international institute of social history

IISH-Research Paper

Cross-cultural migration in Western Europe 1901-2000: A preliminary estimate

Leo Lucassen, Jan Lucassen, Rick de Jong

&

Mark van de Water

IISH-Research Paper 52

2014

IISH Research Paper 52

A complete list of IISH-Research Papers can be found after page 101

ISSN 0927-4618

IISH-Research Papers is a prepublication series inaugurated in 1989 by the International Institute of Social History (IISH) to highlight and promote socio-historical research and scholarship. Through online, open access distribution of these works the IISH hopes to encourage international discussion and exchange.

This vehicle of publicizing works in progress or in a prepublication stage is open to all labour and social historians. In this context, research by scholars from outside the IISH can also be disseminated as a Research Paper. Those interested should write to the Publication Department of the IISH, Cruquiusweg at irsh@iisg.nl.

Table of Contents

1: Introduction

In 2010 Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen published the IISH Research Paper *The mobility transition in Europe revisited, 1500-1900. Sources and methods* (*socialhistory.org/sites/default/files/docs/publications/respap46.pdf*). The aim was to provide researchers with the data, broken down at the level of European states, on which they based their reconstruction of cross-cultural migration rates (CCMR) in Europe in the period 1501-1900, published in 2009 in the *Journal of Global History*. In this paper they made an attempt to measure cross-cultural migrations (CCMs) in Europe between 1501-1900, using a new typology and a formalized method which was developed to enable comparisons in time and space.[1] This research paper extends these data to the 20th century, following the same method.[2]

In contrast to the 2010 paper, we excluded Russia (which will be dealt with in a separate IISH research paper).[3] The reason is that in a recent publication we have analyzed 'Russia' (the European and Asian parts) separately in order to compare developments and trends between Russia, Europe (without Russia) and a number of Asian states (especially China and Japan).

As national and imperial borders shifted considerably in the 20th century, we did not use the same countries for every time period of 50 years. However we did make sure that all cross-cultural migrations in each half a century have been included and measured. For the period 1901-1950 we chose the geo-political borders of the nation states that emerged after the collapse of the major European empires in and immediately after World War I (the Habsburg, Ottoman and German empires).

Following the lines of the previous research paper for every category we combined the migration totals with the average annual population for each territorial unit[4] in order to calculate the CCMR for that country, and in the end for Europe as a whole, both for the first and the second half of the 20th century.[5] Finally we applied the Life Expectancy rates for the first and second half of the 20th century to the gross CCMR's which resulted in the net CCMR's (Tables 170 and 172).

