

Migration as the Way of Contacting Slovakia with the World

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Territorial connections of the Slovak territory with different European countries and areas of other continents which are in this case observed through the migration movement of the population have deep historical roots. They are the starting point of different forms of migration -s whether those related to the settlement processes, emigration or migrations related to performance of some jobs or occasional migrations based on usual organisation of the economic process and the like.

When differentiating the main migration streams in relation to Slovakia (emigration as well as immigration ones), which enabled the connection of the observed territory with other countries it is necessary to pay attention to one interesting fact which to some extent determines the intensity and character of the confrontation of the migrating population. It is represented by the direction of the main migrating streams with regard to the territory observed and its changes in the course of history. Expressed more precisely, while up to the 17th century, mainly because of the settlement processes, the immigration of the population to Slovakia prevailed, since that time the migration has been changing in favour of emigration. This fact, being determined by the migration activity, profiles and makes the emigration place in relation to the surrounding and far-situated foreign environment more precise. But this does not mean that thus the quantification aspect in meaningful and qualitative levels is being somehow overestimated and is being ascribed significant and determining importance in the total migration. The evaluating attitudes towards migration are differentiated and oriented according to the field of the problem observed – may it be limited by the cultural, economic, social or demographic view, the qualification criterion of the migration represents one of the important starting base data.

In connection with the intensity rate of migration to foreign countries we cannot, however, neglect the fact that it is generally considered to be one of the greatest demographic and social events in the historical development of Slovakia.

In this case it is not our intention to observe the total cultural, social and economic positions of the whole total of migration streams in the Slovakia's relation to foreign territories. We are concentrating on one of its types in demography, geography and sociology named the temporary migration. The temporary migration which can be differentiated according to the criteria accepted has one common factor – it is the backcoming of the migrant to his

original living place regardless the time of his stay in a foreign country or his repeated stays there. What is the importance of separation of the temporary migration in? When seeking the answer to this question we come out of the always existing connection of the migrating population with the original territory and so out of the presumption of creating a base for infiltration of new phenomena into the original environment. The problem thus formulated requires one of basic ways which means following simultaneously the basic formal development and functional indicators of the facts connected with migrant's leaving or staying in his own original territory, as well as that sphere of phenomena which can be seen as a back-reflecting of their "outer" contacts and activities in the domestic environment, in the system of folk culture and way of life of the population.

In the historical development of Slovakia a wide register of connection of the population with the surrounding world on the basis of temporary migration has been formed. They have existed in relation to more phenomena which as an independent specific problem have a special place in the sphere of scientific research. We can say that the Ethnographic Atlas includes the most significant problems which played an important role in the development of folk culture up to the half of the 20 century. The ethnographic picture of different thematic branches is differentiated by the graphical depiction and at the same time by the starting base material which form their contextual basis.

Emigration to overseas and European countries taking place in a mass extent from the 70's of the 19th century to the 30's of the 20th century is expressed in its statistical form in the number of the migrants in different countries of the world. It's one of those cases when the statistical data were used as the basis for graphical processing.¹ On the other side the cartograms showing the migration of seasonal agricultural workers, more precisely their starting and ending working territories reflect the situation at the end of the 19th century and in the 1st half of the 20th century as it was reached in the terrain atlas searching.² And finally, the space illustration of migration of folk merchants follows the pattern given by the processing of particular scientific literature.³

It is evident that the territorial ties among the countries caused by migration cannot be understood only on the basis of stating the starting and concentration territories, i.e. in the form they are processed cartographically. The migration itself is a far more complicated problem which cannot be limited only to the depicting the movement of the population in a geographical area. The total of social, economic and cultural indicators which make the picture of the problem observed complete is made by: by reasons of the rise, i.e. the motivation of the migration and its organisational forms, settlement, profession and demographic characteristics of the migrants, their living conditions and to them related way of life and their culture.

