



## **IMMIBEL**

### **Outcast or Embraced? Clusters of Foreign Immigrants in Belgium, c. 1840-1890**

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Axis 3: Cultural, historical and scientific heritage



NETWORK PROJECT

## IMMIBEL

**Outcast or Embraced? Clusters of Foreign Immigrants in Belgium, c. 1840-1890**

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## FINAL REPORT

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **Context**

Situated at the crossroads of migration history, maritime history and the history of science and technology and of social policy, this project looks at foreign migration streams to Belgium during an exceptional period in European history, that was characterized by rising mobility and increasing economic integration, but also witnessed the emergence of the 'modern' nation state, in which the distinction between 'foreigner' and 'national' became more important.

### **Objectives**

The empirical objectives of the project are to provide access to the scale, chronology and profiles of foreign migration to Belgium in the period 1840-1914, and to investigate the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of the interactions between various groups of migrants and different layers of Belgian society and the state. It investigates socio-cultural encounters and confrontations that emanated from foreign migration to Belgium between c. 1840 and 1890 by cross- and interdisciplinary analysis and valorization of a series of exceptionally rich but underexploited series of the federal historical heritage, allowing to assess to what extent Belgium embraced or marginalized foreigners. While some of the more aggregate, quantitative analyses can be pursued for the totality of foreigners recorded in the sources after an intense digitization operation, in-depth qualitative analysis at the meso and micro level is possible only for a number of subgroups. For the purpose of research, these subgroups are distinguished not on the basis of some shared origin-related characteristic (such as place of birth or ethnicity), but in relation to their interactions with Belgian society, resulting in a focus on three subgroups: expelled foreigners, seamen, and engineers – of which the distinct composition illustrates the great social variation that existed in migration patterns, and allows to study the different nature of interactions that could ensue, from embrace to expulsion. Not only are they under-researched in the field of migration history, but the study of each of these groups will also allow to bring to the fore different types of interaction with Belgian society, i.e. those between migrants and (repressive) state policies, labour markets, and the diffusion of new ideas and technologies respectively. In that respect, the three groups are considered to provide instructive cases to study the interactions between migrants and Belgian society in relation to political, economic and intellectual history in particular.

### **Conclusions**

International mobility and circulation – rather than one-off migration – had a profound influence on the economic, political, cultural and social history of 19th-century Europe in general, and Belgium in particular. The subproject on sailors has revealed that the Belgian fleet relied heavily on foreign labour in the nineteenth century, particularly because the Belgian labour supply was insufficient to meet the increased demand. It highlights that the maritime labour market for seafarers in Antwerp altered significantly as a result of new propulsion modes, although there was also continuity. Increased numbers of especially unskilled and casual labourers in the Belgian fleet embodied changes in labour structures, wage distribution, migration trajectories and career development, which in turn resulted in a more pronounced segmentation of the maritime labour market with the advent of steam. At the same time, traditional seamanship did not immediately disappear, which suggests that the socioeconomic effects of the industrialization at sea on the maritime labour force

followed the rhythm of the implementation of new technologies. The subproject on expellees highlights the centrality of expulsion in migration policies of modern nation states and shows that foreigners were stripped of any rights protecting them against expulsion independent of how well-established they were in Belgian society. Belgium embraced foreigners without criminal records who contributed to the economy and did not pose a threat to the public order, yet they could always become outcasts as soon as they fell without means or labelled as undesirables. Migration policies of modern nation states were and still are fundamentally discriminative as they inherently consider foreigners as disposable which turns them into second-class citizens and stigmatizes them as a threat. The subproject on engineers' migratory behavior is still in the process of completion, reaching three main dimensions: (a) the development of engineer's occupation in the private sector in Belgium; (b) the relationship of these foreigners with the Belgian state along the 19th century, and (c) judicial and administrative responses to breaches of the law committed by these foreign engineers in Belgium. Continued collaborative research by the different promoters in the IMMIBEL project has together further highlighted the high incidence and various patterns of turnover and circulation involved with various forms of international migration in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Belgium.

**Keywords:**

Migration Studies, Migration History, Maritime & Transport History, History of Social Policy, History of Science and Technology

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The IMMIBEL project analyses how immigration patterns and policies evolved in Belgium during the long nineteenth century. This report discusses the general findings while at the same time zooms into the four sub-projects on which each of the full-time researchers worked in collaboration with the respective supervisors and team members: (1) the datasets and valorisation which Sarah Heynssens (State Archives) completed together with State Archive collaborators Bart Willems and Filip Strubbe, making archival resources about migration more accessible and working on the project as scheduled until March 2018. (2) Kristof Loockx (UA, supervisors Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter) has finished a PhD (defended on May 27<sup>th</sup> 2020) on the migration, mobility and labour market of foreign seamen in Antwerp on Belgian ships. (3) Natalia da Silva Pereira (ULB, supervisor Kenneth Bertrams) is finalizing a PhD on the mobility of foreign engineers in Belgium during the European industrial race. (4) Postdoc researcher Torsten Feys (VUB, supervisor Anne Winter) co-ordinated the IMMIBEL-team on a day-to-day basis, published several articles in relation to the expellees subproject and works on a book on Belgian migration policies and expulsion practices. In addition, further valorization of the IMMIBEL data was realized in the research by Hilde Greefs and Anne Winter on urban dynamics of migration in 19<sup>th</sup> century Belgium and on long-term genealogies of migration policies.

This project investigated the scale and nature of socio-cultural encounters and confrontations that emanated from foreign migration to Belgium between c. 1840 and 1890 by cross- and interdisciplinary analysis and valorization of a series of exceptionally rich but underexploited series of the federal historical heritage. Situated at the crossroads of migration history, maritime history and the history of science and technology and of social policy, this project employs these exceptional sources to map the characteristics of foreign migration streams to Belgium and to gain insight into their varied interactions with their host society. It focuses on an exceptional period in European and Belgian history, that was characterized by rising mobility and increasing economic integration, but also witnessed the emergence of the ‘modern’ nation state, in which the distinction between ‘foreigner’ and ‘national’ became more important. The project (1) maps the scale, chronology and profiles of foreign migration to 19<sup>th</sup>-century Belgium, and (2) investigates the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of interactions of foreigners with different layers of Belgian society and with different layers of the Belgian State. Its underlying assumption is that increasing international *mobility* and *circulation* – rather than one-off *migration* – had a profound influence on the economic, political, cultural and social history of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe in general, and Belgium in particular. The research results from this project therefore not only contribute to a better insight into the ‘national’ history of Belgium, but will also provide major contributions to several international debates in migration history, including on the nature of a so-called ‘mobility transition’ (Lucassen & Lucassen 2009), the interactions between state policies and migration patterns (Noiriel 1998; Rosental 2011), the role of migration ‘chains’ and networks (Wegge 1998; Lesger et al. 2002), the international dimensions of the ‘knowledge economy’ (Black 2013), and the long-term integration of international labour markets (Hatton & Williamson 2006).

In line with recent conceptual innovations in the fields of migration studies and migration history, the analytical framework adopted in this project aims to integrate three scales of analysis, the so-called ‘macro’ (structural conditions), ‘meso’ (social networks and institutions) and ‘micro’ level

(individual and household characteristics). Each level of analysis pertains to other research questions and requires distinct research methods, ranging from quantitative aggregate statistics and life-course and social network analysis to qualitative analysis of individual biographies. While some of the more aggregate analyses can be pursued for the totality of foreigners recorded in the sources, in-depth qualitative analysis at the meso and micro will be concentrated on three distinct subgroups, that are illustrative of the great social variation in foreign migration and in their interactions with Belgian society: (1) expelled foreigners, i.e. 'unwanted' migrants who interacted with repressive state policies; (2) sailors, working in one of the most internationalized labour market segments; and (3) engineers who as 'actors of knowledge' contributed to the diffusion of new ideas and technologies in the wake of Belgium's progression towards the second industrial revolution.

This project is only feasible thanks to the existence of a number of exceptionally rich, but extremely underexploited archival series that are part of the federal historical heritage of the State Archives, among which more than 150,000 individual foreigners' files in the "first series" of the Sûreté Publique (1840-1890), 962 general files on the implementation of migration policies by the Sûreté Publique, c. 40,000 entries to the seamen's registry, c. 2,700 denization files and c. 4,800 naturalization applications over the same period. Making optimal use of the possibilities of 'digital history' and record linkage combined with statistical, GIS, life course, social network and qualitative analysis, the great strength of the proposed methodology lies in its possibility to combine aggregate quantitative analysis with in-depth qualitative analysis, to combine cross-sectional with longitudinal analysis, and to combine diachronic with spatial comparisons. By integrating the resulting databases in the search engine and website repository of the State Archives ([www.arch.be](http://www.arch.be)), the accessibility of these exceptionally rich archival series will be greatly enhanced both for the interested public and for further academic research.



## 2. STATE OF THE ART AND OBJECTIVES

The central objective of this research is to gain insight into patterns of mobility of foreign migrants to Belgium in the period 1840-1914 and in the nature of their interactions with different layers and dimensions of Belgian society and the state. A period of rising mobility and increasing economic integration in Europe (Lucassen & Lucassen 2009), the 19th century also witnessed the emergence of modern nation states, in the process of which – according to Noiriel (1998) – the distinction between *national* and *étranger* played a formative role. Considering the significant presence of non-nationals in the newly formed state of Belgium, the country's precocious process of industrialization, and the exceptional richness of available sources, it is surprising that so little is known on foreign migrants and their interactions in this period – notwithstanding some important, pioneering studies, which however remain limited to certain groups, topics or localities (e.g. de Schaepdrijver 1990; Morelli 1994; Caestecker 2000; Winter 2009; Goddeeris 2013). This has led to the continuation of little-supported but influential and sometimes contradictory assumptions, not only among the wider public but also in academia, concerning the relatively 'hospitable' attitude of Belgian society towards foreigners, the prevalence of emigration over immigration, or the predominance of 'national' categories of analysis. This research project aims to interrogate the validity of these assumptions and categories for the exceptionally well documented Belgian case.

The empirical objectives of the project are therefore to map the scale, chronology and profiles of foreign migration to Belgium in the period 1840-1914, and to investigate the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions of the interactions between various groups of migrants and layers of Belgian society. Our central hypothesis is that international *mobility* and *circulation* – rather than one-off *migration* – had a profound influence on the economic, political, cultural and social history of 19th-century Europe in general, and Belgium in particular. Identifying and evaluating this influence, so we expect, will radically challenge existing 'national' categories of analysis, including the concept of 'migration' itself, as well as 'national' approaches to policymaking, labour markets and knowledge systems – and in so doing will tie in with recent pleas for transnational and entangled history in fields as varied as political history (te Velde 2005), labour history (van der Linden 2002) and intellectual history (Saunier 2013). While most research in migration history – as in migration studies in general – tends to focus on either economic causes and consequences (e.g. studying wage differentials and convergence), social aspects (e.g. social inequality or social mobility among immigrants), political dimensions (e.g. the role of restrictive vs. liberal policies) or cultural and intellectual factors (e.g. the diffusion of new ideas or habits), in this project we aim to bring together these different disciplinary strands in order to allow for an integrated analysis of the social, cultural, political and economic impact of encounters and confrontations that emanated from 19th-century international mobility.

The research results from this project will not only contribute to a better insight into the 'national' history of Belgium, but will also provide major contributions to several international debates in migration history, including on the nature of a so-called 'mobility transition' (Lucassen & Lucassen 2009), the interactions between state policies and migration patterns (Noiriel 1998; Rosental 2011), the role of migration 'chains' and networks (Wegge 1998; Lesger et al. 2002), and the long-term integration of international labour markets (Hatton & Williamson 2006). Although Belgium at present lags behind in its migration history vis-à-vis its neighbouring countries, the research project would present a major contribution to the field not only by allowing for better comparisons but also

by its innovative conceptual approach, which ensures broader resonance to the domain of social sciences. Furthermore, given the actual, historical and genealogical relevance of the theme, the research findings and data resulting from this project will interest not only academic historians and social scientists, but also amateur historians and genealogists as well as the broader public, while it can provide relevant insights for contemporary policymakers in the domain.