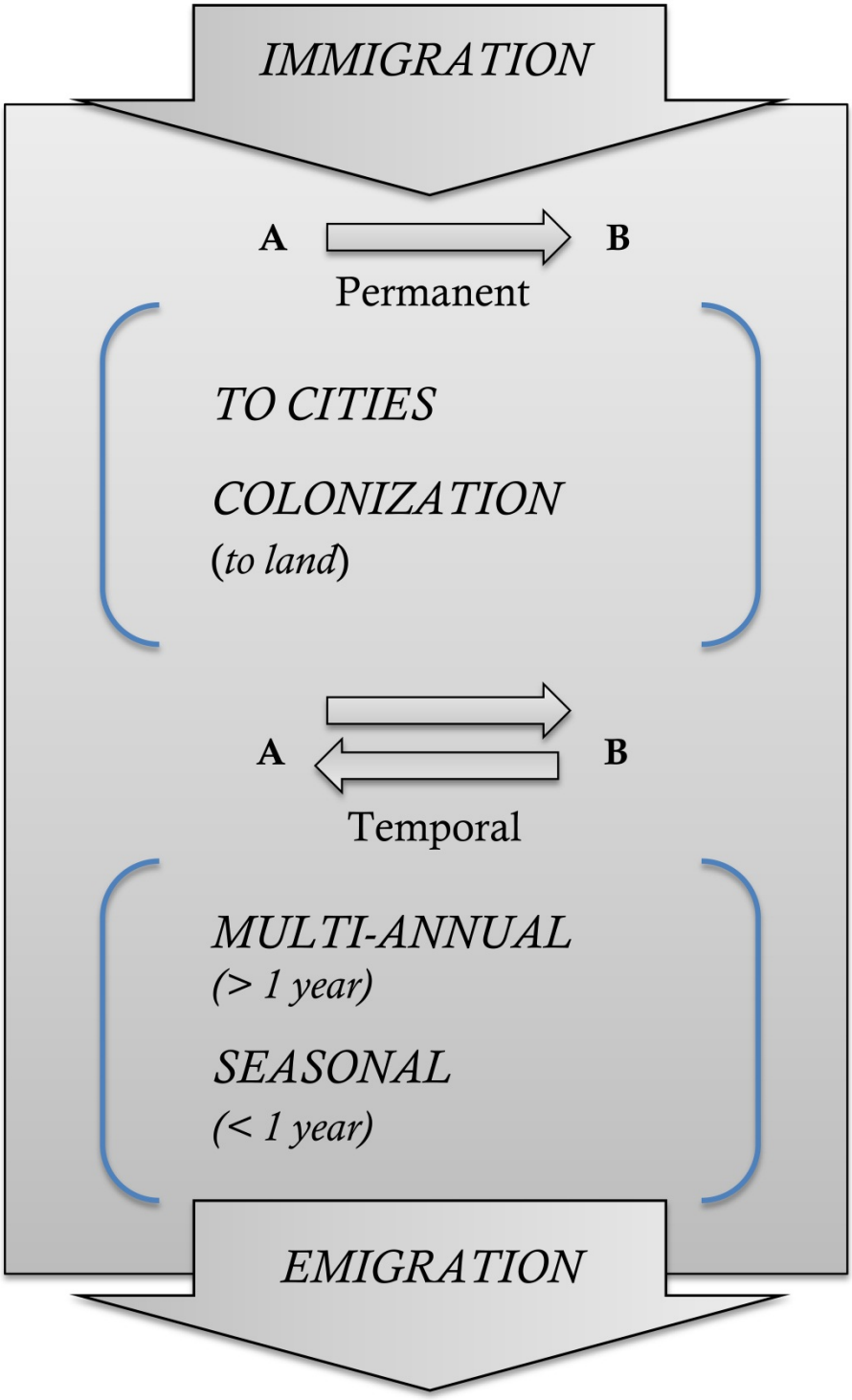
Cross-cultural migration

As explained in our original article, we have limited ourselves to 'cross-cultural migrations' (CCMs), defined as moves that bring migrants in contact with people and communities with a different cultural outlook, ranging from language, family systems, religion or worldviews, to technologies, the extent of civil society, public sphere and labour relations.[6] As far as it concerns migrations *within* a certain geographical unit (a region, a country, an empire or continent) we distinguish four types: It may concern country folk ending up in cities (**Migration to cities**), persons who settle in (ecologically and culturally) different rural areas (**Migration to land**, or **Colonization**) or peasants who work temporarily in highly commercialized farmer areas (**Seasonal migration**). We also include temporal forms of migration that last longer than one year, such as migration of *soldiers* (fighting or remaining outside their 'home community' or cultural comfort zone), *sailors* (idem), or *artisans (Gesellen) and domestics* with a rural background who mostly work in cities for a number of years. All these forms we have labeled as **Temporal Multi-Annual migrations**. Finally, in order to reach the total of all cross-cultural migrations we also

[1] Lucassen & Lucassen 2009. Further refinements were made in Lucassen & Lucassen 2011a, 2011b and 2014.
[2] Lucassen & Lucassen 2009 and 2010.
[3] Kessler, Lucassen & Lucassen 2014.
[4] Data for the population per country are based on Maddison 2008, unless otherwise stated.
[5] For the population numbers we used the Historical Statistics of the World Economy: 1-2008 AD by Angus Maddison (2008). (http://www.ggdc.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm).
[6] Inspired by Patrick Manning (2005, 2006 and 2013) who introduced the concept of 'cross-community migration', in which 'community' is defined in linguistic terms.