But let us concentrate upon the real data to make roughly some of the occurred groups of problems clear. The migration of Slovakia was starting on the background of wider socio-economic and last but not least also political reality. The immediate impulse of migration was in the existential problems of a particular part of the population. The characterization of the work migration, typical for Slovakia still in the 1st half of the 20th century mainly in traditional profession forms and emigration, by means of analysis of economic situation, is used in particular ethnographic works.⁴ It concerns the economic development complicated from several aspects, whether thematic, regional, but also with regard to the time span of several centuries bound up with the existence of migration. The heterogeneity and extensity of particular indicators, which are the most frequented in scientific views, can be summarized into several facts. In this short formulation Slovakia seems to be a country for which agriculture was typical in a given period, if we take into consideration the indicator of the number of the population belonging to this economic branch.⁵ But there are also other data which are characteristic for Slovakia – in agriculture there was a high differentiation of keeping the soil, given by representation of particular peasant units, which were mostly of the size that could not meet the basic life needs of their owners and families.⁶ The ineffectiveness of production was accompanied by low level of production technology and production procedures. The brief summary of the indicators of economic status roughly, in basic features, states the reasons of endeavour of the part of population to ensure the source of basic needs by the way we give here and it also defines the groups to which these facts are related.

Events in the Particular problem groups, as they are introduced by the Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia have in their historical development gone through a complex process of changes and they are differentiated not only when being compared to each other but from many aspects also within the facts themselves. The mutual differences can be stated by the data about their origin and existence as well as other indicators, as e.g. organisational structure of the fact, the directions of migration, but also by the cultural and social features. From the point of the origin of the facts observed, emigration in the historical form, as we can see it, is of earlier date. The new sources of work in America start influencing the movement of the Slovak population, in the mass form from the 70-ties of the 19th century, while there are data on the agricultural season work from the 16th century and in the 18th century many kinds of folk trade based on migration are found in their fully developed form. According to different facts, as they are formed, We can claim, that to the year 1918 the migration streams from individual territories of Slovakia, even within the facts observed, were more or less stable. The rise of the Czechoslovak republic and the changes that followed were the reason of limitation as well as gradual disappearance of foreign area

forming formed by tradition, resp. changing direction for other territories. This was the case of agricultural seasonal workers and folk traders while the changes in the direction of the mass emigration were subject to the immigration limitation of the immigration countries. So e.g. within the emigration wave of the population there were originally 97–99 % people oriented to the U.S.A. as long as the immigration laws of the country were not made more strict which was reflected in the gradual migration to Canada, South America, partly to Australia, New Zealand and as for the European countries mainly to France.⁷ By choosing especially the data on the number of emigrants from Slovakia in different states of the USA from the period of end of the 90-ties of the 19th century and also the statistical data on the number of the emigrants to America and Europe in the years 1925–1937 with regard to the quality and reliability of the statistics, the author of the thematic contents of the maps concerning the emigration took into consideration also the question of phasing of the migration.

Long before the starting of American migration, for the inhabitants of the Slovak territory there were opportunities of paid work within foreign migration in agriculturally developed parts of southern Hungary, especially on the territory of today's Hungary and besides in Austria, too. Resulting from the changes in the year 1919, the agricultural seasonal workers found jobs in Bohemia and Moravia, on the basis of international agreements in France, Austria, Germany and Yugoslavia⁸. What the agricultural seasonal activity was like, how mass and intensive event it was is also confirmed by particular maps. Its appearance was marked down after the correction of the atlas terrain research by the investigation through the post almost in 90 % of the total number of the communities⁹.

As for the folk merchants, the representatives of another traditional profession which is interesting in its development diversity and from the point of existence of wide register of its kinds, the migration of this group was observed by the atlas questionnaire, but the results turned out to be fragmentary in relation to the actual status, i.e. to the one which can be taken for granted on the basis of knowing the material form the existing scientific works¹⁰. The regionality of the fact, typical for different kinds of business, could not be marked down by the material gained from the atlas network of the country residences especially because many of them got over their development zenith and some of them almost disappeared in the period limited by the atlas terrain research. To depict the folk business such kinds of business which showed their high level of development of organisational forms in the course of historical development in the most representative way and which influenced strongly the socioprofessional structure of the population of Slovakia from the 18th century to the half of the 20th century were chosen, while, as it has already been pointed at, the procedure was given by the particular literature, on the basis of what also

the network of the mapped communities was made. The radial scattering of folk merchants practically in different countries of the whole Europe, connected with the permanent seeking for the selling places for their goods, resulted undoubtedly also from the advantageous geographical position of the territory of Slovakia in the central part of the Continent. To give the evidence of their extensive territorial impact it is possible at least to give several examples. Among the countries forming the boundries of the concentration areas there were Norway, Finland and Sweden in the North, Italy, Yougoslavia in southern parts and Great Britain belonged to the boundry areas in the westward direction.

