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Mobility from the Long Term Perspective

Over the last few years, in various public seminars, speeches, and official accounts, one has often heard that “migration is not a new phenomenon, people have always been mobile.”¹ The basic facts are correct. However, it is worth asking what kind of migration and mobilities we are talking about, both in the past and present. Are there any similarities or differences between people who were, and are on the move? What has motivated mobility during the past centuries, and in different regions? How has mobility affected families, loved ones, and livelihood opportunities, and the communities that migrants left behind and arrived in? Indeed, mobility also affects those who, for one reason or another, never leave their native place. Furthermore, it is relevant to examine who promoted migration, and who wanted to control it, and whether those parties had any success in these attempts. In this book, we give the reader the tools and insights to consider whether the earlier migrations have anything to do with present day migrations and vice versa; can some of the issues related to contemporary migration be explained through historical analysis?

This book illustrates migration as a multi-faceted phenomenon with several geographical and chronological perspectives. The authors, consisting of both historians and social scientists, discuss how otherness, identity, language, gender, economic and marital status, occupation, and ethnicity, as well as local, regional, and global migration policies, have shaped mobility and the local communities migrants have settled in.

The anthology in hand presents the findings of the research project *Migration, Movement of Labour and Multiethnic Cities from the Middle Ages to the Present*. The starting point of the project was the need for us historians to examine and explain small-scale migration and mobility from a wider chronological perspective; from an angle that encompasses some of the current debates related to migration and mobility, such as the questions about the mobility of highly skilled employees and attitudes towards immigrants. Furthermore, we were puzzled about how migration, mobility, ethnicity, and otherness have been experienced in the past, and how they are experienced now. Additionally, we aspired to know how the newcomers have integrated into local communities, both during previ-

¹ This was stated, for example, by the Director of the Foreign Service Mr Pekka Hyvönen and Undersecretary Mrs Anne Sipiläinen from the Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs in their speeches in a seminar entitled *Migration as a Challenge for National Foreign and Security Policy*, University of Tampere, March 22, 2016.

ous centuries and during the twenty-first century. Thus, as we wanted to investigate the individual experiences of migrants, the movement of labor, and local communities from a long-term perspective, we created a research cooperative of scholars with a wide range of expertise.

In order to grasp the vast and ambiguous issue of migration, we have selected ten multi-layered case studies which each discuss selected aspects of mobility in a detailed and comprehensive manner.² With this selection of cases, we aim to build a bridge between the past and the present and to highlight the many sides of mobility. Among the main results of this approach are the findings that the changes are in fact small, scant, and moderate in terms of who has been mobile and how occupation, social status, age, gender, ethnicity, phase of life, religion, language, and geographical location have determined mobility over time. Furthermore, throughout the centuries, contradictions have been an integral part of mobility; this holds true even when migration is viewed from the various perspectives of individuals, local communities, and larger socio-political units. However, it also seems that there has always been room for negotiations and compromises. We have also found that the concepts and terms that are used to describe people's mobility, as well as the features that represent otherness and belonging, have changed and have taken on a different emphasis in different eras, as we will show in the following works. The individual chapters reveal how, from centuries ago to the present day, small scale mobility that has left only scarce footprints in official records, has had enormous economic, societal, and cultural significance, especially on a regional scale. These mobilities have often been less recognized by the authorities, and have evoked only minor interest among scholars. Finally, our book demonstrates that with diligently chosen research methods it is in fact possible to examine and analyze small scale migration and mobility.

Although we are currently facing a situation in world history never seen before, mobile people have left their footprint to societies throughout the centuries and movement has affected individuals. In 2015, globally, there were 244 million individual migrants, of which nearly two-thirds lived in Europe.³ All have their individual experiences about mobility. Furthermore, the local communities in present day societies, as well as those in the past, are facing migration on their own premises, dealing with the outcomes of this phenomenon in a versatile

² John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–8.

³ United Nations, *International Migration Report 2015*, available online, accessed August 18, 2016, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2015_Highlights.pdf.

manner. Thus, migration and human mobility affects us all. This can be direct, for example when we encounter and interact with immigrants and emigrants, or more indirectly, for example in the decisions of national governments or supranational institutions such as the European Union. Furthermore, migration and mobility are present in all social, religious, and political groups, as well as people of all ages, marital statuses, sexual orientations, and ethnicities. The “mobility turn” in research may be new, but the movement itself, in all its variations, has a long historical continuum.⁴

The chosen long-term perspective of our book interlinks the current mass migration in Europe to historical experiences, combining historical research and social sciences in a unique way: the global phenomenon of migration and mobility is studied at grassroots’ level in small societies, in case studies, and in various local communities from the Mediterranean to the Baltic Sea. In the traditional Mercator map projection, the geographical limits of Europe are set roughly from the Mediterranean Sea to the Baltic Sea, including the North Sea and sometimes reaching further to the shores of the Arctic Ocean.⁵ Acknowledging that these borders are both Eurocentric and porous, and that cultural borders, as well as cultural contact zones are not always the same as geographical units,⁶ the three seas set the geographical framework for our study. Furthermore, these seas are not peripheral, but central and connective; the importance of the North Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea as logistic channels has been crucial since prehistory. We also consider these three seas as regions or hemispheres that have generated migration patterns and possibilities in their own right.

Admitting that our case studies *per se* do not form a single comparable unit, we have attempted to provide a kaleidoscopic view of mobilities during the past 500 years. It is in our interest to interweave these snapshots into the great story of migration, and by doing so enrich the narrative. As Jan Lucassen has pointed out, a key to understanding certain events at certain points in time is to look at

4 Cf. Tim Creswell, “Mobilities I: Catching up,” *Progress in Human Geography* 35:4 (2010): 553; Tim Creswell, “Mobilities II: Still,” *Progress in Human Geography* 36:5 (2012): 645–646; Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, “The mobility transition revisited 1500–1900: what the case of Europe can offer to global history,” *Journal of Global History* 4 (2009): 347–377, accessed July 6, 2017, doi:10.1017/S174002280999012X.

5 Elisabeth Borneman, “Types of Map Projections,” in *Geolounge* online, January 5, 2017, accessed May 19, 2017, <https://www.geolounge.com/types-map-projections/>.

6 Cf. Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), xxi, 2–3, 11.

the developments in the previous centuries.⁷ Hence, the main purpose of our book is to increase the understanding of this global and complex phenomenon.

In previous research, especially that with a long term historical perspective, the focus has been mainly on the mobility of nameless masses. Global migration histories present the general outlines of worldwide migration patterns.⁸ These so-called big histories provide a synthesis of human migration and mobility starting from prehistoric times upto the present, focusing on the macro level of analysis.⁹ In our book, we focus on the micro and meso levels (individuals and communities), whereas the state and national level (macro) is left in the background. We draw attention to migrants' stories and emphasize the impacts of mobility on individuals. We emphasize mobile people that were, or are in a certain phase of life (hirelings, journeymen, established business men/women). We discuss migrants of various professions or positions, such as merchants, craftsmen, teachers, sailors, servants, beggars, casual workers, and activists. Furthermore, we analyze cases where the migrants, men and women, are of different ages, social, economic, and marital status and, in some cases, have different religious beliefs, thus highlighting the diversity of people on the move.