have counted those who enter (**Immigration**) or leave the chosen geographical unit (**Emigration**). This is summarized in figure 1:

Figure 1: Cross-cultural migration typology for a given territory and time period



To establish the chance for an individual person to experience at least one cross-cultural migration in his or her life, we have calculated the CCMRs for both the first and the second half of the 20th century. Like Patrick Manning we assume that cross-cultural migrations - when people with different cultural backgrounds meet and interact – offer the best opportunity for social change, including forms of technological, spiritual and cultural innovation. The extent of change will depend on the intensity, length and extensity of such interactions, as well as the differences in power and the nature of such encounters (peaceful or violent). Some cross-cultural migrations lead to mass killings, either of the migrants or, when the migrants come as invaders, of people in the societies they invade and conquer. But often both groups, notwithstanding power differentials, undergo processes of change, as many examples in ancient, early-modern and modern history show.[7]

Although this assumption should be discussed more systematically, including the different 'weights' we should attach to the four basic forms of cross-cultural migration, we first need to put the basic data in place. With this second research paper on the 20th century, which completes the last century of the second half of the second millennium CE, we hope to offer new food for thought. The rates, both at country and the aggregated European level for the periods 1901-1950 and 1951-2000 are meant to offer first of all a baseline for comparisons with other countries and (parts of) continents, like China, Japan, and Russia,[8] not only in order to compare total rates, but – even more importantly - to compare the different types of cross-cultural migration that are the building blocks of such rates. The second aim of this and the previous research paper is that they are meant as a inspiration for a more fundamental discussion and thus a more sophisticated approach that specifies under what conditions (forms of) cross-cultural migration may lead to social and cultural change, both in the region of destination and departure, the latter raising also the issue of the impact of return migration on the regions of departure.

As mentioned earlier, this working paper (the data of which will be published online through the website of the IISH in Amsterdam) allows the reader to disaggregate migration rates as well as migration forms at the national level and thus opens up ample opportunities for comparative research on the level of countries or regions, depending on the research question. The paper is built in the same way as the 2010 research paper, staring with emigration, followed by the other five categories.[9] The data are organized alphabetically according to the countries in Europe, starting with Albania.

[7] Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen 2013; Alba and Nee 2003; Bade et al. 2011.
[8] See Lucassen & Lucassen 2014.
[9] The data of this research paper will be published within the Clio Infra webstiet of the IISH.

2: Emigration

2.1: Introduction

Although the nineteenth century is known as the age of European mass migrations to overseas destinations, especially the Americas, also in the 20th century emigration remained an important form of cross-cultural migrations for millions of Europeans, especially in Western direction (the Americas), although also the Middle East and Africa received considerable numbers of European emigrants. Where possible we have differentiated for destination. For the first half of the 20th century we have taken the seminal work of Ferenczi & Willcox (1929) as point of departure, who provide the most exhaustive overview of the emigration to other continents until the late 1920s. Their data are completed with other sources that offer additional numbers for roughly the period 1920-1950.

2.2: Results per country

Albania (1920-2000)

Table 1: Migration from Albania to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Canada	Brazil	Cuba	Other	Total
1920-1925	250	20	10	40	10	330
1926-1950	?	?	?	?	?	?
Total migration	250 (1)	20	10 (2)	40	10	330

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 393, 364-367, 525, 1035. (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 21; (2) Silva 1990: 153.

Table 2: Migration from Albania to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1951-1975	?	?	?
1976-2000	26,000	70	26,070
Total migration	26,000 (1)	70 (2)	26,070

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 21; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Austrian Empire/Austria (1901-1919/1920-2000)

For the period 1901-1919 we have used the immigration statistics of various non-European countries that refer to inhabitants of the Austrian Hungarian double monarchy (which included Austria, Hungary, Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegowina, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, Western Ukraine, Galicia, Bukowina and Transylvania). For the period 1920-1950 we used those of the (national) successor states that came into being after World War I.

