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Review Article: Migration in Germany

MATHIAS BEER, MARTIN KINTZINGER, and MARITA KRAUSS, eds. *Migration und Integration: Aufnahme und Eingliederung im historischen Wandel*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997. Pp. 167. DM 64.00; ANDREAS GESTRICH and MARITA KRAUSS, eds. *Migration und Grenze*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. Pp. 166. DM 68.00; STEVE HOCHSTADT. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999. Pp. xx, 331. $52.50 (US); JAMES H. JACKSON, JR. *Migration and Urbanization in the Ruhr Valley, 1821-1914*. Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1997. Pp. xix, 452. $85.00 (US); KLAUS J. BADE and MYRON WEINER, eds. *Migration Past, Migration Future: Germany and the United States*. Providence: Berghahn, 1997. Pp. xvii, 158. $29.95 (US); RAINER MÜNZ and MYRON WEINER, eds. *Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Policy: US and German Policies toward Countries of Origin*. Providence: Berghahn, 1997. Pp. xvi, 368. $59.95 (US); KAY HAILBRONNER, DAVID A. MARTIN, and HIROSHI MOTOMURA, eds. *Immigration Admissions: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States*. Providence: Berghahn, 1997. Pp. xii, 284. $49.95 (US); ALBRECHT WEBER, ed. *Einwanderungsland Bundesrepublik Deutschland in der Europäischen Union: Gestaltungsauftrag und Regelungsmöglichkeiten*. Osnabrück: Universitätsverlag Rasch, 1997. Pp. 381. DM 56.00.

CONTRARY TO SIMPLISTIC constructs of Germanic peoples, the subjects of the Habsburg and Hohenzollern empires and the German principalities were ethnically heterogeneous and geographically mobile. Rural Flemish, urban Protestant Dutch, and Huguenot immigrants intermingled with the various peoples of German ethnicity; 'Prussians' were not a Germanic but a Baltic people; and, at the congress of Vienna in 1815, the inhabitants of the Hohenzollern state were considered to be a Slavic nation: its citizenship law of 1842 made residence rather than descent the criterion for naturalization.[1] The Habsburg state, too, was a self-defined *Vielvölkerstaat*, a state of many peoples.

When, in the 1880s, labour migrants – mainly Poles, some Ruthenians, and in

1 D. Gosewinkel, 'Die Staatsangehörigkeit als Institution des Nationalstaats. Zur Entstehung des Reichs- und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetzes von 1913', in *Offene Staatlichkeit. Festschrift für Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. R. Grawert et al. (Berlin, 1995), pp. 359-78.

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the south Italians – began arriving in the German Reich as a rotating labour force, a restrictive citizenship law emphasizing descent (*ius sanguinis*) was passed in 1913, and with minor modifications, it remained in force after 1945 and formed the basis for naturalization into the 1980s. 'Foreign workers' were not granted the status of immigrants. In the Weimar Republic, 1918-33, non-German people were called 'foreign-language sections of the people' (*fremdsprachige Volksteile*) and were refused status as minorities; during the two world wars, they became forced or even disposable labourers.

While these aspects of the composition of Germany's population still receive little scholarly attention, historians in both Germany and the United States have concentrated since the 1960s on the emigration from Germany of a total of six million people between 1815 and 1914 and after the two world wars.[1] The emphasis social scientists and historical economists beginning with Max Weber, like their contemporaries at the Chicago School of Sociology, had placed on rural-urban migrations and dislocation was challenged by Wolfgang Köllmann and others, who pointed to the high percentages of in-migrants in functioning urban communities.[2] East-West migrations from East Elbian agrarian villages and latifundia to the industries of Berlin, Saxony, and the Ruhr district also began to attract attention.[3] In the two Germanies in the late 1970s, research on Polish workers in the Ruhr district before the First World War,[4] and on the continuity of foreign

1 P. Marschalck, *Deutsche Ueberseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1973) and subsequently, studies by G. Moltmann, H. Keil, W. Helbich et al., C. Harzig, and others. In the United States, K. Conzen, W. Kamphoefner, S. Nadel, and others studied immigration. See review essays by Dirk Hoerder, 'Introduction' and 'Research on the German Migrations, 1820s to 1930s: A Report on the State of German Scholarship', in *People in Transit: German Migrations in Comparative Perspective*, ed. D. Hoerder and J. Nagler (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 1-16, 399-421. Emigration to and acculturation in Canada remained in a framework of filiopietism for a long time: D. Hoerder, 'German-Speaking Immigrants of Many Backgrounds and the 1990s Canadian Identity', in *Austrian Immigration to Canada: Selected Essays*, ed. F. A. J. Szabo (Ottawa, 1996), pp. 11-31.