Our central focus lies with identifying and evaluating the societal impact of foreign migration in 19th-century Belgium as well as investigating the nature of resulting cultural exchanges from the micro-perspective of individual lives and social networks. As one of the underlying themes of the project revolves around the great social variation associated with different patterns of international mobility, an important subquestion of research is to gain insight into the factors that determined whether the resulting interactions were of a neutral (encounters), positive (embraces) or more hostile (confrontations) nature, both from the bottom-up perspective of migrants and different layers of Belgian society and top-down perspective from the state and its use of various actors to expel the undesirables. While the focus lies on valorising the archival series in relation to better insight into 19th-century history, the comparative and inter-disciplinary conceptual and theoretical framework as well as the actual relevance of the central research questions pursued, ensures that the resulting research results will not only provide innovative contributions to scholarly debates in the various fields of both history and migration studies, but will also contribute to better contemporary understanding of migration. The three subgroups in the different research subprojects – sailors, engineers and expelled – are considered to provide instructive cases to study the interactions between migrants and Belgian society in relation to political, economic and intellectual history in particular.

### **A unique view of foreign immigration**

Here, the central aim was to collect the serial nominal data from the c. 150,000 foreigners' file index cards in a digital public database (IMMIBEL database) that allows for targeted access to and much enhanced usability of these unique sources, and provides a unique view into the chronology and geography of foreign migration to Belgium throughout the 19th century. This database in turn also provided the necessary context and point of access for each of the subprojects in order to identify persons belonging to their subgroups in the foreigners' files. These nominal data were in turn to be complemented with a collection of aggregate data contained in the *Mouvement de la population et de l'état civil* on the yearly number of recorded immigrations and emigrations at municipal level. These municipal figures from the *Mouvement* were in turn to complement the LOKSTAT datasets (co-ordinated by the University of Ghent) which aims to collect and make digitally available of historical statistical data available in Belgium at municipal level ([www.lokstat.ugent.be](http://www.lokstat.ugent.be)) in order to facilitate public access and future research, while access to LOKSTAT at the same time allows for cross-referencing the freshly collected immigration data with other local statistics already digitized.

### **Sailors in an international maritime labour market**

The marked growth of maritime trade during the 19th century in the wake of commercial and industrial expansion (Bairoch 1976; Mathias & Davis 1997) went hand in hand with important technological and organizational innovations in shipping, such as the introduction of steam power and the development of regular shipping lines (Van Schirach-Smigiel 1980), and the

institutionalization and professionalization of maritime employment and education (Teiler 1978). The growth of shipping also significantly increased employment opportunities in port and trade related sectors, which in turn stimulated international migration to maritime commercial nodes (Lawton & Lee 2002). This resulted in specific employment structures in port cities, which were dictated by international markets, trade networks and connections, and by a highly fluctuating demand for often casual or seasonal labour in port-related activities (Lee 1998). While the migration patterns and employment trajectories of foreigners working in port-related sectors on shore have been studied in the context of both labour and migration history, the very mobile group of sailors and seamen has proven much more difficult to trace (Lucassen & Lucassen 2009). While the structure, functioning and development of the maritime labour market as well as occupational and sectoral differentiation among the seafaring workforce have all been dealt with in international historiography (e.g. Van Royen et al. 1997; Gorski 2007), we still know very little on the migration and career trajectories of individual sailors (Bruijn 1997; Lucassen 1997; Van Lottum & Lucassen 2007). Moreover, while the maritime labour force has attracted important research in countries that strongly identify with their maritime or colonial past, like England (Williams 1991; Palmer & Williams 1997) or the Netherlands (Schuman 1995; Davids 1997; Van Lottum & Lucassen 2007), research remains in only an explorative stage in Belgium, where research in maritime history has focused primarily on the development of a national fleet and regular shipping lines (De Vos 1995; Segers 2001) or the organization of dockworkers (Van Isacker 1966; Devos 1993; De Baets & De Vos 1995; Vanfraechem 2003), largely ignoring work at sea and the link between the maritime labour market and migration (Feys et al. 2007). The seasonal and fluctuating demand for sailors was however strongly connected to foreign migration, since ocean-going seamen were often not born where they embarked but migrated between port cities in search of better jobs (Van Lottum & Lucassen 2007). In this WP, we will try to remedy the blind spots of both Belgian and international maritime historiography by examining the impact of changes in international trade, shipping technology and maritime labour markets on the migration trajectories, careers and lifecycles of foreign sailors on Belgian ships. Tracing these individual trajectories will in turn provide insights into social networks and encounters of this diverse and transnational community both at sea and ashore, where their presence is considered a typical hallmark of the cosmopolitan aura of port cities.

Hence, this subproject aims to link insights from migration, economic and maritime history by studying migration trajectories, career patterns, networks and connections of foreign sailors working on Belgian merchant ships during a period of overall growing mobility and expansion of international trade in the period 1840-1890 (Horlings 2002). The general purpose is (1) to identify the economic role of foreign workers on the Belgian maritime labour market, (2) to unravel their migration trajectories and career patterns in relation to an internationalizing labour market on the one hand, and evolving transport and maritime connections on the other hand, (3) to explore the evolution of migration circuits and networks by investigating meaningful connections between origin, age, recruitment, position on board and career mobility, (4) to investigate cultural encounters and networks of this highly volatile migrant group both at sea and on shore.

### **Circulating engineers and Belgian knowledge society**

The mobility of intellectuals, technicians, scientists and academics is such a continuous feature down the ages that it can be taken as a universal socio-anthropological phenomenon. Yet, the literature is overwhelmingly silent when it comes to tracing the mechanisms and origins of the migrations of

these ‘actors of knowledge’. True, there is ongoing debate about the relative balance of ‘brain drain’ and ‘brain gain’ in the current knowledge society (Gaillard & Gaillard 1997). On the other hand, scholars in general, and specialists of the history and sociology of science in particular, have been eager to explore themes revolving around the ‘circulation of knowledge’ and its impact on the making of the modern world (Black 2013; Mokyr 2002). Moreover, while the ‘transnational turn’ has allowed to shed light on circulations, connections, and entanglements (Saunier 2013), and has shown how geography matters in the production (and consumption) of scientific knowledge (Livingstone 2003), studies focusing on the mobility of actors of knowledge themselves remain limited (Schaffer et al. 2009).

It was the ambition of this subproject to tackle this blind spot in existing scholarship, by providing a dynamic mapping of the circulation of actors of knowledge in Belgium between 1840 and 1890. By ‘actors of knowledge’ we refer to occupational and social groups such as engineers, technicians, chemists and academics, including students. In stark contrast to previous undertakings, this project intends to rest on the evidence available in the collections of the *Sûreté Publique* reproducing the three scales of analysis – macro, meso, micro – which have already been mentioned. Undoubtedly, this archive-based research will bring an important breakthrough in our current understanding of the circulation of knowledge, as well as, more generally, our appreciation of the role of exogenous forces in the making of Belgium’s knowledge society.

## **Expellees**

Expulsions are a blind spot in research on 19th-century migration and migration policies, and in the socio-political history of the 19th-century in general. For Belgium Caestecker (2000) and especially Coupain (2003) have already done some groundwork by piecing together the statistics available and thereby the scale and chronology of expulsions. Furthermore, they uncovered the profile of the expellees, the reasons for expulsions and the legal framework directing these. Nonetheless we have virtually no insight into how people were expelled, wherefrom and whereto – for Belgium nor for any other country in this period. Moreover, there is little or no reflection on the implications of this blind spot in existing studies on migration policies, which often adopt a normative perspective in arguing for a predominance of “laissez faire” and “virtually open borders” in this period (Strikwerda 1999), and associate the development of restrictive policies with increasing international tensions in the run-up to World War I (Zolberg 1997; Timmer & Williamson 1998). In this project we aim to complement this normative approach by a perspective that studies the implications of migration policies by focusing on actual practices. As the most extreme outcome, expulsions in a way provide a mirror image of ‘normative’ migration policy, that provides a privileged inroad into studying the norms, expectations and limitations of migration regulation on the field. Understanding the practical implications of migration policies, is in turn the only way to gain insight into the *actual* interactions between migrants and the state, and the implications of these interactions for ‘unwanted’ migrants themselves. Furthermore, it is an important assumption of this research that these practices and interactions were of profound influence on the evolution of normative policies, and that adopting a bottom-up perspective that integrates these experiences is necessary to understand how migration legislation evolved. A related research question is the significance of the label of ‘vagrancy’, which was applied to the majority of expellees in this period (Coupain 2003). Dating back to the late Middle Ages, this concept already had a long, ambiguous history, evoking associations with poverty, mobility

and/or criminality (Lucassen 1993). Understanding how this malleable *ancien régime* concept influenced the evolution of 'modern' migration policies, is we believe a fruitful path to transcend dichotomies between 'premodern' and 'modern' policies, between political history and social history, and between bottom-up and top-down perspectives.

The central research questions of this research subproject revolve around different layers, which run parallel to the distinction between macro, meso and micro scales of analysis, and are situated at the crossroads of social and political history. Specific questions here include the difference between expulsions by simple administrative measure versus royal decree, and the incidence of repeat expulsions of identical persons, phenomena which could seriously qualify the scale of expulsions on the one hand, and the importance of expulsions for individual trajectories on the other hand. Expulsions were a politically very sensitive issue in 19th-century Belgium, where considerable opposition existed to the idea of a powerful state encroaching on the liberal freedom of individuals by arbitrary expulsions, especially when they were related to political opinions. This mistrust of the power of the state explains why the *Loi des étrangers* (1835) which allowed for the expulsion of those who "threatened public order", retained the status of a temporary exceptional measure that was simply prolonged every three years throughout the 19th century until it became permanent only in 1897 (Vandersteene & Schiepers 1995; Caestecker 2010). This is also the context in which the responsible minister had to regularly report on expulsion practices to Parliament every time the law was to be prolonged, which often invited heated discussions on the legitimacy of expulsion practices. However, up until now, no research exists on the ways in which expulsion practices and experiences – both reported and unreported – fed back into administrative and legal routines, which in turn influenced the normative discussions and reforms in Parliament. The resulting insights on the impact of expulsion *practices* will be further linked and analysed on the micro level via selected individual files. These combined sources allow to establish the centrality of expulsion in migration policies. Lastly, this subproject aims to also reconstruct the life trajectories and broader social interactions of those expelled. Although most of them undoubtedly belonged to the poorest sections of society, their labelling as 'vagrants' – an extremely malleable and vague concept – cannot be simply equated to a marginal or isolated existence (cf. Winter 2005). It remains to be seen to what extent they were 'integrated' in local society, by residence, work, marriage, or otherwise, and to what extent the classic associations of 'vagrancy' were actually applicable. How long had they resided in Belgium? Were they employed? Did they have friends and relatives nearby? To what extent could they mobilize social networks against expulsion orders? Under which conditions did resistance prove successful? Another open-ended question is the impact of an expulsion on their further life and mobility trajectories. Where did they choose to go to upon expulsion? Did they ever come back, and if so, did they return to their previous residence and networks? What determined whether one was expelled by decree rather than by administrative measure? And was there any distinctive profile of 'repeat offenders'?

### 3. METHODOLOGY

**Three scales of analysis.** Central to the methodological approach stands the integration of three scales of analysis at the so-called ‘macro’, ‘meso’ and ‘micro’ levels, in line with recent conceptual innovations in the field of migration studies and migration history (Hoerder 1997; de Haas 2008). The *macro* level pertains to the structural conditions, scale and nature of aggregate migration flows, where for instance proletarianization, rural disintegration, persecution and (perceived) differences in employment and wages can act as ‘push’ and ‘pull’ forces (Hatton & Williamson 2006). While ‘push’ and ‘pull’ forces at the macro level may act as structural conditions for migration flows, however, they cannot explain why only some of those in comparable conditions move, and why those who do move, go to certain specific places and not to others where overall prospects might be even better (Baines 1991). To account for the selectivity and patterned nature continually observed in migration dynamics, in the past as today, it is necessary to consider two other scales of analysis. The so-called *meso* level refers to the role of policy regulations, social networks, contacts and streams of information and communication that channel migrants along patterned circuits. In practice, people do not venture in the unknown, but tend to travel to places where they have friends or relatives, with which they are somehow acquainted or have at least in some way heard or read about, and have relatively good access to. The importance of such *migration information* and – at least for certain groups – of social support explains why migrants from certain origins or background display distinct migration patterns from other groups (Hoerder 1997; Lesger et al. 2002; Moch 2003). Lastly, of course, at the *micro* level, individual and household characteristics have a strong influence on a person’s propensity to migrate and on patterns of interaction and settlement, where in particular age, gender, marital status, skill and financial resources have an important bearing on one’s access to channels of migration information and on the relative costs and benefits of moving and staying (Kok 2007). These different levels of analysis are not mutually exclusive, but pertain to different research questions, ranging from understanding the structural economic conditions of aggregate flows, over the identification of circuits of recruitment and networks of migration, to the individual likelihood and experience of moving and settling. Each level of analysis, moreover, requires distinct research methods, ranging from quantitative aggregate statistics to qualitative analysis of individual biographies – although the unit of observation in all cases is that of the individual migrant.