Table 3: Migration from the Austrian-Hungarian Empire to extra-European countries (1901-1919)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Total
1901-1919	3,041,000	196,000	56,000	28,000	3.321,000
Total migration	3,041,000	196,000	56,000	28,000	3,321,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 544,560, 593-598, 897, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1065. Numbers for Argentina for 1911-1924 and 1927: Silva 1990: 48; Numbers for Brazil for 1921-1937: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 115; Numbers for Canada for 1946-1950 country of last permanent residence: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 320; Data for Africa for 1946 and 1950 is for South Africa only: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 320; Numbers for Brazil for 1911-1920: Silva 1990: 151; Numbers for Chile for 1906-1907, 1910 and 1912-1913: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Data for New Zealand for 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Numbers for Uruguay for 1901-1940: Horvath & Neyer1996: 321, 343; To Argentina, Russia, Turkey, French colonies and British colonies for 1919-1937 and Canada, Bolivia, Paraguay, Argentina, Shanghai and Africa for 1938-1947: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 18, 86, 273; Data for migration to the US from Austria and Hungary have not been reported separately for all years during the first period: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; For Palestine from 1919-1948 contains mostly Jewish migration: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 207; For Australia 1946-1960: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 20.

Table 4: Migration from Austria to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Total
1920-1924	23,000					23,000
1925-1950	29,000	6,000 (1)	3,000	8,000	64,000 (2)	110,000
Total Migrations	52,000	6,000	3,000	8,000	64,000	133,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 544,560, 593-598, 897, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1065. (1) Numbers for Canada for 1946-1950 country of last permanent residence: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 320; (2) Data for Africa for 1946 and 1950 are for South Africa only: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 320; Data for New Zealand for 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; For Australia 1946-1960: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 20.

Table 5: Migration from Austria to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Brazil	South Africa	Total
1951-1975	92,000	20,000		4,000	2,000	118,000
1976-2000	39,000	1,000	1,000	?	?	41,000
Total migration	131,000 (1)	21,000 (2)	1,000 (3)	4,000 (4)	2,000 (5)	159,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice: 2003 18-19; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (5) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Belgium (1901-2000)

Table 6: Migration from Belgium to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Belgian Congo	Total
1901-1925	87,000	24,000	3,100 (2)	1,900 (3)	26,500 (4)	5,000 ?	147,500
1926-1950	25,000	2,000	200	600	8,000	5,000 ?	40,800
Total migration	112,000 (1)	26,000	3,300	2,500	34,500 (6)	10,000 (estimate)	188,300

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 364-367, 525-527, 560, 605-607, 897, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1068, 1075. (1) Data for US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Argentina 1914-1918, 1927: Silva 1990: 48; (3) Brazil 1900-1933: Silva 1990, 152; (4) Chile 1906-1907, 1910, 1913: Silva 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; (5) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-97.

Table 7: Migration from Belgium to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Brazil	Other	Belgian Congo	Total
1951-1975	30,000	2,000		3,000		100,000	135,000
1976-2000	17,000		1,000		3,000		21,000
Total migration	47,000 (1)	2,000 (2)	1,000 (3)	3,000 (4)	3,000 (5)	100,000 (6)	156,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (5) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years. (6) Gemenne 2009: 48; Nzongola-Ntalaja 2007: 64.

Bosnia-Herzegowina (1993-2000)

Here we depart from the present state of Bosnia-Herzegowina that emerged in 1993. For the period 1951-1992 emigrants are subsumed under Yugoslavia.

