### MESA 27

**TABLE 27**

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**Historia oral y las pautas de migración**  
*Oral History and the Patterns of Migration*

**CHAIR**  
Tiina-Riitta Lappi (Finland)

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**Outi Fingerroos** (Finland):  
"Family Reunification of Somalis in Finland: The many voices of oral history"

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**Alice Beatriz da Silva Gordo Lang** (Brazil):  
"The Portugese Community in São Paulo, Brazil: Trajectories and Associations."

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**Soeli Regina Lima, Andrea Strutz** (Brazil):  
"Photography and oral history: An intercrossing within the analysis of collective memories from Polish immigrants in Três Barras city."

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**Rigoberto Banguero Velasco** (Argentina):  
"Poblamiento afro en la Subregión (Quilichao, Buenos Aires, Suarez), localizada en el suroccidente del Valle del Rio Cauca. 1951-2000"
Family Reunification of Somalis in Finland: The many voices of oral history.

Outi Fingerroos
(Finland):

Abstract: The subject of my current research is the family reunification process of Somalis coming to Finland from Ethiopia. The aim of my presentation is to better understand this process. This process clearly involves two different sides of human activity: the Somalis with their own life stories and the officials with their own personal experience narratives. The interesting point about this process is the way in which it is implemented and how the people who are involved in it cope.

The justification for my study lies in the lack of cultural information regarding the practices and human side of immigration and in the fact that it is a burning issue in Finland and Europe. My research aims to get behind these platitudes by using an ethnographic approach by collecting, presenting and analyzing the oral history narratives of Somali immigrants to Finland and of the officials who deal with their applications for residence permits.

Keywords: migration, family reunification, diaspora, life stories, memory
I worked as a visiting professor in Ethiopia at Addis Ababa University at the turn of 2009 and 2010. During my stay in Addis I visited the Embassy of Finland several times and saw dozens of Somali men, women and children under a small canopy in front of the Embassy waiting to get in. These Somali families were waiting for their turn to attend family re-unification interviews. For these Somalis, the interview represents a way of getting into Finland, since they presumably already have a relative, a so-called “family re-unifier”, in the country.

During my first visit to Ethiopia, I had also time for my own fieldwork: I interviewed the officials of the Embassy of Finland about the immigration of Somalis to Finland. I learned what a complicated process it is, particularly with regard to the reunification of families. In that way I found a new subject for research that is extremely topical and highly suitable for ethnographic research, which I present here. It is entitled ‘Reuniting the family. A study of the experiences of immigrants and officials’.

The aim and basics idea of my research project is to better understand the kind of process that the immigration of Somalis involves particularly with regard to cultural encounters and oral history narratives. The subject of the research is the family reunification process of Somalis coming to Finland from Ethiopia. This process clearly involves two different sides of human activity: the Somalis with their own life stories and the officials with their own personal experience narratives. The interesting point about this process is the way in which it is implemented and how the people who are involved in it cope.

The justification for my research lies in the lack of cultural information regarding the practices and human side of immigration and in the fact that it is a burning issue in Finland. The immigration authorities and Somali immigrants are often faceless in Finland; thus it is easy to write about them in a popularist style using ill-founded arguments. My presentation aims to get behind these platitudes by using an ethnographic approach: collecting, presenting and analyzing the oral narratives of Somali immigrants to Finland and of the officials who deal with their applications for residence permits. In particular, I concentrate on the concept of ‘the family’, which to my mind is a very fundamental, multi-faceted and indeed problematic category.

ORAL NARRATIVES: THE KEY TO NEW INFORMATION

The concept of narrative has long been an important element in many fields of research, and in Finland, too, the study of narrative has established itself as a popular approach, method and philosophical stance in research. (Hyvärinen 2006.) This presentation is methodologically committed to a form of narratology that has its roots in oral history. The oral histories are narrated “because the present we live in is built from past events”, and at the same time, “every ‘now’ is the consequence of many ‘thens’”, as the anthropologist Elizabeth Tonkin claims in her book Narrating our pasts. The social construction of oral history (1992). Thus narration is seen as a form of knowing, as a way of interpreting reality and as a tool for understanding temporality. The concept personal experience story, for its part, is also used when interview material is analysed from the point of view of the lives and experiences of the narrators. Personal experience narration both interprets the narrated events and the past and speaks about itself to others in the form of stories of the phenomenon to be examined combined with experiences and events that are important from the point of view of the narrator.

SOMALIS IN MY STUDY

Ethiopia is one of the oldest independent states in the world with a rich culture and a history going back thousands of years. Unfortunately, in the Western world Ethiopia has become known through news reports of poverty and famine. However, at the moment the political situation in Ethiopia is stable, and there is no war there. This is a reason which attracts refugees from neighboring states. To Addis Ababa, the refugees mostly come over the border from Somalia.

In Somalia, on the other hand, the political situation is chaotic after a civil war and unrest. Especially in southern part of Somalia there are numerous more or less uncontrolled paramilitary groups with a large amount of weapons. Moreover, the country is in grave need of humanitarian aid. Therefore, the stream of
refugees to neighboring countries has grown year by year as the risk to one’s person and life is evident. Some of the refugees attempt to flee across the Gulf of Aden to the Yemen, where according to current estimates up to a million Somalis are living. Large numbers of Somalis have also moved into Ethiopia and Kenya.

As I mentioned at the beginning, every day in Addis Ababa, one can see dozens of Somali families waiting in front of the Embassy of Finland to get in to be interviewed. For the Somalis, the interview represents a way of getting into Finland, since they presumably have a relative, a so called family re-unifier in Finland.

The family re-unifier is a person who has been in Finland for some time and on the basis of a family relationship with him or her a person living abroad can apply for a residence permit in Finland. The family re-unifier is often a former asylum-seeker who has him- or herself received a residence permit and sometimes even citizenship. He or her can also be a child of a Somali who moved to Finland in the 1990s who is married to a compatriot and seeks a residence permit for his or her spouse.

The family re-unifier is always the key person when an individual Somali attempts to enter Finland through the family reunification process. Finnish law (Section 37 of the Aliens Act) defines a family member as a person who belongs to the same household. From the point of view of my research, it is interesting to note that Finland is following good cultural practice in accepting foster children as family members. This is not the case in many other European countries, with the result that many Somali families are tragically split up.

On the other hand it is interesting to analyze, what are meanings of the concepts of ‘family’ and ‘family life’ in the family re-unification process of Somalis. The Finnish family life is usually understood to be centered on the nuclear family, and family’s daily life is clearly committed to this kind understanding. Among Somalis living with extended families is the norm, and the clan groupings are very important social units. Thus, is not unusual for a Somali family to have seven or eight children, grandparents and foster children as family members. Similarly, people who do not marry tend to live with their extended families.

Among Somali families in Finland it is also common for close siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins to be scattered across different countries in Europe, North America, the Middle East or to be in Somalia and elsewhere in the Horn of Africa. Despite physical dispersal the family members’ connections are maintained by telephone, internet and also visits.

INTERVIEWS IN THE EMBASSY
Family members seeking entry to Finland are interviewed at the Embassy of Finland in Addis Ababa, after which they may be granted a visa and a residence permit, in other words allowed to enter Finland. At the moment, there are four officials dealing with immigration issues in the Embassy of Finland in Addis Abeba. They interview all the Somali families and also the individual persons who wish to enter Finland on the grounds of marriage. An interpreter is always present at the interview situation.

