
Internationalizing Working-Class History since the 1970s: Challenges from Historiography, Archives, and the Web

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ABSTRACT

In this essay the communication practices of labor migrants and their evolution from nineteenth-century print media to late twentieth-century electronic media provide the frame for a discussion of the limitations of national approaches to collection and interpretation. Multiple languages and knowledge of cultures of origin are required, cooperative library and research projects are necessary. On the basis of the Labor Newspaper Preservation Project it is argued that analysis of the bibliographic data by themselves, without going into the contents of the newspapers, revises current assumptions about processes of migration, acculturation, and internationalist class positions. The classic North American immigrant labor press came to an end in the 1970s. New patterns, feminization of migration and mobility to domestic and caregiving work, and new patterns of communication led to an ascendancy of electronic publications. Electronic publications and global rather than hemispheric migration will require different collecting strategies. These, like their printed predecessors, provide a perspective on migrants that differs from ethnicity and state-side approaches. Human rights rather than class struggles and migrant remittances rather the denationalization are the themes, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) rather than labor organizations are the publishers.

In the internationalizing research scene, the Wisconsin Historical Society, through its collections dating from the time of the labor relations studies of Richard T. Ely, Selig Perlman, John R. Commons, and others became an important resource. At the time of these scholars' groundbreaking work,

disciplines were far more integrated than in the compartmentalized and fragmented academia of the present. Most of the reformers of the period were as much part of an Atlantic space of social reform and intellectual exchange as workers were of the labor markets of the Atlantic economies (see Rodgers, 1998). But under twentieth-century nation-state paradigms and powers of definition such transeuropean and transatlantic traditions had been relegated to the margins or, even, oblivion.

Rescuing working-class publications from this assigned place was a task assumed by James P. Danky, the newspaper and periodical librarian of the Wisconsin Historical Society. He inherited the responsibility for the largest collection of labor newspapers and periodicals in the United States. From the German press of Milwaukee's socialists to the Italian American anarchists of Vermont, the society's collections were a well-known source for scholars. In the political climate he needed energetic perseverance not only to prevent neglect of the collections in this field but, even more, to develop and expand them.¹ He included new titles that reflected the changing demographics of the state and nation like, to give only one example, "UNITE!" published by the Blouse, Skirt, Sportswear, Children's Wear and Allied Workers Union, Local 23-25. Even the union's name suggests that the times of male-dominated work was past—but the women's strike of 1909 had already set an early sign that neither AFL-leadership, nor pre-1960s scholars had fully understood.

The pathbreaking work of the Wisconsin scholars, and thus the holdings of the Wisconsin Historical Society, had been organized around concepts of labor relations and economics. Negotiating wages and organizing economic units were studied in the English language, and few scholars could read the many languages the laborers spoke and in which they published. To overcome limitations of language, culture, and state-centered archival collection as well as the nation-state focus of historical research, the authors of this essay developed the internationally cooperative Labor Migration Project (LMP).

A first step of the LMP was to establish in 1978 the Labor Newspaper Preservation Project (LNPP) for the non-English language labor press in North America from the 1840s to the 1970s. With Jim Danky, the authors discussed the use of North American databases; Danky became a cooperating scholar. The bibliographic information by itself, placed in chronological sequence and studied quantitatively, changed the interpretations of the impact and development of ethnocultural working-class groups in North America. Building on the newspaper preservation project's broadly cooperative structure, Danky worked to provide a similar source basis for Afro-Americans. The *African American Newspapers and Periodicals: A National Bibliography* (Maureen E. Hady, associate editor; Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 1998) was the result. Danky is internationalizing

the perspective in his current project "Newspapers and Periodicals of the African Diaspora."

He thus helped to overcome a seemingly useful division of tasks among historians that involved a segmentation of working people's experiences. In the U.S. context they were placed in compartments of the discipline separate from "labor history": history of slavery and of African Americans, history of *coolie* labor and Asian Americans, and history of Chicanos or Mexican Americans. Following seemingly *natural* discourses that had racist origins but made sense in terms of source materials and approaches, most historians of the time divided the working classes according to the race-conscious categories or country of origin. As a result, their approaches were implicitly or even explicitly bounded by national language, institutions, and territorial borders. Nineteenth and early twentieth-century migrating men and women were thus entrenched in nation-state frames; they were seen as leaving the nation-state or entering another.