2 W. Köllmann, 'Industrialisierung, Binnenwanderung, und "Soziale Frage". Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Industriegrossstädte im 19. Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, xlvi (1959), 45-70; 'Les Mouvements migratoires pendant la grande période d'industrialisation de la Rhénanie-Westphalie', *Annales de démographie historique* (1971), pp. 91-120.

3 W. Brepohl, *Der Aufbau des Ruhrvolkes im Zuge der Ost-West-Wanderung. Beiträge zur deutschen Sozialgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen, 1948); K. J. Bade, '"Preussengänger" und "Abwehrpolitik": Ausländerbeschäftigung, Ausländerpolitik und Ausländerkontrolle auf dem Arbeitsmarkt in Preussen vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, xxiv (1984), 91-283, and 'Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg. Überseeische Auswanderung, interne Abwanderung und kontinentale Zuwanderung', *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, xx (1980), 265-323.

4 C. Klessmann, *Polnische Bergarbeiter im Ruhrgebiet, 1870-1945* (Göttingen, 1978) and 'Polish Miners in the Ruhr District: Their Social Situation and Trade Union Activity', in *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization*, ed. D. Hoerder (Westport, 1985), pp. 253-76; K. Murzynowska, *Polskie wychodztwo zarobkowe w Zaglebiu Ruhry 1880-1914* (Wrocław, 1972), German ed. *Die polnischen Erwerbsauswanderer im Ruhrgebiet während der Jahre, 1880-1914* (Dortmund, 1979); D. F. Crew, *Town on the Ruhr: A Social History of Bochum, 1860-1914* (New York, 1979); R. C. Murphy, *Gastarbeiter im Deutschen Reich. Polen in Bottrop, 1891-1933* (Wuppertal, 1982), Engl. ed., *Guestworkers in the German*

forced-labour migrations from the 1880s to 1945, was added to the agenda.[1] But scholarship did not integrate emigration, urban migration, and East-West migration into an interrelated whole.[2]

The flight of political opponents and Jews under the Nazi regime was treated separately, a domain of Holocaust studies rather than migration research. Belatedly, research on in-migration of temporary workers – 'guestworkers' – recruited since 1955, was begun by concerned scholars as social-work-induced applied scholarship or as state-sponsored studies of 'problem groups'. By the 1980s, migration and acculturation studies were established as part of sociology.[3]

In the 1980s, research on emigration, immigration, and internal migration began to be integrated, and the period extended backwards to cover German migrations eastwards, medieval mobility, the settlement of religious refugees in seventeenth-century Germany, and the multiple internal migrations during industrialization.[4] By the mid-1980s, the increasing emphasis on ethnicity incorporated US approaches to the subject into the German debate.[5] German work became part of the English-language international discourse;[6] and some scholars also joined the debates in France on migration and heterogeneity in nation states.[7]

Reich: A Polish Community in Wilhelminian Germany (Boulder, 1983); J. Kulczycki, *The Foreign Worker and the German Labor Movement: Xenophobia and Solidarity in the Coal Fields of the Ruhr, 1871-1914* (New York, 1994).

1 L. Elsner and J. Lehmann, *Ausländische Arbeiter unter dem deutschen Imperialismus 1900 bis 1985* (Berlin-Ost, 1988); U. Herbert, *Geschichte der Ausländerbeschäftigung in Deutschland 1880 bis 1980. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter* (West Berlin, 1986), Engl. ed., *A History of Foreign Labor in Germany 1880-1980. Seasonal Workers – Forced Laborers – Guest Workers*, trans. W. Templer (Ann Arbor, 1991).

2 For a review of the literature, see Jackson, *Migration and Urbanization*, pp. 19-23, 293-6, and Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity*, ch. 1.

