



**Review: [Untitled]**

Reviewed Work(s):

*Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart [Europe on the Move. Migration from the Late 18th Century to the Present]* by Klaus J. Bade

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*International Migration Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3. (Autumn, 2001), pp. 939-941.

Stable URL:

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*International Migration Review* is currently published by The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc..

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Since the 1920s, more women than men have legally immigrated to the United States. Georges Vernez, Director of the RANS's Center for Research on Immigration Policy, evaluates immigrant women's increasingly significant role in the national economy. The book primarily uses data from the decennial censuses and the Current Population Surveys from 1960-1997. Vernez's scope is national, but also highlights the heterogeneous characteristics of immigrant women and their various impact on different states, especially California. The chapters are clearly written and generally accessible to a nonspecialist.

According to Vernez, immigrant women constitute 10 percent of the national labor force (and 29 percent of the California labor force). They work in all sectors of the economy, but remain overrepresented in the low-skilled occupations, where 43.5 percent of immigrant women (compared to 24 percent of native-born women) were employed in 1997. In recent decades, immigrant women have particularly increased their employment in textile/apparel, laundry, cleaning, groceries, shoe repair, and computer and accounting machine industries. Nonetheless, nationally, they do not make up more than one third of the labor force in any industry. Vernez shows that within lower-skilled occupations, immigrant women are particularly likely to be relegated to "backroom" labor. Twenty nine percent of immigrant women work in high skilled occupations; in all sectors, however, immigrant women earn less than native-born women (who, in turn, earn less than native-born men).

Significant differences are evident among different groups of immigrant women and among the regions where they settle. Vernez finds that Mexican and Central American immigrant women face particular difficulties in the labor market. Mexicans comprise 20 percent of all immigrant women in the nation's workforce, but remain "the most likely to be unemployed, work fewer hours during the week, and command lower earnings" (p. 128). Moreover, the gap in their earnings has increased, from 20 percent less than native-born women in

1970 to 37 percent less by 1990. Vernez also reports a significant earnings gap for Central American women.

Vernez shows that immigrant women's labor in low- and high-skilled occupations has been particularly important to the growth of California's economy, where they constitute 85 percent of the female labor force in the textile/apparel, laundry/cleaning, and service to buildings industries. In private household labor, 65 percent of the female labor force is foreign born. Immigrant women also comprise an increasing proportion of high-tech workers. Nonetheless, the disparities in immigrant women's earnings in all sectors of California's economy, relative to native-born women, were larger and increased more rapidly than in the rest of the nation. At the same time, productivity increased.

Unexamined in this study is the role of institutional discrimination - in addition to human capital attributes - in shaping immigrant women's experiences in the labor market. Furthermore, Vernez's analysis could be extended by situating immigrant women's labor market experiences within the context of the global economic system. For example, Vernez describes the surprisingly high rate of labor market participation by Filipina immigrants, and attributes it to education. But within global framework, other factors, including ongoing efforts by the Philippine government to send workers overseas because their remittances are greatly needed, and recruitment by U.S. companies seeking skilled, cheaper labor, also contribute to Filipina immigrants' high labor force participation in the U.S. Such considerations fall outside the scope of Vernez's analysis, however.

Nonetheless, Vernez has made a significant contribution to scholarship by providing an overview of immigrant women's roles in the U.S. labor market. His work serves as a benchmark from which further quantitative and qualitative scholarship will grow.

*Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart [Europe on the Move. Migration from the Late 18th*

*Century to the Present*]. By Klaus J. Bade. Muenchen: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2000. Pp. 510.

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This voluminous survey of more than two centuries of European migrations is part of the series "Building Europe," a joint venture by five publishers - German, British, Spanish, Italian, and French - and will be translated into these languages. It covers Europe west of the Russian empire and the remnants of the Ottoman empire on the Balkans. The introductory section expands the time frame backward to the end of the Thirty Years' War, 1648, when major new patterns of migration began to emerge.

In his *magnum opus*, Bade gives credit to Leslie Page Moch's pioneering *Moving Europeans* (1992). While Moch relates migration to specific regional patterns of land ownership, job markets, population structure and distribution, and capital movements as reflected in family economies, Bade emphasizes structural aspects of larger economic regions or states and, in view of the increasing role of states in regulating or limiting migrations, on policies and politics. Moch concentrates on the 17th to 19th centuries, Bade on the 19th, and in particular on the 20th century. Thus, the studies are complementary.

To organize the mass of data, Bade combines chronological, systematic, and typological approaches into five sections dealing with changing patterns of migration during the transition from agricultural to industrial societies; labor migration, departure to the colonies, and transatlantic migration in the 19th century to 1914; flight, expulsion and forced labor in World War I, the inter-war years, and World War II with its aftermath; decolonizing, labor, and asylum-seeker migrations during the Cold War; and Europe as "immigration continent" at the end of the 20th century with its migrations from the former socialist regions, refugees from the Balkan successor states, and the intercontinental south-north migration from develop-

ing countries.