Table 8: Migration from Bosnia-Herzegowina to extra-European countries (1993-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Total
1993-2000	39,000	12,000	200	51,200
Total migration	39,000 (1)	12,000 (2)	200 (3)	51,200

Source: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Bulgaria (1901-2000)

Table 9: Migration from Bulgaria to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Brazil	Australia	Other	Total
1901-1925	64,000	18,200	140		800	83,140
1926-1950	3,000 (1)	200	120	1,200 (1)	38,000	42,520
Total migration	67,000	18,400	260 (2)	1,200	38,800 (3)	125,660

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 864, 897, 1031, 1035. (1) US 1931-1935, 1937-1941 and Australia 1931-1938, 1937-1941: Eeckaute-Bardery 1991: 32; (2) Brazil 1908, 1920-1933: Silva 1990: 153; (3) New Zealand 1941, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 10: Migration from Bulgaria to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Israel	Other	Total
1951-1975			3,000		3,000
1976-2000	23,000	200	4,000	300	27,500
Total migration	23,000 (1)	200 (2)	7,000 (3)	300 (4)	30,500

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Panagiotidis 2012; (4) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Croatia (1991-2000)

Here we depart from the present state of Croatia that emerged in 1991. For the period 1951-1990 emigrants are subsumed under Yugoslavia.

Table 11: Migration from Croatia to extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1991-2000	5,000	1,500	6,500
Total migration	5,000 (1)	1,500 (2)	6,500

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Czechoslovakia (1920-2000)

Table 12: Migration from Czechoslovakia to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Total
1920-1925	84,000	5,000	7,500	2,000	12,000	110,500
1926-1950	73,000	2,500		2,200	56,000	133,700
Total migration	157,000 (1)	7,500	7,500	4,200 (2)	68,000 (3)	244,200

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 393, 527, 660-665, 897, 1031, 1035, 1065. (1)) US after 1920: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; Panagiotidis 2012; (2) Brazil 1920-1933: Silva 1990: 152; (3) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471; Palestine 1919-1948: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 207.

Table 13: Migration from Czechoslovakia to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	Israel	Brazil	Other	Total
1951-1975	7,000	8,000	4,000	1,000	100	20,100
1976-2000	20,000		1,000			21,000
Total migration	27,000 (1)	8,000 (2)	5,000 (3)	1,000 (4)	100 (5)	41,100

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Panagiotidis 2012; (4) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (5) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Denmark (1901-2000)

Table 14: Migration from Denmark to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Total
1901-1925	126,000	17,000	5,000	1,400	7,250 (5)	156,650
1926-1950	24,000	14,000 (2)	5,000	600	1,000	44,600
Total migration	150,000 (1)	31,000	10,000 (3)	2,000 (4)	8,250 (6)	201,250

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 525-527, 671, 925, 1031, 1035, 1068, 1075. (1) US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Canada 1925-1950: Norman & Runblom 1988: 294-295 ; (3) Argentina 1920-1924, 1927: Silva 1990: 48; (4) Brazil 1900-1933: Silva 1990: 48; (5) Chile 1902, 1907, 1910: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; (6) Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950 contains some migration from Iceland as well: Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 15: Migration from Denmark to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Brazil	Other	Total
1951-1975	22,000		1,000		23,000
1976-2000	14,000	2,000		1,000	17,000
Total migration	36,000 (1)	2,000 (2)	1,000 (3)	1,000 (4)	40,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (4) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Estonia (1922-1950/1991-2000)

Table 16: Migration from Estonia to extra-European countries (1922-1950)

	Russia	Oceania	Brazil	US	Other	Total
1922-1925			1,800	800	500	3,100
1926-1950	33,000	3,000	800		1,000	37,800
Total migration	33,000 (1)	3,000	2,600 (2)	800	1,500 (3)	40,900

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 367, 393, 773, 897, 1035. (1) Russia 1940-1953: Polian 2004: 167. To Russia between 1940-1953. People banished from Estonia. They were deported to: Irkutsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Novosibirsk and Amur; (2) Brazil 1923-1933: Silva 1990: 152; (3) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1958: 471; Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471.

