

BOOK REVIEWS

BADE, KLAUS J. *Europa in Bewegung. Migration vom späten 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart.* [Europa bauen.] Verlag C.H. Beck, München 2000. 510 pp. DM 58.90; S.fr. 53.50; S 430.00.

This book could not have been timed better. At the end of the 1990s the political debate on German immigration policy intensified as the red–green coalition headed by Gerhard Schröder pushed for official acknowledgement of Germany as an immigration country, and for the possibility of actively recruiting immigrants from outside the European Union for economic and demographic reasons. Klaus Bade, director of the Institute for Migration and Intercultural Studies (IMIS) at the University of Osnabrück and for many years the leading and most prolific German migration historian, was involved as adviser to the government. Judging from the manifold and very positive reviews that have appeared in the major German newspapers and magazines, his latest book played an important role in this discussion.

This is not to say that *Europa in Bewegung* (Europe in Movement) is merely a political pamphlet, in which history is used as ammunition to prepare the public for a new migration policy. It is a well-written and thoroughly documented overview of Europe's migration history in the past two centuries. In contrast to many studies that use "Europe" in the title and then concentrate on one or just a few western European countries, this book is a serious effort to include the southern and eastern parts of the continent, especially where the twentieth century is concerned. Moreover, Bade has systematically drawn from the relevant social-scientific literature, thus adding the often dramatic changes in migration streams and regimes during the last decades of the twentieth century to complement the historical picture.

The stress is clearly on migration and the way the movement of people within and towards Europe has been viewed by states and their subjects. In the second part of the book in particular, much attention is paid to the interplay between migration and politics, both at national and European level. This also explains the choice of 1914, 1945 and 1990 (the collapse of the Iron Curtain) as major turning points. In this sense Bade's book differs from the path-breaking study by Leslie Page Moch (*Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650*, published in 1992), which includes the early modern period and focuses much more on migrants and on the relationship between the history of migration and general socioeconomic developments (demography, family formation, protoindustry, industrialization, urbanization, etc.). Although Bade, who often refers to Moch's study, also pays attention to these linkages, he is clearly more interested in state policies and the lessons that can be drawn from the past.

The difference between *Europa in Bewegung* and *Moving Europeans* is less obvious in the first part of the book (chapters 1 and 2), which deals extensively with the long nineteenth century (1789–1914). Bade also stresses the importance of the changing character of the labour market for our understanding of migration. To illustrate the point that migration is not a recent phenomenon but a structural element in Europe's history, he often uses examples, like the Germans from Hesse in Paris or the Poles in the Ruhr area. These excursions are instructive and make the book easy to read. Using Klessman's classic study on the Ruhr Poles and Noiriél's book on Longwy, he also paints a colourful picture of Europe's "Wild West" in many rapidly expanding European industrial towns, which

attracted masses of foreigners. In doing so he offers a useful counterweight to the still powerful association of migration and immigration in the nineteenth century with the United States. Although there are no references to a number of relevant recent studies (Pooley and Turnbull's *Migration and Mobility in Britain*, Rosenthal's *Les sentiers invisibles*, Feldman on immigration and poor relief in *Mouvement Social* (1999), and Štrikwerda's work on Belgian workers in the north of France and migration regimes in *IRSH* (1999)), in general Bade has read widely.

In the first part of the book Bade does not restrict himself to migration within and towards Europe, but also deals with the massive emigration to the New World, starting with the indentured migrants and the redemptioner system in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, Bade puts his expertise as a former colonial historian to good use in considering the extent of colonial migration and the long-term consequences of empire building (both formal and informal) by European states for the migration streams from these areas in the twentieth century. Interesting in view of the experiences of later welfare states is the link he makes between the often forced export of paupers and children from Great Britain to the settler colonies (especially Australia) and the concerns in nineteenth-century Britain about poverty and criminality. This important theme is also addressed for Germany, when Bade describes Bismarck's attempts to regulate and monitor labour migration from the 1880s onwards. However, Bade's interpretation is somewhat traditional, in the sense that he points only to the ethnonational elements (the threat Polish labour migrants would pose to the national state). Although these were clearly haunting the minds of many German politicians, this concern conceals the more structural link between the early development of Germany's welfare system and the need to control migration. Thus Dutch migrants who flocked to the booming Ruhr area after 1870 also increasingly required documents proving their nationality, to ensure they could be sent back if they became destitute.

As in Moch's study, the First World War is treated as a watershed, first of all because of the massive movements of refugees – during and immediately after – created not only by war and devastation (*Menschen über Grenzen* [people above borders]), but also as a consequence of the collapse of empires (the Ottoman Empire, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire) and the creation of 11,000 kilometres of new state borders (*Grenzen über Menschen* [borders above people]). Even more fundamental was the onset of state intervention in recruiting migrants for the labour market and in restricting, or at least controlling, the immigration of foreigners to their territories. The period between the wars is treated somewhat unevenly, especially when compared with the long nineteenth century: much more attention is paid to refugees and political causes, while relatively few pages are devoted to labour migration. Bade has chosen to deal only with the massive labour migration to France and the waning of this phenomenon to Germany. Bade thereby ignores the considerable increase in immigration to the Netherlands (Germans), Switzerland and Belgium; the same is true for the interesting question to what extent labour migration under the new migration regime was effectively regulated by states.

The fourth chapter of the book, on migration during the Cold War, systematically lists all the major migrations, the changes in state policies that occurred as western Europe's welfare-state system unfolded, and the often racially loaded reactions of the indigenous population. Although well-written, the first part, which reviews displaced persons, colonial migrants, guest workers, and refugees, offers little new. More interesting is the author's comparison between the French and German integration models. Instead of

treating the reader to a tame story of *ius soli* versus *ius sanguinis* models, Bade shows that the practice is much less straightforward. Though Turks may find it difficult to acquire German nationality, they are more systematically integrated into the welfare system and the labour market than in France, where it is relatively easy for foreigners to become formally French but where no effort has been made to prevent social segregation and ghetto-building. Also useful is his typology of the selective streams of asylum seekers, which makes clear that for a thorough understanding it is not enough to consider only the attraction of a specific state; geopolitical, historical (e.g. colonial links) and social (through networks) factors are also relevant.

The last part (1989–2000) is loaded with numbers to illustrate the diverse migration movements after the fall of the Iron Curtain. More interesting is Bade's focus on the fundamental changes in the migration regime, bringing eastern Europe into the picture, not so much as a push region (apart from the German *Aussiedler*, Jews, and Romanian gypsies), but much more as transit regions for migrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. Here the author makes no secret of his aversion to populist and racist anti-immigration politics. Based on his extensive knowledge of recent migrations, both legal and illegal, he shows the many contradictory and inhuman aspects that are at the basis of Fortress Europe.

Europa in Bewegung will remain a valuable and comprehensive overview for a long time. It would have benefited, however, if the author had avoided the overly familiar more often (especially for the period 1914–1990) and considered long-term analyses of certain trends and developments at greater length (for example, the relationship between migration and poor relief, labour markets, or gender). Apart from gender, these themes *are* dealt with, but in an isolated and dispersed fashion. A more thematic approach, with structured chronological comparisons – like in the recent book by Nancy Foner (*From Ellis Island to JFK*) – could have yielded even more than the already rich tale that lies before us now.