If we take the wider out-of-Europe territories, then in the United States of America linen weavers, tinkers and other pedlars appeared even before the huge migration wave of the second half of the 19th century began. From other far-away territories there are Egypt, Palestine and districts in remote parts of eastern Asia.

The ways of the migrants making ties with the new environment were differentiated depending on different facts as they have been introduced in this paper. Strange environment and with it connected way of life concerning the work and out-of-work activities was in many aspects in contrast to their own native environment may it be any group of the migrants. On one side they were connected with the rurul environment with agrucultural production character, (see the agricultural seasonal), on the other side, e.g. in case of the emigrants to urban environment, they were confronted with the environment of the town with industrial and mining enterprises in which the workers worked. But the seasonal workers in a strange environment were characterized by agricultural work on the farms with different organizational conditions and mostly with using different technological and production procedures and technique than in their native environment. Here is still the further diferencial moment – while the working ties of the emmigrants were based on the employment basis, another group, the merchants who were trading with the products of the domestic production of the home province (partly also manufacturing and industrial ones) were working on an independent economic basis, i.e. in a private way. Except of the cases of shop-owners and factory-owners who were originally the pedlars, they were crossing the foreign countries mostly wandering about different urban and rural environment usually following the routes in traditional districts, while the emigration and the seasonal agriculture workers is characterised by the stable weave with work place (locality).

When considering the influence of the changes upon different aspects of the migrants lives which resulted from their adaption processes in the concentration areas, the impact in this sense is evident. The changes resulted from the very character of work, i.e. from the performance of working activity, and in the

private sector of life they could be seen, as it has already been stressed in many ethnographical works, mainly in traditional features of material culture and life-style in general and also in such important cultural indicators as mastering the foreign language.

The life-style of a migrant is determined not only by his relation to the strange environment, but also by his inner development within his own group, which was formed on the principles of mutual ties of its members, people with identical territorial origin. The integration moments could be seen in housing, in the development of institutional cultural activity and they also existed on the basis of work-organisational forms.

Knowing the ethnographical material more thoroughly we can see that many changes were really temporary, they were either e.g. many elements at material character were for exercising in the home environment economically unattainable, they did not correspond to the possibilities of their functional use, or their implementation was blocked by cultural-psychological barriers¹¹. In the optimal cases was realized economical function-concretely are speaking about it also the data from the area of finance¹² and obtained means invested in the first to the fieldsource of the living of the migrants, building the houses, in the trade they introduces capital for foundation of procter enterprises and generally there was emphasis on the import of food and agricultural products. But migration left behind the traces in the many further ways-in the knowledge obtained on the ways abroad, in the language knowledge, in the folklore and also in the politic thinking.

We have shown different ways of cartographic depiction of migration as a specific accompanying phenomenon of employment in Slovakia in a given period. It is the phenomenon which is possible "to be mapped" on the basis of using the starting data either in point and planary ways or depicting the directions by linking lines between the starting and concentration areas. These areas can be some smaller local areas as well as territorial wholes. Verification of basic starting data from 250 local areas by means of written investigations and results of scientific literature appeared to be a necessary working procedure. Of equal value in depicting the migration is the text part of the atlas which exceeds the geographical position of the phenomenon by its social, economic and cultural dimensions.