With today's globally mobile work force, however, we can see different frames of reference. Though the nation-state is still responsible for many of the migration policies that so prominently implicate the migrants' lives—making them legal or turning them into "illegal criminals"—do we best capture their life experiences by a national perspective? Or do we see, through their Web-based forms of communication, a globally connected diaspora emerging which retains aspects of national identity but functions in a regional, transcultural, and worldwide frame?

In this essay the authors consider the approach taken by the Labor Migration Project, in particular the Labor Newspaper Preservation Project (LNPP) to achieve bibliographic control over the non-English-language labor press in English- and French-language North America. The authors also look at more recent Web-based labor publications to consider changes due to electronically mediated communication and new patterns of migration. The authors believe the archival and research work that Danky has developed for periodical publications will need to assume new dimensions—as yet difficult to assess—to cover electronic periodicals.²

The authors' interest in labor can be traced to E. P. Thompson (1963), who had countered the organizational history of labor movements by his cultural and social history of class formation as women historians pointed to their male colleagues that the working class consisted of men and women (Tilly & Scott, 1978). In the United States, the three great figures of labor historiography, Herbert Gutman, David Montgomery, David Brody, and the generation of their students had begun to reconceptualize the history of labor movements—for most of which sources were easily accessible in union or party archives—to working-class history for which research was much more time-consuming and required new questions, new frames of reference, and new sources.³

THE NON-ENGLISH LANGUAGE LABOR PRESS IN NORTH AMERICA

Thus the stage was set for the Labor Newspaper Preservation Project. Scholars from all European migrant sending cultures and from the two North American receiving cultures agreed to cooperate in a bibliographic project on the labor and socialist press. In a way, the labor press as a whole was an alternative press that fought the exclusionary powers of the middle-class dominated state. In Europe and North America, some of the press advocated a revolutionary change of existing structures, but the majority demanded inclusion of the working classes. This press was thus statist and even nationalist by demanding jobs in the nation's economy, and by relegating in-migrating workers to inferior, even racially inferior status. At the same time it was internationalist in reporting and by intention and often was connected at least by sympathy to the First, Second, and Third Internationals. Numerous editors of North American newspapers and journals had previous editing experience in their European culture of origin.

Working-class formation, at this time, was a northern-hemisphere-wide experience with bound labor migrants, slaves, and contract workers coming also from African societies, Chinese regions, and India's many cultural groups. The tension between statewide (or national) self-interest and international solidarity may be illustrated by an example from the press of the German trade union federation. In the 1880s, it counseled workers: "Your America is here"—workers should struggle for better conditions at home rather than depart for presumably better working conditions in other societies. The same newspaper, on its last page, published the farewell notices of workers leaving for the United States or, in relatively small numbers, Canada. The press also warned workers not to migrate to sites of strikes in neighboring countries and take jobs as strikebreakers. Self-interestedly it added, at least on one occasion, that—if the respective strike continued to be sustained—the capitalists might shut down the facilities and move production to a region in Germany where the respective skilled labor was available.

It might be argued that the labor press in Europe and in North America was oppositional, alternative, and nation-state supporting at the same time (Hoerder, 1981, 1988). Those with the power of definition and of determining wage levels placed working men and women in general in marginal positions in society. Thus we see struggles that were aimed at inclusion and which were geared to changes of the social and economic system, side by side. By bringing together scholars from many cultures and by fusing ethnicity-centered with class-centered historiographies, the Labor Migration Project sought to reconceptualize nation-to-ethnic-enclave migrations into complex interdependent migrations in the North Atlantic economies (Hoerder, 1985). A northern transatlantic space emerged that connected first western, then northern, and finally eastern and southern

European rural and urban neighborhoods to particular industrial locations in North America.