3 To list only two of hundreds of titles, W.-D. Bukow and R. Llaryora, *Mitbürger aus der Fremde. Soziogenese ethnischer Minoritäten* (Opladen, 1988) and H. Heinelt and A. Lohmann, *Immigranten im Wohlfahrtsstaat. Rechtspositionen und Lebensverhältnisse* (Opladen, 1992). Both contain extensive bibliographies. The newest data on immigrants/foreigners are compiled annually in the report of the Federal Commissioner of Foreigners, *Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Bonn, since 1994).

4 For a review essay, see K. J. Bade, 'Trends and Issues of Historical Migration Research in the Federal Republic of Germany', *Migration*, vi (1989), 7-28. An early study is D. Langewiesche, 'Wanderungsbewegungen in der Hochindustrialisierungsphase. Regionale, interstädtische und innerstädtische Mobilität in Deutschland 1880-1914', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, lxiv (1977), 1-40. A survey of German migrations is presented in *Deutsche im Ausland – Fremde in Deutschland. Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. K. J. Bade (Munich, 1992). A representative sample of recent research is provided in *People in Transit*, ed. Hoerder and Nagler.

5 H. Esser, *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie. Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten. Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse* (Darmstadt, 1980); *Einwanderung, Integration, Ethnische Bindung. Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups. Eine deutsche Auswahl*, ed. D. Elschenbroich (Frankfurt, 1985); F. Heckmann, *Ethnische Minderheiten, Volk und Nation. Soziologie inter-ethnischer Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1992).

6 *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, ed. Hoerder; *Migration – Ethnizität – Konflikt: Systemfragen und Fallstudien*, ed. K. Bade (Osnabrück, 1996).

7 See, e.g., *Immigration et société urbaine en Europe occidentale, XVIe-XXe siècle*, ed. E. François (Paris, 1985).

Migration und Integration and *Migration und Grenze* use the concepts of integration and borders for a broad study of migration from the early Roman Empire to the present to illustrate the growing importance of research on population mobility across epochs and civilizations. The first demonstrates that migrations and imperial population policies as far back as those of Rome and Byzantium may be analysed in terms of politically mandated cultural interaction. As several other anthologies have also shown,[1] research into medieval migrations has become a highly sophisticated field. The essays in *Migration und Integration* by Bruno Koch on admission of medieval urban in-migrants to citizenship (in cities, not states) and by J. Friedrich Battenberg on the integration of Jews under the *ancien régime* show how *Fremdheit* ('otherness') in dynastic societies referred to anyone from outside a city, even if they spoke the same language. Aliens were admitted at pleasure and their rights depended on good behaviour. The standard perspective on urban in-migration – population replacement owing to high death rates – is expanded to a detailed study of integration procedures: Battenberg's analysis of the economic function of Jewish communities in one of the Hessian states shows that social history yields a more comprehensive view than approaches that restrict questions to exclusion, ascribed ethnicity, and suffering.

Andreas Gestrich's analysis of early nineteenth-century marriage migration between neighbouring villages in southern Germany, finds that women moving only a few kilometres had to change habits, dress, and socio-political status; they also had to foreswear all rights and claims in their community of origin and gain formal admission into the community of their future husbands. All legal ties affecting everyday life were to the community rather than to the state or nation. G. Fischer's well-researched essay on the destruction of the German-Australian community under the xenophobia caused in the British Empire by the First World War, however, is an odd inclusion in a volume concentrating on Central Europe and hardly referring to German diasporas elsewhere.

Mathias Beer's analysis of German policies towards post-Second World War refugees and expellees shows that the Allies were planning population relocations analogous to the Greek-Turkish exchanges after 1918, and the German authorities had made no contingency plans for these mass arrivals.[2] The complex terminology used after 1945 to differentiate between the many groups of refugees and expellees was homogenized in two contradictory moves. The early integrative term 'new citizens' was changed to *Heimatvertriebene*, expellees, in order to claim eastern

1 *Migration in der Feudalgesellschaft*, ed. G. Jaritz and A. Müller (Frankfurt, 1988); *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. XIII-XVIII*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi (Florence, 1994).