Interviews take 3 hours with each member of a family including children. The interviewers attempt to ascertain the family relations of the Somalis, and in unclear cases resort to a DNA analysis carried out by the Department of Forensic Medicine of the University of Helsinki. The executor of the family reunification process is the Finnish Immigration Service. Finnish Immigration Service also makes the final decision after a long process.

When Somalis arrive at the embassy for an interview, they are often already aware of the process and have also discussed it with the interpreter. The Somalis have their own extremely important assistants to help them in the complicated process.
The concrete interview situation in the embassy is not an easy experience for the Somalis even if every interviewee has been thoroughly prepared for it. Nor is the situation an easy one for the interviewing consuls, fraught as it is with numerous unpredictable cultural and linguistic problems. The fear of authority, violence and death is something that the Somalis have learned to live with, and an interview in a closed room sometimes causes them to experience serious panic reactions. Usually, Somalis do not have any experience of discussing their lives with foreign people, and they do not know how to behave in front of officials.

These, and many other cultural factors, are concrete examples of how difficult the encounter between different cultures can be in the official processes linked to immigration and how difficult the situations are in which the Somali interviewees and the Finnish interviewers have to cope.

**DIASPORA**

According to the Population Register Center of Finland there was a total of 14,769 people who speak Somali as their mother tongue at the end of 2012. Most of Somalis lives in big cities in the Southern Finland.

The first Somali asylymseekers came to Finland in 1990. Today the Somalis are the fourth-biggest foreign group living in Finland after the Estonians, Russians and Swedes. In 2010, altogether 3986 Somalis applied for residence permits on the basis of family ties. In 2011, the number of applications exceed 3000. In recent years, the proportion of rejections has been increased from 30−35 percent to over 80 percent. The most common reason for rejection is a failure to establish a clear family relationship or purpose of travel.

The first Somali asylymseekers came to Finland in 1990, and after that the amount of Somali immigrants has steadily grown each year. Today the Somalis are the fourth-biggest foreign group living in Finland after the Estonians, Russians and Swedes. According to the Population Register Center of Finland there was a total of 14,769 people who speak Somali as their mother tongue at the end of 2012. Most of Somalis lives in big cities in the Southern Finland.

In 2010, altogether 3986 Somalis applied for residence permits on the basis of family ties. In 2011, the number of applications exceed 3000. In recent years, the proportion of rejections has been increased from 30−35 percent to over 50 percent. The most common reason for rejection is a failure to establish a clear family relationship or purpose of travel.

The road to Europe has not meant that life in northern Europe is easy for Somalis. The journey to Finland is both geographically and culturally a long one, and many old people are loath to set out on it at all. Not speaking the language and coming from a drastically different background, prejudice, racism and outright hostility, have been overshadowing the placement and integration of Somali families in Finland.

In Finland there have been many incidents where the Somalis have been accused of using up the tax money and being of no use. In particular, whenever there’s a recession, there’s a search for scapegoats, as like one Finnish Somali states:

This summarizes the situation of Somalis in Finland. The truth is that even so the racism and racist acts have become more direct and a visible part of Finnish society. Finland being a young country having started receiving foreign refugees only about 20 years ago, this indicates that attitudes are based on prejudice and ignorance.
CONCLUSIONS
The justification for my study lies in the lack of cultural information regarding the practices and human side of immigration and in the fact that it is a burning issue in Finland and Europe. The immigration authorities and Somali immigrants are often faceless in Finland. Therefore it is easy to write about them in a populist style with ill-founded arguments.

My research aims to get behind these platitudes by using an ethnographic approach by collecting, presenting and analyzing the oral history narratives of Somali immigrants in Finland and of the officials who deal with their applications for residence permits.

The project will establish that: the oral history narratives of the authorities have not previously been collected for research purposes. My discussions with the officials of Migri, the Finnish Red Cross, and the Finnish Embassy in Ethiopia provided concrete evidence of the fact that not enough is known about the substance of the work they do. Moreover, the existing research information is far removed from the problems associated with practical immigration work. Thus from the point of view of the authorities, too, family reunification is a complex process involving a lot of personally experienced tacit knowledge, which is manifested in personal experience narratives and even autobiographical accounts. The research will describe in concrete terms what the authorities have to tell about family reunification: how they cope in encounters involving complex cultural and linguistic questions, and what the process demands of them;

On the other hand, the oral history narratives of Somalis who have moved to Finland constitute important research material. Because academic research on immigration in Finland has concentrated on statistics, theories and societal perspectives, our perception of the Somalis has remained distant and even stereotypical. My research will employ oral history methods to elucidate what kind of cultural and linguistic questions are involved in the complicated process of family reunification. It will describe in concrete terms what the Somalis have to tell about family reunification: how they cope with the complicated process of family reunification, and what this has required of them.

The interviews conducted by the consul of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Addis Ababa offer a concrete manifestation of the political situation in the Horn of Africa. Particularly for Somalis, Ethiopia represents a transit country, an escape hatch out of the Horn of Africa. In the processes connected with refuge and immigration, the people involved are all actors – both the would-be immigrants themselves and the officials who handle their applications. Often the citizens of the countries that receive immigrants only see the cold statistics about the newcomers. Free public opinion forgets people’s distress and their personal backgrounds and stubbornly concentrates on costs and threats. At the same time, those officials who work with immigration suffer from a lack of resources and an opportunity to exert some effect on the way matters proceed. They, too, have their own story to tell.

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The Portugese Community in São Paulo, Brazil: Trajectories and Associations.

Alice Beatrix da Silva Gordo Lang
(Brazil):

Abstract: The study focuses on trajectories of Portuguese immigrants in São Paulo and on associations created by the community in different sectors and times. In the sociological perspective the study is grounded on the concepts of migration, social integration and identity. Migration is studied through the migratory route; social integration is seen as a process considering in an extreme the full integration and in the other the link with Portugal. As for identity, the collective identity and the personal identity have been considered. The methodology of oral history was used to collect and analyze the interviews conducted to obtain life stories to know trajectories and statements to obtain information making possible to outline the associations history, organization and activities. The various life stories collected make possible the comparison and the seizure of common traits. Immigrants point out the difficult conditions of life in Portugal, the decision to leave and start a new life in Brazil, the early days, the integration in the host country, the permanent link with the country of origin. The sense of personal identity is ambiguous: they are Portuguese and fell as Portuguese, but they love Brazil and don’t intend to return. As to the collective identity, they reinforce the positive aspects, but must face the prejudices expressed in jokes and anecdotes. Some institutions, especially the regional associations are failing to attract the second and third generations. A goal of the immigrants was to get a higher education to their children, and many have succeeded. But if the study, on one hand facilitates the integration, on the other it has led to a greater distance from the parent’s land of origin. Adaptation to current times has been occurring more intensely, in institutions focused on business and on health.
These reflections are based on results of researches we have been doing on the Portuguese community in São Paulo city. The city is the capital of the State of São Paulo, located in southeastern Brazil. It is the most populous city in the country, with 10,886,518 inhabitants.