Within this multilingual North Atlantic context the authors looked at interaction between migrant working men (and women) and resident working class organizations *in Europe* and did find labor newspapers written for and by immigrants.⁴ Within Europe the labor-importing core, consisting of Germany, Switzerland, France, the Netherlands and Belgium, and Great Britain, attracted workers from the northern, eastern, southern, and western (i.e., Irish) periphery. From this analysis of the continent-wide regions of origin of the North America-bound migrants, the authors turned to the United States and Canada with the intention to provide “comprehensive annotated bibliographies of the non-English-language labor and radical periodical publications” in both societies (Hoerder, 1987, p. 3). This source compendium became the basis for scholars’ attempts to achieve “a comparative cultural history of the North American working classes whatever their social origin in their respective cultures of departure” (p. 3).

In view of the many-cultured and multiethnic European states as well as in recognition of the local/regional cultural origins of migrants, the emphasis was on *cultures* rather than *states* of departure. Migrants established transcultural connections and crossed borders easily, states developed the dividing and controlling passport and border-control systems only from the late nineteenth century on. The majority of connections relating cultures of origin and receiving cultures were not between countries, thus were not transnational, but rather between particular communities—defined locally, ethnoculturally, and by class and gender. Thus migration may be better understood as translocal, transregional, or transcultural (Hoerder, 2005).

This shifting of the frame from states to macroregions changed views of migrant men and women in terms of culture, class, and gender positionings. Similarly, the mere analysis of the bibliographic data of the labor and radical press in North America (and in Europe)—before even taking into account the contents and orientation of the periodicals—provided new perspectives. Quantitatively, the total number of non-English-language labor union and radical periodicals published in North America amounted to about 1,265 from the 1840s to the 1970s: 265 of West European immigrants of which 240 of were German-language, 160 North European ones, 620 Southeast and East European ones, and 220 South European ones—in chronological sequence of first appearance. A large number were ephemeral, not surviving their first year of publication, though a “core” press, composed mainly of the organs of well-established labor unions, was published for decades.

Often the development of the press was related to long-term developments in Europe as well as to sudden changes in the cultures of origin. The volume of the German-language press is, to some degree, explained by the early arrival of German-language socialists and utopian thinkers,

the cooperation of German and Austrian workers, and the fact that among artisans and, subsequently, skilled workers in Central and East Central Europe, German had been and was the international language. As regards Yiddish-language publications, the failed revolution of 1905 in the Czarist Empire forced Ashkenazi Jewish radicals as well as those from the three Baltic territories to flee and, consequently gave impetus to their radical press in exile. The imposition of Hungarian (Magyar) culture on the Slovak people after 1867 resulted in publication of more Slovak-language periodicals in North America than in Slovakia.⁵

The decline of all of the German-language ethnic and ethnoradical press has often been assumed to date from the antagonism against German and Austrian Americans after the declaration of war in 1914 and, in particular, after the entry of the United States into the war. However, the publication data tell a more complex story. The volume of German transatlantic migration declined rapidly around 1893, when a deep economic crisis in the United States caused layoffs and when the new level of industrialization in Germany was sufficient to provide jobs. About a decade after the decline of German migration, the vibrancy of the U.S.-published German-language press declined. From the mid-1890s on, the annual number of newly founded papers took a downward slide, reaching a plateau from about 1910 to 1917. Only then did the wartime induced decline occur. The core press, too, had begun to lose impact a decade before the U.S. entry into World War One. This indicated that part of the viability of the ethnic and ethnic radical press depended on contacts to the society of origin mediated by continuous arrival of new migrants.⁶

Ever since the analyses of the Chicago School of Sociology, scholars have discussed migrants in terms of bordered ethnic groups. However, the press of the different Scandinavian-language groups indicated a pattern overlooked under the nation-to-ethnic-enclave paradigm that acted like a blindfold to screen out scholars' awareness of interethnic connections and transcultural cooperations. Since relations between Scandinavian societies had been close, and since the number of migrants from each Scandinavian-language group was, at least at the beginning of the migrations, too small to support a press of its own, a pan-Scandinavian press emerged among migrants. Such cooperation has also been found in migration patterns of other cultural groups of people leaving Europe. From the mixed German-Polish territories Germans left first, Poles used the information about migration options sent back, and in the receiving localities, Milwaukee for example, interethnic German-Polish cooperation emerged. Similarly Slovaks followed Czechs, using the information sent by the earlier migrants, and both groups cooperated upon arrival in Chicago. Thus, before even looking at the content of the press, patterns of activities and interactions emerge from a quantitative analysis of the bibliographic data (Park, 1922).⁷