2 Similarly, when Nazi population planners uprooted East European Germans settled for generations in order to relocate them to Polish territories contiguous to the Reich, the expelled Poles and uprooted Germans ended up mostly in camps. Resettlement overtaxed bureaucrats' capabilities; a gendered approach might point out that the (re-)establishment of relationships is traditionally part of the sphere of women.

territories as German ethnic soil, an ideological construct that encouraged the formation of revanchist organizations and hindered the conciliatory *Ostpolitik* decades later. Marita Krauss's introductory survey of concepts of integration, including the psychological dimension, relies on German-language and Canadian publications, but short-changes US and German English-language scholarship.[1] The volume nevertheless provides a welcome and stimulating perspective on the all-encompassing character of migration research.

Migration und Grenze starts from a diametrically opposed approach, the meaning of borderlines in history. The authors jettison the exclusiveness so dear to theoreticians of nation states and territoriality. Political-territorial borders, sometimes called 'natural' borders by those interested in maintaining them – or reaching them in expansionist moves – may be, but are not necessarily, congruent with the cultural borders of creeds, languages, epochs, and communities. Without reference to the intensive debate in postmodern literary studies, the authors find that borderlands were zones of peaceful or military interaction which only became demarcation lines in the twentieth century.

The essays are arranged thematically: the perception of borders by migrants, boundary construction through migration, and impact of boundaries on migration. Two essays deal with borders in ancient Rome (Holger Sonnabend, Lothar Wierschowski), and three on the Middle Ages deal with cartography (Folker Reichert) and the establishment of borders in England (Eberhard Kaiser, Harald Kleinschmidt). Cartography permits insights into attitudes to borders that have to be drawn, though the defining category remains unclear – a river, a political claim, or a linguistic boundary. Borders that appear fixed to twentieth-century inhabitants of nation states had to be negotiated, could vary by criterion applied, and did not separate clearly.

The German-French border, and for that matter all the borders of France, for example, changed in meaning in 1789. Previously, the territorial line had not necessarily divided cultures, as in many areas French or Germanic languages were spoken on both sides of the political line that emerged from accidents of dynastic rule, inheritance, and marriage. After the success of the French Revolution, it became a border between epochs and systems – monarchical and bourgeois-democratic rule. Migrating across the dividing line permitted refugee nobles from France to remain nobles, if in a different culture, and permitted commoners to change from subject to citizen (Axel Kuhn).

Only in the modern period of nation states, ethnic cleansing, and totalitarian regimes do borders take on a divisive meaning. To flee from Nazi Germany meant hope for survival but loss of childhood, youth, societal values, and norms without hope for return; to cross the political line was possible only after a person had

1 German and Canadian approaches are available in *Comparative Analysis of Socio-Cultural Problems in the Metropolis*, ed. D. Hoerder and R.-O. Schultze (Augsburg, 1999).

crossed a line in his or her emotions, mentality, and intellectual capacity (Marita Krauss). When, after the end of the war, the demarcation line between the two Germanies cut through regional cultures and family relationships, decisions whether to migrate were politically imposed: non-migration meant adjustment to a new system while departure implied continuity (Rainer Potratz). Finally, a study of south-eastern Europe emphasizes the lack of perceived borders in nineteenth-century westward labour migrations. Rather, migration was a way to earn a living with the possibility of return or to support part of the family in the old way of life by wages from the new. At the time of the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and the territorial (rather than peace) settlement of 1918/19, the meaning of migration changed again: people moved to territories where co-religionists, co-ethnics, or co-nationals lived, and the period of ethnic 'unmixing' or cleansing began. *Migration und Grenze* is a welcome counterbalance to national histories that often misunderstand the role of cultural and political borders as well as migrations. Some of the essays are more factual, others more interpretative; however, a summary of the complex argument for teachers and students would have been useful.