**IMMIBEL Database** The backbone for the different subprojects and to future research was the compilation of the IMMIBEL database by Sarah Heynssens at the State Archives, based on the index cards of the individual files of the *Sûreté Publique* (“foreigners’ files”). From 1839 onwards, the Belgian state assigned the surveillance of all foreigners to the *Sûreté Publique* or Foreigners’ Police, a government agency that collected detailed information from local police, municipal authorities and other public or private bodies into nominal files for in principle every foreigner residing in Belgium. The resulting files are dynamic in that they not only contain a *bulletin de renseignements* that was filled out upon arrival – with standard questions relating to family status, origin, income, occupation and former and current residence of each newcomer – but also document changes of residence or in the family or employment situation, and were re-opened and updated if persons later returned to Belgium. Access to the c. 150,000 preserved files is provided by the index cards used by the Foreigners’ Police that provide basic information on name, origin, occupation, and file number,

together with some variable information. By collecting all this information from the file cards in a digital (excel) format, it became possible for the very first time to quantitatively assess or identify different migrant groups in the files, e.g. on the basis of origin or occupation.

**Sailors.** The marked growth of maritime shipping in the wake of Belgium's commercial and industrial expansion in the 19th century and the associated enlargement of the mercantile fleet, has stimulated research on international trade, the development of shipping and the changes and specific features of port towns (Veraghtert 1986; Greefs 2008). As far as labour market research in this domain is concerned, however, the focus has remained on dockworkers or other shore-based activities (Devos 1993; Vanfraechem 2003). While some research is available for other countries, we know very little on the growing and often seasonal labour market for sailors on Belgian ships, where foreigners played an important part. Studying the recruitment patterns, profiles, career developments, and migration trajectories of foreign sailors therefore offers a very specific way to study interactions between a particularly mobile group of migrants and one of the most internationalized labour market segments of the 19th century, and between maritime commercial networks and migration channels. At the same time, it allows to study very particular, but so far very much neglected, instances of cross-cultural encounters, both on board and on shore.

**Engineers.** In the wake of Belgium's progression towards the second industrial revolution and its corresponding contribution to the initial waves of economic globalization, the country was appealing to a host engineers as 'actors of knowledge' as much as it was committed to attract them (Caestecker 2000). They did so in various stages of their careers as Belgian universities and institutions of technical higher engineering schools and higher commercial schools) became important hosts of foreign students, especially from Central and Eastern Europe (Peter & Tikhonov 2003; Dhondt 2008). There is little doubt that Belgium's economic shift towards a knowledge-based industry relied on the direct incorporation of this early 'intellectual elite'. In spite of all the claims denouncing the 'brain drain' from the 1960s and the 'brain gain' after the collapse of the communist systems, studies have paid little attention to the historical roots of scientific and technical migrations. Nor has current scholarship sufficiently insisted on what is one of our central hypotheses, namely that also these qualified migrations rested on patterns of circular or pendular migration, i.e. on the principles of a circulation of labour in general, rather than on a one-way migration that resulted from a deliberative state policy.

**Expellees** were politically a sensitive subject in 19th-century Belgium, as arbitrary removal was considered at odds with the liberal rights engrained in the constitution (Vandersteene & Schiepers 1995). Preliminary research on unpublished statistics has however demonstrated that no less than 300,000 expulsions took place in 19th-century Belgium (Coupain 2003; Caestecker 2010), mainly men from neighbouring countries expelled for crimes or lack of means. Yet we know next to nothing on their 'embeddedness' in society, the impact of such a removal from the perspective of migrants themselves and the means at hand to fight expulsion orders – for Belgium nor for any other European country. Although the 19th century is typically associated with 'laissez-faire' and the development of national migration restrictions with the run-up to World War I (Zolberg 1997; Timmer & Williamson 1998; Strikwerda 1999), it is our hypothesis that the confrontation with 'unwanted migrants' and experience and problems of expulsions were the main engine behind the evolution of national migration policies throughout Europe in the 'long 19th century'. Studying how expulsions were carried out in practice based on the sources of the responsible institution, the Sûreté Publique, using individual and general files gives an exceptional, innovative inroad to studying

how interactions between migrants and state influenced not only migrant lives but also state politics.

It is important to clarify from the outset that we did not interpret interactions between these groups and Belgian society within the *integration* or even *assimilation paradigms* that have been so dominant in many contemporary studies (Alba & Nee 1997). Rather, we believe that local integration cannot be assumed to have been a main goal or expectation in a period when most long-distance migration was highly temporary and often career- or employment oriented, and social status and class were at least as important as a marker of identity and belonging than origin (Winter 2009; King & Winter 2013). This is why we approach all three subgroups from their experience of *mobility*, and treat length of stay, repeated or return migration, extent of social 'embeddedness' in the host community, etcetera, as research questions that can help to designate specific patterns of interactions with Belgian society, according to their distinct social background.

Migration history frequently has been studied from a legal and top-down perspective instead of looking at migrants' everyday lived and decisions. In contrast, our threefold analysis of migration (macro, meso and micro level) will underline its bottom-up dynamics. By approaching this phenomenon as a socio-cultural driven process, our research project aims to give agency back to the migrants. Migratory networks constitute patterned circuits of migration that often connect migrants, non-migrants, return migrants and potential migrants in their home and host communities. The bottom-up approach through the selection of file samples will also reveal migrants' opinions and objectives. Foreigners' files always contain migrants' aspirations, either directly (letters written by the migrants and addressed to the authorities) or indirectly (their declarations to officers in administrative documents). In so doing, the files contain valuable information on migrants' strategies towards the authorities and state policy. A combination of quantitative as well as qualitative analysis, then, allows for a meticulous study of changing patterns of mobility, settlement, and interactions with Belgian society.



## 4. SCIENTIFIC RESULTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1) Datasets and Valorisation

The database compilation was developed primarily at the State Archives by Sarah Heynssens, in close collaboration with Bart Willems and Filip Strubbe (State Archives), and the other partners in the project. The main task consisted of the development of a database with the serial information from c. **154,000 nominal index cards** created by the Foreigners Police (henceforth F.P.) of Individual Files of aliens arriving in Belgium between 1840 and 1890 and preserved at the State Archives. The database makes these files much more accessible for future researchers and make them conducive for quantitative research.

The database of these index cards has been **integrated in the search persons search engine of the State Archives search engines**. This connects our data to more than 22 million individual-related records and in the other search engines on the website of the State Archives of Belgium ([www.arch.be](http://www.arch.be)), rendering them publicly accessible to all possible users and ensuring the continued future accessibility of the database. This connection with other file will only grow as the digitalization of the State Archives takes new strides.

The published and digital manual and the project page made available by the State Archives website promoted the availability to the wider public and generated a surge of the demands to consult the files. The accessibility of the database and the connected sources are further facilitated by **help-tools** developed in the course of the IMMIBEL project to acquaint the users of the State Archives research robots with the IMMIBEL-project. The ICT-department of the State Archives made **a project page** on which all these documents are available in pdf-form (<http://www.arch.be/index.php?l=nl&m=nieuws&r=alle-nieuwsberichten&a=2018-08-22-19e-eeuwse-vreemdelingendossiers-online-doorzoekbaar>).

Besides the Search-Persons version which has limited fields a more complete **Immibel search engine** of the database was created that contains all the data collected during the project and links the data to other datasets such as HISCO. The geocoding of places in the IMMIBEL-dataset greatly facilitate linking our own data, but also to other datasets further ahead. To facilitate any future corrections a log-document was composed which contains the complete methodology of the cleaning of the database, the cleaning code, the cleaning history (in JSON code), the correlation tables and the developed python code (for the period column). Whereas so far only paper nominal indexes were available, providing a complete and fully searchable index to the individual files, including occupation, name or place of origin, the accessibility of these files for future research (e.g. on particular regions of origin or particular occupational groups) is greatly enhanced by the database as now selections can be made on place of origin, occupation, gender, etc. An article concerning the methodology of the construction of the database was sent for publication in the database section of the *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis*.

Besides this main database, another was developed on the alphabetic index of the **Seaman's registry** (1845 – 1890). The seamen's registry (*Stamboek van de zeelieden van de Belgische koopvaardij*) is available from 1845 onwards and was compiled by the *commissaire maritime (waterschout)* of Antwerp, who among other things had to register all sailors (both Belgians and foreigners) employed

on Belgian merchant ships. The seamen's registry contains nominal information on all crew members on Belgian ships, including a unique identification number, name, date and place of birth, marital status, current address as well a description of physical characteristics (such as height, colour of hair or eyes), together with details on every sea journey made, including the ship's name and captain, place and date of embarkation, position on board and wages. The registry is ordered chronologically according to date of first embark on a Belgian merchant ship (c. 1,000 per year), but is dynamic in that all subsequent journeys were recorded and personal information updated in case of for instance change of residence or marriage. The database of the Seaman's registry is also integrated in the **search persons search engine of the State Archives**.

Also the **Mouvement de la Population** of 1860, 1870, 1890, 1910 have been encoded and integrated in the LOKSTAT database, as well as additional information on migrants from the Population Censuses for the years 1846, 1866, 1880, 1890, 1900 & 1910 have been entered in a data set. Both give much better insights on the geographic mobility of the migrants. Finally, an inventory of the archives of the **domiciliés** and of the files concerning people asking **denizen status** was finished by Filip Strubbe and Sarah Heynssens to disclose 3368 individual denization application files.

Updates about the activities of the team have been posted on the **IMMIBEL website** ([www.immibel.arch.be](http://www.immibel.arch.be)) during research. The project website was developed which functions both as a business card for the general public and as a research portal for the team-members and interested researchers. It offers an overview of the project, the team, partners and follow-up committee, a virtual research environment which encourages research into 19th century migration sources, a blog with current events and a contact sheet. The website also hosts a closed up research page where the partners of the project share their reports, a preliminary version of the database of the index cards, a shared agenda, etc. Questions of users were answered via the contact sheet. The site is directed to both professional researchers and the public at large, increasing the visibility of the project and its results. ([www.immibel.arch.be](http://www.immibel.arch.be)).

## 2) Sailors

This subproject was conducted by PhD researcher Kristof Loockx at the University of Antwerp under joint supervision of Hilde Greefs (UA) and Anne Winter (VUB). The public defence of the PhD took place on May 27<sup>th</sup> 2020 at the University of Antwerp. The transition from sail to steam led to significant changes during the second half of the nineteenth century. Historians in different fields have shown that the changeover to steam was more than a technological phenomenon as it had an impact on many layers of society. Among other things, economic modernization, demographic growth, increased levels of migration and urban transformation processes highlight that the changeover to steam resulted in a fundamental shift. Although processes were already developing before steamers dominated fleets, the pace and scale of shipping was unprecedented with the breakthrough of steam. In current historiography, however, the maritime workforce often remains an anonymous mass, in contrast to many studies that deal with maritime workers in the age of sail. Therefore, investigating the impact of the transition from sail to steam on the maritime labour force and how this transformation (re)shaped the maritime labour market for seafarers is of crucial importance. This is relevant, because this focus allows us to gain a better understanding of the socioeconomic effects of new technologies and innovations on labourers and the operation and

accessibility of labour markets. This study is about this transformation and investigates the impact of the transition from sail to steam on the maritime labour force working on Belgian steamers, which in turn allows us to gain a better understanding of the operation and accessibility of maritime labour market with the advent of steam.

