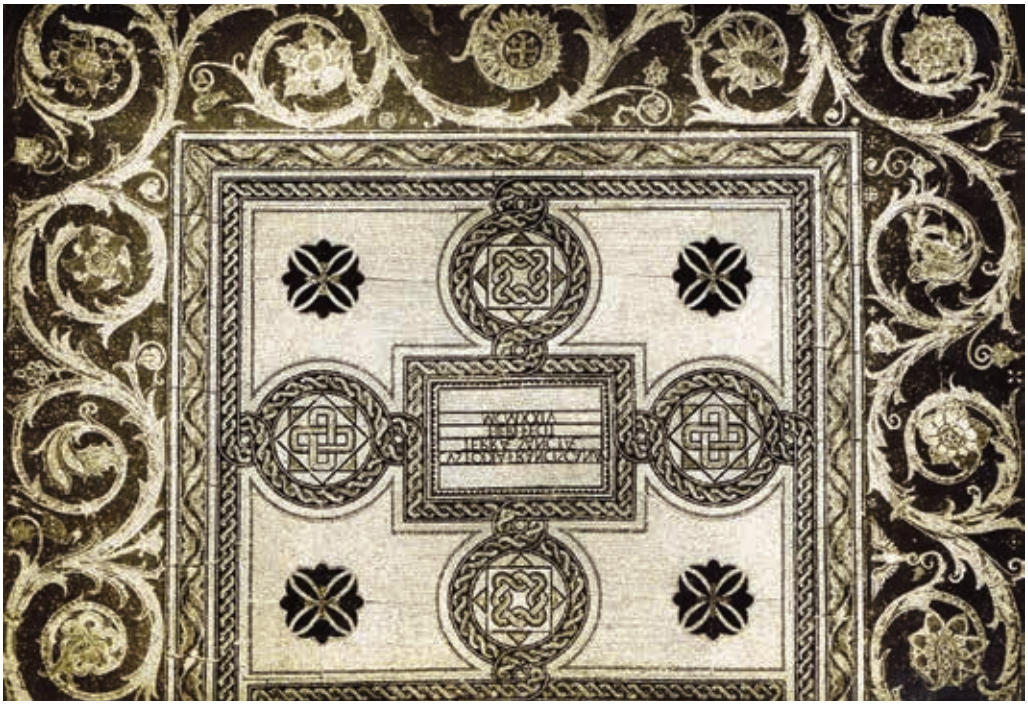


Figure 16: Mosaic pavement in Gethsemane Church in Jerusalem (photo: Kris Tolomei, source: Family archive Tolomei)

art but making mosaics is a real craft. It doesn't take years to learn how to make even the most exquisite ice-cream but to produce a good mosaic certainly does. It takes decades to master the skill involved in laying a mosaic floor with complicated colour combinations and patterns.

At that time there was a shortage of skilled mosaic workers. Pierre De Benardin, in response to a complaint by a client about mistakes in his mosaic floor, wrote: "I will send two of my best men next week, at the moment they are working on another commission." (Maison Loisseau).

Dexterity, precision, the knowledge of different shades of colour and materials as well as artistic talent were the necessary qualities of the mosaic worker. It seems far removed from the brute force used in the coal mines, but laying a terrazzo floor by hand is also hard physical work, not to be underestimated.

At a higher level there were the specialists in decorative mosaics. Here craftsmanship and artistry were of paramount importance. Years of training, skills passed down from father to son and from craft master to apprentice were indispensable.

The Italian immigrant mosaic workers during the Belle Époque adorned our buildings with their wonderful mosaics. They were a unique group amongst Italian immigrants in these and later periods.

Unfortunately, war, vandalism and ignorance took their toll over the years, and many mosaics did not survive the test of time. Appreciation of mosaic art has largely been forgotten and is today rarely taught in our schools and universities.