Table 17: Migration from Estonia to extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1991-2000	2,000	10	2,010
Total migration	2,000 (1)	10 (2)	2,010

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Finland (1901-2000)

Table 18: Migration from Finland to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Brazil	New Zealand	Other	Total
1901-1925	15,000	14,000	100	200	100	29,400
1926-1950	28,000	17,000		200		45,200
Total migration	43,000 (1)	31,000	100 (2)	400 (3)	100	74,600

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 527, 552, 775-777, 897, 1031, 1035, 1065. (1) US: Norman & Runblom 1988: 290; (2) Brazil 1919-1933: Silva 1990: 153; (3) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 19: Migration from Finland to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	?	?	?	?	?
1976-2000	4,000	1,000	2,000	12,000	19,000
Total migration	4,000 (1)	1,000 (2)	2,000 (3)	12,000 (4)	19,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Statistics of Finland. Immigration and emigration by country of exit and entry and by age and gender 1987 – 2010; (4) Statistics of Finland. Immigration and emigration by country of exit and entry and by age and gender 1987 – 2010.

France (1901-2000)

Table 20: Migration from France to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Algeria	US	Canada	Argentina	Other	Total
1901-1925	2.985.000	160,000	29,000	69,000	159,000	3,402,000
1926-1950	1,865,000	77,000	6,000	1,000	151,000	2,100,000
Total migration	4,850,000 (1)	237,000 (2)	35,000 (3)	70,000 (4)	310,000 (5)	5,502,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 504, 525-527, 560, 897, 925, 952-954, 1018, 1028, 1035, 1057, 1065, 1068, 1072, 1075. (1) Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I, 1028. Given the nature of this colonial 'département' where around 1920 some 800,000 Europeans (mostly French) were living (Bennoune 1988: 69), many people must have made this journey several times. We will deal with this problem of double counting individuals more in general at the end of the 'emigration' paragraph. We did not find data on French leaving for Algeria in the period 1925-1939 and have used the annual average of the period 1901-1924 as point of departure for our guestimate here. (2) For US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19;.(3) Canada 1946-1950: Ladame 1958: 469; (4) For Argentina: Silva 1990: 48; (5) For Brazil: Silva 1990: 151; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; For Indochina 1945-1950: Héduy 1998: 453; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 21: Migration from France to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Canada	Colonies	Other	Total
1951-1975	109,000	13,000		112,000	?	110,000	344,000
1976-2000	81,000	1,000	4,000	69,000	?	23,000	178,000
Total migration	190,000 (1)	14,000 (2)	4,000 (3)	181,000 (4)	?	133,000 (5)	522,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; (5) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; Brazil: Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; For Indochina 1951-1954: Héduy 1998: 453; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Germany (1901-2000)

Table 22: Migration from Germany to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Brazil	Argentina	Canada	Other	Total
1901-1925	634,000	44,000	26,000 (3)	42,000	67,000	813,000
1926-1950	547,000	69,000 (2)	44,000 (4)	11,000 (5)	102,000 (6)	773,000
Total migration	1,181,000 (1)	113,000	70,000	53,000	169,000 (7)	1,586,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 504, 525-527, 560, 700-701, 897, 1028, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1068, 1075. (1) For US: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19: From 1900-1919, data for Poland partly included in Germany, for 1938-1945, data for Austria included in Germany; (2) For Brazil 1915-1920, 1925-1933: Silva 1990: 51; Brazil 1934-1950: Ladame 1958: 473; (3) Argentina 1915-1920: Silva 1990: 48; (4) Argentina 1933-1945: Bade 1992: 200; (5) Canada 1946-1950: Ladame 1958: 469; (6) Between 1919-1948 52,000 people migrated to Palestine: Horvath & Neyer 1996: 348; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; (7) for Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Australia 1947-1955: Ladame 1958: 471; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 23: Migration from Germany to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	Brazil	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	714,000	131,000	41,000	258,000	551,000	1,695,000
1976-2000	712,000	88,000	68,000	112,000	1,949,000	2,929,000
Total migration	1,426,000 (1)	219,000 (2)	109,000 (3)	370,000 (4)	2,500,000 (5)	4,624,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice: 2003 18-23; Statistisches Bundesamt 2010; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; Statistisches Bundesamt 2010; (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; Statistisches Bundesamt 2010; (4) E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; Statistisches Bundesamt 2010; (5) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); Statistisches Bundesamt 2010; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012; (6) Migration to Turkey is not included.