Recent developments in international politics, combined with the increasing number of migrants, have led to a renewed interest in mobility. Moreover, the debate about migration has become polarized in Europe¹⁰ and the United States.¹¹

⁷ Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600–1900*, transl. Donald A. Bloch (New Hampshire: Groom Helm, 1987), 6. See also Klaus J. Bade, *Europa in Bewegung: Migration von Späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (C. H. Beck: München, 2000), 11.

⁸ In his monumental study, Dirk Hoerder tries to overcome this by paying a great deal of attention to smaller groups and family economies, to local and regional circumstances, and also to the gendered pattern of mobility. Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), for methodologies 1, 15, 19–21.

⁹ See, for example, Patrick Manning, *Migration in World History* (New York and London: Routledge 2005); Michael H. Fischer, *Migration: a World History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2014); Massimo Livi Bacci, *A Short History of Migration*, transl. by Carl Ipsen (Cambridge and Malden (U.S): Polity Press 2012).

¹⁰ For how the debate has been polarized in Scandinavia see, for example, Arno Tanner, “Overwhelmed by Refugee Flows, Scandinavia Tempers its Warm Welcome,” *Migration Policy Institute*, February 10, 2016, accessed August 18, 2016, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/overwhelmed-refugee-flows-scandinavia-tempers-its-warm-welcome>. For discussion in Germany, see, for example, Manuel Bewarder, “Plötzlich startet in Deutschland die große Asylkontrolle,” *Die Welt Online*, May 31, 2017, accessed August 8, 2017, <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article165131258/Plotzlich-startet-in-Deutschland-die-grosse-Asyl-Kontrolle.html>; Katharina Schuler, “Merkels neues Wording,” *Die Zeit Online*, September 19, 2016, accessed February 21, 2017, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2016-09/fluechtlingspolitik-angela-merkel-cdu->

With our book, we want to enrich our knowledge of multi-ethnic communities. In addition, the aim of this book is to create space for discussion. We provide a historical perspective and give room for contemporary aspects of migration; these underline the diversity and commonplaceness of migration and mobility. As a part of this diversity comes the notion that migration has produced challenges, conflicts – and solutions to these – as well as cultural exchange, in situations where people not only cross the borders of nation-states and continents but also, or instead, regional, religious, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, or rural-urban borderlines. This was the case especially in early modern Europe, where realms often consisted of various peoples, ethnicities, religions, and language groups, which were shifted from one side of a state border to another depending on who had conquered that region at any given time. Through explorations of people who have crossed both these external and overseas boundaries over the course of time, we carefully aim to provide the means to perceive, uphold, and develop our multi-ethnic communities in the future. In the following, we introduce the offset of this book by focusing on its five key themes: ethnicity, mobility of workforce, individual experiences, local communities, and the multi-methodological approach to mobility and migration.

Broad scope of ethnicity

Ethnic and *ethnicity* are frequently used concepts, especially within social sciences (for example in anthropology), and also in the multidisciplinary field of migration research. They bear multiple connotations related to the interpreter's own social, cultural, and political background. From a historical perspective, the terms *ethnic* and its derivatives are of great interest, because their usage has been partly transformed, and the term *ethnicity* is relatively new. In the late Middle Ages, and during the Early Modern period, the term *ethnic* primarily meant a pagan or heathen, that is a person who was not Christian or Jewish. In relation to ancient Greek history, *ethnic* denotes a nationality or place of origin,

horst-seehofer-csu; Philipp Wittrock and Christina Elmer, "Das Bilanz der Flüchtlingspolitik," *Der Spiegel Online*, August 31, 2016, accessed February 21, 2017, <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/angela-merkels-wir-schaffen-das-bilanz-eines-fluechtlingsjahres-a-1110075.html>.

11 See for example The New York Times, Editorial, "Breaking the Anti-immigrant Fever," *The New York Times*, February 18, 2017, accessed February 20, 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/02/18/opinion/sunday/breaking-the-anti-immigrant-fever.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FImmigration%20and%20Emigration&action=click&contentCollection=timestopics®ion=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=6&pgtype=collection.

and *ethnos* could actually also refer to a clan or tribe, with the emphasis placed on shared geographical and cultural roots. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century the term ethnic has been, according to the Oxford English Dictionary Online, related to peoples, a member of a group or subgroup with regard to their (actual or perceived) common descent, and nowadays usually relating to (having a common) national or cultural origin or tradition.¹² Additionally, we as modern readers can understand ethnicity as something related to a language group, place of origin (Laitinen), and even social and economic class (Ijäs), especially prior to the nineteenth century.

Ethnicity is the first of the five key themes of the book at hand. Our research shows how ethnicity is something according to which people are categorized and placed in a shared, cultural understanding. However, our study also reveals how ethnicity has been fluid, changeable, situational, and something that could be and was negotiated. Ethnic and ethnicity were and are flexible concepts that have been transformed and modified. Already in 1969, Fredrik Barth pointed out in his seminal work on the complexity and changeability of identities and ethnicity, and later concluded that “ethnic groups and their features are produced under particular interactional, historical, economic and political circumstances: they are highly situational, not primordial.”¹³

In the chapters of this volume, the authors discuss how ethnicity is visible or invisible, relevant or irrelevant, for their case studies. For example, in her chapter about the mobility of lower social groups during the seventeenth century, Riitta Laitinen asks the fundamental question: how does one describe and analyze ethnic differences and interactions when the term ethnicity did not exist in the everyday language of contemporaries? Furthermore, her analysis revealed that the contemporaries seldom used terms like *stranger*, *from abroad*, or *guest*,

12 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, (from now on shortened as OED Online) search word (from now on shortened as sw.) ethnic, accessed February 22, 2017, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/64786>. See also *Collins Dictionary Online*, accessed July 3, 2017, <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ethnic>, and *Merriam Webster Dictionary Online*, accessed July 3, 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ethnic>.

13 Fredrik Barth, “Enduring and Emerging Issues in the Analysis of Ethnicity,” in *Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond “Ethnic Groups and Boundaries,”* eds. Hans Vermeulen and Cora Govers (Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis 2000 [1994]), 12; Fredrik Barth (ed.), *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Oslo, Bergen, Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget, 1969), 9–38, here especially 24. How social processes effect on identities see, for example, Charles Tilly, *Identities, Boundaries & Social Ties* (London: Paradigm Publishers 2005), 9, 173–74; Olga Seweryn, “Identity Change as a Consequence of the Migration Experience,” in *Imagining Frontiers Contesting Identity*, ed. Steven G. Ellis and Lud’a Klusáková (Pisa: Edizioni Plus Pisa University Press 2007), 21–42.

which signaled some kind of otherness, denoting a person who was not (yet) a member of the community. Thus, otherness was associated with the fact that an individual was coming from outside the local community. Similarly, Maija Ojala-Fulwood shows in her chapter that instead of ethnicity, it was the city borders, burgher rights and craft guild membership, which marked the boundaries of exclusion and inclusion. Moreover, ethnicity is also an ambiguous term in the twenty-first century, and entwined with gender, social class, and cultural context, as Anitta Kynsilehto shows in her chapter discussing the employment strategies of North African women in France.