The impact of the transition from sail to steam on the maritime labour force becomes clear from the analysis of the Antwerp seamen's registry. Firstly, the emergence of steamships increased the demand for maritime labour substantially. As a result of the introduction of new propulsion modes also new departments and occupations emerged, which in turn made the hierarchy on board more complex compared to sailing vessels. It remains unclear, however, whether this process had a drastic or a gradual impact on traditional seamanship. Without a doubt, industrialization at sea changed the work duties of many traditional maritime occupations, which requires further examination, but the Belgian fleet highlights that traditional seafarers did not suddenly disappear. Although Belgium experienced a fast and drastic transition from sail to steam, the demand for deck workers increased significantly in absolute terms and therefore Belgium relied heavily on foreign labour. These findings emphasize the importance of integrating the maritime labour force into the debate on the impact of the transition from sail to steam. The relative decline of deck workers was mainly a result of the increased demand for engine room operators and stewards in the case of Belgium. From the perspective of the able-bodied seaman, however, there were still sufficient employment opportunities at the end of the nineteenth century. This highlights that the changeover to steam did not have a skill-replacing effect during the period under consideration. In contrast, old and new patterns co-evolved during the latter half of the nineteenth century, which demonstrates that each department had its own dynamics and development during the transformation process. Indeed, steamships remained a labour entity, but the introduction of new technologies created three separate worlds, particularly the deck, engine room and victualling departments.

Secondly, although the emergence of steamships in Belgium did not have a skill-replacing effect at the end of the century, the increased demand for lower ranked seafarers had an overall deskilling effect. How this process affected wage distribution and wage levels of different types of seafarers remains understudied in general. The findings in this study show that the wage ratio of high-skilled workers to low-skilled workers was not subject to change with the advent of steam. However, the decline of the mid-level on steamers resulted in a more skewed distribution of wages between high- and low-skilled workers. This is in line with the routinization hypothesis, which predicts that the introduction of new technologies results in a widening gap between high- and low-skilled labourers because of a relative decline of the mid-level. This was especially apparent in engine room and victualling departments. These departments demanded only a few officers, while the vast majority of crews consisted of unskilled labourers who reflected similar occupations on land. In addition, the need for medium-skilled labourers in new departments was low, which in turn limited opportunities to rise through the ranks in contrast to officers. Indeed, while steamships created an elite corps of officers, ratings in engine room and victualling departments perfectly knew there was only a small chance that their positions on board would change during their careers. It seems that this was different in deck departments where, to some extent, old patterns continued to prevail. Although most able-bodied seamen did not advance their careers on Belgian steamers, there were still more options to become a petty officer or even an officer and therefore benefit financially. Anyway, the deskilling process was a result of increasing division of labour and professionalization with the advent of steam. Among other things, legislation increased the importance of certifications for

officers. Steamships also concerned major financial investments and steam technology demanded more technical knowledge, navigational and managerial skills of officers. These processes reinforced the importance of education with the advent of steam, which contributed to a more segmented maritime labour market. However, the emergence of steamships did not have a negative effect on wage levels of different types of seafarers. The findings suggest that nominal wages remained rather static for decades, in contrast to, for instance, industrial wages, while seafarers generally knew what to expect when they embarked on a Belgian-flagged vessel in financial terms, but it seems that it paid off to work at sea in comparison with similar occupations on land at the end of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, both wage dispersion and wage levels on steamers remain understudied in general and therefore it is difficult to compare presented results. Hence, future research would benefit from in-depth analyses with a focus on other fleets, such as Britain and the Netherlands for example, in order to gain a better understanding of the impact of the changeover to steam on remunerations.

Thirdly, the breakthrough of steam increased the demand for seafaring labour significantly, but the supply side has received less attention in general. However, if we want to gain more insights into fundamental changes in the maritime labour market with the advent of steam, it is of crucial importance to gain a better understanding of how the maritime industry was able to meet the increased demand for labour. Again, it seems that established patterns did not necessarily disappear with the advent of steam. Deck departments continued to rely on traditional recruitment areas, which highlights that specific maritime areas that were closely connected to Antwerp remained important for the supply of traditional labour on steamships. In contrast, these traditional recruitment areas were not important for the supply of new labourers. Therefore, the Belgian fleet increasingly relied on seafarers from inland regions abroad with no direct connection with the sea. The increased demand for labour in engine room and victualling departments explains why Antwerp's maritime recruitment area, the area from which maritime labourers were recruited, expanded considerably with the advent of steam. Moreover, the Belgian fleet increasingly relied on foreign capital and labourers from abroad during the era of steam. Therefore, it has been suggested that it was difficult for Belgians to enter the maritime labour market because foreign shipping companies that sailed under the Belgian flag preferred compatriots. The findings show, however, that Belgians were not excluded from the maritime labour market in Antwerp. Compared to the middle of the century, the absolute number of Belgian seafarers increased significantly with the changeover to steam. For example, the Red Star Line Company, which was engaged in passenger travel in the Atlantic, relied heavily on Belgian labour. It rather seems that the supply of Belgian labour was insufficient to meet the demand throughout the nineteenth century. However, Belgians indeed had limited access to the officer corps during the second half of the nineteenth century. Sea captains relied on a professional network that provided direct access to ship owners. Given that the maritime business in Antwerp consisted mainly of foreign merchants and ship owners indicates that it was difficult for Belgian masters to enter this segment of the maritime labour market in Antwerp. In the case of ratings, recruitment methods differed significantly as shipping companies generally relied on boarding and shipping masters for the supply of labour. The findings show that there was almost no differentiation in nationalities of seafarers throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, although Antwerp became an international port where ships from all over the world called. Indeed, seafarers from different geographical backgrounds were present in Antwerp, but the Belgian fleet continued to rely on seafarers from neighbouring countries and Scandinavia. This indicates

that Belgian-flagged shipping companies preferred particular nationalities for the supply of labour, while seafarers from other places around the globe had only limited opportunities to work on Belgian vessels. This does not imply that seafarers from other parts of the world were absent in Antwerp; they predominantly worked on foreign-flagged ships. At the same time, this highlights the important role of middlemen who were able to maintain control over certain segments of the maritime labour market. Despite private and official organizations that aimed to change hiring practices, established patterns remained largely intact in nineteenth-century Antwerp.

Finally, the emergence of steamships had an effect on career development. With the transition from sail to steam especially ratings were increasingly employed on a casual basis in the Belgian fleet. Casual labourers were already present in the middle of the century, but their numbers rose with the advent of steam. At the same time, the findings in this study suggest that stable employment was not only reserved for officers since especially Belgians and Antwerp residents, who were often hired in lower positions, could have long-term careers as well during the era of steam. Anyhow, the rise of casual labour suggests that seafarers became increasingly mobile. This highlights that more in-depth research is needed that focuses on careers of seafarers in different fleets. This also applies to maritime labourers who combined seafaring with work on land. We can assume that their numbers increased with the advent of steam, because steamers shortened voyages significantly for example, which made it probably easier to combine seafaring with work on land. As such, future research can benefit from an individual perspective, because it will provide new insights into the impact of the transition from sail to steam on the maritime labour force. Moreover, this research reminds both maritime and migration historians that combining maritime and official sources is an added value, especially because the maritime labour force should not be studied in total isolation from the urban world. For instance, seafarers onshore have been mainly studied in the context of the waterfront where especially transient seafarers sought a place to sleep and entertainment. Without a doubt, these practices continued to prevail during the second half of the nineteenth century, but the emphasis on seafarers and middlemen casts a shadow over the fact that these neighbourhoods were far more heterogeneous. In fact, we know little about the diversity in maritime quarters and how the composition of the waterfront population evolved when steamships emerged and ports grew in size at the end of the nineteenth century. All of this demonstrates that shifting the focus to the first half of the twentieth century is crucial. This research argues that the changeover to steam concerned a gradual process that increasingly led to a segmented labour market, but more research is needed on further developments that marked the maritime industry. Only then it is possible to fully understand the impact of the transition from sail to steam on the maritime workforce and maritime labour markets.

### **3) Migration of engineers**

This sub-project is conducted by PhD researcher Natalia da Silva at the ULB under supervision of Kenneth Bertrams and in close collaboration with the other IMMIBEL partners. Because of two extended instances of maternity leave in the course of the project, the PhD is still in the phase of completion, but is likely to be submitted in the current academic year. In Science and Technological Studies (STS), as well as in Science History, mobility is an important topic mainly discussed in terms of travel, circulation, and exchanges of knowledge, people and objects. Research on circulation of

technology insists on the plurality of spaces, paces and scales in the complex dynamic of technical dissemination. On the one hand, they stress the logic of transfer fed by technical and economic differentials between countries or regions. On the other, they underline that analyses of technical circulation shall involve human intermediaries since technology is rather a human construction than an abstract entity. Thus, several historical studies have focused on human capital mobility, highlighting for instances itineraries of groups of artisans, technicians or entrepreneurs. Individuals' international careers paths of engineers, in particular, are also the subject of rich and enlightening work.

Engineers' mobility is often related to *technical transfers* and *knowledge circulation* and, in this respect, we observe that the term *migration*, unlike other domains of social sciences, is hardly ever employed in historical studies. Although it has been widely acknowledged that the identity of engineers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was inseparable from their mobility practice, historians have usually not recognized them as migrants. Therefore, historical studies have surprisingly taken very few considerations to engineer's experience as migrants. But engineers are not the only socio-professional group which has been excluded from the mainstream analysis of migration historical studies. Other groups, belonging mostly to the elites, as diplomats, corporate expatriates, aid workers, scholars and missionaries share the same attention. Many valuable developments have been done in integrating elite's mobility in historical migration studies, as Nancy Green's and Margrit Beerbühl's works illustrate very well. Yet, there still much to re-evaluate from an historiography that emerged from social history field (in particular from worker history) and where an "immigrant" embeds a class dimension.

In 2016, Leo Lucassen and Aniek Smit pointed out that, though the image of the conventional migrant has been revised over the last half century, migration scholars have paid little attention to "*organizational migrants*", i.e. those whose migration behavior is primarily determined by the organization they work for. Lucassen and Smit argue that the absence of "*organizational migrants*" from the mainstream migration historical studies is, rather a lack of analytical tools, due to a combination of assumptions that they: (1) move temporarily, (2) belong to the upper class, (3) lack the agency to choose their destination and (4) do not really join new communities, acting like "invaders" although their representation of contributing to the prosperity of the host society.

Engineers' picture (in particular those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) depicted by historiography match as well the assumptions about organizational migrants: The elitism typical of engineering schools reveals the social position of engineers, which was undeniably **above the means of the working class**. Even if they do not all come from the socially and economically privileged class, they represent, for the workers, the "*agent du patron*", the instrument by which employers pass on its orders. Social-economic attributes and technological environments analyses are embedded in national framework, and many studies investigated the role of the State in the configuration of the profession organization and training. Engineer's "national identities" have been compared and an effort towards transnational understanding have gradually asserted itself with research on the movement of engineers. The importance of **travelling** in the training of engineers and as an inseparable part of the exercise of their profession have been highlighted. Contact with the field, whether with a place's working force, machines or the different mining sites, **dictated their movement direction**. Epistemological considerations have suggested the study of the rationality of the engineer to establish the identity of this group, opening thus the way to studies on discourses and representations. The engineer is seen as the "**man of the middle**": he stands between national and

international, science and technology and between capital and labor. It supposes then that engineers do not join new communities while they migrate.

Such engineer portray fits the assumptions about organizational migrants: they are conceived as belonging to upper class, moving temporarily, lacking agency and not really joining new communities. It clarifies why they have not been considered as migrants. The conceptual key formulated by Lucassen and Smit bridges labor history and migration history in a more systematic way and shed light on the full potential of these fields combined. The thesis I will present is based on this concept and on the sources treated by the IMMIBEL project (Individual files of Sûreté Publique, Denizen and Naturalization Files). Together, they set the so-called "circulation of experts" in a broader perspective, opening up the possibility to grab the complexity of migration processes and labor relations.

Focusing on engineers' migratory behavior, the thesis reached three main dimensions: (a) the development of engineer's occupation in the private sector in Belgium; (b) the relationship of these foreigners with the Belgian state along the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and (c) judicial and administrative responses to breaches of the law committed by these foreign engineers in Belgium.