Brazil, a country located in South America was discovered by Portugal in 1500 and colonized by the Portuguese. As a Portuguese-speaking country, it differs from other Latin American countries, all Spanish-speaking, because they were colonized by Spain. There are significant historical differences between Brazil and these other countries. The Spanish South American countries gained their independence between 1810 and 1833 in violent processes and formed numerous countries: Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela; the Guianas had another colonization (French, English, Dutch). All of these countries have a small area when compared to Brazil: a country of 8.5 million km², a country that has remained united by the introduction of the centralizing Empire. The independence of Brazil was proclaimed peacefully by the Portuguese Prince who became the first Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro I, succeeded by his son Dom Pedro II who ruled the Empire until 1889, when the Republic was proclaimed. The Empire remained united this huge territory of Portuguese language, which currently has 193.9 million inhabitants. The most populous state is the State of São Paulo, with 41.9 million people, including immigrants. ¹

HISTORICAL OUTLINE

In the sense of identity of the Portuguese immigrants and of the community itself, there are elements that date back to the origin of the great navigations, which made the little Portugal a power of the seas in the XV and XVI centuries, the discoveries centuries. The caravel is used as symbol of these glorious times of the discoveries.

In a nutshell, I present an outline of the facts that made possible the great voyages and led to discoveries, facts mentioned in the present research by some interviewees with more culture.

In the XII Century (1119), the Order of the Knights Templars was created. They are monks who had the task of protecting Christian pilgrims who went to the Holy Land. The templars became proficient navigators who brought emblazoned on the sails of their caravels a red cross, the Orders’ symbol. The Templars Order became rich and powerful. The French king, Philip IV, running into debts and wishing to seize the control of the Templars’ goods, succeeded to convince Pope Clement V to extinguish the Order in 1312. The Templars superior, Jean de Molay, was killed, the knights were dispersed, the squadron disappeared.

In Portugal, the Templars already owned a castle in Tomar. The Templars, or part of them, were welcomed in Portugal by King Dom Diniz, but had to change the name of the Order which was then called the Order of Christ, keeping the same cross as a symbol. The Templars’ knowledge of navigation was developed in the School of Sagres, founded by the Prince Dom Henrique, the Navigator, one of Dom Diniz children. At that time, Dom Diniz planted the pine forests of Leiria, which would provide wood for the construction of vessels. Portuguese caravels were casted in the sea and conquered lands. Caravels brought emblazoned on their sails the cross of the Order of Christ, formerly the cross of the Templars.

The caravel with the cross of the Order of Christ on the sails is still used by associations, institutions and Portuguese companies based in São Paulo, as an identifying symbol of origin and of the glorious days of Portugal.

The Portuguese, with 13 ships captained by Pedro Alvares Cabral, arrived in Brazil on April 22, 1500. It was the discovery of a land that initially was thought to be an island, which received the name Island of Vera Cruz. It was then called the Land of Santa Cruz and finally Brazil.

¹ IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - 2010
The country was settled, colonized and ruled by Portugal. It was a Colony until 1808, thus becoming the United Kingdom to Portugal and Algarves, when the Portuguese court moved to Brazil, fleeing the Napoleonic forces. In 1822 Brazil became independent, inaugurating the First Empire. The emperor was Dom Pedro I, son of the King of Portugal, Dom João VI.

FOREIGNERS AND IMMIGRANTS
After Independence, the Portuguese who arrived in Brazil were considered foreigners. However, there was labor supply especially in coffee plantations and many Portuguese arrived into Brazil as immigrants as well as Italian and Spanish. Portuguese also arrived to cities like São Paulo. There was a large immigration during the Empire.

The Republic was proclaimed in 1889, when the Brazilian citizenship was offered to all foreigners who were in the country on that date. Portuguese continued to arrive. They came in different waves and for several reasons: economic, political or personal and familiar. Portuguese immigrants were numerous until 1930, when there was a sharp drop in the number of arrivals, due to restrictions imposed by the government that took power with the 1930 revolution and gave priority to internal migration, from the North and Northeast to the Southeast and South. In the 1950s, with the urbanization and industrialization processes, there was need of manpower and several opportunities were offered to people with poor qualification. Portuguese from impoverished areas of North Portugal and of Azores and Madeira islands, emigrated in large numbers. It was an economic immigration and generally of families.

In the 1970s, immigrants arrived from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, where the wars for liberation, known as Colonial Wars were happened. The Portuguese who lived in Portuguese African colonies had to leave the colonies immediately. Many of them came to Brazil and particularly to São Paulo where they were welcomed by the Portuguese community.

Political opponents of Salazar and followers’ government also arrived. With the Carnation Revolution in Portugal, in 1974, it was the Salazar’s followers which had supported the authoritarian regime of Salazar who came. It was a political immigration. Before that, youth who wanted to escape the troop also emigrated, in order not to be incorporated into the army.

In the final decade of the XX century, Portugal joined the European Economic Community, and experienced a period of progress. In those years, there was an inversion of the migratory flow and many Brazilians emigrated to Portugal. Portuguese capital made investments in Brazil in various sectors, such as telecommunication, energy, banks, hospitality, construction and road operation, porcelain, among others.

In the current century the economic conditions of Portugal have become difficult again and many Portuguese have emigrated to Brazil. It is also an economic immigration, but of people with high educational level, such as engineers, architects, lawyers, technicians.

OBJECTIVE
Based on the trajectory of some immigrants and the performance of their institutions and regional associations, I present reflections on their personal and collective identity and adaptation to current times.

These study in sociological approach uses the concepts of migration, social integration and identity. Sociology is the science of social facts, considering the various groups that structure society and the relationships among them.

Migration is the movement of people in physical and social space for a long period or permanently.

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2 Government of Salazar’s followers. Antonio Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) served as Financial Minister of Portugal and Prime Minister from 1932 to 1968, on an authoritarian government presided by him until he was sick.
Dealing with international migration, Sayad (1998) distinguished Emigration and Immigration, two sides of the same coin. Emigrant is the one who leaves his country to settle in another one, forever or for a long time. He becomes an immigrant when entering the host country. The determinants of migration are generally economical and can also be political, among other less common reasons such as familiar or personal situations. Migration is a collective and a personal experience. While a personal experience is a process that develops through the migratory route that is made in the following stages:

- in the country of origin, the decision to leave and preparations;
- the journey that becomes faster with the development of the means of communication, but it is a significant passage mark;
- in the country of destination, the earliest times;
- the moment of decision, to stay or to return, and in the first case it follows the definitive inclusion and in the second, the reintegration in the country of origin, closing the migratory cycle. (Rocha-Trindade, 1995).

Social integration is seen as the way an individual feels as member of a social group, sharing its norms, beliefs and values. Integration does not assume homogeneity, does not erase the differences. The integration process of immigrants who live in another country is always ongoing. It assumes various degrees, on one of the poles there is full integration in the host country and on the opposite one, the permanence of the sense of belonging to the country of origin.

Identity is a feeling that occurs in touch with society, builds and rebuilds in a dynamic process; often identifying with each other, other times differentiating. There is a collective identity of a group or society and a personal or individual identity. Personal identity is carried out within the parameters of the collective one. The identity process depends not only on how people intend to assert themselves, but also the others’ reception to this statement. Such approval may be positive or negative, leading in the latter case to prejudice.

Immigrants come to the host country with an identity forged in the country of origin, through socialization. In the host country, they are subject to the dynamism of two processes: integration in the host country and permanence of the sense of belonging to the country of origin, processes that will be part of their identity.