Steve Hochstadt's and James H. Jackson's work, until recently available only in scattered essays, has been seminal in integrating and revising nineteenth- and twentieth-century internal, inbound, and outbound German migrations. Their work, based on the detailed migration registers they discovered for the district of Düsseldorf in west-central Germany between the 1820s and 1860s, disposes of modernization theory and casts new light on urbanization. Jackson provides an in-depth study of one city, Hochstadt a detailed country-wide study of Germany. Since much of recent scholarship has emphasized emigration, Jackson in a striking graph (Figure 6.1, p. 306) demonstrates the minuscule rate of emigration per 100 residents (less than 1 even at the height of emigration) as compared to internal migration (up to 40 in 100), an issue that has been raised by Georg Fertig and by Heinz Fassmann for Austria-Hungary.[1] With much more quantitative detail, Hochstadt and Jackson continue the work of Adna F. Weber, who argued that, between 1820 and 1890, the population increase in major European cities was mainly caused by net in-migration: 100% of the increase in St Petersburg, 72% in Munich, 64% in Paris, 57% in Copenhagen, 40% in Leipzig.[2]

Jackson explores migration and the housing crisis, segmented labour markets, and the position of immigrants in Duisburg, combining the issues of gender, class, and family economies. In Duisburg in the mid-1850s, the rate of in- and out-

1 G. Fertig, 'Eighteenth-Century Transatlantic Migration and Early German Anti-Migration Ideology', in *Migrations, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, ed. J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen (Berne, 1997), pp. 271-90; H. Fassmann, 'Emigration, Immigration, and Internal Migration in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1910', in *Roots of the Transplanted*, ed. D. Hoerder et al. (Boulder, 1994), i. 253.

2 A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics* (1899; Ithaca, 1967), pp. 230-84.

migration (gross) per 100 inhabitants was 16 per year: 'twice as many people moved in and out of town every year as were born or died there.'[1] Demographers who limit themselves to rates of 'natural' population development through birth, marriage, and death thus provide little insight on population distribution and human agency. By 1900, the annual rate of in- and out-migration had increased to more than 40 per 100 inhabitants, and between 15% and 35% of the resident population changed its address each year. One out of six in-migrants was a foreigner, from the Netherlands, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Russia, and other states: at the turn of the century, one resident in ten did not speak German as a first language (p. 301). This finding, which compares to research on Vienna, St Petersburg, Lodz, and other cities[2] is particularly important in connection with the neo-nationalist debates in Europe. Immigration and multiculturalism are not new to the late twentieth century: immigrant families raised 'ethnic' children and intermarriage made newcomers invisible.

Jackson is on the cutting edge of *Alltagsgeschichte*: no study of everyday life may bypass the socio-geographical origin of its subjects. Jointly with Leslie Page Moch, who wrote an influential survey of West European migration, he developed a 'systems approach' for migration history, and this informs his book.[3] The approach includes the regional and national political and economic framework as well as ethnic conflict and nationalism into the analysis of migration.

Hochstadt uses Düsseldorf as his sample, but rather than analysing the impact of migration on people's lives, he addresses the interpretation of German nineteenth-century migration as a whole and questions its underlying theoretical assumptions, none of which fits the data. After a persuasive critique of the construct of net migration as an indicator of urban growth and people's behaviour, he develops 'migration rates' and 'migration structure' as analytical tools. Rates denote the frequency with which moves occur in a population and permit analysis of human behaviour; structure unifies 'the characteristics of the migration streams into and out of geographical space' and relates them to social and economic developments. Like Jackson, Hochstadt emphasizes the high number of moves needed for even minimal increases in a city's population, and in a brilliant, yet cautious, process of generalization, he places his data in comparative German perspective.

1 J. H. Jackson, 'Migration in Duisburg, 1821-1914', in *People in Transit*, ed. Hoerder and Nagler, pp. 147-75; S. Hochstadt, 'Migration and Industrialization in Germany, 1815-1977', *Social Science History*, v (1981), 445-68.

2 J. H. Bater, *St Petersburg: Industrialization and Change* (London, 1976); M. John and A. Lichtblau, *Schmelztiegel Wien einst und jetzt. Zur Geschichte und Gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten* (2nd ed., Vienna, 1993); B. Kopczynska-Jaworska, 'Lodz – Zur Geschichte der Stadt und zur Kultur des Arbeitermilieus (von den Anfängen bis 1939)', in *Zentrale Städte und ihr Umland. Wechselwirkungen während der Industrialisierungsperiode in Mitteleuropa*, ed. M. Glettler et al. (St Katherinen, 1985), pp. 45-59.

3 L. P. Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington, 1992); J. H. Jackson, Jr. and L. P. Moch, 'Migration and the Social History of Modern Europe', *Historical Methods*, xxii (1989), 27-36.