### ***The development of engineer's occupation in the private sector***

The IMMIBEL project carried out a digital transposition of the identification cards of the individual files created by the "Sûreté Publique". It allows the administrative identification of foreigners, whether by family name, place of birth, profession or institutional monitoring. The IMMIBEL general database, now integrated in the search engine of the Royal Archive of Belgium, enables the systematic identification of groups of foreigners listed by the Belgian administration in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and, above all, it simplifies the access to the individual files of these foreigners. From the IMMIBEL general database, I created another one: IMMing (Immigration Engineers). It contains information on foreigners who presented themselves as engineers to the Belgian authorities. Naturalization and denizen files complete this database. The information comes from a source directly related to immigration and not, as in traditional historiography, to engineering formal education or public institutions (engineer corpses). As a result, about 85% of the engineers from the database worked in the private sector. Not surprisingly, the majority of these engineers came from the neighboring countries, which the top 3 were France, Germany and Netherlands, respectively.

With regard to the places of origin, we observe a regional "deconcentration" over the years for the French engineers. In the "1st generation" (those born until 1840), births in the border region with Belgium and in the Paris area represented 55% of the total, leaving only 45% of births distributed in the rest of France; while for the "3rd generation" (°1860-1890), births observed were distributed in the rest of France at the rate of 75%, demonstrating a greater heterogeneity affecting the places of origin of French engineers. Contrary to the French case, a trend towards concentration was observed around certain large cities, such as Amsterdam, The Hague and Maastricht for Dutch engineers. The number of German engineers from the region along the Rhine was constant over the three generations, and the proximity with Belgium was more striking for those from the 1<sup>st</sup> generation. General results show the congruence between the birthplaces of a large part of the engineers in the sample and the coalfields of northwestern Europe (Nord-pas de Calais, Saar-Lorraine, Rhineland-Rhur). Engineers were linked to industrialization not only by their profession, but because most of them had the industrial basins as a familiar environment. Then, the study of their movement cannot be limited to the logic of rural-urban analysis because industrialization does not always coincide with

urbanization (see extractive industry). The same pattern is also observed along their career: foreign engineers concentrated in 23 Belgian municipalities of arrival, where they work mainly in the mining sector, sugar refinery or metallurgy. Nonetheless, Brussels had an important power of attraction: about 56% of foreign engineers were registered at least once in the capital. Like in Ghent, Brussels attracted many engineers working in the mechanical construction sector, but it also hosted those who were a company director or chief. Generally, engineers were quite mobile living in various Belgian cities and also showing circular and repeat migration patterns to other countries. 58% of French engineers resided in Paris before arrived in Belgium, which explains partly the density of movement between these two capitals, not reached by any other capital (nor Berlin, nor Amsterdam, nor Luxembourg city).

Regarding their social environment, family or friends' connections in Belgium were trackable on about 45% of the engineers under scoop. For some of them, it is possible to affirm that these connections were responsible for channeling information on work opportunities (more explicit in naturalization and denizen files), but further research would clarify the rate between formal and informal channels.

### ***The relationship of foreign engineers with the Belgian state along the 19<sup>th</sup> century***

The category of migrant is more a matter of social and political science than of law. The legal category is that of the "foreigner". The national state has given administrative identities to foreigners to classify them in order to implement a policy of foreigners. Although ascriptive, the administrative identity can change, not only because of changes in national legislation, but also because of changes in the migratory path of a foreigner. On the basis of this relationship, the thesis studied the environment of a foreign engineer at different stages of belonging to the Belgian state: those who applied for Belgian nationality through naturalization, those who applied for resident citizen status, and those who only applied for permission to stay in the country, whether for a long or a short term. As a nation-state, 19th century Belgium was in the process of development, as was its modern state apparatus. Many definitions, such as that of residence or even nationality, were unclear, leaving room for misunderstanding and discretion. The thesis shows to what extent such situation affected migratory path of foreign engineers.

### ***Judicial and administrative responses to breaches of the law committed by foreign engineers in Belgium.***

Foreign engineers generally had a good social reputation in Belgium. The existence of both renowned educational institutions related to engineering - such as the Polytechnique de Paris - and important professional associations gave reason for this reputation. The socio-economic position of a good number of engineers, both foreign and Belgian, also played an important role. Indeed, the Belgian business community in the 19th century was largely composed of engineers, who were at the same time industrialists and who associated themselves, either in business or through marriage alliances, with the local or international bourgeoisie. Moreover, among the administrators of the Sûreté Publique in Belgium between 1840 and 1914, two were sons of engineers. As a recognized social group, engineers had all the elements to be labeled as "desirable" foreigners. The systematic analysis of the individual files of foreigners opened by the Sûreté Publique, however, reveals the heterogeneity of this professional group, and exposes the situations in which engineers broke the law.



The analysis focusing on common law infringements leading to expulsion proceedings distinguishes between "false" engineers, i.e. those who declared themselves to be engineers to the administrative or judicial authorities in Belgium, and "real" engineers, those who used their profession and social status to voluntarily commit infringements of the law. The former, who were generally called "Chevalier d'industrie" (the irony cannot be denied), carried out their false identities through passport theft or by making forgeries. Some of them went so far as to naturalize as an American citizen, thus legally "confirming" his false identity and title. Other criminals categorically refused to give their true identity, even in prison, under the pretext of protecting the honor of his family. Photographs, an important measure to facilitate the identification of criminals, were taken with the inmate's permission, which could decline, at his own risk and peril, as this refusal weighed in his "moral accounting", i.e. in his prison administrative file in which was summarized all the information gathered about his background and conduct in prison. Poor moral accounting meant having less chance of having a remission of sentence or a pardon granted. Thus, we see another common practice among these criminals: communication with the Administrator of the "Sûreté Publique". Some criminal bargained for the remission of their sentence by proposing certain conditions that could be convenient for all concerned, even indicating in his communication a knowledge of an unofficial international police practice for the removal of undesirables. Other detainees asked the Administrator for certain favors, such as not being driven to the border by a cellular car or simply not being expelled from Belgium.

This communication with the Administrator was also found among "real" engineers, often convicted of fraud, forgery, breach of trust, embezzlement and fraudulent bankruptcy. Taking advantage of their corporate status and their knowledge of business, some engineers appropriated funds which were destined to pay for space at world exhibitions, embezzled banker's acceptances, and abused the trust of investors by forming companies that later declared bankruptcy. A distinction is also made between the reaction of the Sûreté Publique to fraudulent bankruptcy and legal bankruptcy.

The administrative and judicial responses to common crimes and misdemeanors explored in this thesis highlight not only police practices, which are moreover very little related to the study of the history of migration, but also the criminal practices of international offenders, other than vagrants and prostitutes. It points out certain limits to the control of foreigners established in Belgium since 1840, showing the breaches that professional offenders found in the surveillance policy attributed to Public Security. This approach, which contributes to the study of crime and immigration, also extends the understanding of the engineering profession in the 19th century, especially when it extends the analysis to all breaches of the law. We learn more about the civil and criminal liability of engineers, the various social circles with which they were in contact, the financial transactions with which they were associated, and the relationship between political activism and their ideology and worldview.

#### 4) Expelling Migrants

This subproject was carried out by postdoctoral researcher Torsten Feys at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. In the course of the project he published several articles in international journals, which lay the groundwork for a more comprehensive volume on Belgian expulsions that he is currently finalizing, and will probably be divided into two monographs. A short article was written for a French Journal to present the IMMIBEL project within the Belgian historiography on migration. More specifically regarding expulsion the writing has first addressed the policing of the border and surrounding countryside to control foreigners and expel unwanted migrants. It complements existing research that has focused on urban centers. Two published journal articles, one on the Belgian-Dutch border and another on the Franco-Belgian border detail how migrants were controlled at the border, how those who settled in border communities were monitored and how such communities functioned as expulsion gateways. The impact of the introduction of railroad infrastructure on migration policies is a focal point in both articles. It refutes the idea of open borders for human mobility during the greater part of the long nineteenth century and gives pioneering in-depth insights on how mobility policies were carried out in practice at European borders, both as gateways of entry and especially of exit/expulsion. Another article analyses how foreign mobility and immigration controls were conducted on the countryside contrasting it with existing research on urban centres. The latter showed that the local administrations enforced most of the guidelines of the Foreigners Police quite well. Based on the lack of law enforcers on countryside and the limited local administrators, scholars suggested that these were hardly imposed on the countryside. While acknowledging that the policies were not as thoroughly enforced in rural towns, the article nonetheless shows that local administrations and the gendarmerie jointly applied a less rigid system of control aimed less at preventing yet more at repressing foreign undesirables, especially towards vagrants. It deconstructs the notion that undesirables could easily roam the countryside and that since orders were given to control especially people unknown to law enforcers, foreigners were stigmatized as suspicious. Another article under revision looks at how foreigners were controlled in tourist resorts, especially in Ostend one of the most prominent seaside resorts, and how a special regime of control was tolerated in such resorts to allow tourism to flourish. The article also discusses how Ostend functioned as the main gateway to expel the unwanted to England. It sets a research agenda to uncover the historical roots of how migration policies affected the mobility of leisure and business travellers and vice versa.

These ideas are elaborated and connected to various other themes in a monograph which will probably entail two volumes titled *'No Country for Unwanted Migrants'* and divided in twelve chapters, of which the first three have been drafted and the others are in the process, but build upon the work and insights developed in the separate articles. The introduction places the research into migration history, police history, transport and mobility history and borderland studies. The first chapter uncovers how the Foreigners Police acquired its enormous discretionary powers over aliens and details how the legal and institutional framework consolidated the discrimination of foreigners over time thanks to the flexibility to expel the undesirables. The 1835 Foreign Resident law, the main piece of migration legislation of the long nineteenth century was better known as the expulsion law by legislators, already demonstrates the centrality of the expulsion within Belgium's migration policies. The legal framework remained very vague and ambiguous giving the Foreigners Police a lot of margin to enforce expulsion practices. Especially the lack of definition about residency status allowed the F.P. to usurp the law and strip nearly all foreigners in Belgium of any protection against

expulsion. Also, the institutional framework allowed the S.P. to acquire enormous leeway over the foreign population as parliament confirmed its power and practices on many occasions during parliamentary debates. They always obstructed the idea of involving the judiciary with the decisions to expel which left foreigners with little means to appeal their removal. Finally, also the structure of the police apparatus favoured a clear discriminative approach towards foreign migrants and therefore totally undermines the idea that Belgium, based on a progressive liberal constitution attributing equal rights to foreigners, was hospitable towards them during the nineteenth century and that discriminative policies only started after the First World War Against this broad framework the monitoring of foreigners and expulsion of undesirables in practice is detailed in various chapters.

The second chapter details how border controls of entry were conducted and draws from the two articles discussed above. The third chapter analyse how foreigners were registered upon arrival by local administrations and reported to the Foreigners Police (F.P.) in Belgian comparing cities with rural communities and making a distinction for the latter between border, industrial and agricultural communities, while at the same time discussing the differences between controlling migrants versus business and leisure travellers also based on the two articles discussed above. The fourth chapter looks how the antecedents of foreigners were checked in their country of origin or last foreign place of residence, highlighting that the circulation of information on these occurred much earlier than suggested and places international police cooperation, generally dated after the turn of the twentieth century into a whole new perspective. It details the preventive strategies of the Foreigners Police by expelling undesirables before they get a chance to commit a crime or disturb the public order. The fifth chapter analyses how the judiciary transferred the information on foreigners appearing before Belgian correctional courts and their role in prosecuting foreigners who returned after an expulsion by royal decree. Here also the role of prison wardens to transfer information on foreign inmates details how the information was channelled to the Foreigners Police allowing it to coordinate the expulsion of the undesirables. This chapter uncovers the repressive strategies applied to foreign criminals which together with the previous chapter reflects on how the F.P. managed foreign criminals. Chapter six looks how the F.P. also set moral standards by assessing how foreign courtesan women, prostitutes and all foreign facilitators involved in the prostitution business were treated shedding new light on how such came under increasing national and international pressure through time, leading to increased expulsions. Chapter seven assesses how the F.P. also set economic standards by expelling foreigners who lacked means of existence, in absolute numbers by far the largest category. Most of these fell under the ill-defined category of vagrants and research shed new light on who was considered as such depending on social networks, occupation, age, gender and especially the length of stay in Belgium. It shows that the latter played very little into the decision and that people staying for decades in the country before becoming a public charge were as easily expelled as recently arrived vagrants. Chapter eight discusses the humanitarian standards used by the F.P. in their decision to expel. It also looks at the agency of migrants to appeal the decisions to expel and to many ways evade controls of the F.P. altogether. This exposes the weaknesses and limits of the system to monitor foreigners which are already alluded to in previous and forthcoming chapters.