Sources
For well-known immigration, Paulo Felipe Monteiro (1992), suggests the researcher “to travel with the emigrants”. Oral history is especially suitable for this purpose, allowing, through the interview, to know the experience of immigrants on their own voice.

Oral history has been used in various ways and with different goals. I distinguish oral history research focused on an issue that remains to be know by the analysis supported by the science concepts that guides the researcher; those who use this methodology by this way are the researchers. There are the archivists whose objective is to build documents to greater understanding of a given topic, or to supplement data already on the file. There are activists who see oral history as an opportunity to raise the interviewees awareness about unfavorable situations and lead to transformative action.

Oral history has been used by researchers across multiple disciplines such as sociology, history, anthropology, political science, among others. I do not consider it as an interdisciplinary methodology, because each researcher uses the conceptual perspective of his discipline. However, it is a meeting point of several disciplines. (Lozano, 1996)

The research objective which directs the entire process has to be clearly outlined.

The oral history interview is done in order to get answers or explanations to the question or issue under
study. The interview form depends on the problem in focus. One way is life history used to know all the interviewee’s life, but it demands a long time and many sections to be collected; there is a brief or short life history, called life story, targeting more specifically the research topic, or some aspect of interest, allowing to apprehend the view of the interviewee on the topic and how his life story relates him with. Another form, the statement, is used to collect testimonials and information on the issue under study, but through the vision of the respondent.

In the research about the Portuguese community, at issue, we have resorted to life stories and statements. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and edited. The dialogue between the researcher and the interviewee, characteristic of this methodology, must appear in the edition. A possibility is not to transcribe the questions as they were made, but showing the involvement of the researcher (which can be expressed as questions, comments or information) in different graphic type than the one used to the interviewee speech. We work with complementary sources.

Oral history is used to collect oral data associated with written sources such as statistics, press, literature, images, other oral sources as radio programs directed to community and also images. (Lang, 2001; Lang, Campos, Demartini, 2010)

The study of the Portuguese community in the city of São Paulo currently is being developed within this framework. The community is formed by the Portuguese and their descendants born in Brazil if they recognize themselves as belonging to that community.

The Portuguese are scattered in the city, it is not easy to identify them as the physical type, names and surnames are similar to the whole population, and they speak the same language. There are some points of concentration in neighborhoods where they live and where they created regional associations. Institutions were created by the Portuguese in different times and sectors: health, commerce, sports, social activities, and regional associations. There are also churches built by the Portuguese, which are important meeting points.

Institutions and associations were the starting point for the selection of respondents. In the interviews, we seek to known the trajectory of the immigrant through his life story and the institutions and associations history and activities through the part of the interview addressed to obtain statements.

TRAJECTORIES
To study the trajectories, we prioritize immigrants who arrived in Brazil during the flow 1950-1963. It was a large flow, when 299 801 Portuguese entered São Paulo, 99% settled in urban areas, numerous in the city of São Paulo. The statistics are inaccurate. Many died, but others are still alive and active. Some could be interviewed and tell their trajectory. After 50 years in Brazil, they can examine the results of their immigration.

It was basically an economic immigration. The life stories collected show some traits common to all. They remember the village, the trip, the first time in the land which welcome them still with emotion.

As they lived in difficult situation in Portugal, Brazil was presented to them as an option to build a better future. It was a country where the Portuguese language is speak, an important element for people with little education, and also a country where many countrymen already lived who had arrived before. The initial intention was always to make money and to go back together, as told the gardener Vasco.

We will stay there three or four years, then we will come back. It is because we were young, always dreaming high: ‘I’ll make money’; but when I got here, the money was not so easy to make. I said jokingly that there are no money trees.
There was a legend that Brazil was a country where there were ‘money trees’ - trees instead of fruit were sprouting gold coins.

It was a family immigration, although often initially the father came and after getting a job and housing, he called the family. Not always all the family came together. It was a process which generally took a long time.

The journey can be seen as a milestone in the migration memories. The travel in third class ship - for adults who came, apprehensions, for children memories of fun. They know the duration of the trip and many, the exact day of arrival. An example of this memory, we found in Deolinda’s speech.

Mine took 13 days, in the Argentinean ship ‘Salta’. I came... I came first to Rio and to Santos on July 25, 1952, at 7 o’clock in the morning.

In the same vein is Carolina’s memory:

When I left Madeira, I already left to Brazil. It was the ship ‘Santa Lucia’. It was an Italian ship. It took 13 days to get here. I left on December 15 and arrived here on the 26th. I came in 62 ... I arrived here on the 26th..., when I arrived. On the ship I came, also 1600 passengers came. It was a huge ship ...

Initially the immigrants had the support of relatives or countrymen who were already in Brazil and sent the call letter. The call letter was an essential document required by Brazilian government.

They came to live in neighborhoods where other immigrants were already established. It was a time of hard work, often in bakeries, butchers, pensions, or factories. Those who came had little education, some of them were illiterate. Here, they raised their children which were generally able to study. Some of them, who came young, usually married other Portuguese, even from the same village.

When they could save some money, they went to Portugal to visit relatives and the village. Those who have already achieved more resources, visited other cities of Portugal, because when they had left the country, they only knew the village and surroundings, and the harbor where they boarded.

In general, the intention to return will be delayed and ends up being abandoned. Better living conditions, and children adapted in Brazil are decisive factors for the continually postponed return and they stayed in Brazil. It was the life story of Maria Mercês who came with the intention of staying only five years and remained in Brazil since 1951.

I just said to my husband: ‘We will stay there about four, five years then we come back, otherwise I will not go’. He said: ‘It’s good’. Then my daughter went to school here, we started earning money. In Portugal we worked a lot and earned very little. Then he said: ‘We will stay here a little longer’. Then we staying. We came in 1951 and we’re here. Then my daughter studied, then she got married, then she had her daughters.

This return always postponed was studied by Monteiro (1994) in his work Emigration: the myth of the eternal return.

A STRATIFIED COMMUNITY
After so many years, the immigrants economic situation has become differentiated and the community stratified. There are those who managed to make successful big business and became rich. There are several that have managed to reach a good situation, to buy a house and to have their own business. It is a middle stratum that has various gradations. And there are those who have been unsuccessful, being currently sustained by their family. Extreme cases are sent to an institution to support needy Portuguese
immigrants, with the aid of the Consulate of Portugal. And there are some sent to live in a purveyor home (Lar da Provedoria), a rest house supported by the community.

There are immigrants who returned for failing to accomplish their purpose. However there are those who returned after achieving their migration goal. Jose’s father came to Brazil to gather enough money to buy land in his village, went back and bought a land there.

My father divided part of his land in lots and gave one to each son. He said that he would die only when all his children have built a house there.

Inserted in Brazil for so many years, immigrants feel themselves as Portuguese, and in many times, as Brazilian too. They love Brazil. His identity is an ambiguous one.

**ASSOCIATIONS**

To associate to others is a characteristic of the Portuguese Community. The immigrant Raul observes:

When there are 10 Portuguese immigrants, they found a church, when there are 100 Portuguese, they found an hospital, a “Santa Casa”. They did this all around the world.

Institutions were created in various sectors and in different times: health, economy, social, sports and regional associations. Some institutions, as representative of the majority of them, are presented here.