With regional variations, nineteenth-century patterns of in- and out-migration to and from cities were similar across the German states. To understand why people moved so frequently, he discusses the socio-economic determinants of migration both in the countryside and in urban economies. The increasing seasonality of agricultural labour, a well-known phenomenon, was matched by the seasonality of urban work, an aspect of industrialization frequently overlooked. Urban industries, food processing, brickmaking and construction, shipbuilding and coal mining all depended on the seasons and provided year-round employment only for part of the staff. For single women and men, factory work was a cycle in their life-courses, single men showing higher mobility than women, both leaving the city to marry; their migrations hardly added to urban population. Mobility deprived men of their voting rights and both sexes of access to welfare. However, in-migrating young families had a propensity to stay, and their migration resulted in population growth. Thus, as some students of migration have suspected, intra-European and transatlantic migrations cannot be studied without a study of rural patterns of work.[1] Second, as no mono-directional migration and change of life-styles towards a modernity, however defined, occurred, modernization theory collapses. In fact, the theoretical approaches to the formation of an urban proletariat developed by historians of Russian society, starting from the interrelatedness of village and city, are more convincing and better fit the German data.

Hochstadt's sources undercut the consensus from Jürgen Kocka to Klaus Bade (pp. 109-10) that frequency of migration increased during the high period of industrialization in the 1870s or even as late as 1890. Rather, the data show a sustained rise in migration rates in the first half of the century, a levelling off during the last decades of the century, and a sustained decline of migration rates beginning in the 1920s, a development Hochstadt traces up to 1989. The data, he concludes, do not support standard notions about industrialization and mobility. In a further step, Hochstadt compares his findings to those for cities in other countries, and again cautiously argues for similarities across Europe. I have long been critical of the compartmentalization of history into ever smaller subfields: had agricultural historians and urban historians talked to each other, we could have reconceptualized migration structures decades ago. Hochstadt's findings also re-emphasize that European cities were immigrant cities even if, compared to North America, language barriers were reduced to differences between dialects. The notion of the steel industry as indicator of industrialization also falls by the wayside: food and garment-making not only preceded steel, but they also had more important consequences on men's and women's work in cottage production and family economies.

Jackson's and Hochstadt's discovery of new sources is only a stepping stone.

1 J. Lucassen, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600-1900: The Drift to the North Sea* (Beckenham, 1986; Dutch original, 1984); Hoerder, *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies*, 'Introduction'.

Much more important is their willingness to pursue questions outside of established schools and citation clusters, to look across boundaries of subfields. Taken together, they bridge the chasm between structural and everyday, local and national history; both books are indispensable for students of German history. The only criticism concerns the organization of Jackson's book. In order to provide continuity, the study is organized chronologically, with description of sources, historiographical comments, and discussion of the respective phase of industrialization in each chapter. As subheadings are not included in the table of contents, readers have to search through the book to pursue one theme or to find sections of particular interest to them. The book – including the bibliography – contains a considerable number of typos and misspellings as well as undeleted printers' marks.

The collections by Klaus J. Bade and Myron Weiner, Kay Hailbronner et al., and Rainer Münz et al., all appear in the series 'Migration and Refugees: Politics and Policies in the United States and Germany', which presents the results of a two-year study by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences with the financial support of a German-American foundation.[1]

In absolute numbers, the United States and Germany have been the two largest recipients of immigrants since the Second World War. However, to have comparative meaning, absolute figures of voluntary and refugee migration need to be expressed in ratios of immigrants per 1,000 resident population. Furthermore, to avoid Atlanto-centrism and to reach the global scale in which migrants have been moving for a century and a half, Asian countries might have warranted attention (Weiner, the series editor, is one of the foremost experts on South Asian migration). To place the books under review in the context of research elsewhere, one must consider the comparative approaches of the research group at the University of Lund under the direction of Göran Rystad, which include Canadian and Australian policies and deal with present-day European migration as a whole.[2] As regards labour migration, the 31st Linz International Conference of Labour Historians was devoted to nineteenth- and twentieth-century connections between labour movements and labour migrants on a global scale.[3]