The last four chapters zoom in on the practices of expulsion themselves. Chapter 9 assess how people were escorted to the border from the interior and based on the theoretical framework of political scientists shows how technological and transport infrastructure is crucial for our understanding how migration policies are enforced. It details how the Belgian railroad network was

essential in developing a well-oiled system of expelling undesirable foreigners on a large scale to various nodal points of the transport networks. Chapter 10 assess the international and transnational dimensions of Belgium's expulsion regime looking to what extent this was influenced by principles of reciprocity, international agreements and national policies in neighbouring countries. The failure to reach international agreements and the relative absence of reciprocity in waging expulsion policies sheds new light on how migration policies became a bastion of national sovereignty, a tendency which has only intensified ever since. Chapter 11 compares how the viapolitics of the nineteenth century railroad system compare to expulsions carried out via maritime routes. This allows addressing the growing problems of expelling foreigners from overseas which gained importance toward the turn of the century, known as a period of accelerated globalization. It further highlights that principles of good neighbourship and international solidarity were hardly practiced. Chapter 12 finally looks at the greatest weakness of the expulsion regime, the high rates of recidivism by people returning after being removed from the country. It details how the expulsion regime adopted various strategies to tackle this problem without major success, as permeable borders remained the Achilles Heel of the F.P., yet at the same time it served to confirm its self-importance as it became ever more efficient in rapidly detecting recidivist and remove them multiple times.

The book gives insights in the top-down aims of migration policies pursued by the State and bottom-up perspectives of how the policies were enforced in practice, but also how these practices triggered new top-down policy guidelines. The individual files also give a bottom-up perspective of how migrants dealt with migration controls, from complying to evading their enforcement. It details the great variety of go-betweens that shaped the relations between the migrant and the State. The conclusion highlights the centrality of expulsion in migration policies of modern nation states and shows that foreigners have always been severely discriminated as they were stripped of any rights to protect them against expulsion independent of their length of residency and how well-established they were in Belgian society. Although Belgium embraced foreigners who contributed to the economy, had clean criminal records and did not pose a threat to the public order, they were never protected from becoming outcasts as soon as they fell without means or labelled as undesirables by the S.P. for facts or mere suspicions of criminal activities or being a threat to the public order. It denounces the discriminative fundamentals of migration policies of modern nation states which still dominate in the present-day system. This disposability of foreigners turned them into second-class citizens and stigmatized them as a threat, which contributed to viewing migration as a problem rather than a solution. Whatever was left of the image of Belgium as a liberal welcoming state towards migrants during the nineteenth century, no longer stands as conversely it is shown that Belgium was much rather a police state when it comes to monitoring and expelling aliens. Since the 1840s the F.P. developed a well-oiled parallel administrative system that gathered and processed large amounts of information which became more and more proficient because of the professionalization of police forces. Technological innovations, especially in transport and communication allowed the bureaucratic machine to conduct expulsions systematically on unprecedented scales turning Belgium into a deportation nation *avant la lettre*. The case study questions the assumption that modern types of migration controls, which included the systematic removal of unwanted, originated in major immigration countries in the 1880s to spread globally after WWI. It shows much rather that it is an inherent part of modern nation states.

## 5. DISSEMINATION AND VALORISATION

### 5.1) DATABASES, VADEMECUMS AND WEBSITES

The IMMIBEL project contributed to both a direct and future scientific valorisation of important 19th-century archival series in the State Archives. The integration of the databases of the foreigner's files index and the seaman's registry with the websites and search engines of the State Archives ([www.arch.be](http://www.arch.be)) and LOKSTAT ensure the accessibility of these data for the broader public, amateur historians and future research. In order to facilitate access to and use of the newly collected data, the State Archives edited **two research vademecums** concerning sources on migration and on sailors from the Belgian fleet respectively, co-ordinated by Sarah Heynssens, Filip Strubbe and Bart Willems. The State Archives regularly used its well-developed communication channels, to disseminate the project's results and the collected data to a large public, ranging from university departments to local genealogical circles, among other things by announcing activities and results on the website and in its newsletter.

### 5.2) MUSEUMS

Sarah Heynssens, Bart Willems and Filip Strubbe from the State Archives IMMIBEL-team collaborated with the Jewish Museum on the "Brussels: a safe haven?" **exposition** that runs from October 13<sup>th</sup> 2017 until March 18<sup>th</sup> 2018. The network partners in close collaboration with Mundaneum, the House of European History and the Red Star Line Museum representatives in the follow-up committee reflected on the translation of research results into possible exhibitions and other museal activities that will appeal to a broader public. Such contribution will further materialize when the research publications are finalized. Contacts with other museums have also been established, such as the Kazerne Dossin.

The close contacts with the Red Star Line Museum in Antwerp has led to their involvement as co-organiser of the Day of Belgian Migration History (see below) in Antwerp in 2019 (main organizer Hilde Greefs) which brought together museum directors of several Belgian museums (from Charleroi (Bois du Cazier), Brussels (Jewish museum and Faro), Ghent (STAM) and Antwerp (RSL) to discuss how migration history can be integrated in Belgian museums. Hilde Greefs was also invited by the Red Star Line museum as member of the advisory board for a European funded project 'Specially unknown' about migration patterns and life-stories of refugees in several European cities (2018-2019) and as expert in 2016 to discuss the future plans of the museum. Kristof Looockx also became appointed member of the organizing committee 'Vlootschouw van het maritieme verleden van de Lage Landen, organized by Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam.

### 5.3) TEACHING

Sarah Heynssens organized various seminars "Hoe schrijf ik een historische tekst. Vreemdelingendossiers als bron voor lokale geschiedenis" with Heemkunde Vlaanderen, Stads- and Rijksarchief Leuven. The course was given in four classes (November and December 2016) to local historians who learned about the foreigner's files and how they can be linked to local migration history. Kristof Looockx used his expertise developed in the IMMIBEL projects in his teaching of

Teaching of a Bachelor thesis seminar (2017-2018) at the University of Antwerp on migration to, from and within Belgium during the long nineteenth century, together with Thomas Verbruggen of the University of Antwerp and under the supervision of Hilde Greefs. He also taught a module in the Master thesis course (2018-2019) at the University of Antwerp on Prosopography and Network Analysis (4 hours), together with Thomas Verbruggen of the University of Antwerp. The course is part of Historical Workshop, a course which prepares students to write a masterthesis and focuses on methodology. He also acted as member of the reading committee of Bachelor and Master theses at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. Torsten Feys supervised several thesis students on topics related to the IMMIBEL project and using sources of the foreigner's police resulted in Master theses on immigration to Belgium during the Franco-Prussian war, Belgian expulsion practices of gypsies, maritime expulsions from Belgium to England and on extraditions. The research helped screening some of the files of the Foreigners Police and provided several insights which were integrated in the research of the IMMIBEL project. During the academic years 2017-2018 and 2018-2019 Torsten Feys also hosted a master seminar 'Migration History' for ULB and VUB students focusing on 19th and 20th century migration in the Atlantic World. One class also zoomed in on the Belgian case based on IMMIBEL research. He also contributed to a Master class in Methods and Sources in Economic and Social History "Transport companies and migration through the individual files of deportees" March 2016-2018, Leiden University.

Hilde Greefs supervised many master theses on topics related to the IMMIBEL-project and using sources such as sources of the foreigners' police, foreigners' files and the seamen's registry, which resulted in several master thesis of which some are prepared for publication as an article among which research on seamen working on Belgian ships in the first half of the twentieth century of which many labourers of Chinese and African descent; research on the population in sailortown in Antwerp, such as prostitutes, boarding house keepers; the migration of young women to Belgium and the organisation of the labour market for foreign domestic servants. She also co-ordinated and supervised a Bachelor thesis seminar (2017-2018) at the University of Antwerp on Migration to, from and within Belgium during the long nineteenth century, together with PhD-students Thomas Verbruggen and Kristof Loockx. The teaching of a master course 'Migration history', offered as an elective course for master students in history at the University of Antwerp and for the inter-university master 'Gender and Diversity' (coordinated by the University of Ghent), 2017-2018 and 2019-2020, which focuses on migration theory and history in a long-term perspective (from 1500 to 2000). The teaching of a module (3 hours) in the interdisciplinary Bachelor course 'Interdisciplinary perspectives on migration and integration' at the University of Antwerp, yearly from 2014 onwards. Participation and teaching of a module (3 hours) in the summerschool Migration and Diversity organised at the University of Antwerp, yearly from 2016 onwards.

Anne Winter likewise supervised several bachelor and master theses on IMMIBEL-related subjects and making use of the sources produced by the FP, including on international extraditions, vagrancy and international migration to Brussels and Mechelen in the nineteenth century. The context of international migration to Belgium also figures prominently in her teaching on social and economic history (BA) and Urban History (MA) at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel. In addition, plans have been submitted to include a separate course on Migration History for MA students from 2021-2022 onwards.

#### **5.4) BELGIAN MIGRATION HISTORY FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS (BELMIHIS)**

The IMMIBEL team also entered a successful project proposal for the valorisation actions of Brain.be projects. With BELMIHIS we aim to develop a digital educational tool for secondary teachers introducing key concepts and models of migration studies in historical perspective. With the expertise gained during the IMMIBEL project we can link the macro-level perspectives on migration history, focusing particularly on structural push- and pull-factors, to meso and micro level examples, emphasizing information channels and networks and the individual level, resulting from the IMMIBEL project. By doing so we simultaneously bring in the agency and the perspective of common people and individuals in history education, which now often solely focuses on the macro-history from a structural perspective. The key archival source used in the project, the individual files of foreign migrants in Belgium, is exceptionally suited to acquaint students with migration history via an accessible, hands-on and personal approach. This bottom-up perspective of individual migrants and their life stories from the files allows to captivate students with concrete examples. These illustrations allow secondary teachers to link individual life stories and migration trajectories to key concepts of migration studies and relate them to broader trends over time, such as globalization, the rise of modern nation states, nationalism, racism, multiculturalism, superdiversity, etc. During this start-up project we intend to develop the lesson series, the support material and digital resources, next to questions and task to fulfil the learning objectives. This will allow teachers to better connect to curricular requirements (in both Flemish and francophone history education), stating that attention must be paid to migrations in the past, and that connections must be sought with (conceptual frameworks within) the academic discipline of history.

#### **5.5) POLICY MAKERS**

Torsten Feys participated a workshop meeting (November 13 2017) organized by Amsab-ISG and Faro on Migration cultural patrimony. It was organized following the initiative of the Flemish Minister of Culture Sven Gatz to ingrate migration cultural patrimony more structurally in cultural policy. The workshop debate on how to give input on how to structurally integrate migration patrimony in cultural policies. Also, after the final publications of the monographs further reflections on the possible contributions of our research to current policy problems and concerns, and enhance awareness of the great value of archival documents for future research will be discussed with current Belgian Immigration Office – the successor of the *Sûreté Publique*. This was spurred by involving a representative of the current Belgian Immigration Office in the follow-up committee. The theme of the 2020 Day of Migration History (see below) focusing on migration history and law and which will lead to a special issue in *Cahiers du Centre des Recherches en Histoire du Droit et des Institutions et de la Société* will be used as a platform to present the findings to policymakers.