Given the regulatory power of the state from the end of the 19th century on as well as the state's data collecting role, subchapters frequently take particular states as examples or compare several divergent cases. However, as Bade emphasizes, states change and large amounts of migrations and much minority formation was caused by borders moving over peoples. His typology is the dynastic, national, and welfare state with their specific migration and citizenship regimes. He relates economic structures as well as specific powerful interests to issues of racialization and dominant discourses about political control over migrants/aliens. He discusses societal attitudes to migrants from exclusionist and racist to pluralist and assimilative, from identity politics to liberal cultural accommodation. In a few examples, Bade is able to include migrant decision-making by using family economy concepts and migration in stages.

Though this synthesis is encyclopedic in character and still easily readable even for nonspecialists, there are limits, partly due to the series format - no maps or tables - partly due to the research landscape. Given that western Europe is the best researched region for the 18th and 19th centuries, southeastern and eastern Europe receive but limited attention in the first section and the selection of two - highly interesting - German-Dutch case studies for labor and peddler migration reinforce the impression that the study will focus on northwestern Europe. However, with each chapter the scope expands and the synthesis is a truly European one. In view of this achievement, it is regrettable that the publisher used a quaint emigrant departure scene as cover illustration. Bade makes it quite clear that the transatlantic migration of some 50 to 60 million men and women was only one of many movements and that internal migration was much more important both quantitatively and as regards impact on societies.

Bade relates the mass of movements and the mass movements to precipitating economic factors and power relationships within the empires, states and dwarf princi-

palties. He discusses nation state construction of the Other, the non-nationals, constraints and problems of in-migration to modern welfare states in times of economic recession and high unemployment, but minces no words about *Ausländerfeindlichkeit*, right-wing violence and the callousness of some conservative governments towards refugees from torture and violence. In his assessment, Sweden still appears as the European model of integration. His evaluation of admission and integration policies, his analysis of intended and unintended consequences of political decisions remains highly differentiated throughout the book and the juxtaposition of carefully selected case studies highlights the full spectrum of immigrant insertion and adaptation or discrimination and exclusion.

The study is dense and informative, analytical and descriptive at the same time. For nonspecialists, it provides an entry to the subject; for specialists, it provides a comparative approach and a wealth of data unmatched by any other author. While this reviewer would have liked a few additional topics to be treated, these are quibbles and overlook constraints of space. As it is, the book is a must for academic, secondary school and public libraries. It is a forceful statement that Europe is an immigration continent, that most states, with the exception of France, have been immigration countries for long, and that those societies face least conflicts or problems that view migrants as assets and pursue active policies of integration and multiculturalism.

*Gender, Migration and Domestic Service. The Politics of Black Women in Italy.* By Jacqueline Andall. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000. Pp. 333. £ 45.00.

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Contemporary migration includes a new figure: single, separated or married women who migrate, not as secondary migrants or dependants, but as autonomous primary migrants

for economic reasons. Most of them come from Asia (the Philippines), Africa (Cape Verde, Somalia, Eritrea), Central and South America (Dominican Republic, Peru), and Eastern Europe (Poland, Rumania). Many are attracted by the demand for domestic labor, which is very high particularly in Southern European countries. Through a well-documented and in-depth fieldwork, the author shows the harsh living conditions faced by black women employed and working as live-in maids in Italy.

Although live-in domestic work allows female migrants a fairly secure and constant source of employment and accommodation, which pioneering migrants have difficulty in finding, they undergo a heavy timetable (up to 12 hours a day), constant control by the employer on their privacy, and furthermore, it is forbidden to them either to have children or to live with them. The aim of the book shows a broader target. Evidence, founded on interviews with female migrants working as maids in Rome, is used to support a challenging hypothesis by connecting the above-mentioned working conditions to the contradictory emancipation of Italian women, living in a society where the Catholic idea of a patriarchal family is still dominant.

The author focuses on a very peculiar trade-off between the growing participation of Italian women in labor market and social life, and the exploitation of female migrants forced to adapt themselves to the archaic and oppressive institution of live-in domestic work. The use of live-in migrant maids has fostered a distorted model of Italian women's emancipation, protecting Italian men from having to engage in domestic work and preserving the structure of the family within traditional terms.

Thanks to her background as a woman of Caribbean origin, the author manages to catch a problem that only few Italian female sociologists have occasionally remarked, *i.e.*, that Italian women's increased opportunities for paid work and autonomy has been allowed by the presence of migrant women who have substituted them in housework. Thus, she criticizes Italian feminists for hav-