Questions about language are often combined with ethnicity. The significance of language groups and individual language skills when making the decision whether to migrate are discussed in this book by several researchers.¹⁴ Overall, as a result of our long-term perspective research, we find that a migrant's ability to communicate, make contacts, and possess knowledge on possible courses of action in a new place of residence, seem equally crucial for a migrant over time in the integration process. In some cases (Ijäs, Kynsilehto, Laitinen, Viitaniemi) mobility occurs within the same linguistic area, whereas in the case studies discussed by Pirta Frigren and Henrik Mattjus, the individuals migrate into a new language zone. In her chapter, Ulla Ijäs shows how a shared language meant a group belonging and reinforced this social identity, even though this language differed from the ethnic origin of the group members. The case study analyzed by Maija Ojala-Fulwood shows how the borders of linguistic areas were blurred. For example, within the Baltic Sea region, Middle Low German was commonly used as a lingua franca during the Late Middle Ages, but the vernacular languages were used in parallel and the cities hosted their own language minorities too.¹⁵ Thus, a goldsmith with German roots, who moved from Tallinn to Stockholm, migrated within a same linguistic area (the Baltic Sea region) to a new language area (Sweden, with Swedish as vernacular) but to a same language minority (the community of goldsmiths, which largely operated

14 Patrick Manning has introduced the concept of *Cross-community migration*, which refers to a distinctively human pattern of migration where a group/s or individual/s leave one community and move to join another community. As a human community, he defines the speakers of a given language, thus, cross-community migration usually includes the learning of a new language and customs. Moreover, in this process the migrants can introduce new language and customs to their new host communities. Manning, *Migration in World History*, 3–6.

15 Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz, “Interplay of Identities: German Settlers in Late Medieval Stockholm,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 29 (2004): 59–60; Kurt Braunmüller, “How Middle Low German entered the Mainland Scandinavian Languages,” in *Guilds, Towns and Cultural Transmission in the North, 1300–1500*, ed. Lars Bisgaard, Boje Mortensen and Tom Pettitt (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2013), 60–64.

in German). Furthermore, the use of words, both written and spoken, provide a window to examine the attitudes towards immigrants and minority groups as demonstrated in many chapters (Frigren, Laitinen, Mattjus and Pehkonen).

In addition to relying on language and local customs, identity and group membership can be established and reinforced by material culture and consumption, as Ulla Ijäs illustrates in her chapter.¹⁶ The studied group, a mobile urban elite in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century northern Baltic towns, was a very particular migrant group with administrative, financial, and social power, underlining their position through very visible means. In addition, the group held strong network ties to a cosmopolitan urban bourgeoisie, and even nobility, in several European towns. Their material culture reveals that they mingled people with similar cultural and social backgrounds, and formed a distinctive cosmopolitan urban culture. The studied urban elite community was not integrated into the local society; they lived in their own “bubble” and did not integrate on the local level.¹⁷

Ethnicity and identity, as well as migration and mobility, can be analyzed by applying the concept of transnationalism. Indeed, transnationalism has been one of the major approaches within migration studies and historical research, particularly since the 1990s.¹⁸ Some scholars, such as Nancy Foner, have successfully used transnationalism as an analytical tool when examining migratory processes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.¹⁹ Recently, scholars have utilized the transnational approach in, for instance, studies focusing on the family and kinship structures among nobility and merchants during the early

16 Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things. How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-first* (London: Penguin Books, 2016); Paula Findlen, “Early modern things. Objects in motion, 1500–1800,” in *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories, 1500–1800*, ed. Paula Findlen (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 3–27; Maruška Svašek (ed.), *Moving Subject, Moving Objects. Transnationalism, Cultural Production and Emotions* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012).

17 Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, “Introduction,” in *Cosmopolitan Networks in Commerce and Society 1660–1914*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, German Historical Institute London Bulletin Supplement No. 2 (London: German Historical Institute 2011), 1–6.

18 For a profound introduction to transnationalism and its use within migration studies see, for example, Thomas Faist, Margit Fauser and Eveline Reisenauer, *Transnational Migration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), here especially 7–17. For transnational history, see, for example, Pierre-Yves Saunier, *Transnational History* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), here especially 4, 13–22.

19 Nancy Foner, *In a New Land: A Comparative View of Immigration* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2005), 62–88.

modern period.²⁰ As a means of analysis it has been regarded as a more useful concept compared to assimilation when highlighting cultural exchange, and how migrants are simultaneously tied to old and new home countries. Thus, it depicts the simultaneous connectedness between two or more local communities, culture and language zones, or other kind of experiences in between cultures or places, instead of a sheer transition between nations.²¹ Crossing borders back and forth, and keeping in touch with the country of origin, is an everyday reality for many contemporary migrants, as the chapters of Kynsilehto, Pehkonen, and Tucci demonstrate. Moreover, many migrants have also led transnational lives in the past two centuries (Ijäs, Frigren). In some cases, the aforementioned trans-regionalism played a more significant role, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, as discussed by Ella Viitaniemi and Riitta Laitinen.

Thinking beyond the role of national borders is vital, especially when analyzing mobility prior to the twentieth century, the age of modern national states. Before modern times, people's mobility often took place inside multicultural and multi-ethnic empires that comprehended many nations – their definition being understood differently from modern nation-states.²² Many of the recent transatlantic migration histories, such as *Entangling Migration History. Borderlands and Transnationalism in the United States and Canada* (1998) edited by Benjamin Bryce and Alexander Freund, stress that the understanding of nation and state was preceded by various local and regional political, social, economic, and cul-

20 Poska, Allyson M. "Transnationalism and the Study of Early Modern Women," for the blog of The Society for the Study of Early Modern Women, published September, 15, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, <http://ssemw.org/blog/poska/>; Wiesner-Hanks, Merry, "Early Modern Women and the Transnational Turn," *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 7 (2012): 191–202; Johnson, Christopher H., David Warren Sabean, Simon Teuscher and Francesca Trivellato (eds), *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2011).

21 Peter Kivisto and Thomas Faist, *Beyond a Border: The Causes and Consequences of Contemporary Migration* (Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington D.C: Pine Forge Press 2010), 88, 127–130.

22 John R. Davis, Margrit Schule Beerbühl, Stefan Manz, "Introduction: Germans in the British Empire," in *Transnational Networks: German Migrants in the British Empire, 1670–1914*, ed. John R. Davis, Margit Schulte Beerbühl and Stefan Manz (Leiden, Boston: Brill 2012), 1–18, esp. 6, "porous empires"; David Gerber "Theories and Lives: Transnationalism and the conceptualization of international migrations to the United States," in *Transnationalismus und Kulturvergleich* (IMIS Beiträge 15), ed. Michael Bommers (Osnabrück: 2000), 31–53, for a good definition of the transnational life see page 35.

tural systems imported by migrants until the early twentieth century.²³ But if the concept of transnationalism is understood to be a tool to investigate the relations and interaction of individuals, institutions, organizations, and other agents which operate within, across, and through different human-organized entities such as communities, polities, cities, nations, and regions, then the concept can also be utilized when examining pre-modern societies.²⁴

However, although transnational perspective can reveal new dimensions of local and regional migration and everyday practices, it can simultaneously bear (hidden) connotations to the present day nation state.²⁵ Hence, while acknowledging the usefulness of the transnational approach, we have chosen not to limit our approach to it. Thus, in addition to, or instead of, transnational, we have used a variety of other words to illustrate the connected lives of migrants, such as: circulate, communication, (cultural) contacts, crossing, cross community, cosmopolitan, entangled, interaction, mobile, move across borders, relationships between, translocal and transregional, among others. Accordingly, we prefer the term multi-ethnic instead of multi-national when discussing the local communities and signifying a place of origin. Being aware of the danger of anachronism, we feel it describes well the communities in which the people of different cultural and social backgrounds, professions, languages, religions and places of origin interact.²⁶

23 Benjamin Bryce and Alexander Freund, “Introduction,” in *Entangling Migration History. Borderlands and Transnationalism in the United States and Canada*, ed. Benjamin Bryce and Alexander Freund (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2015), 1–3. See also Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998), 7–12.