#### **5.6) DAY OF BELGIAN MIGRATION HISTORY**

The IMMIBEL team was involved in the organization of a session on Belgian migration historiography at the Dag van de Nieuwste Geschiedenis (Brussels 2016) with prominent Belgian migration historians, where the idea to launch the Belgian Network of Migration Historians was launched. IMMIBEL members took the initiative to organize the very first Day of Belgian Migration History (Brussels, September 23rd 2017) with a broader inter-university team of migration historians and IMMIBEL members Torsten Feys and Anne Winter as local organizers. The event created a platform

where research on Belgian migration history is valorized in its own right. We brought together people (academics, amateur historians, students, archivists, teachers, museum workers and education specialists) working on migration history to, from and within Belgium together to connect and increase the visibility of their research to a broader public. It included poster sessions, project presentations and a roundtable. With 53 participants the successful event was the start of an annual occurrence. The 2nd Day of Belgian Migration History (Leuven, October 6 2018) was organized by the same inter-university committee with colleagues from KU Leuven and the KADOC as local organizers. Bringing together again people working on migration history to, from and within Belgium together to connect and increase the visibility of their research to a broader public. It included poster sessions, project presentations and a roundtable focussing on the valorization of migration history in secondary schools. With well over 50 participants the successful event was followed up by a third edition at the Universiteit Antwerpen (October 2<sup>nd</sup> 2019) organized by Hilde Greefs using the same format where, next to project presentations and a poster session, a roundtable focussing on migration history in museums was organised. In 2020 the day was to be organized by colleagues of the Université Libre de Bruxelles on September 23<sup>rd</sup> around the theme migration history and law, but unfortunately the corona context has implied that this had to be postponed. AMSAB has already volunteered to organize the event in Ghent in 2021 securing the continuation of the event beyond the IMMIBEL-project.

### **5.7) CONFERENCE PARTICIPATION AND PUBLIC LECTURES**

As a closing event for the publicizing of the research results of the IMMIBEL project to academic peers, the IMMIBEL team was organizing a closing summarizing session at the international biannual European Social Science Conference (ESSHC) in 2020 with all the team members. While the ESSHC 2020 was due to take place in March 2020 in Leiden, this has been postponed to 2021 due to the Covid-19 measures. Intermediary and final results have and will be further disseminated to a broader public during the Annual Days of Belgian Migration History which IMMIBEL initiated (supra) aimed at the general public and policymakers, focused on connecting research results from the project. Throughout, individual team members have participated in various national and international conferences to present intermediary and final research findings.

An overview of all conference papers, seminar participation and public lectures:

Hilde Greefs & Kristof Loockx, Organization of the session 'Living and Working in a Bustling District near the Port: the Diversity of Sailortowns around the World I' (in two different parts), European Social Science History Conference Leiden (postponed to March 2021)

Anne Winter, Organization of the session "IMMIBEL: Research results on 19th-century foreign migration to Belgium", European Social Science History Conference Leiden (postponed to March 2021)

Kristof Loockx, "Seafarers on ocean liners during the transition from sail to steam: evidence from Belgium, 1850-1900", International Congress of Maritime History (IMHA) (Porto, July 2020) (postponed to 2021)



Kristof Loockx, "Migration trajectories of seafarers during the second half of the nineteenth century: evidence from Antwerp", European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC) (Leiden, March 2020) (postponed to 2021)

Torsten Feys, "*Van koningin der badplaatsen tot uitwijzingspoort: De controle en uitwijzing van vreemdelingen te Oostende 1830-1914.*" (Camelot, Ostend, May 9 2020, postponed)

Kristof Loockx, Roundtable discussion, Vlootshouw van het maritieme verleden van de Lage Landen, Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam (Amsterdam, 18 January 2020)

Natalia Da Silva, Leiden, European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC), March 2020 - postponed to 2021. Paper presentation: "Circulating without migrating? Depicting foreign engineers as migrants in 19<sup>th</sup> century Belgium".

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Migration, mobility and demographic change in Belgian cities, 1846-1910', 'Lives on the Move: Migration Crises in the Past, Lessons for Today', *10th Day of Historical Demography*, Nijmegen, 29 November 2019.

Torsten Feys & Kristof Loockx, "Controlling international mobility and migration in the port of Antwerp (1830-1914): the case of seafarers as 'mobiligrants'", International Conference of Transport, Traffic and Mobility (T<sup>2</sup>M) (16-19 October 2019)

Organisation by Hilde Greefs, Geert Castryck and Johan Lagae of the conference 'Navigating Urban Citizenship. Claiming Access to Urban Space, Community, and Collectivity in a Global and Long-Term Perspective (18th to 20th centuries)', Leipzig University, 9-10 October 2019.

Organisation by Hilde Greefs and Bram Beelaert (Red Star Line Museum Antwerp) of the Day of Belgian Migration History, Antwerp, 2 October 2019.

Kristof Loockx, "From sail to steam: labour composition, wage distribution and career perspectives on Belgian merchant vessels, 1850-1900", European Labour History Network (ELHN) (Amsterdam, 19-21 September 2019)

Natalia Da Silva, Oxford, Oxford University (History Faculty), 14-15 June 2019: Doctoral workshop. Paper presentation: "Foreign engineers in 19<sup>th</sup> century Belgium"

Kristof Loockx, "'Each task has its man and each man his place': labour composition and wage distribution on Belgian merchant vessels, 1850-1900", Annual Posthumus Conference (Ghent, 28-29 May 2019)

Torsten Feys, Viapolitics of 19<sup>th</sup>C mass migration: the impact of transport innovations on migration governance. 'Brussels Interdisciplinary Research centre on Migration and Minorities' May 2019

Torsten Feys, 'From Queen of Seaside Resorts to Expulsion Corridor: Monitoring the Entry, Stay and Expulsion of Foreigners in and through Ostend (1838-1914)', V International Conference of Atlantic Ports (Ostend, Vlaamse Instituut voor de Zee, 2019)

Kristof Loockx, "Migration trajectories of two generations of seafarers in the port of Antwerp (1850-1914)", International Colloquium of the Governance of the Atlantic Ports (XIV<sup>th</sup>-XXI<sup>st</sup> centuries) (Ostend, 24-26 April 2019)

Torsten Feys, "Gastvrij België? Het uitwijzingsbeleid tussen 1830 en 1914" At the inauguration of the local 11.11.11 campaign, Vorseelaar, November 9 2018)

Torsten Feys, Fourth meeting of the MENEPOLHIS Network, "Policing with images, images of policing" (Gent, October 19 2018).

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'The geography of arrival. Places of arrival and spatial settlement patterns of foreign newcomers in Antwerp during the second half of the nineteenth century', in 'Beyond City Gates. Spaces of Arrival and Transit for Migrants in European Cities, 1500-2000', *European Association for Urban History*, Rome, 29 August 2018.

Organisation by Isabelle Devos, Hilde Greefs and Thomas Verbruggen of the session 'Beyond the family. Personal and organisational network of migrant women moving to the city, from 1600 to present', *European Association for Urban History*, Rome, 29 August 2018.

Manon Van der Heijden (University of Leiden) & Anne Winter, Organization of Session M12 Immigrants, the Police and the Courts in Urban Europe, 16th-20th Centuries at the XIVth International Conference on Urban History, Rome, 29/08-01/09/2018.

Kristof Loockx, "Migration, maritime labour and family: the life of Carel Hendrik Bloebaum, 1848-1916", European Business History Association (EBHA) (Ancona, September 6-8, 2018)

Kristof Loockx, "Maritime wages in the port of Antwerp, 1850-1914", International Conference of the European Association for Urban History (EAUH) (Rome, August 29 – September 1, 2018)

Torsten Feys, "Hit the road Jean and don't you come back no more: repeat expulsions from Belgium 1860-1914", Urban History Association Conference". Session Immigrants, the Police and the Courts in Urban Europe, 16th-20th Centuries (Rome, August 28-31 2018)

Kristof Loockx, "From sail to steam: labour composition and wage distribution on Belgian merchant vessels, 1850-1900" World Economic History Conference (WEHC) (Boston, July 29 – August 3, 2018)

Torsten Feys, "Expelling unwanted migrants and border management: the perspective of Belgian overland and maritime expulsion hubs (1830-1914)" Conference of Borderland Studies Association (Vienna and Budapest, July 10-14th 2018)

Kristof Loockx, "Tussen globaal en lokaal : twee generaties zeevaarders in de haven van Antwerpen (1850-1914)", Presentations PhD-projects University of Antwerp (Antwerp, 12 Juni 2018).

Anne Winter, Mobilities in History summer school, University of Amsterdam, 08/06/2018

Anne Winter, Paper, Workshop 'Contested Borders? Practicing Empire, Nation and Region in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', German Historical Institute London, 26-28/04/2018

"Torsten Feys, We helpen je van deur tot deur en houden deze ook wagenwijd open! De rol van rederijen in trans-Atlantische migratie" (Linschoten Vereeniging, Antwerpen, 26 5 2018)

Kristof Loockx, "Tussen globaal en lokaal : zeevaarders in de haven van Antwerpen 1850-1914", IMMIBEL Valorisation Day (Brussels, 14 May 2018)

Natalia Da Silva, Antwerp, Antwerp University, 24 April 2018: Masterclass with prof. dr. Colin Pooley. "Migratory careers of foreign engineers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Belgium"

Kristof Loockx, "Migration trajectories of seafarers: evidence from Antwerp (1850-1914)", Masterclass with prof. dr. Colin Pooley (24 April 2018)

Kristof Loockx & Thomas Verbruggen, Organization of the seminar and masterclass with prof. dr. Colin Pooley (Lancaster University) (Antwerp, 23-24 April 2018)

Organization by Hilde Greefs of the session 'Migrant labour for the port. Recruitment areas of port cities in a comparative perspective (1700-1900)', *European Social Science History Conference*, Belfast, 4-7 April 2018.

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Trajectories and flows during the 'mobility transition'. Spatial recruitment patterns of foreign newcomers to Antwerp, 1850-1880', in session 'Migrant labour for the port. Recruitment areas of port cities in a comparative perspective (1700-1900)', *European Social Science History Conference*, Belfast, 4-7 April 2018.

Kristof Loockx, "Migration and employment: foreign seamen in the port of Antwerp (1850-1914)", *European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC)* (Belfast, 4-7 April 2018).

Torsten Feys, "How to boot out undesired immigrants? State practices of monitoring and expelling foreigners during the 19th century" organizer of the session with paper presentation "Kicking out the unwanted through the door of their choosing: Belgian expulsion practices during the long 19th century" *European Social Science Association Conference* (Belfast April 4-7, 2018)

Torsten Feys, Centre d'Étude de la Police, Journée d'étude Identité(s), techniques d'identification, contrôles d'identité (Bruxelles, Mars 13 2018).

Torsten Feys, "Éloigner les étrangers au XIX e siècle. Expulsions, relégations, déportations" Conference Asil-Europe project with paper "Bonne chance chez nos amis français! Les pratiques d'expulsions belges vers la France 1850-1914." (Paris, 19-20, January, 2018)

Organisation by Hilde Greefs of the session 'Urban citizenship and Migration', *Workshop WOG II Urban Agency*, Antwerp 14-15 December 2017.

Kristof Loockx, "Migration Trajectories of Seafarers: Evidence from Antwerp, 1850-1914", *Port Cities and Migration in the Modern Era* conference, panel Migrants' Trajectories (Gothenburg, 24 November 2017)

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Port cities as Nodes in Migration Trajectories: Spatial Recruitment Patterns of Foreign Newcomers to Antwerp, 1850-1880'. Conference: *Port Cities and Migration in the Modern Era, Gothenburg* (Centre for European Research), organized by Christina Reimann, 23 and 24 November 2017.

Kristof Loockx, "Between Local and Global: Two Generations of Seafarers in the Port of Antwerp during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century", N.W. Posthumus Institute Seminar III (Cracow, 7 November 2017)

Kristof Loockx, "A Time of Transition: Foreign Seamen on Belgian Ships in the Port of Antwerp, 1850-1914", European Labour History Network conference, Maritime Labour History Working group, session Seafaring in Long Term Perspective (Paris, 3 November 2017)

Hilde Greefs, Member of Discussion Panel 'Centre of Migration and Intercultural Studies'-Celebration for 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary (University of Antwerp, 26 October 2017).

Kristof Loockx, "Tussen Lokaal en Globaal: Twee Generaties Zeevaarders in de Haven van Antwerpen, 1850-1914", Dag van de Migratiegeschiedenis (Brussels, 23 September 2017)

Organisation by Hilde Greefs and Paul Puschmann of the session 'Migration, settlement patterns and social inclusion from the 19th century to today', *European Society of Historical Demography*, University of Leuven, 22 September 2016.