The ethnic press fulfilled a mediating, triple role in conveying information: It provided news from the society of origin deemed of importance to the migrants; it reported on the receiving society, that is, the temporary or new, permanent home; and it provided space for discussing affairs of the respective community. It constantly mediated and negotiated between the two cultures in the interest of migrants engaged in a trajectory between the two (see Hoerder & Harzig, 1987, 1:31–37). This leads to a question: may the decline of the labor and radical press be at least partly explained by its inability—the core press perhaps excepted—to fulfill all three functions? Its resources were often scant, its class-based readership smaller than that of the general ethnic press. And its emphasis on the unity of the working class prevented attention to regional cultural affiliations. The advertisement and announcement sections of the mainstream German-language American press carried large numbers of items from migrant organizations of a particular locality, like a district town, or a particular region, like Mecklenburg, or an earlier migrant settlement, like Germans in Hungary. These cultural affiliations were important for everyday life, and once again point to the transcultural rather than transnational experiences of migrant men and women. The emphasis on class and its common goal to improve wages and working conditions was certainly in the interest of working families but did not speak to their local and regional networks and belongings.

Questions need also to be asked about the internationalism of the working classes, the migrants among them, and the new working classes they established after migration or of which they became part. While some editors of labor periodicals, in particular European societies, migrated to North America and continued their editorial and printing activities there, labor migrants seem to have been internationally mobile rather than internationally conscious of capitalist and class alignments and struggles. Research on migration of unskilled workers indicates that the majority of them came from rural contexts and strata and thus brought peasant mentalities with them. As a result of their experiences as tenants, theirs could be a culture of resistance, but one that followed different experiences than those of urban workers. Contrary to Gutman's (1976) assumption that these workers brought neither class consciousness nor factory-regularity in work habits, they did have notions of struggle and equity and they came with regular work habits, which they were forced to lose when industries stopped during economic downswings or factories laid them off for a few hours, a day, or longer because of a breakdown of machinery. Again, we may ask: did the labor press talk to workers whose class and ethnocultural background varied? Editors often had a national, urban, industrial focus and did pay little attention to cultural (regional/rural/urban) differences. This observation is not meant to diminish the importance of interethnic or interclass cooperations, or of cooperation between workers on

the shop floor and working-class families in the streets and in ethnic neighborhoods. It merely indicates that the interface between complex class compositions and ethnicity was not a primary arena of the labor press's editors. This interface was also highly male-centered. Attention to women and families beyond calls for a "family wage" for men was almost nonexistent.

Although the transatlantic ethnic labor and radical press was more vibrant and quantitatively far larger than had been taken for granted to the 1970s, by then, however, this press was coming to its end. At the same time, new publications, in particular in Spanish language, emerged. The transatlantic migration system was being replaced in both the Americas and Europe by south-north migration systems. In Europe, the "guestworkers" from the Mediterranean periphery were, in fact, labor migrants who more often than not settled and brought in family. In the Americas, the southern economies, which did not provide jobs in a number sufficient to permit sustainable lives of the working-age population; the refugee-generating regimes often supported by particular U.S. administrations; and—at the other end—the dynamism of the United States and Canadian economies, also resulted in large northbound migrations. Since the 1980s, these migrants increasingly use electronic means of communication and thus pose a challenge to historians and archivists. Thus communication and print culture underwent major changes.

The question that remains, however, is whether there is a legacy of working class print culture in today's electronic world and if yes, what shape does it take? Can we recognize continuities to previous labor or working class migrants who created and controlled their own means of communication and by doing so participated in the prospects of a transcultural/acculturated identity, that is, sinking roots—on their own terms—in the new society? How do today's migrant workers communicate beyond the microlevel of personal letters, phone calls and e-mails. Do we see a new, albeit different medium emerging that provides a forum to discuss issues of wider importance like working conditions, legal developments, prospects of organizing resistance against extreme forms of exploitation, and perhaps formulation of demands, that is, building of group identities?