24 Saunier, *Transnational History*, 3; David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher, “Introduction. Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families,” in Christopher H. Johnson et al. (eds), *Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond: Experiences since the Middle Ages* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn, 2011), 17–18.

25 Saunier, *Transnational History*, 8–11. Cf. also Davis, Schulte Beerbühl and Manz, *Transnational Networks*, 1–18, here especially 6.

26 In their synthesis of the history of migration in Sweden, Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tyden point out the risks of anachronism when using modern concepts such as nationality and ethnicity. Ingvar Svanberg and Mattias Tyden, *Tusen år av invandring. En svensk kulturhistoria* [Thousand years of migration. A culture history of Sweden] (Stockholm: Gidlunds Bokförlag, 1992), 10, 13–14, 32–35.

Economic and labor migration

In addition to ethnicity, a second key theme of our book is the mobility of the workforce. We address questions such as how the movement of labor has been and is controlled, restricted, and promoted, and what are and have been the reasons and motives for migration. Of special interest is how the migrants place themselves in the local labor markets. The economic incentive has been and still is one of the main reasons for mobility, although there is hardly ever one single motivator behind the movement.²⁷ Moreover, during the early phase of academic migration research, the mobility was explained mainly from an economic perspective.²⁸ In recent studies, scholars have presented various other motives for mobility. Besides job and business opportunities, many other factors have motivated migrants, such as: schooling, shelter and peace, a sense of safety in society, climate and nature, health care, marriage prospects, and a lust for adventure, among others.²⁹

This complex web of motives, the push and pull factors, is discussed in several chapters of this book. For example, Mari Korpela and Maija Ojala-Fulwood show how personal reasons for migration, such as hobbies, love of adventure, and lifestyle imagery are entangled with economic motives and necessities, including work opportunities. A number of chapters (Frigren, Kynsilehto, Mattjus, Pehkonen and Tucci) also cast a light on the political situation, both in the countries of origin and destination, and discuss the impacts of regional conflicts on mobility. The authors explore how military conflicts not only increase migration and produce refugees, but also create opportunities for work abroad and emigration. These chapters illustrate how the larger forces in society, together with in-

27 Klaus Zimmermann, *European Migration: What Do We Know?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Peter Karpestam and Fredrik N. G. Andersson, “Economic perspectives on migration,” in *The Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies*, ed. Steven J. Gold and Stephanie J. Nawyn (New York and London: Routledge, 2013), 12–27, here especially 13–15; Paul Collier, *Exodus. How Migration Is Changing Our World?* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 38; Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 8–9.

28 Sylvia Hahn, *Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht: Arbeitsmigration in Mitteleuropa vom 17. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht Unipress, 2008), 31–33; Dirk Horderer, “Segmented Macrosystem and Networking Individuals,” in *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005 [1997]), 73–84.

29 De Munck and Winter, “Regulating Migration,” 2; Hoerder, “Segmented Macrosystem,” 75, Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 15–16. See also the articles in Michaela Benson and Nick Osbaldiston (eds) *Understanding Lifestyle Migration* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

dividual aspirations and dreams, information and networks, as well as available resources, greatly affect mobility, and how this mobility is perceived.³⁰

The efforts to control migration are addressed in many chapters (Ojala-Fulwood, Tucci, Pehkonen). The chapter by Riitta Laitinen brings forward the trans-local mobility of servants, vagrants, and petty criminals, a topic which has not been extensively studied within migration history before. The urban communities needed the labor input of many of these migrants, but the civic authorities considered their mobility problematic. Furthermore, in her chapter Frigren discusses the effects of national migration policy in early twentieth century Great Britain, and illustrates how foreign sailors in many ways formed a “grey area” for immigration control.

Our research largely continues the path paved by Leslie Page Moch and Jan Lucassen, who have examined the movement of labor from a long-term perspective, focusing on the West and Central Europe, especially those areas that comprise of the present day Netherlands and France.³¹ Our geographical coverage, however, ranges from the shores of Northern Africa to the shores of the Baltic Sea region: from Algeria across the Alps to Finland, and from the island of Lampedusa to the port towns of England. A similarly broad geographical range is evident in the studies by Klaus J. Bade and Klaus Zimmermann. Bade’s work *Europa in Bewegung* explores general migration patterns since the eighteenth century, discussing the period of the two world wars in depth. Zimmermann delivers a synthesis of labor migration, observed from a national level, in major European countries since the Second World War.³²

The study at hand concentrates on local communities, whether in the Baltic northeastern city of Vyborg or in the northwestern Mediterranean city of Marseilles. For example, Ulla Ijäs examines wealthy merchant entrepreneurs in the Northern Baltic cities, whose transnational business networks had an enormous input on local and regional economies, despite the fact that the group itself consciously remained apart from local urban society and accentuated their other-

30 A textbook example of how the “the impacts of larger structures, local conditions and personal circumstances” was evaluated at the household level, where the decision to migrate was made, is the analysis of Samuel L. Bailey, *Immigrants in the Land of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870–1914* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999), 35–45.

31 Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe 1600–1900*, transl. Donald A. Bloch, (New Hampshire: Groom Helm, 1987); Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003 [1997]). The body of literature discussing economic and labor migration is vast, thus the relevant studies for each analysis are commented on in a more detailed manner in the individual chapters.

32 Zimmermann, *European Migration*, passim.

ness via consumption choices. However, the opposite case is presented by Henrik Mattjus, who shows how immigrants of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds made a lot of effort to integrate into the urban community of Tampere and local labor markets in Finland during the 1910s – and succeeded. Inherent to the topics of work possibilities and acculturation is the question of the migrant’s skills, and how these are evaluated in local labor markets. The chapters of Ella Viitaniemi, Maija Ojala-Fulwood, and Anitta Kynsilehto explore case studies where, regardless of the regulations promoting mobility, highly skilled workers faced problems when entering the local labor markets.