The first institution created in São Paulo by Portuguese immigrants was the hospital **Beneficencia Portuguesa** of São Paulo, in 1858. It was the initiative of two Portuguese clerks who gathered several Portuguese to create an institution to give support to immigrants who had no resources. With so much effort, they built a small hospital that developed until becoming huge. It was visited by Emperor Dom Pedro II and received from the King Carlos I of Portugal, in 1901, the title of Real Benemerita. (Royal and Benevolent). The hospital has continued to grow and is now one of the largest and most modern hospital complexes in São Paulo and Brazil.

In the economic sector, the **Portuguese Chamber of Commerce** (Câmara Portuguesa de Comércio) was established in 1908 to bring together Portuguese who were devoted to commerce and industry. It was also one of the institutions which has been modernized to adapt to present times. The caravel as its symbol was changed to another, the Por+, indicating the various types of events organized by the Chamber to support the community.

In the sporting area it was created in 1920 the **Portuguese Sports** (Portuguesa de Desportos), a football team now denominated Lusa. There are other sports and also social activities such as festivals dedicated to Saint John and Saint Anthony, in June. It was the first association in which immigrants entered as soon as they improve their living conditions.

Also in 1920 **Portuguese Club** it was created, dedicated to social and cultural activities, gathering immigrants with more resources. It has a wide house, publishes a magazine and has a library.

In 1930 the first **regional associations** were created. The beginning of all is similar: immigrants from the same region or village gathered to remember Portugal, often to exchange information, and even to assist those living difficulties. The regional associations created in this decade disappeared; only the Trasmontano Club reached the present days, turning into a health center today with a large hospital, the IGESP.

In 1936 the **House of Portugal** was founded to be the ‘Mother House’, gathering the Portuguese of São Paulo. It worked at first on a temporary headquarter until the House was built. The project was of the Portuguese architect, the immigrant Ricardo Severo, who defined it as a house with such a wide door,
where could shelter all the Portuguese of Sao Paulo. To finance the building, the House of Portugal created the Commend Infante Dom Henrique to grace the benefactors. The house was inaugurated in 1958. It is the central community space, housing the Chamber of Commerce, the Luso-Brazilian Community Council - CCLB, being besides a space used by the Portuguese consulate to assist needy immigrants. In the restaurant there is the traditional Thursdays lunch, gathering successful immigrants, the community elite.

No regional association was created in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, remembering that the 1950s were years of large immigration. In the 1980s, other associations began, gathering immigrants from specific regions, such as the House of Madeira Island, the Açores House, the Arouca, or even from villages as Gebelim and Brunhosinho in Tras-os-Montes. The program of regional associations shows the concern of keeping the Portuguese roots alive through cooking, remembering songs and folk dances and worshipping the patron saint of the village, or Our Lady of Fatima, holy devotion of the Portuguese. The Luso-Brazilian Community Council was created in 1981 to defend the interests of the community as a whole and to represent it.

Catholic people, contributed to the building of several churches. The Shrine of Our Lady of Fatima is a meeting point for the community on the 13th of each month, especially on May 13th, the day when Our Lady appeared at Fatima to three shepherd children. Other churches were also built by the Portuguese, as the Church of Our Lady of Aparecida, known today as “the Portuguese church”. The Church of the Holy Spirit was built by a Portuguese lady, in returning for an obtained grace. Portuguese immigrants have also contributed to the construction of other churches, such as Our Lady of the Way, dedicated to the protector saint of Mogadouro, Portuguese village from where many immigrants came from. The Church dedicated to São Domingos Savio was a simple shed when a Portuguese group decided to build it on the land beside.

IDENTITY AND PREJUDICES
The analysis of the trajectories and associations allowed some considerations on the question of identity.

On the collective identity, immigrants highlighted in their speech the positive elements, emphasizing the courage of immigrants who leave their country to build a life in Brazil, moved by the dream of getting rich. They refer to the heroic times of Portugal and the great voyages of discoveries. Some interviewees pointed immigrants who managed to succeed in life, transposing the words “sail the seas”, navigate, to “sail the life” signifying to progress, to get ahead in life. The image of the caravels, which refers to the heroic times of Portugal is used by many Portuguese companies to show their origin.

In spite of the positive aspects highlighted, the Portuguese had and still have to face several prejudices, expressed in the form of jokes and anecdotes. Certainly these prejudices had their origin from the uneducated immigrants who arrived in Brazil at the economic immigration flew of the 1950s. One of the interpretations is that it would still be a reaction of the colonized against the colonial past. However, nowadays we can still find jokes and anecdotes against Portuguese circulating on the internet.

As for the personal identity, there are contradictory issues confronting the ambiguity in the sense of identity of the Portuguese, after so many years in Brazil, as the interviewee Pinho said:

I have learned so much to appreciate this country, that nobody can make me leave this country. Here is my home, here I plant my tree, here I gave my fruits. I am happy... I love Portugal, I was born there. I love my land, I cannot say otherwise, because I was born there.

One important dimension of the Portuguese identity is the feeling of “saudade”, a kind of nostalgia. “Saudade” is a word that exists only in Portuguese language. There is “saudade” towards the land of origin, a feeling that can only be explained by the connection with his village or even with Portugal as a whole.
CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES

Changes in order to adapt them to current times is observed in various degrees. There are more evident ones in the health sector, especially in hospitals as the Beneficencia Portuguesa, and also in entrepreneur sector such as in the Portuguese Chamber. Maybe even by its own nature and necessity of facing competition from similar institutions.

The permanence of elements seeking to preserve the connection with Portugal remains at the domestic level and regional associations. Domestically, at the “Portuguese homes”, there are always elements that remember Portugal, as objects, food and celebrations. At home, they read the press and hear broadcasting programs directed to the community and watch Portuguese TV programs. The regional associations maintain the same orientation facing the union through the folklore, the cuisine and the cult of the patron Saint. But with this schedule, they are failing to attract the new generations. There is a great concern in transmitting the feeling of connection with Portugal and the village to the descendants.

But as to the second generation integration, they live a contradictory feeling. Immigrants even with little study had as one of their objectives to acquire instruction for their children. Almost all of them achieved that purpose. Many of their children, in general born in Brazil, have graduated from college. However, the study in Brazilian institutions, the greater contact with Brazilian colleagues if, on one hand leads to greater integration in the wider society, on the other hand, leads to a greater distance in the sense of belonging to the country of the family’s origin. The second and third generations, the Luso-Brazilians, have to be their followers, preserving the traditions and the works built by the community. This continuity is happening in institutions focused on health and business.