Bade and Weiner's book summarizes the historical background as well as the data for migrations after 1945, and Germany's transformation from an emigration to an immigration country, a field in which Bade has published for two decades. Although the by-now well-known data are repeated briefly, the essay concentrates on an analysis of 'public discussion and national policies' (pp. 12-21) in terms of

1 Further volumes include *Immigration Controls: The Search for Workable Policies in Germany and the United States*, ed. K. Hailbronner et al. (1998) and *Paths to Inclusion: The Integration of Migrants in the United States and Germany*, ed. P. Schuck and R. Münz (1998).
2 *Encountering Strangers: Responses and Consequences*, ed. G. Rystad (Lund, 1997), with a summary of the research projects, pp. 5-85.
3 *Labour Movement and Migration*, ed. B. Groppo and C. Schindler (Vienna, 1996).

demand for foreign labour on the one hand and the concepts of Germanness that mushroomed between the 1880s and the 1930s on the other. He poignantly contrasts 'native foreigners' – children of immigrant workers not admitted to German citizenship – and 'foreign Germans', the third- or xth-generation descendants of German eastbound emigrants. The latter, contrary to widespread assumptions, do not enter Germany under *ius sanguinis* constructions of 'ethnic Germans' but under a post-war clause concerning refugees, deportees, and others of German ancestry. For admission, they have to prove adherence to German culture; thus notions of Germanness do enter into the process. As these 'ethnic Germans' hold citizenship automatically upon arrival, they do not show up in naturalization statistics. Bade pinpoints the 'German paradox: immigration country without immigration policy', which results in 'a peculiarly German type of multicultural identity' (pp. 28-9).

In the same volume, Münz and Ralf Ulrich provide an excellent quantitative summary and analysis of immigration to Germany between 1945 and 1995. They discern six phases of immigration from immediate post-war German refugees to Third World refugees in the 1990s. The data show a steep increase in naturalizations after 1990 when the federal citizenship law, based on a law of the Reich of 1913, was amended; the new foreigners law (*Ausländergesetz*) permitted children of 'guestworkers' to become German citizens under simplified procedures and reduced fees. Münz and Ulrich point to the ageing native-born German population and the need for the immigration of young working-age men and women, who, as tax-paying members of the state-mandated social-security system, will support elderly Germans; without this immigration, massive cuts in old-age pensions would have to take place. This perspective has forced even conservative opponents of non-German immigration to rethink their position.

These two essays, and those by R. Ueda and Frank D. Bean et al. on the United States, provide well-integrated data and analyses. As introductions to the field, the texts are excellent teaching materials. For specialists, other more detailed publications of Bade and Münz provide more information, though mostly in German.[1]

The ten authors in Münz and Weiner's *Migrants, Refugees, and Foreign Policy* deal with migration in the Russian Federation, refugees from the former Yugoslavia, German policies towards 'ethnic German minorities,' new labour migration as an instrument of German foreign policy, and – comparatively – with northward migration from Mexico and the Caribbean, causes of refugee flows, the possibilities of early military intervention to prevent them, and policies to reduce refugee flows. Because of the limitation of the series to Germany and the United States, the broader perspectives of refugee arrivals in Europe as a whole both from former colonies and from the developing countries in general is not mentioned, except in the summary. This reduces the collection's value as, under European Union

1 See also *Internationale Wanderungen*, ed. R. Münz et al. (Berlin, 1994).

treaties, admission, or rather exclusion, policies are increasingly co-ordinated. The European-centred collection of Fassmann and Münz provides broader coverage.[1]

Hailbronner et al. begin their book with a thoughtful essay by Joseph Carens on ethics and immigration policies: moral perspectives within liberal democracies are increasingly reduced to statist concepts of controlling borders. The topic is taken up by a reflection on the importance of the 1951 Geneva Convention on Refugees by Joan Fitzpatrick. Discounting the intensifying criticism, Fitzpatrick argues for the continued validity of the Convention because it enshrines the principle of *non-refoulement* – refugees should not forcibly be returned to the site of the persecution – and because its openness permits generous interpretations. While she does note that 'ungenerous implementation' has become the rule in most countries (p. 221), the arguments for giving asylum on the grounds of persecution because of gender made in Canada, Britain, and Norway, for example, prove the Convention's potential in the 1990s. Hiroshi Motomura's comparison of family admissions in Germany and the United States is, somewhat abstractly, presented as a lesson for an imaginary country called Ruritania. Even the allusion to 'rural' misrepresents the primarily urban migration destinations.