Since E.G. Ravenstein published his groundbreaking study *Laws of Migration* (1885), dating back to the age of nationalism, the emergence of science based on racial theories, and the zenith of the British Empire, categorizations and typologies of migrants have characterized migration studies.³³ These categorizations, such as seasonal or temporary migrants, are often essential analytical tools, used to explore and understand complicated phenomena such as migration.³⁴ Furthermore, they are also often (implicitly) embedded in national and international migration policies, as the chapters of Frigren, Kynsilehto, Mattjus, and Pehkonen illustrate.³⁵ However, these scientific (or legal or political) classifications rarely correlate with actual lived experiences. Furthermore, they can lead to over-simplifications and rough generalizations. Thus, our study builds on the criticism that other scholars have made of these classifications and typologies, and in that way challenges the older dichotomies.³⁶

The limits of such categories are highlighted in several chapters. Discussing Maghrebi women’s access to the labor market in France, Kynsilehto presents a case study where the category of highly skilled migration is problematized by an-

33 Ravenstein formulated his typologies based only on labor migration, as he saw the demands of the workforce as the primary reason for mobility. E. G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration (Part I),” *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 48:2 (1885): 167–235, here 181–84, accessed: March 14, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979181>; E. G. Ravenstein, “The Laws of Migration (Part II),” *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 52:2 (1889): 241–305, accessed March 14, 2017, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979333>. See also Hahn, *Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht*, 42.

34 Cf. Bade, *Europa in Bewegung*, 12–13.

35 Migration processes, such as European colonization, have also produced and reinforced categorizations as well as created otherness. Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 1–5.

36 See, for example, Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives* (Bern: Peter Lang 2005 [1997]), 10–21, and Donna R. Gabaccia, “Time and temporality in Migration Studies,” in *Migration Theory*, ed. Caroline Brettel and James F. Hollifield, 3rd edition (New York: Routledge, 2015), 43.

alyzing it through the categories of gender³⁷, ethnicity, and positioning in the family. She demonstrates how these artificial groupings reproduce stereotypes that have a major effect on the migrant's chances to find employment. Similarly, Frigren discusses the stereotypes related to the seamen's occupation, and the role of local media in recreating these images. Indeed similar trends can be found in seventeenth century Sweden, where religious and moral concerns placed mobile people in differing positions (Laitinen). In his chapter, Pehkonen addresses the marginal group of the Roma people. He discusses how the categorizations and labeling often attached to the Roma people are visible in social interaction, and in media, and how the labeling can lead to blinding oneself to the facts.

In their chapter about seasonal workers in the Alps, Mari Korpela and Maija Ojala-Fulwood present a case study where the various sub-types of migration – circular, seasonal, alternative, lifestyle, and labor migration – are subsumed into one package with a major impact on the local labor market. Furthermore, many chapters question how voluntary the mobility actually was in their cases (Laitinen, Kynsilehto, Korpela and Ojala-Fulwood, Viitaniemi). To some extent, voluntary labor migration from areas where there are insufficient sources for livelihood and no bearable prospects for the next generation, or discrimination in the labor markets on the grounds of gender, multi-ethnic marriages, religion, or other reasons, may resemble situations where migration is a coercive choice.³⁸ The chapter of Pirita Frigren shows how the categories of seasonal, circular, temporal, and (il)legal migrancy were entwined, overlapping, and blurred in regards to mobile maritime labor. Due to their ambivalent status, she raises the question of whether these seamen could be regarded as (im)migrants at all. Indeed, the

37 As Kynsilehto points out in her chapter, the feminization of migration has evoked growing interest within migration studies since the turn of the twenty-first century. See, for example, Hania Zlotnik, "The Global Dimensions of Female Migration," *Migration Information Source*, March 2003, accessed February 17, 2017, <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/global-dimensions-female-migration>; Pamela Sharpe, ed., *Women, Gender and Labor Migration. Historical and global perspectives* (London and New York: Routledge 2001) and Hahn, *Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht*.

38 The International Association for the Study of Forced Migration defines forced migration as involuntary mobility that takes place due to war, famines, and other natural catastrophes and large scale development projects. Economic reasons are typically understood as motifs for voluntary migration. However, they might be combined with motifs regarded as pushing factors for forced migration, such as crop failures and other natural hazards. International Association for the Study of Forced Migration, accessed on March 13, 2017, <http://iasfm.org/>. See also *Forced Migration Online*, updated January 12, 2012, accessed August 28, 2017, <http://www.forcedmigration.org/about/whatisfm/>. Cf. also, Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 15.

question about the parameters of migration and mobility is also raised by, among others, Dirk Hoerder in his monumental work *Cultures in Contact*.³⁹ One way to overcome this is to speak about mobility or mobilities instead of migration, as mobility encompasses all forms of movement.⁴⁰ Finally, in the last chapter of the book, Ilaria Tucci tangibly illustrates the liquid borders of categories, how the temporary shifts to the permanent, how security transforms to insecurity, and how a state of emergency becomes normal, summarizing many of the contradictions inherent in migration and mobility.

Individual experiences

Migration and mobility can be studied from various perspectives; macro-level investigation focuses on the global, international and/or statewide structures, institutions, organizations, policies, and laws that regulate the movement of people and their settling in.⁴¹ Meso-level studies focus on the regional scale, for example the Baltic Sea region, Southern France, or a city or county and its surroundings. Meso-level inquiries often examine groups, communities, and collectives.⁴² Dirk Hoerder defines family economies, kin, and friendship networks as the key meso-level units, where information circulates and decisions about migration are eventually made. It is, according to him, the regional economies that generate the surroundings and the scene for integration and acculturation

³⁹ Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 14–15.

⁴⁰ Cf. Cresswell, “Mobilities I,” and “Mobilities II,” *passim*, as well as Tim Cresswell, “Mobilities III: Moving on,” *Progress in Human Geography* 38:5 (2014), *passim*.

⁴¹ To date, numerous studies have examined mobility on a macro level, both in migration history and within migration and mobility studies, thus the following works are just some examples of the vast body of literature. Thomas N. Maloney and Kim Korine, (eds.), *Migration in the 21st Century: Rights, outcomes, and policy* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011); Svanberg and Tyden, *Tusen år av invandring*, Zimmermann, *European Migration*.

⁴² Meso level inquiries can also focus on “technologies of travel and communication; strategies and conditions of migration and settlement; political and grassroots movements and various local, national and transnational or diaspora networks” as defined by Anne-Marie Fortier, “Migration Studies”, in *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities*, ed. Peter Adey et al. (London and New York: Routledge 2014), 64–73, here 64–65. Some examples of studies focusing on meso level are Bert De Muck and Anne Winter, eds., *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), and Roger Sonderegger and Werner Bätzing, “Second homes in the Alpine region: On the interplay between leisure, tourism, outmigration and second homes in the Alps,” *Journal of Alpine Research / Revue de géographie alpine* [Online] Hors-Série (2013), accessed March 17, 2017, doi: 10.4000/rga.2511.

processes to happen.⁴³ On the micro-level, the emphasis is on small geographical areas, or on a single family or individual. Here, attention is drawn to individual and collective experiences, strategies, and aspirations. On the micro-level, scholars investigate, for example, human relations and household decision making. In this respect, migration is perceived as a social and cultural process.⁴⁴ Research can focus on either one of these levels, as is often done in global migration histories, or discuss the various levels together.⁴⁵

In this book, the individuals, who made the choice to move, for various reasons and with various information at hand, are at the center of the research. These individual experiences and life stories are placed in their broader economic, social, political, demographic, and historical context.⁴⁶ This strategy highlights the diversity of migration and movement of people. It brings out the nuances in the process, and instead of observing the migrants as a static and homogeneous mass, it adduces individual actors or smaller groups. Furthermore, it enables the in-depth analysis which is required in order to achieve our main goal; to better understand this complex phenomenon. Focusing on the micro level illuminates smaller models of mobility, and highlights migration movements that have so far received less attention. Such smaller mobilities can otherwise be overshadowed by larger patterns, as several of the chapters in this volume emphasize. For example, Henrik Mattjus writes about the Russian minority of Muslim Tatars who migrated to the Finnish middle-size industrial city of Tampere in the late nineteenth century. Their localizing and assimilation can be regarded as a success story; integration without losing their language, religion, appearance, and cultural customs. Mattjus shows that the Tatars' active role in communicating with the Finnish political elite, their support of Finnish independence (1917), their strong immigrant and business networks, and their mastering of the main national languages (Finnish, Swedish) promoted their integration with Finnish society and the local community of Tampere. However, permanent solidarity among the migrant community could not be taken for

⁴³ Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact*, 19–21.