Today's labor migrants are faced with a number of different challenges when trying to build an identity based on media: on the one hand technology may help in composing and distributing various forms of media, printed or electronically; on the other hand the radius of communication has spread beyond the local, the regional, the national. Today's "labor-paper editors" have to think globally, their readers are seldom concentrated in one city, one region, not even in one receiving state. So far, we know very little about the means of communication of modern global migrant workers.

GLOBAL (FEMALE) MIGRANT WORKERS ON THE WEB

Using the women migrating into domestic work from the Philippines as an example might help define future research challenges. Rhacel Parreñas, who has provided the most substantial analysis of female labor migration from the Philippines, showed that in the 1990s Filipinas worked in more than 130 countries, mainly in Europe. Despite their above-average education, two-thirds of them worked as domestics in “Western” households; their salaries being substantially higher than what they would earn as teachers or clerks in the Philippines (Parreñas, 2000, p. 560). In Europe alone, estimates place the Filipino migrant community at 500,000; 80 percent are women.⁸

Because of their worldwide distribution and their noticeable presence in Westernized households, foreign domestic workers from the Philippines have experienced both an extraordinary amount of scholarly and advocacy attention and the emergence of some self-identity as a group. They are the most likely of all global migrant groups to have developed and participated in a sense of self within the larger framework of migrant workers’ group identity, possibly experiencing a joint understanding of being abroad. In strong contrast to governmental attitudes to emigrating workers in the nineteenth century, this group identity is partly fostered by their “hero status” at home. In the late 1990s female overseas workers were constructed as “modern day heroes” by President Corazon Aquino, in reference to their contribution to the national economy. Their remittances facilitated “the nation-building project of the Philippines to enter the global market economy as an export-oriented economy” (Parreñas, 2001b, p. 1136). This attitude is also expressed in a number of media forums and publications that focused on their migration experience.

For the purpose of this brief, pioneering foray into the electronic presence of global (female) migrant workers, the Web publications can be grouped according to publishers and intentions. By far the most visible presence of online publications and newsletters relating to migrant workers stems from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), followed by labor union and government publications. Format and content of these publications tell as much about the group editing and in support of the newsletter as they provide information about issues concerning migrant domestic workers.

The newsletter published by the Committee for Asian Women—a committee “by women, for women, of women”—proclaims in its masthead: “We Demand Employment, Equal Labour Standards and Participation in Decision Making for All Women Workers.” Its content is not restricted to domestic workers—though they are most prominent—but addresses the concerns of all women workers in Asia. It points to the plight of female construction workers in India, publishes the demand of sex workers to

legalize prostitution, and sends labor day May 1 greetings to all its readers. The newsletter ends on the note: "Long Live Workers Solidarity." The editors claim a network of thirty-nine related groups in fourteen countries. The website is professionally done and it recognizes an administrative support staff that is situated in Bangkok, Thailand, and acknowledges the support by German and Canadian groups.⁹ It does not have a national focus; rather, regional and global issues of gender and class are the most prominent organizing principles for the editors.

The Asian Migrant Centre, based in Hong Kong, proclaims in the masthead of its newsletter, *Migrant Forum in Asia*, that it is "Working to Help Migrants in Asia," thus addressing general migrant workers' issues, again however, with special emphasis on domestic workers. The newsletter reports on the various projects supported by the center—projects pertaining to health, human rights, and savings. At no point does it acknowledge national boundaries. Under the heading "Migrants say NO to WTO," the newsletter of December 2005 reported on protest demonstrations against the WTO summit. The publication is conceived as a quarterly "for advancing migrants [*sic*] struggle for rights and justice" (*Migrant Forum in Asia*, 2005). It is unclear who finances the publication but it is very professionally produced and its scope is even more regionally encompassing than the newsletter published by the Committee for Asian women.