ORAL HISTORY, A POWERFUL TOOL

It was important to have in the same interview a part directed to collect the life story and another to obtain information about the association, as it appears in the immigrants memory and opinion. The immigration reality, the immigrants living experience in the country of adoption, the permanence of the link with the country of origin, and especially the feelings, were captured through this powerful tool, the oral history methodology. The real importance of this methodology is the ability to grasp aspects of life hidden behind the “cold” data obtained from written sources. Certainly it is a fascinating research methodology.
REFERENCES

RESEARCH projects

INTERVIEWEES - I chose to identify interviewees only by their first name.
Vasco was born in 1934, in Viseu, Beira Alta. He emigrated in 1960, already married. He worked in farming in Portugal and in São Paulo he is a gardener. He has four children, all graduated in college. (Interviewed in the Research Project 1)
Deolinda was born in Alfândega da Fé, Tras-os-Montes. She came to Brazil to marry, because the fiancé, a Portuguese, already lived in Brazil. They had relatives in São Paulo. The beginning of life was of hard work, and nowadays they have a comfortable life. Their children graduated in college. (Interviewed in the Research Project 1)
Raul was born in Mora, District of Bragança in 1941. He came to São Paulo with his family at age 10. His father had a comfortable economic situation in Portugal. He studied law, and nowadays he has a law firm. He belongs to the board of several institutions of the community and was a member of the Communities Council. He received the title of São Paulo Citizen. (Interviewed in the Research Project 1)
Carolina was born in Funchal, Madeira Island, in 1942. Poor family, she was brought up by her godmother. She had brothers in São Paulo and immigrated when she was 20 years old. She worked as seamstress, children ruler and sick people’s companion. Carolina has a small house, lives with a small retirement allowance, and must do some works. (Interviewed in the Research Project 1)
Maria Merces was born in Val de Nogueira, Bragança, Tras-os-Montes. She came to Brazil in 1951 with the husband whose family already lived in Sao Paulo and a little child. They worked with plants and flowers.
Jose was born in Viana de Castelo, and came to Brazil in 1963 before the military engagement age. His father was in São Paulo. He worked in a Restaurant. With a cousin as partner, he bought a bar and then a restaurant. He married a Portuguese. He is a director of Minho’s House. (Interviewed in the Research Project 2)
Pinho was born in Aveiro. He came to São Paulo at age 16, and returned to his village to marry. He worked in a bakery and nowadays he is the owner of a bakery. He is the President of Arouca São Paulo Club, a regional association. (Interviewed in the Research Project 2)
Photography and oral history: An intercrossing within the analysis of collective memories from Polish immigrants in Três Barras city.

Soeli Regina Lima, Andrea Strutz (Brazil):

Resumen: El artículo trata de la transformación de las memorias y narrativas en las familias de los refugiados judíos austriacos que escaparon después del “Anschluss” del mayo de 1938 del régimen nazi totalitario en Austria a los Estados Unidos de América. A base de entrevistas audiovisuales (del proyecto de historia de video “Memorias desde lejos”) la presentación analiza las imágenes y los recuerdos de Austria que la primera generación de refugiados judíos pasaron a sus descendientes (por ejemplo, acerca de su vida anterior en Austria, la persecución racista, ) y muestra qué recuerdos y narraciones dominan la comunicación intergeneracional y la memoria de la familia. La presentación incluirá también algunas reflexiones sobre los desafíos metodológicos en la realización de un proyecto de historia de vídeo, así como un breve análisis de los factores que han sido formativos en la construcción de la identidad de los hijos y nietos de los refugiados judíos austriacos que crecieron en la ciudad de Nueva York (por ejemplo, su pertenencia cultural, religiosa o nacional, la importancia de los fondos culturales de los padres y abuelos y el idioma alemán, la cultura austriaca).

Los hallazgos en el contexto de la investigación sobre la memoria intergeneracional en este proyecto de video muestran que las prácticas sociales en particular en la vida cotidiana y la transmisión no intencional de recuerdos y narraciones a través de las conversaciones familiares, fotografías, películas, literatura, comida, etc. juegan un papel importante en la transferencia de recuerdos a las generaciones posteriores. Este es un proceso que Harald Welzer llama construcción de memoria histórica “al paso”.

Abstract: The presentation deals with the transformation of memories and narratives in families of Austrian Jewish refugees who escaped after the “Anschluss” in March 1938 from the totalitarian Nazi regime in Austria to the United States of America. Based on audio-visual interviews (from the video history project: “Memories from Afar”) the paper analyses which images and memories of Austria the first generation of Jewish refugees passed on to their descendants (e.g. about their former life in Austria, the racist persecution, about the escape) and shows what memories and narratives dominate the intergenerational communication and the family memory. The presentation for the IOHA conference will also include some reflections on methodological challenges by conducting a video history project as well as a short discussion of factors that have been formative in the identity construction of the children and grandchildren of Austrian Jewish refugees who grew up in New York City (e.g. such as cultural, religious or national belonging, significance of the cultural background of parents and grandparents and the German language, Austrian culture).

The findings within the context of research into the intergenerational memory in this video project show that particularly social practices in everyday life and non-intentional transmission of memories and narratives through family conversations, photographs, movies, literature, food etc. played a significant role in the transfer of memories to the later generations. This is a process that Harald Welzer calls historical memory building “en passant”.
This article concerns itself with memories about Austria and their generational transmission in Austrian-Jewish families, who after the “Anschluss” in 1939 were forced to leave their home country Austria. Sources of information are interviews conducted with several generations of people coming from two historical studies. These two studies cover the experiences of flights and new beginnings of the first generation in New York, as well as the transmission of remembrances and images of Austria in the generation-specific family memory.3

EXODUS FROM AUSTRIA

Austria’s “Anschluss” with National Socialist Germany in March 1938 constituted the beginning of the end for the country’s Jewish population. Kurt Elias, who was a medical student at the University of Vienna and managed to flee to the US in the summer of 1938, describes the situation at the time as follows: “The thirteenth was an outrageously beautiful day and I strolled through Vienna and got to Heldenplatz. The lilacs were in full bloom and my first thought was: Anger, how can the lilacs blossom while my life is falling apart; this is just unfair.”4 With this symbolism – the rebirth of nature and spring that manifested itself in the blossoming lilacs and coincided with the traumatic threat of his existence – Kurt Elias many decades later articulately expresses the feelings of fury, sadness and fear that for him accompanied the invasion of Austria by the German Army in March 1938. The “blossoming lilacs” are to be understood metaphorically. It is unsubstantial whether they actually blossomed on March 13, 1938, because individual memory is subjective, selective and fragmented; only the narrative process gives it form and structure.5 In the individual reconstruction of historical events through the process of remembering, some things are forgotten or suppressed, unconsciously deleted or added. In addition, two distinct situations can occasionally be merged into one single event. Emotions felt during the time of the events, as well as those during the interview, can also influence the witness’s narration.

The implementation of the Nuremberg Laws in Austria during May 1938 provided the basis for the radical, systematic discrimination, disenfranchisement and persecution of the Jewish population. The pogrom in November 1938 is exemplary for the permanent destruction of the economic-, cultural-, social- and religious structures of Jewish communities in Austria. The racist and brutal persecution of the Austrian Jewry included employment bans and the liquidation and aryranisations of Jewish assets and companies. Within a couple of months after the “Anschluss”, Jewish inhabitants did not only lose their means of existence and legal rights, but were also frequently the target of humiliation and physical aggression through the non-Jewish population. This feeling of being exposed and vulnerable is poignantly articulated by the former Viennese photographer Edmund Engelmann: “It was the feeling that you are completely without rights and that everyone was free to treat you as they wished. This is something indescribable. One has spent one’s whole life as a decent human being, with values, ideals, and suddenly every human being is the enemy. The golden Viennese heart, the golden heart has tormented and robbed thousands!”6 The terror of the “Crystal Night” and the intensification of the expropriation and the increased financial plundering heightened pressures on the remaining Jewish population in Austria; in order to save their lives, they needed to emigrate as soon as possible.