Because of its European context and broad scope, the volume edited by Albrecht Weber is the most useful of the three dealing with present policy-making. He posits a political statement in the title '*Einwanderungsland*' (immigration country), in opposition to the German federal government's non-policy, but in keeping with immigration realities and with the position taken by most experts in the field.[2] It seems doubtful that superannuated German politicians will listen. Weber summarizes the issues involved in his introduction, and Reinhard Lohrmann in broad but concise strokes surveys international migration dynamics. Yann Moulier Boutang surveys the European Union as an immigration region, and the problems posed by capital's financial interest in low-wage immigrants to the highly developed social-security systems. A detailed analysis of the age structure and population projections (Herwig Birg) and of labour market consequences (Heiko Körner) complete the study of the framework in sending and receiving countries. The comparative presentation of immigration policies in the United States, Canada, and Australia (Weber), of Britain (P. Panayi), of France (K. Manfrass), and of the Netherlands (H. Entzinger) is followed by an exposition of the main issues involved in immigration legislation for Germany. The concluding

1 *European Migration in the Late 20th Century: Historical Patterns, Actual Trends, and Social Implications*, ed. H. Fassmann and R. Münz (Laxenburg, 1994).

2 The volume appeared as no. 5 of the series 'Schriften des Instituts für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS)', Osnabrück University. Other titles include A. Wennemann, *Arbeit im Norden. Italiener im Rheinland und Westfalen des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts* (1997); *Fremde im eigenen Land. Zuwanderung und Eingliederung im Raum Niedersachsen seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg*, ed. K. J. Bade (1997); and *Social Security in the European Union of Tomorrow*, ed. E. Eichhofer (1997).

section again places the German situation in a European perspective. The volume is accessible to non-German readers through English-language abstracts.

Oberndörfer and Berndt in their essay touch on the issue underlying all of the debates, the hybrid polities of a Western world that attempt to reconcile two often contradictory principles, democratic constitutionalism and territorially bounded sovereign nation states or state nations. The human right of free migration and selection of domicile are countered by concepts of state sovereignty. Policies resulting from the latter are supported by populations fearing economic decline and the loss of 'national' culture – national cultures which, in fact, expunge from memory the many-cultured inputs of the past.[1] Human rights and 'Western' politics demand freedom of movement as freedom of exit from Communist states but not from Third World states with 'coloured' populations. Human rights and the freedom to migrate, however, seem to end at the borders of sovereign states who claim the right to refuse entry. Any policy dealing with the economic issues of global migration demands a critique of capitalism and of European, subsequently Atlantic, hegemony and domination of the terms of trade. A statist perspective rather than a global human rights perspective continues to dominate.

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The highly diverse theoretical issues raised in these studies indicate the broad scope of research on historical migrations and present-day policy-making in Germany. Scholars have been actively engaged in demanding immigration laws and integration measures.[2] While the study of historical migration evolved in the context of Atlantic social-science history and thus incorporates an international approach, the study of recent migration began as a German-centred, problem-oriented, research agenda. It has broadened to US-German exchange and to co-operation with scholars in Britain, France, and Canada, and even more so with scholars from the Netherlands and Sweden.

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1 The underlying conceptual issues are treated in *Citizenship and Exclusion: Crossing Boundaries of Disciplines and Countries*, ed. V. M. Bader (London, 1997).

2 *Das Manifest der 60. Deutschland und die Einwanderung*, ed. K. J. Bade (Munich, 1994); H. Rittstieg and G. C. Rowe, *Einwanderung als gesellschaftliche Herausforderung* (Baden-Baden, 1992); M. Wollenschläger, 'Konturen einer Einwanderungsgesetzgebung', in *Zuwanderung und Asyl in der Konkurrenzgesellschaft*, ed. B. Blanke (Opladen, 1993), pp. 259-74; D. Hoerder, 'Memorandum – Zuwanderungsland Bundesrepublik: Einwanderer, Flüchtlinge, Gäste. Entscheidungs- und Verwaltungsstrukturen für die Zukunft', *Zeitschrift für Sozialreform*, xl (1994), 233-59.