⁴⁴ Fortier, "Migration Studies," 64–65; Hoerder and Harzig, *What is Migration history?*, 62–63, 87. Cf. also Fredrik Barth's model, in which micro level refers to persons and interpersonal interaction, median to collectives and groups, and macro to state policies. Barth, "Enduring and Emerging Issues," 21–22; Wubs-Mrozewicz, "Interplay of Identities," 54–55.

⁴⁵ For example, in his classic study, Jan Lucassen discusses migrant labour from all the three levels. See Jan Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe*, passim. Similarly, Sylvia Hahn discusses macro, meso, and micro levels in her study. See Hahn, *Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht*, for methodology pages 15–20.

⁴⁶ Cf. Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans*, passim.

granted, as it was taxed by individual failures to attain residence and naturalization permits, bad luck in business, and the political tumult of the Finnish independence war of 1918. This case illustrates the complexity of the process of *settling in* – the migrants' active role in integration is crucial, but requires that the recipient society and community also take an active role in the dialog. Hence, the individual experiences of migrants are the third key theme of this volume, but they are intertwined with the physical places where the migration takes place, that is in the local communities.

Local communities

In our research project, we started by examining migration and mobility within urban settlements. Since the Middle Ages, a continuous and intensifying urbanization process has characterized Europe. Furthermore, the majority of global migration is internal, oriented from rural areas to urban environments; hence, cities have had a key position within migration research.⁴⁷ Cities also occupy an important position in our book, as many of the case studies focus on urban environments (Ojala-Fulwood, Laitinen, Frigren, Kynsilehto, Ijäs, Mattjus, Pehkonen). However, in many places migration affects rural communities, such as smaller islands or villages near national borders. Moreover, cities or rural settlements do not exist on their own, but are in continuous interaction through transport, commerce, and human mobility.⁴⁸ This kind of interaction is especially visible in the chapters of Riitta Laitinen and Ella Viitaniemi. In addition, mobility can be directed from one rural village to another rural village, and the borders between small and large settlements and rural and urban population zones can also be diffuse, and deceiving, as is shown by Tucci and Korpela and Ojala-Fulwood. Consequently, the shift in emphasis from cities to local communities is not only a chosen strategy, but also one of our results. Local communities are thus the fourth key theme of our study.

Several chapters in the book discuss the local debates on migration. The local community is the place where migrants arrive, try to earn a living, and integrate. Furthermore, in this community they interact both with the indigenous population and other migrants. Several case studies present conflict situations in which questions about ethnicity, group identity, political, economic, and social rights, as well as participation, are intertwined. We ask; what does it take for

⁴⁷ Faist, Fauser and Reisenauer, *Transnational migration*, 5–6.

⁴⁸ Moch, *Moving Europeans*, passim.

an immigrant to become a compatriot and one of the locals? What are the right policies, processes, procedures, everyday acts and singular words that make it possible for individuals to settle down, and for the community to adjust itself to newcomers and take advantage of their culture, skills, labor, and other qualities? If encountering locals and strangers is, in the meantime, a self-evident and universal part of social life, in what way is it also a possible stage for hazards, conflicts, and challenges?

The case studies presented in the book illustrate how individual experiences are always connected with and often influenced by the surrounding society, particularly by the local community (meso level), but also by supranational structures (macro level). For example, local and trans-community networks play an important role in individuals' choice to migrate, and in the integration or disintegration process, as many of the chapters show (Ijäs, Kynsilehto, Mattjus, Viitaniemi). Moreover, the communities can be transient and mobile; in her chapter about urban master masons migrating to rural areas in order to lead church building projects, Ella Viitaniemi shows not only that master masons were highly mobile in pre-modern times, but also that good networks provided more job opportunities. Furthermore, her case study reveals how the attitudes of locals toward these highly skilled workers had a major impact on the success or failure of these large building processes, the results of which are still visible in the landscape and material culture heritage. Master masons also acted as intermediaries between the local and national level. Similarly, gaining the trust of local craftsmen and the craft guild membership was crucial for the artisans, who moved from one city to another, as Ojala-Fulwood shows. Migrant communities were not always defined by locals, but also by the migrants themselves; in her chapter, Ijäs illustrates how a migrant community included and excluded members and built a communal identity.

The chapter by Ilaria Tucci introduces us to the activist-collective on the island of Lampedusa, Italy. It demonstrates how individual experience can be directly linked to global international policy, and actualized in local movement. She discusses how the peculiar geo-political situation of the island between Europe and Africa, and its long history as a transit place for international migrants and refugees, has resulted in the militarization of Lampedusa. This process later triggered the creation of an activist collective, some of whose members are also highly mobile themselves. The activists are demanding changes in global migration policy in order to obstruct the militarization process. Thus, the three levels are not exclusive, but complementary and interconnected. Consequently, they should be understood as analytical tools and points of view that can help us to investigate migration and mobility. Furthermore, on the macro level, in addition to policy, politics and economy, cultural values must also be taken into ac-

count. Riitta Laitinen shows how ideals and ideas concerning morals and mobility were at the same time something imposed and existing particularly on the macro level, but were also felt, experienced, and upheld at local and individual levels. Hence, the levels were not only interconnected, but on the cultural level merged into one. The chapters in this book illustrate how global becomes local, and how mobility and migration contest our values.

Multi-methodological approach

In order to access individual experiences, the micro level of investigation, we have applied diverse methodologies and used a variety of source materials. The authors work with multiple empirical sources, which are briefly presented here and more deeply analyzed in the individual chapters. Furthermore, we present here the several different but interacting theoretical and methodological frameworks that each author has chosen. They, too, are discussed in more depth in the individual chapters. We wish to point out that, although the approaches are categorized here, these categories are not exclusive, but complementary and overlapping. For example, scholars working primarily with ethnographic methods may also utilize in their analysis close reading, a method that is familiar to historians studying archival sources.

This multi-methodological approach is the fifth key theme of our book. With this chosen strategy, we want to underline the variety of suitable analytical tools and sources that can be utilized in migration and mobility studies, especially in a historical context. The diversity of sources is partly dictated by the preserved source material, especially for the earlier centuries, but also demonstrates the potential that the different empirical source materials have for the study of migration, mobility, and multi-ethnic communities. By focusing on the different methods used by each author, we offer a good example of practical approaches that can be applied to migration and mobility research. Moreover, the variety of methods and sources in this book highlights the results of the study and the diversity of the phenomenon itself. In place of a single concept of “migration”, we have multiple migration processes and forms of mobility, versatile cases, which can and should be discussed from various perspectives.

