

BOOK REVIEWS

BADE, K. J. (Ed.) *Population, Labour and Migration in the 19th and 20th-Century Germany*. Leamington Spa : Berg, 1987, 200 pp., £ 15.00.
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Reading -and specially reviewing- anthologies very often seems to be a thankless task: comparing an anthology's different contributions one finds only some few coherences or, vice versa, lots of repetitions and redundances amongst them. A lack of editorial work (i.e. a more or less haphazard selection of the contributors and an unsatisfactory introduction to the anthology as a whole) bores and disappoints the reader attracted by the promising title of the anthology. Fortunately, none of these deficits are to be found in the recent publication edited by the West-German modern historian Klaus J. Bade. His anthology includes a wide range of aspects of 'Population, Labour and Migration in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany' as they have been discussed within and between the different social sciences in West-Germany since the 1980s.

The scientific discussion about the so-called 'guestworker' question in West Germany started with economic, socio-psychological and political-practical debates in the 1960s. Twenty years later migration research has become a relatively autonomous field within the social sciences which succeeds in incorporating more general, international, comparative and, in particular, historical research. The present symposium, being addressed to the English-speaking countries (see the preface of Ritter, Pöls and Nicholls as the editors of the series 'German Historical Perspectives Series', pp.ix-x), compiles and summarizes the current debate among West-German scientists who concentrate upon this integrated historical

perspective. With Klaus J. Bade, the volume was edited by one of the most prominent representatives of Modern History in West-Germany who has published numerous articles and books on the German history of migration. His main publication 'Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland?' (Berlin, 1983), a survey describing and discussing Germany's ambivalent change from a 'country of emigration' to a 'country of immigration' has greatly influenced West-German migration research.

In his introduction to the present volume, Bade comments the scientific, political and modern historical context of the essential issues. According to him 'present-day migration... arises from tensions conditioned by the past, and can only be evaluated in terms of a knowledge of completed, and therefore historical, migration process' (p.8f.). Therefore the symposium which comprises nine contributions written by several historians and one sociologist links the processes of internal, of continental and of transatlantic migration with the present-day (im-)migration.

The historical surveys first deal with the demographic development, i. e. the decline of fertility and mortality in Germany during the last two centuries (Peter Marschalck) and the formation and development of the labour market, labour force and living conditions in Germany in three phases between 1850 and 1980 (Tony Pierenkemper). Marschalck primarily discusses the traditional model of 'demographic transition' which was created after the turn-of-the century to differentiate agrarian from industrial societies. Taking the importance of behavioural and social changes into account, Marschalck comes to the conclusion that this model has to be

relinquished and that demography itself is a discipline in permanent transition (cf.p.31-33). Pierenkemper, though interested in the main events and patterns (i.e. the development of so-called proto-industrial and industrial employment and of social welfare), stresses upon occupational, sectoral and regional differences and especially upon differences according to sex and age.

Supporting and emphasizing these general perspectives, a second part of historical contributions deals with other aspects of German migration. Migration processes in 19th-century Germany and up to the 1950s in the Federal Republic predominately took place as internal migration (in case of long distances from east to west), as continental immigration (specially since the 1890s) and as transatlantic migration (particularly from south-west Germany to the United States). In his article about 'Labour, Migration, and the State' in Imperial and Weimar Germany, Klaus J. Bade presents a survey of these developments and kinds of migration which he considers as being strongly interdependent (cf.p.61). Bade depicts the increase of market observation and governmental intervention, specially during World War I, but doesn't see imperial Germany as being a country of 'true immigration' (p.72). Such an ambivalent position towards immigration seems to be a continuous and typical pattern of German policies concerning foreign migrant workers or immigrants until today.

Dieter Langewiesche's and Friedrich Lenger's 'brief sketch' (p.93) as they themselves call their contribution about 'Internal Migration', explores the 'huge migratory streams passing through German cities of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', which were more important as the small number of migrants became 'permanent residents' (p.88-89). Summarizing, the most important but incoherent results and methods in the field of demographic research the authors have to admit that many issues, questions and interpretations still remain unanswered or open to debate; though, 'the relative immobility of families seems clear' (p.93).

The following, rather sociological than historical contribution by Christoph Klessmann deals with the 'Ruhr-Poles' as an ethnic

minority between 'social integration and national segregation' (p.102). Although some similarities with the foreign 'guest-workers' of today are obvious, Klessmann insists on the socially and politically special situation of the Polish minority in the Ruhr district. Reinhard R. Doerries' article on 'German Transatlantic Migration' again can be described as a historical essay which focusses on the major developments and the main research topics. The most interesting controversy discussed here is the question if the (mass) emigration of Germans to the United States can be adequately described as a 'voluntary act': 'Poverty, political oppression, religious intolerance and social ostracism may conceivably have taken on such powerful dimensions for an individual or group that to speak of a voluntary decision may be closely akin to cynicism' (p.120). Bade's second - including his introduction - contribution is entitled: 'Transatlantic Emigration and Continental Immigration: The German Experience Past and Present'. Here he presents and discusses often-repeated but still controversial issues of the debate centering on the different assessments of Germany's migration politics by the historical and social sciences. This article - in contrast to the hitherto existing contributions - gives information and details on the present-day situation of migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany. Bade finally comes to the conclusion that the Federal Republic 'is not a 'country of immigration' in the classic meaning of the word' (cf.p.162).

In the volume's last contribution the sociologist Hermann Korte comments on the West-German guestworker - and migration - research stressing the links between social sciences and the public and political debates. Following the presentation of different phases of foreign workers' employment and the major fields of research in the Federal Republic, Korte criticizes the politicians as well as the social scientists. According to him, both of them are too strongly oriented towards the two traditional concepts (seasonal workers vs. immigrants) instead of taking account of the increasing tendencies of 'lifelong residence or that of selective integration' (p.179). Korte argues - for the greater part rather polemically - against the terms and ideological concepts used (to some extent unconsciously) by his sociological colleagues.

The anthology is concluded by a very helpful 'Select Bibliography' to the various topics discussed (from 'General', 'Population', etc. to 'Foreign Labour: Present Problems'). All in all, I can recommend this anthology as a thoroughly compiled and interesting survey on 'the most varied forms of emigration and immigration Germans abroad and foreigners in Germany have experienced', as Bade described the general theme in his introduction (cf.p.5). This appraisal is also justified, because the several contributions are not only descriptive and informative but deal with the main controversies within the several historical and social disciplines and with an awareness of the complexity of historical and modern historical processes.

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