

Weitere Rezensionen

Sylvia Hahn, **Migration – Arbeit – Geschlecht. Arbeitsmigration in Mitteleuropa vom 17. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts**, Göttingen: V & R unipress 2008, 282 pp., EUR 34,90, ISBN 978-3-89971-451-7.

The title of this book says it all. Sylvia Hahn offers a systematic, highly detailed and very satisfying study of labour migration and industrialisation, written from a gendered perspective. She, like many other scholars (including the author), finds it somewhat more difficult to offer the same level of gendered analysis for her secondary themes, on which the first two sections of the book (“History of Migration History” and “City, State, and Foreigners”) focus. While readers will learn much from these earlier sections – they provide a firm foundation for the exploration of migrant labour that follows and from which the book takes its title – it is in the third section that the benefits of gender analysis are most clearly displayed. Indeed, it is not going too far to say that Hahn’s study of the working populations of the cities, small towns and villages of Central Europe and of the family and individual migrations that linked all of these into a regional economy with significant extra-regional ties will long remain both a model of the region’s industrialisation for demographic and social science historians and an illustration of how to do and present gendered analysis of statistical data.

As someone who works in North America, where gender analysis has been embraced far more extensively by scholars in the humanities and by social scientists employing qualitative methods than by users of quantitative methodologies, it is a delight to note Hahn’s apparent ease in offering a gendered analysis of her largely statistical evidence on labour migrations as well as village-based and urban populations of workers. Methodologically, Hahn does exactly what scholars advocating greater attention to gender in quantitative studies have suggested: she consistently and systematically notes the gendering of work and life in particular sending districts where migrants originated, the gendering of particular migration streams, the gendering of particular industrial and urban working occupations and the gendering of native and migrant households and communities. She also contextualises these fundamental gender ratios (the balance of men to women in each group studied) with detailed descriptions of shifting living and working conditions for particular occupational categories, such as workers in construc-

tion, textile and metal factories, and domestic service. Here for the first time, scholars can see that the gendering of construction workers, single and mobile, occurred in part because domestic service became increasingly feminised and because textiles and metal and machinery factories, albeit in very different ways, recruited workers who were part of family migrations. Her exploration of these topics renders visible the migrants' range of choices and options, thus clearly illustrating both the agency of ordinary peasants, farmers, and urban workers and the constraints that they faced when pursuing individual and collective life goals.

As theoreticians could have predicted, it was an intersection of employer's strategies for recruiting particular kinds of labour and the gendering of labour in the villages and small towns from which labourers were drawn that produced the patterns of settlement and work characteristic of industrialising Central Europe. Hahn is able to identify the deepest origins, reaching back even to the late 1700s, of long-distance migrations of skilled male workers; these early labour migration circuits extended well beyond urban residents' understanding of the existing hinterland of their own region, and its boundaries. This early system of mobility in turn contributed to the spreading association of unskilled and short-distance migrations, including migrations that were generally also more gender-balanced, or in some cases predominantly female, either because they included large numbers of unmarried and single domestic servants, or because families moved sequentially or in groups to cities with gendered labour markets demanding both male and female labour. Without her careful research structure and equally careful attention to particular sending and receiving societies and particular occupations, Hahn could not have demonstrated as effectively as she does how work, gender, and 'belonging' in the receiving society became entwined. By posing important questions while studying regional networks and economies, Hahn can be far more sure of her conclusions than a scholar could who focused exclusively on aggregated data for an entire nation.

In her account of the "History of Migration History", Hahn also makes considerable progress toward explaining how a concern with gender fell from scholarly purview, making women generally statistically invisible as migrants and workers, and how feminist scholars have in recent years sought to rectify that omission. Although it is not completely clear from her study how the emerging methods of *Staatenkunde* worked to exclude a consideration of gender, her focus on early statistical studies does identify the exceptional scholars (e.g. Albert von Randow) who – much like the better known E. J. Ravenstein two decades later – made the effort to note differently gendered types of migration and different regions that included higher and lower representations of males or females. Too often, however, scholars and statisticians did not systematically provide gendered breakdowns of the populations that they documented and analysed. Personally, I would have liked Hahn's exploration of how scholars concerned with national economy created what we today call the 'sedentary bias' in data collection (and in historical analysis) to have said more about how mobility and immobility came to be

gendered, whether implicitly or explicitly; this is especially the case because her study makes it clear how these categories for analysing mobile and sedentary populations came to be understood in racial and ethnic terms. Like many scholars, Hahn concludes that attention to gender in migration studies first emerged from studies of migrant women by North American scholars and was adopted more slowly in other national schools of scholarship. Why this should have been the case remains to be explained by a thoroughly gendered analysis of national histories of scholarly practice.

Silvia Hahn's fascinating discussion of how the study and policing of cities and urban populations worked to create 'foreigners' as categories of governance, and scholarly study provides a firm foundation for understanding the gendered labour migrations and the working-class populations that she analyses in the final section of the book. The ways in which scholars define the dimensions of any regional economy or distinguish analytically between long-distance and short-distance moves are very much influenced by state decisions about the relationship of birthplace, political rights and official, state definitions of civic 'belonging'. The distinction between the 'foreign' and the 'native' shapes almost all data collection on human movement and, thus, it also inevitably shapes scholarly understanding of the past based on statistical data. Any change in how the boundary is drawn between the two can fundamentally alter the way in which scholars define mobile and sedentary populations. Precisely because Hahn is able to show how occupations were gendered as male or female and how these occupations came to be associated with 'native' or foreign workers, with 'long-distance' or 'short-distance' movements (that were also gendered differently), it would have been desirable for her rich discussion of the history of early policing of mobile people to have attended as closely to gendered dynamics and associations as her discussion of the scholarly field within which she works and to which this book contributes so much.

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Angelika Schaser and Stefanie Schüler-Springorum eds., **Liberalismus und Emanzipation. In- und Exklusionsprozesse im Kaiserreich und in der Weimarer Republik** (= Stiftung Bundespräsident-Theodor-Heuss-Haus, Wissenschaftliche Reihe 10), Franz Steiner Verlag: Stuttgart 2010, 224 pp., EUR 29,-, ISBN 978-3-515-09319-4.

European liberalism has always been fraught by the contradictions between its emancipatory claims and exclusionary practices toward groups deemed "incapable" of fully participating in the political process. This edited volume is interested in exploring these contradictions, primarily in respect to gender (women) and ethnicity (Jews), although questions of class, confession, and education come up throughout. The volume also discusses the tension, raised in a number of studies of German and European liberalism, between promoting individual freedom on a universalist basis and fully recognis-