NOTES

¹ It concerns the maps: *Vysťahovalectvo z Československa v roku 1925. Svet a Európa* (The Emigration from Czechoslovakia in the Year 1925). The author of the thematic contents: BIELIK, F. In: *Etnografický atlas Slovenska* (The Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia), p. 8 (further when quoting the maps from the EAS, their titles and authors, we will quote the pages on which

then be found). According to the note in the legend the portion of the emigrated from Slovakia represented about 90 %. Another map concerning the emigration: *Vysťahovalectvo zo Slovenska do USA roka 1899* (The Emigration from Slovakia to the USA in the Year 1899). The author of the thematic contents: F. BIELIK, p. 8.

² *Vnútrotná migrácia sezónnych poľnohospodárskych robotníkov. Koniec 19. stor. – 40-te roky 20. stor.* (The Internal Migration of Seasonal Agricultural Workers. The End of the 19th Century-the 40-ties of the 20th Century). The author of thematic contents FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 10. *Migrácia sezónnych poľnohospodárskych robotníkov do zahraničia. Koniec 19. stor.–40 roky 20. stor.* (The Migration of Seasonal Agricultural Workers Abroad. The End of the 19th Century-the 40-ties of the 20th Century) The author of thematic contents FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 10. The area depiction of the delivering and accepting areas of the migrating seasonal workers is based on the data of the communities observed. These were considered to be starting ones from the point of migration, i.e. their inhabitants quoted the residence, resp. the districts they were leaving to seek seasonal agricultural work in for. The processing of the internal migration is the results of summarization of a great number of quoted terminal residence and districts. Division of the concentration areas on the territory of Slovakia, as we can see in the cartogram, is connected with the present division into districts and expressed by particular district towns. We were taking into account the technological possibilities in case of publishing the material.

³ *Hlavné smery podomového a trhového obchodu 2. pol. 19. stor. – začiatok 20. stor.* (The Main Direction of Peddling and Market Trade. The Second Half of the 19th Century – The Beginning of the 20th Century). The author of thematic contents: FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 32. In connection with trade, on the basis of literature, the exports of products which was directly connected with migration of folk merchants was also doserved. It concerns the map: *Vývoz výrobkov. 18. stor. – začiatok 20. stor.* (The exports of products. The 18th Century – the Beginning of the 20th Century). The author of thematic contents: KOVAČEVIČOVÁ, S., p. 33. From the material gained by the terrain investigation in the given network of rural territories the results concerning the working of tinkers and glaziers coming to the atlas territories appeared to be real. Their provenience given by the informers was corrected by the data from the literature. In concerns the maps: *Oblasti pôsobenia drotárov, 1. pol. 20. stor.* (The Territories of Tinker Working. The 1st Half of the 20th Century). The author of thematic contents: FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 32. To illustrate the working of tinkers in the world a map of a number of workshops according to tinkers in the world a map of a number of workshops according to individual countries was made. It is the map: *Drotárske dielne v zahraničí v 19. stor. Svet. Európa* (The Tinker Workshops Abroad in the 19th Century. The World. Europe). The author of thematic contents: KLAPITA, M., p. 33. In connection with trade the markets appeared to be an important migration faktor. By following the leaving for the markets from different atlas territories there were also marked the contact zones of Slovakia with surrounding countries. It concerns the maps: *Trhové centrá. Prvá pol. 20. stor.* (The Market Centres. The 1st Half of the 20th Century). The author of thematic contents: FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 31. *Trhové centrá nákupu hovädzieho dobytku. Prvá pol. 20. stor.* (The Market Centres of Cattle Byuing. The 1st Half of the 20th Century), p. 31. *Trhové centrá nákupu koní. Prvá pol. 20. stor.* (The Market Centres of Horse Byuing. The 1st Half of the 20th Century). Author of thematic contents: FALŤANOVÁ, E., p. 31. All maps in: *Etnografický Atlas Slovenska*, 1990.

⁴ We must mention these authors who observed the traditional employment forms supplementing the income from agriculture, with the endeavour of total access: PRANDA, A., 1965, pp. 431–479; 1966, pp. 3–64; 1967, pp. 3–43.

⁵ E.g. in the year 1930 the branches of agriculture and forestry were represented by 56,7% of the total number of inhabitants according to all branches in economy (e.g. in industry it was 14,9%). By: *Encyklopédia Slovenska*, 1982, p. 494.