Hilde Greefs, 'General concluding remarks', Conference 'Exil, genre et famille au XIXe siècle. AsileuropeXIX', University of Reims, 5-7 September 2019.

Torsten Feys, Organization and participation of workshop "Spacing police, policing space" (Third meeting of the MENEPOLHIS Network) Gent, May 22 2017. Paper "Kicking out the unwanted through the door of their choosing: Belgian expulsion practices at the border during the long 19th century"

Natalia Da Silva, São Paulo, Universidade de São Paulo, (Brazil), 10-12 April 2017: Doctoral workshop. (Crises: uma perspectiva multidisciplinar). Paper presentation: "Skilled migrants in 19th century Belgium: Interplay between crisis and innovation"

Kristof Loockx, "Migration, Employment and Life: Seamen on Belgian ships in the Port of Antwerp, 1850-1914", N.W. Posthumus Seminar II (Groningen, 7 April 2017)

Torsten Feys, "Essen als uitwijzingspoort naar Nederland: Het Belgische uitwijzingsbeleid tussen 1830 en 1920" (Mastboomlezing, Essen, March 30 2017).

Torsten Feys, "The illusion of control? Monitoring foreigners and expelling the unwanted from Belgium (1830s-1920s)" Workshop Global History, Digital Collaboration, and the History of Trafficking (Cambridge, February 24-25 2017)

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Trajectories and flows during the 'mobility transition'. Spatial recruitment and settlement patterns of foreign newcomers, 1850-1880', in: *Research seminar on Migration* organized by the IASR (Institute of Advanced Social Research, Tampere, Finland) and by Department of History of the University of Antwerp. Antwerp, 8 February 2017.

Kristof Loockx, "Buitenlandse Zeelui op Belgische Schepen in de Haven van Antwerpen, 1850-1914", meeting FelixArchief Antwerp (Antwerp, 26 January 2017)

Kristof Loockx, "Foreign seamen on the Belgian maritime labour market (1840-1890)", N.W. Posthumus Seminar I (December 2016, Brussels)

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'The geography of arrival: Spatial settlement patterns of foreign newcomers in Antwerp during the second half of the nineteenth century', in: Session: 'Migration,

settlement patterns and social inclusion from the 19th century to today, European', *European Society of Historical Demography*, Leuven, 22 September 2016.

Torsten Feys, 'A cat-and-mouse game: Expellees and expulsion practices in Belgium during the nineteenth century' International workshop on Roma and Cross-Border Migration in Europe Thursday (Oslo, September 2016)

Anne Winter & Hilde Greefs, 'Trajectories and flows during the 'mobility transition': Spatial recruitment patterns of foreign newcomers to Antwerp, 1850-1880', in *Spatial Humanities Conference*, University of Lancaster, 15-16 September 2016.

Organisation by Hilde Greefs and Anne Winter of the main session: 'Out! Expulsions and removals from urban communities, from the Middle Ages to the present', *European Association for Urban History Conference*, Helsinki, 24-27 August 2016.

Torsten Feys, NGO's & Migration Management International Conference (Leiden, August 2016)

Sarah Heynssens, Workshop Migrant (r)e-collections, (August 2016, Leiden) organized by the Huygens Institute which focused on the development of modern research infrastructures to internationally share and link data on migrants.

Torsten Feys, 'A cat-and-mouse game with urban dimensions? A micro perspective on Belgian expulsion practices during the nineteenth century' XII Urban History Conference (Helsinki August 2016)

Sarah Heynssens, Brainmarket/ Wetenschappelijke Lente, (June 2016, Brussels) with presentations of ongoing research at the State Archives and a Brain-Market where the different Brain-projects related to the State Archives were presented during a poster session.

Natalia Da Silva, Mons, Mundaneum, 1 June 2016: Doctoral workshop (Tracing mobilities and socio-political activism), with paper: "Scientific culture and political activism: Foreign engineers in Belgium and their impact on the circulation of political ideas in the second half of the 19th century."

Torsten Feys, XI European Social Science History Conference (Valencia, March 2016)

Hilde Greefs & Thomas Verbruggen, 'Gender and Migration from a Historical Perspective. Women as 'agents of change' in the democratisation of long-distance migration to Antwerp during the nineteenth century', *IMISCOE-conference Gender and Migration: a dynamic and reciprocal relationship*, Lisbon, 10-11 March 2016.

Torsten Feys, '1re Guerre mondiale et migrations' (Lille, February 2016)

Hilde Greefs, *Migratie naar Antwerpen en de vorming van een Duitse kolonie tijdens de negentiende eeuw*, EGA-time Antwerpen, 5 January 2016

Torsten Feys, You can go your own way: Expellees and expulsion practices in Belgium during the nineteenth century' XLI Annual meeting of Social Science History Association (Chicago 2016)

'Torsten Feys, L'impact des réseaux de transport sur les mouvements transfrontaliers illégaux 1880-1920' Workshop on Fraude et inégalité en situation transfrontalière (Lille, November 2015)

Torsten Feys, Menepolhis workshops (Lille, November 2016, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2018) Menepolhis offers a platform to test findings on the efforts of monitoring aliens and expulsion practices to French and Belgian specialists on the History of Policing.

Sarah Heynssens, Participation at two workshops of the FARO-formation "Crossmediale Publiekswerking Hands-on" (Digital Storytelling and showing collections online) which are useful for the creation of media to promote the project and the use of foreigners files of which the possibilities are explored with our partners Mundaneum, Red Star Line Museum and the House of European History.

## 6. PUBLICATIONS

### Peer-reviewed

Sarah Heynssens, De IMMIBEL database, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, (submitted 2019)

Torsten Feys 'Uit de greep van de centrale macht? De controle en uitwijzing van vreemdelingen op het Belgische platteland 1830-1914' *Cahiers du Groupe d'Études sur les Politiques de Sécurité*, (accepted, forthcoming 2020).

Torsten Feys 'From Queen of Seaside Resorts to Expulsion Corridor: Monitoring the Entry, Stay and Expulsion of Foreigners in and through Ostend (1838-1914),' *Journal of Tourism History* (submitted November 2019, under review)

Natalia da Silva Pereira, "Des étrangers modèles ? Les réponses judiciaires et administratives aux infractions de droit commun commises par des (ou des soi-disant) ingénieurs étrangers dans la Belgique du XIXe siècle", *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés*, (submitted 2020, under review).

Kristof Loockx "Each Task Has Its Man, and Each Man His Place: Labour Composition and Wage Distribution on Belgian Merchant Vessels, 1850-1900", *Economic History Review* (submitted 2019, under review)

Kristof Loockx, "Migration trajectories of seafarers during the transition from sail to steam: evidence from Antwerp, c.1850-1900", *The International Journal of Maritime History* (submitted 2019, under review)

Ellen Debackere & Anne Winter, 'Non-Nationals between Belonging and Removal: Urban Practices of Foreigners' Policies, Antwerp c. 1830-1880', in: Levke Harders & Falko Schnicke (eds), *Practising Borders: Belonging to Empires, Nations, and Regions in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (accepted)

Kristof Loockx "Migration, Maritime Labor, and Family: The Life Course of Carel Henrik Bloebaum, 1848-1916" in : Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman, *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, c. 1570-1940* (Routledge, Routledge Advances in urban history), 2020 (in press).

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Foreign female sex workers in an Atlantic port city: Elite prostitution in late nineteenth-century Antwerp', in: Christina Reimann and Martin Öhman, *Migrants and the Making of the Urban-Maritime World: Agency and Mobility in Port Cities, c. 1570-1940* (Routledge, Routledge Advances in Urban History 8), 2020 (in press).

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Cities in Motion. Mobility, Migration Selectivity and Demographic Change in Belgian Cities, 1846-1910', in: Bruno Blondé et al. ed., *Inequality and the City in the Low Countries (1200-2020)* Studies in European Urban History (1100-1800) 50 (Turnhout: Brepols 2020), in press.

Nick Deschacht & Anne Winter, 'Micro-Mobility in Flux: Municipal Migration Levels in the Provinces of Flanders and Antwerp, 1796-1846', *Journal of Migration History* 5/1 (2019), pp. 1-30. DOI: [10.1163/23519924-00501005](https://doi.org/10.1163/23519924-00501005)

Torsten Feys 'The control of human mobility at the Franco-Belgian border after the inauguration of international railroad lines,' *Diasporas*, 33:1 (2019) 35-54.

Torsten Feys 'Riding the rails of removal: the impact of railroads on border controls and expulsion practices,' *Journal of Transport History*, 40:2 (2019) 189-210.

Torsten Feys 'Refugees as a Business Opportunity: Transatlantic shipping companies and refugee transport during the First World War,' *Journal of Migration History*, 5:2 (2019) 248-276.

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Introduction', in: Idem (ed.), *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification. Papers and Gates, 1500-1930s*, New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 3-23.

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter (eds), *Migration Policies and Materialities of Identification in European Cities: Papers and Gates, 1500-1930s*, New York: Routledge, 2018, 320 pp.

Per-Kristian Sebak & Torsten Feys 'America's first 'Refugee' Crisis': the repatriation of stranded Americans from Europe at the outbreak of the First World War,' *Journal of Tourism History*, 10:3 (2018) 225-246.

Thomas Verbruggen & Hilde Greefs, 'Foreign domestic servants in Antwerp: a comparative regional approach on female migration trajectories to nineteenth-century European cities', in Timmerman, C. (ed.), *Gender and Migration: a gender-sensitive approach to migration dynamics*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018, pp. 173-194.

Hilde Greefs & Anne Winter, 'Alone and Far from Home. Gender and Migration Trajectories of Single Foreign Newcomers to Antwerp, 1850-1880', *Journal of Urban History*, 2016/1, p. 61-80.

Hilde Greefs, 'Clubs as vehicles for inclusion in the urban fabric? Immigrants and elitist associational practices in Antwerp, 1795-1830', *Social History*, 41:4 (2016) 375-395.

### **Other publications**

Bart Willems, Sarah Heynssens & Filip Strubbe, *Jalons de recherche. Histoires de la migration 1830-1960*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, 2020, 33p.

Torsten Feys, 'De British Queen in Belgische dienst: de ontwikkeling van Antwerpen als trans-Atlantische migratiehaven' in: Marnix Beyen, et al. (eds) *Wereldgeschiedenis van Vlaanderen* (Kalmthout: Polis, 2018) 290-96.

Torsten Feys 'IMMIBEL: L'immigration en Belgique au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue d'histoire du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 57:2, 2018. 126-128.

Sarah Heynssens, IMMIBEL: Migratie en mobiliteit in het negentiende-eeuwse België, in *Science Connection*, nr. 56, 2018, pp. 45-47.



Bart Willems "Bronnen over zeelui van de koopvaardij. Uit de collectie van het Rijksarchief Antwerpen-Beveren (negentiende en twintigste eeuw)" in, *Tijd-Schrift. Heemkunde en lokaal-erfgoedpraktijk in Vlaanderen*, jg. 8, nr. 1, 2018, pp.88-95.

Kristof Loockx, "Port Cities and Migration in the Modern Era", conference review, H-Soz-Kult: Kommunikation und Fachinformation für die Geschichtswissenschaften, January 2018 (<https://www.hsozkult.de/>).

Anne Winter, 'Migratie maakt de stad. Een historisch perspectief op stad en migratie', in: Pieter Ballon, Cathy Macharis en Michael Ryckewaert (eds.), *De humane stad*, Brussel: Politeia, 2017, pp. 159-175

Sarah Heynssens, 'Vreemdelingendossiers als bron voor lokale geschiedenis', in: *Bladwijzer*, nr. 19, april 2017, pp. 9-18.

Bart Willems, Sarah Heynssens & Filip Strubbe, *Zoekwijzers. Migratiegeschiedenis 1830-1960*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, 2017, 33p.

Bart Willems & Sarah Heynssens, *Jalons de recherche. La marine marchande belge 1830-1980*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, 2017, 29p.

Bart Willems & Sarah Heynssens, *Zoekwijzers. Belgische Koopvaardij 1830-1980*, Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussel, 2016, 25p.

Sarah Heynssens, Website: [www.immibel.arch.be](http://www.immibel.arch.be)

## 7. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*List of the members of the follow-up committee:*

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