

Population, Labour, and Migration in 19th- and 20th-Century Germany.

Edited by *Klaus J. Bade*.

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\$27.50.

This well-edited collection of nine essays furnishes a broad, historical background for contemplating the question of foreign workers in West Germany and other countries. Overlapping little, the essays examine issues related to the interaction of migration, demographic change, and the labor market since 1815. Only one essay, Hermann Korte's, is focused on "guest workers" in West Germany. One of the collection's many strengths is that several contributors offer methodological and interpretative critiques of the literature.

Neither this book nor the debates it reflects can be appreciated without an awareness of the following: almost five million foreign workers and their families, mostly from Turkey and southeastern Europe, now reside in West Germany. There is virtually no possibility under West German law for these people or their descendants to become citizens. According to demographic studies, the "German" portion of the West German population is not reproducing itself and is unlikely to do so in the future.

Bade contributes to the collection an introduction and two other essays. He provides an animated account of the battles leading to the establishment of the discipline of social history in West Germany during the past two decades. He argues that Germany, once a country with many emigrants, has experienced a new type of immigration, and he traces the beginnings of this de facto immigration to the nineteenth century. Voicing a complaint echoed by Korte, Bade suggests that West German politicians and the public have not confronted this change.

Two of the essays present brief introductions to highly specialized disciplines. Analyzing the relationship between social change and demographic theory, Peter Marschalck offers a concise guide to debates among demographically oriented scholars during the past century. Toni Pierenkemper discusses the development of the labor market since the Napoleonic Wars and ends on an alarmist note, reflecting the uncertainty of many West Germans about the future: "Only with the 'economic miracle' of the 1950s did the standard of living in Germany reach a level which can be termed 'affluent'—a state of affairs once again threatened by the present employment crisis" (p. 58). The crisis to which Pierenkemper alludes is the increase in unemployment rates during the past decade.

Because of my own uneven knowledge of the fields covered by the essays, I found Dieter Langewiesche and Friedrich Lenger's "Internal Migration: Persistence and Mobility" to be the most suggestive in the collection. They suggest that the West German population's low degree of geographical mobility is a recent development. They trace a period of high mobility back to the early nineteenth century, before which the evidence is poor. Accelerated by industrialization and urbanization, high mobility, they conclude, ceased in the early twentieth century.

Christoph Klessmann offers a useful summary of his research on the large number of Polish workers, mostly miners, in the Ruhr. He argues that as a consequence of the repression of Polish nationality in imperial Germany they were moved to forge a Polish ethnic identity, but that this identity disintegrated rapidly when repression ceased during the Weimar Republic. Poles migrated to the new Poland and France, or remained in Germany and assimilated.

In "German Transatlantic Migration from the Early Nineteenth Century to the Outbreak of World War II," Reinhard R. Doerries seeks to reinvigorate the thesis identified in the United States with Oscar Handlin's notion of the "uprooted." Doerries portrays emigration as vast social upheaval, not the consequence of voluntary decisions made by migrants. Although his basic point seems incontestable, he does not confront the conclusions of Langewiesche and Lenger, which suggests to me the need to modify his thesis. Whether voluntary or involuntary—and posing this set of alternatives may be a red herring—transatlantic migration was not as unprecedented and unparalleled as we have often thought. In view of the high degree of mobility among the German populace in the nineteenth century, emigration can be seen as part of a recurring pattern whereby many people—second sons, unmarried daughters, landless peasants, and other marginal, surplus people—were expected to leave their birthplaces intermittently or permanently.

A poor translation unnecessarily narrows the audience for the invigorating, iconoclastic perspectives supplied by Korte's "Guestworker Question or Immigration Issue? Social Sciences and Public Debate in the Federal Republic of Germany." Dismissing what he regards as antiquated concepts of immigration and seasonal labor, Korte depicts guest workers in West Germany as examples of a new type of migrant, one who spends most of his working life in a foreign country. Conservative politicians and their followers have not grasped this situation, Korte argues; nor have German trade unions gone beyond discarding inapplicable theories of guest workers as labor reserve. But Korte is convinced that after many false starts West German schools are successfully meeting the needs of the guest workers' children. He attributes this success to the impact of the student movement of the 1960s, which forged a generation of school teachers and administrators no longer imbued with chauvinistic, often racist, notions about foreign workers.

Of all the contributors, Korte is the one least interested in history. Yet his fellow essayists assemble much material to indicate that the situation of guest workers in Western Europe is not, as he implies, unprecedented. The history of sojourners and remigrants, a subject dealt with briefly for the twentieth century by Bade, can shed needed light on today's guest workers.

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