- ⁶ E.g. in the year 1930 the size group of agricultural units with the acreage 0,1 to 0,5 hectare and from 0,5 to 2,0 hectares covered 42,3% of the total number of agricultural units and only 5,8% of the total acreage of agricultural soil. By: OTÁHAL, M., 1963, pp. 75–76.
- ⁷ The migration law passed in the USA in the year 1923. By BIELIK, F. and co-authors, 1980, p. 46.
- ⁸ Československé vystehovaectví, jeho příčiny, důsledky a vyhlídky, 1928, p. 64.
- ⁹ The questionnaire to migration of agricultural seasonal workers contained these direct questions: 118. Migration – the movement of the population to seek the employment included the question: “To which areas (villages) did people most often leave for harvesting, hay-making, potato-picking. The results are supplemented by the through the post investigation of the author of thematic contents of the map in 50 communities of the atlas network.
- ¹⁰ We tried to evaluate the migration of folk merchants on the basis of the question included in No. 118. Migration-Movement of the Population Seeking the Employment. It continued the question about agricultural seasonal work, and it concerned now, i.e. “to which areas (villages) did inhabitants of your village most often leave to seek other jobs?” The literature, on the basis of which the maps were made is a part of the note apparatus of EAS.
- ¹¹ We introduce some of many works dealing with the influence of migration upon the folk culture: MANN, A., 1980, pp. 527–552. PRANDA, A., 1970, pp. 31–86.
- ¹² The topic was given a special attention by BIELIK, F. in a subchapter The Impacts of Emigration on the Finance of Slovakia in op. cit., 1980, pp. 62–64. The data on the importance of Saffron Sellers in finance are given by HROZIENČÍK, J., 1981 in chapter The Impact of undertaking of Turiec Saffronmen in Economic and National Life of Turiec.

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MIGRÁCIA AKO SPÔSOB KONTAKTU SLOVENSKA SO SVETOM

R e s u m e

Migrácia obyvateľstva Slovenska do zahraničia je považovaná vo všeobecnosti za jeden z najmohutnejších demografických a sociálnych javov v historickom vývine Slovenska v súvislosti s jej vývojom do 1. polovice 20. storočia. Etnografický atlas Slovenska zaznamenáva v určitých etapách tie, ktoré sa podstatnou mierou podieľali i na vývine ľudovej kultúry. Ide o masové vysťahovalectvo datované od 70-tych rokov 19. stor. až do 30-tych rokov 20. stor. a tradičné doplnkové zamestnania (poľnohospodárske sezonárstvo, ľudový obchod), s migráciou nerozlučne spojené. Podľa jednotlivých javov sa vytvorili i hlavné smery migrácie, zachytené na viacerých mapách atlasu. Každú skupinu migrantov charakterizuje väzba s odlišným prostredím s inými pracovnými i mimopracovnými podmienkami a tým i s rozdielnym charakterom adaptačných procesov. Pri úvahách o miere vplyvu migrácie na život jedinca treba brať do úvahy fakt, že v prípade pracovnej migrácie išlo v tých najrozvinutejších formách o ostálený systém pracovných pravidiel a i to, že vykonávanie doplnkových zamestnaní sa nezriedka viazalo na celý produktívny vek človeka. Pritom pobyty migrantov sú charakterizované i integračnými momentami vo vnútri vlastnej skupiny. Mnohé zmeny, súvisiace s migráciou boli skutočne dočasné, hlavne preto, že mnohé prvky materiálnej povahy boli pre uplatnenie doma buď ekonomicky nedostupné, nezodpovedali možnostiam ich funkčného využitia, alebo ich uplatnenie narážalo na kultúrno-psychologické bariéry. V prípadoch naplnenia ekonomickej funkcie migrácie (hovoria o nej údaje o peňažníctve na Slovensku) sa investovali získané prostriedky do pôdy, výstavby domov, v obchode do zakladania výrobných podnikov a vo všeobecnosti sa dovážali potravinové zložky a poľnohospodárske produkty. Vplyvy sa odzrkadlili v jazykových znalostiach vo vedomostiach, vo folklóre a v politickom zmýšľaní.