Ethnographic and biographical methods

In her chapter, Kynsilehto draws on her ethnographic work,⁴⁹ and utilizes biographical methods.⁵⁰ She derives on life stories collected among highly educated and in many other ways skilled North African, Maghrebi (Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) women who have moved to the city of Marseilles, France. These life stories bring forth the entwinement of gender, ethnicity, social class, and the positioning in the family that sometimes work towards easing their access to the labor market and, at other times, hinder this access remarkably. When read against the policy preferences that seek to attract highly skilled migrants, these life stories both challenge the underlying assumption of the smoothness with which those qualified as skilled migrants move across borders, as opposed to the less smooth mobility of those considered to be unskilled, which is more frequently characterized by “friction”.⁵¹ In so doing, they also serve as a challenge to the presumptions concerning the autonomy of the skilled migrant⁵² and, more broadly, the categorical separation between voluntary and forced forms of mobility. Moreover, these life stories also bring nuance to the assumptions made in much of the literature on skilled migration which builds, explicitly or implicitly, on the male migrant agent. As the central analytical tool, Kynsilehto deploys the feminist notion of intersectionality,⁵³ which helps to shed light on the co-constitution and mutual interaction of various social categories.

49 Anitta Kynsilehto, “Negotiating intersectionality in highly educated migrant Maghrebi women’s life stories,” *Environment and Planning A* 43 (2011): 1547–1561, and Anitta Kynsilehto, *The Politics of Multivocality. Encountering Maghrebi Women in France* (Tampere: University of Tampere Press, 2011).

50 Keith H. Halfacree and Paul J. Boyle, “The challenge facing migration research: the case for a biographical approach,” *Progress in Human Geography* 17 (1993): 333–348; Gillian Valentine, “Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography,” *The Professional Geographer* 59 (2007): 10–21.

51 Anna Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

52 Parvati Raghuram, “Caring about ‘brain drain’ migration in a postcolonial world,” *Geoforum* 40 (2009): 25–33.

53 Kimberlé Crenshaw, “Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241–1299; Leslie McCall, “The complexity of intersectionality,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30 (2005): 1771–1800; Bandana Purkayastha, “Skilled migration and cumulative disadvantage: the case of highly qualified Asian Indian immigrant women in the US,” *Geoforum* 36 (2005): 181–196; Valentine, “Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality,” *passim*.

Ethnomethodological approach

In his chapter on the anti-Roma attitudes in contemporary Finland and Sweden, Samu Pehkonen builds on the ethnomethodological approach to social action developed in the field of sociology in the 1960s, most notably by Harold Garfinkel.⁵⁴ As an empirical study of the methods used by people to understand and produce the social order in which they live, ethnomethodology is indifferent with regard to the social scientific categories brought to the analysis from outside the study setting. In Pehkonen's analysis of public discourses, court decisions, and internet documents around the (im)morality of Roma beggars and criminals, this indifference means investigating the mundane, practical categorization work of those online commentators who cultivate and circulate stereotypical representations and "impromptu facts" on the Roma. In addition to this categorization work, Pehkonen uses conversation analysis as a method to study videoed encounters between Roma beggars and anti-immigration citizens. The chapter illustrates how social and moral orders related to the Roma people are interactionally constituted.

Auto-ethnography

In their chapter, Mari Korpela and Maija Ojala-Fulwood analyze empirical material from two complementary sources. First, they use Ojala-Fulwood's ethnographic observations and experiences that she collected while working as a seasonal laborer in Devon, England, and in the Tyrol region in the Austrian Alps. Her auto-ethnographic reflections provide rich first-hand information on the phenomenon which the chapter investigates. This kind of fieldwork, where the scholar uses multiple research strategies, and is actively engaged and interacting with the object at various different sites in different countries, has also been called mobile ethnography,⁵⁵ transnational fieldwork,⁵⁶ and global ethnogra-

⁵⁴ Harold Garfinkel, *Studies in Ethnomethodology* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1967), 1–34.

⁵⁵ For example, Ben Fincham, Mark Mc Guinness and Lesley Murray, *Mobile Methodologies* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), passim.

⁵⁶ Caroline Knowles, "Here and there: doing transnational fieldwork," in *Constructing the field: ethnographic fieldwork in the contemporary world*, ed. Vered Amit (Florence: Routledge, 2000), 54–70.

phy,⁵⁷ depending on the scholar and perspective.⁵⁸ This type of research is increasingly common when studying phenomena related to people's (transnational) mobility. In addition, the authors collected a qualitative written questionnaire that was sent by email to people involved in the network which the authors were investigating. The questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions regarding the respondents' backgrounds, their motivations for the lifestyle, current practices, views on the lifestyle, and future plans. The two sets of data were analyzed by employing qualitative content analysis. As the chapter shows, ethnography and written questionnaires are very useful methods in migration research, because they enable researchers to gain information on the migrants' everyday lives, and their own views and experiences.

In the chapter by Ilaria Tucci, the research is mainly based on participant observation and semi-structured interviews, and thus belongs to the sphere of ethnography. More specifically, Tucci's approach recalls the tradition of auto-ethnography in her experience as an observer in Lampedusa. Her interactions with the environment of the island and its inhabitants are included in her ethnographic descriptions and analysis, in a quasi-dialogical structure.⁵⁹ In doing so, emotions, thoughts, and reactions which were evoked during the fieldwork and that later emerged during the research period assume a significant role, as part of the data set. By following the so called narrative ethnography approach, Tucci considers them as a tool to understand and strengthen her analysis of the social conflict connected with the militarization of Lampedusa. The theoretical background of this chapter refers broadly to critical geography, border studies, and activism studies. This wide framework supports an interdisciplinary analysis of how migration policies and strategies, conceived at the global level,

57 Michael Burawoy, "Introduction: reaching the global," in *Global Ethnography: forces, connection and imaginations in a postmodern world*, ed. Michael Burawoy et al. (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 1–40.

58 Cf. Holly Thorpe, "Transnational Mobilities in Snowboarding Culture: Travel, Tourism and Lifestyle Migration," *Mobilities*, 7:2 (2012): 320–322, accessed November 5, 2016, doi 10.1080/17450101.2012.654999.

59 Cuttitta, Paolo, *Lo spettacolo del confine: Lampedusa tra produzione e messa in scena della frontiera*, (Milano: Mimesis Edizioni: 2012); James Davies and Dimitrina Spencer, *Emotions in the Field*, (Redwood City: Stanford University Press:2010); Carolyn Ellis, *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography*, (Oxford: Altamira PRESS: 2004); Jef Huysmans, *The politics of insecurity: Fear, migration and asylum in the EU*, (London, Routledge: 2006); Alison Mountz, "Political geography II: Islands and archipelagos" in *Progress in Human Geography* 39(5), (2015): 636–646; Nixon, Rob, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the poor*, (New York, Harvard University Press: 2011).

have a considerable affect on a local community and eventually create a social conflict within itself.