Years of research into the life of my grandfather, the Italian mosaic artist, Silvio Tolomei, will hopefully help to revive a wider interest in the art of mosaic. Architects, developers and owners of buildings that contain mosaics must begin to appreciate this art form and choose to restore their mosaics instead of destroying them. In the Belgian region of Flanders, the implementation of the new insulation regulations from 2020 is also of great concern to mosaic conservationists.

I would finally like to focus attention on the trials and tribulations of these Italian immigrants during the Belle Époque, and on how over the years their sacrifice and artistry has enriched our culture.

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Notes

1. Visual artist, Photographer, Land-art artist, Researcher, amateur Historian, Author; pa. Hillarestraat 336, 9160 Lokeren, Belgium; tolomei.kris@telenet.be

AEMI JOURNAL

Vol. 19 (2021)

CALL FOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Dear AEMI members, conference speakers and contributors,

You are kindly invited to submit your papers for the upcoming 19th issue of AEMI Journal that will be published in Autumn 2021. In particular, we invite the contributors and speakers of the cancelled 30th AEMI conference in Omagh (2020) to submit their planned contributions. The central theme of this year's conference would be summarised in the single word "return". Over time, all migrants retain the potential to return from the destinations to which they have moved to their place of origin. Aim of this year's conference would be to launch a debate on the current challenges posed by the migration phenomenon, in this case return migration, its various aspects, objectives, conditions, assessments and perspectives, so that your contributions can present both group and individual cases that represent general themes. Proposed topics should offer historical, sociological, legal, politological and anthropological approaches to the questions.

Contributions presented at previous conferences are also welcome.

Please follow the Instructions for authors, when preparing the article, and send it in electronic form (Word format) to the following e-mail address: aemi.izi@zrc-sazu.si

Articles will be reviewed.

The deadline for submitting the papers is the 15th of February 2021 by midnight.

Instructions for authors are available at: https://isim.zrc-sazu.si/sites/default/files/instructions_for_authors_0.pdf

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Kind regards from the editors,

Maja Gostič
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Please follow the instructions stated below while writing the article as it will largely shorten the time spent on *post hoc* editing. You are welcome to download a Word sample with all the needed formatting to make the process as easy as possible.

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Avoid underlining and using bold in all texts. Italics should be used when emphasizing a word or a phrase. Italics should also be used when citing titles of books and newspapers. The following abbreviations should be used: ibid., et al., ed./eds. When using quotation marks, use "this type of double quotation marks"; 'this type of single quotation marks' should be used when embedding quotations or concepts within quotations. Please do not use other types of quotation marks. Omitted parts of quotations should be indicated by square brackets with ellipsis […].

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a) Books:

Anderson, Benedict (1995). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London, New York: Verso.

b) Articles in collections of papers:

Brumen, Jerneja (2017). Okoljske migracije kot diskurzivni fenomen. *Raziskovanje slovenskega izseljenstva: Vidiki, pristopi, vsebine* (eds. Janja Žitnik Serafin, Aleksej Kalc). Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, 205–219.

c) Articles in journals:

Vah Jevšnik, Mojca, Lukšič Hacin, Marina (2011). Theorising Immigrant/Ethnic Entrepreneurship in the Context of Welfare States. *Migracijske i etničke teme* 27 (2), 249–261.

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Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, http://www.stat.si/StatWeb/en (1 Feb. 2018).

Graphs, tables and figures

Photographs, illustrations, maps, charts and other figures should not be included in the submitted document (with the exception of tables and charts created and editable in Word). All illustrative material needs to be numbered and submitted separately (charts preferably in Excel) with the author's surname. Please submit photos in .jpeg format, minimum picture quality 300 dpi.

Locations of figures in the text should be marked as follows:

Figure 1: Lisa Cook in New York in 1905 (photo: Janez Novak, source: Archives of Slovenia, 1415, 313/14)

Graph 1: Natural and migration changes of the population of Slovenia (source: Statistical Office of the Republic of Slovenia, Stat'O'Book: Statistical Overview of Slovenia 2017, p. 8)

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