By December 1938, one third of the Jewish population – 67,000 of 201,000 people – had already left Austria.7 Anti-Jewish pressures in Austria were implemented much faster and more violently than in Germany, a circumstance that was also reflected by the urgency of forced emigration. A substantial part of this process was performed in Vienna by the “Zentralstelle für Jüdische Auswanderung” under the leadership of Adolf Eichmann, which processed the “Auswanderungsanträge” (“emigration-applications”)

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3 The projects “Emigration. Austria – New York” and “Memories from Afar” were developed at the department of History at the University of Graz and at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for History of Society and Culture, respectively, and were conducted as video-history-projects by Andrea Strutz and Manfred Lechner.
4 Interview with Kurt Elias (born 1918 in Vienna, died 2010 in New York), February 15, 1996 in New York [all oral histories mentioned in this chapter were conducted by the author].
with the involuntary help of employees of the Jewish community Vienna (Israelitische Kultusgemeinde Wien) at the aryanised Palais Rothschild.8

As a result of the completely unsatisfactory outcome of the conference of Evian, it was already clear in 1938 that Jewish refugees would hardly find asylum in other countries, no matter whether in Europe or overseas.9 The reason for this was that many countries closed their borders or limited the acceptance of the mainly destitute refugees through strict quota systems. Therefore, the procuring of visas became more difficult by the day, a situation that did not concern the Nazi policies of displacement. In their desperation, many Jews did not only apply for visas in countries that were completely exotic and unknown to them, but some in their anguish even purchased forged immigration papers. When with the eruption of the war in September of 1939 almost all escape routes had disappeared, Shanghai constituted one of the last safe havens.

By the time of the complete emigration stop, which was enforced in the Third Reich in October 1941, two thirds of Austria’s Jewish population had managed to leave the country.10 The largest number of exiled Austrians found refuge in Great Britain (31,050), the United States of America (29,860), Palestine (15,200), Shanghai/China (6,200) and in Switzerland (5,800). Furthermore, 6,845 people managed to flee to Latin America, 1,125 to Africa and 1,050 to Australia, and New Zealand, respectively.11

FURTHER LIFE IN NEW YORK

Jewish expatriates from Austria, who had managed to leave, preferably settled in urban centres of the US West- and East Coast. New York became a metropolis of exile, which after 1933 and 1938, respectively, harboured 70,000 German speaking Jewish refugees for at least a year. The district of Washington Heights, north of 155th avenue on Manhattan, was especially favoured by “Hitler refugees” and became the largest German speaking Jewish quarter in the US. As an ironic reference to the “Third Reich”, some people called this district “The Fourth Reich”, while others nicknamed it “Frankfurt on the Hudson”.12

The settling into the new life in the US, respectively New York, turned out to be substantially easier for the younger people among the Austrian expatriates. They often were better able to adapt to the new linguistic, professional and cultural situation than older refugees, who, as a result of the persecution and the leaving behind of their familiar reference system, frequently experienced severe existential crises and the loss of identity.

The expulsion from their homeland was responsible for an irreversible caesura in the biographies of all participants of the project “Emigration. Austria – New York”. The traumatic experiences of the racially-motivated killings of family members and friends, the systematic humiliation and dispossession, as well as the unimaginable insecurity connected to people’s sheer survival, stayed with the victims throughout their lives, causing cultural-, linguistic- and social uprootedness.

Nevertheless, in addition to traumatic experiences and their consequences, conversations with first generation survivors conveyed a surprisingly nostalgic image of Austria, especially of Vienna. Interviews revealed that for many expellees Austria is still a central point of reference, particularly with regard to music, literature and Fine Arts. In this way, many memories were concerned with the Viennese Opera, the performances of which survivors regularly frequented prior to the Holocaust, often in the ticket

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8 For a more detailed overview concerning persecution and expulsion of the Austrian Jewish population see the work of Albert Lichtblau, “Integration, Vernichtungsversuch und Neubeginn”, in: Eveline Brugger et al. (eds), Geschichte der Juden in Österreich (= Österreichische Geschichte 15), Wien 2006, pp. 519-536.
9 The refugee conference took place in France in Evian-les-Bains at the Lake Geneva from July 6 to 15, 1938. Initiated by the American president Franklin D. Roosevelt, representatives from 32 nations gathered in Evian to discuss the possibilities for emigration for the Jewish population of Nazi Germany. Then, some 700,000 persons living in the area of Germany and Austria were affected by the racist Nazi persecution. In order to save their lives they were forced to flee as soon as possible, but in 1938 already many borders were closed for Jewish refugees from Nazi-Germany.
10 About 65,000 persons – roughly a third of the Austrian Jewry – fell victims to the Shoah.
category “standing room”. The beauty of the Austrian landscape, especially that of the impressive mountain ranges, is also firmly rooted in the recollections of these people. On this level, recollections produced the image of a perfect Austria, because these remembrances most often referred to the happy days of their early life in their home country. Many of these reminiscences were concerned with childhood memories about skiing (especially in the recreation area in the mountains close to Vienna called Semmering, Rax and Schneeberg), summer vacations with the parents in the Ausseerland in the province of Styria or in Tyrol, or excursions to the Wienerwald. This level of a relationship with Austria that is still intact was also noticeable in the New Yorker apartments. There were drawings, engravings, paintings and photos on the walls that frequently portrayed Vienna or the Austrian alps; book cases were filled with the works of prominent Austrian Modernist writers, sometimes even in the form of first editions. Furthermore, there were little art objects and coffee-mugs with images of Austria, and some kitchens sported calendars with Austrian motives. A lasting and strong connection to their country of origin was also expressed in the preservation of aspects of everyday life. Almost all interview partners greatly preferred Austrian cuisine and Viennese cooking, respectively. These day-to-day characteristics of Austrian culture in New York played a central role in the transmission of memories to subsequent generations.

PICTURES OF AUSTRIA IN THE FAMILY MEMORY

The project “Memories from Afar” paid close attention to pictures and narratives about Austria, especially to those that had been conveyed to later generations and connected children and grandchildren with their (grand-)parents’ past on a personal level. The participants of this oral history project were three men and three women between the ages of 28 and 50, whose grandparents or parents, respectively, were originally from Vienna. All interviewee grew up in New York City or in the New York metropolitan area.

The individual knowledge of the second- and third generation in families of Austrian Jewish refugees with regard to cultural-, political- and social circumstances in Austria differed significantly, as did the ability to speak German. The command over the language ranged from the comprehension of only a few words to excellent proficiency, which resulted from the bilingual coexistence of only a few words to excellent proficiency, which resulted from the bilingual coexistence of several generations in one household.

According to the memories of the second and third generation, Austria as a topic still plays an important role in family memories and family reunions, but is not as central as for first generation survivors. Nevertheless, all conversations with the target group of this research had one thing in common: Austria has been imprinted on the (collective) family memory first and foremost as the country from which their ancestors were expelled and in which family members were murdered during the Holocaust: “Austria is topic as far as the Holocaust is involved; it is a very emotional topic for my grandparents, approached often. They speak about it like it was yesterday […] it is important for the family tradition.” As a consequence of the knowledge and the sympathy for their (grand-)parents’ past and their forced displacement, many descendants feel that they have been robbed of their history and their Austrian roots: “Sadness and fear, I sort of think of my history being gone. My family had significant roots there, had a nice big apartment and a business and dance teachers and music teachers, a real community that they had known. I feel kind of ripped off, sad that I never got a part of it.”