Another set of publications is supported by government agencies and by labor unions and organizations in the international migration regime, such as the ILO. The South African government is particularly skilled in making use of the Internet to inform the country's large work force of migrant domestic workers about rights and obligations, best practices in employment situations, and the various educational and support programs.¹⁰ The Government of Singapore, in a newsletter published by the Ministry of Manpower, on the other hand, claims to announce "New Measures to Assist Foreign Domestic Workers (FDWs) and Their Employers." However, the measures that are announced are almost exclusively in the interest of employers. They promote random interviews with newly arrived FDWs to check on their successful adjustment to the working conditions and they provide employers with full access to previous working histories of their employees.¹¹

Thanks to the Rachel Parreñas' (2001a, 2001b) and Grace Ebron's (2002) research we also know about *Tinig Filipino* (Voice of Filipinos). Since the magazine, which is published out of Hong Kong (and Italy), is not available online, the following account relies on their analysis. Published since the early 1990s, the magazine provides a forum for migrant women and their families to voice their insights and reflections about their living and working experience abroad. The contributions to the magazine are predominantly of high literary quality, indicating the level of education of the women who have taken a calculated, temporary socially

downward spin into domestic work. Besides recipes, advice columns, fashion and beauty tips, issues addressed by the women in *Tinig* are often immediate and personal, such as problems stemming from transnational motherhood or the difficulties of a love life in a life situation where citizenship is limited and truncated.¹² Or they reflect about more general concerns such as their relationship to the homeland, the desire to return, their national identity, and their life in the diaspora. In this context it is easy to see how the personal is political and how the political has severe implications for the personal.

Parreñas also shows and argues convincingly how the magazine serves to create an imagined global community. "By constructing a community that transcends the nation-state and at the same time builds from their nationalist-based affiliation with those similarly displaced from their homeland, they foreground the formation of a contemporary female labor diaspora of migrant Filipinas in globalization" (Parreñas, 2001b, p. 1143). Self-positioning in this community, the group support, and the group identity enables them to negotiate the often conflictual relationship with the homeland and helps to tolerate the debasement and discrimination experienced in the work environment. Almost never, however, is the receiving society critically assessed and demands voiced:

Tinig Filipino has yet to begin a critical discussion of the partial citizenship of migrant Filipina domestic workers. Its contents offer neither direct critiques of exclusionary policies of receiving countries nor suggestions that migrant Filipina domestic workers are entitled to permanent settlement. Ironically, receiving countries are usually seen as benevolent nations that have provided "blessings" and "opportunities" that are not available in the Philippines and for which they believe they should be grateful. (Parreñas, 2001b, p. 1140)

Thus, the analysis of difficult working conditions, often expressed in the contributions to the magazine, is not translated into demands for better labor standards or the quest for fuller citizenship, which would include reproductive rights. Rather the Philippines are constructed as the mythical place of home where one ultimately wants to return.

With its focus on the personal experience of domestics, the content in *Tinig Filipino*, as determined by the working women themselves, not only differs from nineteenth-century labor newspapers, but also stands in sharp contrast to what is published and reported in the various online newsletters. As can be expected, the labor union and many of the NGO papers demand the compliance with fair labor standards and better working conditions (though no higher wages). The NGO papers also emphasize the recognition of human rights. A consensus emerges that migrant workers' issues are best addressed not through nationally-based labor legislation but rather through an international recognition of human rights. Unlike the labor migrants of the nineteenth and early twentieth century,

who constructed their identities and affiliations on a regional and local basis rather than in a national framework, these modern global migrants operate on the basis of a supranational approach. When it comes to working conditions and employment rights, the similarities are more prominent than the national particularities. All these newsletters, including the ones published by governments,¹³ seem to operate under the assumption that knowledge about rights is the best means of protection against abuse and exploitation.

A number of themes are noticeably absent from the online publications. The various nationally different immigration policies, though of vital importance to the living and working conditions of migrant workers are a nonissue. It seems as if the editors all agreed on a policy of non-intervention. Thus, despite the claim for international human rights, the right of a state to determine its own policies remains unquestioned. The same is true with regard to implementing the demands for human rights and better working conditions. No advice for organizing and for collective resistance strategies is provided, no counsel given as to how to leave the isolation of the home and enter the sphere of labor activism. Unlike their nineteenth-century labor newspaper counterparts, these newsletters do not have a universal concept of resistance, whether the strength of working-class organizing or the ideology of socialism, to fall back on for analysis and action.