Close reading

To reach the voice of individuals, historians often utilize a method called close reading, which is used especially when reading texts such as court records and other documents produced by authorities. This method is exemplified particularly in the chapters of Riitta Laitinen, Ella Viitaniemi, and Henrik Mattjus.

As lower class persons seldom put their experiences to paper, Laitinen's research relies on close readings of court cases with different kinds of descriptions of people's mobility, or even vague hints suggesting such mobility. In this close reading, she examines the texts from the perspective of the lower class individuals, the communities they come into contact with, and the authorities that controlled both. In her case, close reading includes looking for clues, nuances, inconsistencies, and tensions; bits that are difficult to understand or seem contradictory or strange but often prove to be particularly fruitful. The questions and interpretations in her chapter are guided by the understanding that people are bodily beings in a material and spatially arranged world, and that people in various sized communities share an understanding of the world, i. e. they share a culture (or cultures), even if this understanding includes "...alternative strategies, misunderstandings, conflicting goals and values."⁶⁰ The research is also connected to the so-called possible histories, which, according to Laitinen, all historical research actually is.⁶¹

The close reading method is also used by Ella Viitaniemi in her article concerning mobile master masons in late eighteenth century Finland. The surviving drawings and cost estimations demonstrate that the master masons were able to use paper and pen as well as trowel and mortar. Even though they were most probably able to write letters and other personal documents, their own correspondence is not preserved from this time period. Hence, in order to examine these skilled workers, Viitaniemi focuses on court cases, which have been preserved from the 1620s onwards and form a continuous series of records. The records were written in various court districts and parishes, mostly by public servants and clergymen. The court cases and other legal documents include

⁶⁰ David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 29.

⁶¹ Hannu Salmi, "Cultural History, the Possible, and the Principle of Plenitude," *History and Theory* 50 (2011): 171–87.

information on the master masons' projects, contracts, livelihood, and relationships with the local community and authorities. These documents are often compiled in diverse conflict situations thus revealing the dynamics of local community. Furthermore, the documents are preserved in different archives, following the mobile nature of the master masons' work. As Viitaniemi shows, a careful narrative and close reading method is needed when researching the master masons' actions, job opportunities, motives, thoughts, and even fears and aspirations, from diverse administrative source material.

In his chapter about immigrants in Tampere, Henrik Mattjus combines quantitative material and qualitative close reading. Firstly, based on the collected data concerning foreign residents in Tampere from the census register conducted on January 1, 1918, the amount of foreign residents in Tampere is calculated in order to compare the figure with previous studies, and for scaling the amount of immigrants. Secondly, the census data is compared with the passport register in order to determine how permanent the stay of the immigrants was. For this comparison, Mattjus collected the data about the foreign migrants from the passport and residence permit register kept in the provincial office of Häme (Tavastia) from the years 1917–1920. Thereafter, he proceeds by analyzing the socio-spatial status of the immigrants, by examining their residential placement and pathways of incorporation in the city. In order to contextualize the statistical data and carry out a socio-spatial analysis with the qualitative information, he uses data collected from three local newspapers. In the online search, Mattjus has used keywords such as immigrant, foreign, particular nationalities (e. g. Russian, Swedish, and German), and particular surnames from the census and passport register. With this combination of sources and applied methods, he sheds light on the incorporation of various immigrant groups into the locality during the tumultuous year(s) of the Finnish struggle for independence from the Russian empire and the ensuing Civil War.

Qualitative case study

Pirita Frigren analyses late nineteenth and early twentieth century Finnish merchant seamen as foreigners and migrants in British ports. Her approach is problem-based; how to define and understand the phenomenon of mobility in the context of the maritime labor market, which very seldom led to a permanent settling and naturalization process, but was rather a wandering-kind of mobility from port to port, and from one recruitment to another. She compares perceptions of seamen and Finns as an ethnic group in two different kinds of sources; local newspapers and British seamen's mission reports of their work among for-

eign seafarers. She also puzzles over the question of seaport towns as a specific kind of urban space which were often biased localities, as harbor areas and sailor town districts were often seen as transnational and liminal places that were hard to control, compared to downtown areas populated by the local people. How were foreign sailors' appearances outside of sailor town areas viewed by locals? She compares the categories, ideals, characterizations, and understandings which were attached to seafarers, as both an occupational and ethnic group. Frigren's method is qualitative case study analysis, which means that she understands Finns as a special, even rather marginal immigrant group among the masses of people coming and going, but also as a group that local people very often came across during this period of constant sail and steamship traffick-ing between Finland and North Sea ports. This explorative approach helps to understand patterns of mobility which are beyond the mainstream of migration, and thus sheds light on rather unconventional encounters between outsiders and local people in an urban space.

In addition to Frigren, Ijäs has also adopted this method when studying the German merchant elite in the Northern Baltic. This approach offers an opportunity to analyze the micro- and macro level links in people's behavior, by adding new information to previous research and analyzing a limited phenomenon in a given time and place. Comparisons through space and time are difficult, even when focusing on a limited group of people and their migration and re-settling.⁶² However, by analyzing a limited group of people (Germans) in a limited geographical / spatial place (northern Baltic towns) over a limited time frame (late eighteenth early nineteenth centuries), Ijäs is able to compare her results with those of scholars studying similar phenomena in different locations and for different time periods. At the same time, some pan-European attitudes and practices are illustrated. As a result, particular ethnic or cultural codes concerning the studied group of migrants and the receiving community can be identified.

A detailed case study analysis is also the starting point of Maija Ojala-Fulwood's chapter, where she investigates the preconditions, possibilities, and restrictions on the mobility of highly skilled artisans in the Baltic Sea region. In her study, the main focus is on the interactions between various actors, the crown, the city council, the craft guilds and the craftsman, over the question of migration, especially that of immigration and integration. Her chapter sheds a light on how mobility was controlled at the macro level (state) and

⁶² Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, "Measuring and Quantifying Cross-Cultural Migrations: An Introduction," in Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen (eds.), *Globalising Migration History. The Eurasian Experience (16th–21st centuries)* (Boston, Leiden: Brill 2014), 3.

the meso level (civic authorities and professional organizations of the city), and explores what room of maneuver it left at the micro level, for the individual. At the macro level, she analyses the late medieval Town Law for the Swedish realm and several royal edicts aimed at the urban craft organizations. On the meso level, she examines the craft ordinances compiled by the craft guilds themselves, but confirmed by the city council at regular intervals. At the crux of the analysis is a reference letter for a goldsmith's journeyman, which enables the access to the micro level. The broad selection of empirical source material and a close reading of those sources permit a deep qualitative analysis which gives new insights to premodern urban life and labor markets.

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In our book we have asked fundamental questions, such as why do people move, and how mobility affects their lives, local communities, and society. The chapters present different migrant pathways, and connect these individual trajectories to larger social, political, economic, and cultural developments. The case studies illustrate the challenges which migrants face and also the possibilities mobility creates. We bring forward many of the contradictions embedded in migration and mobility, and discuss how mobile people navigate this sea of regulations, anticipation, fears, intolerance, acceptance, success, and hope. In addition to the contribution to scientific knowledge, we hope that the narratives will also evoke emotions and aspirations, as well as objectives for future research.