Still, conversations revealed that the transmission of images and narratives about Austria from the generation of expellees to their descendants does not primarily focus on the Holocaust. Surprisingly, it is again Austrian cuisine, which functions as a fundamental point of reference for memories (lieu de mémoire). In the years during which several generations lived together, every day routines and habits, which the grandparents brought over from their country of origin, have become a fixture in the family memory. All stories by the second and third generation mentioned Wiener Schnitzel, Gulasch, Apfelstrudel, Sachertorte, Salzburger Nockerl and Knödel. In some families, these traditional eating

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13 A criterion for the participation in the project was that interviewees should have at least one Jewish grandparent who had fled Austria after the “Anschluss” in 1938.
15 Interview with Willy Wiener (born 1965), June 6, 2001 in New York.
habits were considered distinguishing features from the culture of other inhabitants of the US. This especially applies to Catherine Lederer-Plaskett, who enthusiastically speaks about the culinary delights of her childhood in New York. Although her grandmother had a job, she still found time to cook deliciously smelling Apfelstrudel, Paprikahendl, wonderful sauces and numerous tasty vegetable dishes. "I don’t know how she would work all day and come home and make the food she would make. [...] What I did think about when I would go to my friends’ houses? My god how boring their food is. It is just broiled meat. They would have a vegetable, a potato and some broiled meat and I would think how not dinner that is. [...] Food was very much part of our lives [...] it was such an important part and that was when the family sat down, it was very much the centre of Sunday dinners."16

Family recipes were treasured and handed down to the next generation on special occasions, often in the handwritten form in which they had been brought over from Austria. They often became an essential part of the family tradition. "The Austrian habit [...] I have taken over, is culinary, is that I cook. And you know, much of what I cook are Viennese recipes from my grandmother. [...] My kids are used to Apfelkuchen mit Mürbeteig und Linzertorte, Strudel. You know, my son who is born in June, knows that for his birthday he gets Marillenknödel. And for my birthday it is August, so we get Zwetschkenknödel."17

FRAGMENTS AS FAMILY MEMORY

Studies show that family memory frequently does not consist of full narratives, but is composed of little, ordinary and often fragmented stories that are transmitted. In discussions about forms of memory, Harald Welzer insists that forms of non-intentional transmission of memories should also be included. This is a process that he calls ‘social memory, or a formation of a past en passant, respectively’. A transmission of memories of the past that is non-intentional can, for example, result from an interaction of family members during family reunions, the telling of personal stories, via several media such as works of art, photos, magazines, films or records (e.g. letters), which were not (explicitly) created for the purpose of teaching history. In this way, family history is transmitted through dialogue and is continuously created through social interaction and collective remembrance of all participants. In addition, the emotional quality of memories should also receive more attention, “because it does not only provide the basis for the significance and durability of remembrance, but also plays a vital role in the process of transmission.”18

The analysis of interviews of the families examined shows that the emotional value of Austrian or Viennese cuisine in everyday life for first generation survivors must have been immense, despite the traumas, displacement and uprootedness.19 Through everyday routines such as cooking, the singing of Austrian children’s songs or the narration of stories about the childhood and youth in Vienna, not only personal memories and images about Austria have been handed down to descendants. Moreover, this unintentional social practice created distinct zones of the past, present and future, which turn humans into “historical beings”.20

CONCLUSION

Surprisingly, the memories of the expulsion from Austria and the Holocaust were neither dominating the family memory nor the memories and narrations that were passed on from the first generation of Austrian Jewish refugees to their decedent. Although all investigated families greatly suffered from the loss of family members in Holocaust, from consequences of the Nazi persecution such as humiliation, expropriation, aryranazation, poverty as well as from the traumatic experience of a forced emigration also other aspects became formative to their decedents’ memories and identities, as we could observe.

16 Interview with Catherine Lederer-Plaskett (born 1955), June 22, 2001 in Hartsdale, NY.
17 Interview with Jerry Elmer (born 1951), June 17, 2001 in New York.
19 Ibid., p. 20.
20 Ibid., p. 16.
The greatest influence however in the trans-generational transmission of memories and narratives came through social interaction within the families that created a positive emotional bond, and thus was an unintentional form of relaying memories: In exile especially the grandmothers kept on preparing Austrian cuisine, using cookbooks from their former home, writing down recipes, and passing them on to their children and grandchildren. It can be assumed that also the place New York played a significant role that such a social interaction was possible as such: New York City was special since it hosted the biggest survivors community and therefore certain services and goods – especially concerning the food sector – were available in the community in contrast to other places of refuge in the US or elsewhere.

An explanation why it was especially Austrian food dominated the memories of the second and third generation of Austrian Jewish refugees in New York in such a strong way might be, that the selected interview partners had obviously quite well working familial ties; sometimes all three generations lived together in one home. As we could see during the interview process all interviewees had remarkably good relations to their grandmothers, most of the transmissions ran across the grandmothers.21 This is also true for Jonathan Spira, whose family in New York has a special predilection for Austrian desserts such as Salzburger Nockerl and Sachertorten, who explains the significant position of Austrian cuisine in the family memory in these words: “Food has tremendous representational value, something you can recreate without being there, it has that possibility, you can’t be there, but you can recreate.”22

21 In many cases, the grandfathers died quite early. Some died even during their escape or within the first years of their new life in New York City.

Poblamiento afro en la Subregión (Quilichao, Buenos Aires, Suarez), localizada en el suroccidente del Valle del Río Cauca. 1951-2000.

Rigoberto Banguero Velasco
(Argentina):

Resumen: Este artículo, se centra en la investigación de las dinámicas de poblamiento del territorio de la Subregión del Valle del Río Cauca (Quilichao, Buenos Aires, y Suarez), por los afrodescendientes, y demás grupos sociales, desde 1851-2000, cuando inicialmente se conformaron, en sociedades campesinas mediante diversas estrategias de ocupación del territorio alrededor de los reales de minas y de las haciendas coloniales, y cuyos propietarios no ejercían la totalidad de control social en sus propiedades. Lo cual permitió la creación de fronteras físicas y simbólicas, elementos emergentes de resistencia y de apropiación, y lucha constante por la movilidad social, y constitución de la familia. El método de trabajo investigativo es el de la historia oral porque ante la escasa información escrita, se viene trabajando con sujetos afrodescendientes que se han constituido en fuentes orales.

Palabras Claves
Escalas de observación, etnogenesis, genealogía, espacialidad, movilidad, reales de minas, sistema de parentesco.

Abstract: This article focuses on the investigation of the dynamics of settlement of the territory of the subregion Cauca River Valley (Quilichao, Buenos Aires, and Suarez), by descent, and other social groups, from 1851 to 2000, when initially formed in peasant societies through various strategies of occupying territory around the actual mines and colonial estates, whose owners did not exercise all social control on their properties. This allowed the creation of physical and symbolic borders, pop of resistance and appropriation, and constant struggle for social mobility, and family formation. The research work method is the oral history because before the data were limited written information, has been working with individuals of African descent who have become oral sources.

Keywords
Observation scales, ethnogenesis, genealogy, spatiality, mobility, mining camps, kinship system.