Gender issues are another noticeable absence. This does not mean that women are not recognized. To practitioners working in the area of Asian international migration gender is obvious. Up to 60 percent of the migrants are women and most of them are domestics. But these women are treated like any other group of migrants, without specific reference to their gender. There is no mention of transnational motherhood or limited reproductive rights; sexual assault issues are usually discussed under the heading of trafficking. On the one hand, this lack of appeal to "maternalism" and the complete absence of a victimization approach is refreshing, since it acknowledges the equal working potential of men and women and is in keeping with the recognition of the earning potential of migrant working women and their value to the state economies. On the other hand, it ignores an important dimension of the female migration experience as indicated by the discussions in and contributions to *Tinig Filipino*.

A large-scale global research project is needed to assess media communications and their implications for today's global migrant workers. While a LNPP framework made it possible to obtain comparatively complete coverage, it is impossible to provide statistical information about numbers, publications, editors, and readership of today's print and electronic publications. Without continuous global monitoring such data will never become available. James P. Danky's new project on the publications

of the African diaspora may be a challenging test case. Complete coverage may still be the goal of the scholar-archivists, but would require a global collecting policy and the necessary facilities.

The same holds true for online publications. The Web is too wide and too fleeting to generate informational completeness. By the same token, online publications that so boldly assume "to know is to resist" (exploitative working conditions) do not reflect on the question of their accessibility. Given the ingenuity in self-organization we may assume that many domestics do have access, but we do not know how often and how regularly. To write the history of today's global migrant working class through the lenses of online publications would be a lopsided, if not futile, endeavor, unless, of course researchers would discover similar publications such as *Tinig*.

As to transculturalism in the global migrant media world, the authors detect continuities and distinctly different approaches. Online publications foster a decidedly transnational and transcultural approach. National politics (of receiving countries) need to be negotiated but rarely appear as a hindrance to a person's migration trajectory. Cultural differences seem negligible in light of class and gender issues and the transnational status of the workers. In seeking remedies for abuse, international human rights, not national labor laws, are promoted. The problems of global migrant workers—male and female—cannot be solved within the confines of the nation-state.

But the nation-state is not totally absent from the picture. Rather, it has a strong grip on its workers, as we have seen in the case of the Philippines. In the discourse fostered by online publications, migrant (female) workers are no longer branded as the wanderers without a country as was often the case in nineteenth-century European publications. Today's migrant workers are neither accused of leaving their country behind, nor of not adequately fulfilling their motherly functions. On the contrary, for their contribution to the national economies of their societies of origin, they are constructed as male and female heroes.

NOTES

1. When I (D.H.) first visited the State Historical Society of Wisconsin to meet the "Newspaper and Periodicals Librarian," I expected to find a past midlife threshold scholar given that I knew the number of this person's publications. James P. Danky turned out to be far younger than I had guessed from his record of activities.
2. See also Bakan & Stasiulis (1997); Parreñas (2001a); Chang (2000).
3. See also Cordillot (2002).
4. See the essays by Nancy L. Green, William J. Fishman, Krystyna Murzynowska & Christoph Klessmann, Michel Dreyfus, and Claudius H. Riegler on France, Germany, England, and Scandinavia in Harzig & Hoerder (1985).
5. This section is based on the "Introductions" to each of the three volumes of Hoerder & Harzig (1987) 1:1–47, 69–81, 2:1–28, 29–52, 3:1–11, 209–222.
6. For figures see Hoerder & Harzig (1987), 3:216–217.
7. For a detailed critique of Park see Hoerder & Harzig (1987), 1:23–27.

8. www.cfmw.org.files/about.htm. To obtain adequate, gender differentiating numbers about migration from the Philippines would be a research project in and of itself.
9. www.cawinfo.org.
10. www.labourguide.co.za/newsletter.htm.
11. http://www.mom.gov.sg/publish/momportal/en/press_room.html.
12. Often FDW contracts explicitly prohibit getting pregnant or having family members follow.
13. The one published by the South African government provides information about rights and duties; the Indonesian government is rather apologetic about its policies in light of accusations of inadequate labor protection.

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