Greece (1901-2000)

These numbers include the total number of Muslims who were forced to leave the European parts of the Ottoman Empire (Balkans and Greece) and resettle in the new Turkish state in the years 1914-1923.

Table 24: Migration from Greece to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Turkey	Canada	Australia	Other	Total
1901-1925	354,000	1,200,000 (2)	17,000	10,000	2,000	1,583,000
1926-1950	44,000			12,000 (3)	4,000	60,000
Total migration	398,000 (1)	1,200,000	17,000	22,000	6,000 (4)	1,643,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 552, 560, 869, 897, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1065, 1068, 1072, 1075. (1) US: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Zürcher 2011; Hirschon 2004: 85; (3) Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471; (4) New Zealand: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Thomson & Trlin 1970: 108; Chile: Silva 1990: 280, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343.

Table 25: Migration from Greece to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	180,000	189,000	1,000	114,000	7,000	491,000
1976-2000	111,000	4,000	2,000	19,000	2,000	138,000
Total migration	291,000 (1)	193,000 (2)	3,000 (3)	133,000 (4)	9,000 (5)	629,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Thomson & Trlin 1970: 108; Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec) (4) E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; (5) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; Brazil: Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years.

Hungary (1920-2000)

Table 26: Migration from Hungary to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Total
1920-1925	25,000	41,000	9,000	4,000	57,000	136,000
1926-1950	27,000	59,000	5,000	6,000	20,000	117,000
Total migration	52,000 (1)	100,000 (2)	14,000 (3)	10,000 (4)	77,000 (5)	253,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 527, 560, 716-717, 897, 1035, 1065 and Willcox 1929, II: 420-435. (1) US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Canada 1921-1950: Statistics are from Canadian Authorities and are divided into Magyars and Slovakians as ethnic groups, and after 1920 people born in the territory of Hungary since the Treaty of Trianon are included: Eeckaute-Bardery 1991: 135-137; (3) Brazil and Argentina 1945-1950: Eeckaute-Bardery 1991: 161; (4) Brazil 1911-1933: Silva 1990: 152; Brazil and Argentina 1945-1950: Eeckaute-Bardery 1991: 161 (5) For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; (Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 27: Migration from Hungary to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Brazil	Israel	Total
1951-1975	45,000	16,000		3,000	13,000	77,000
1976-2000	19,000		300		4,000	23,300
Total migration	64,000 (1)	16,000 (2)	300 (3)	300 (4)	17,000 (5)	100,300

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Ladame 1958: 471; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (5) Panagiotidis 2012.

Iceland (1901-2000)

Table 28: Migration from Iceland to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Total
1901-1925	2,900 (1)	4,700	7,600
1926-1950		200	200
Total migration	2,900	4,900 (2)	7,800

Source: (1) Norman & Runblom 1988, 290; (2) Canada 1900-1930, 1932, 1935, 1937, 1942, 1944-1950: Norman & Runblom 1988: 294-295.

Table 29: Migration from Iceland to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1951-1975			
1976-2000	2,000	400	2,400
Total migration	2,000 (1)	400 (2)	2,400

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Ireland (1901-2000)

Although Ireland became an independent state only in 1922, most countries of destination distinguished the Irish as a separate category already before.

Table 30: Migration from Ireland to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Oceania	South Africa	Total
1901-1925	557,000	109,000	12,000	4,000	682,000
1926-1950	137,000				137,000
Total migration	694,000 (1)	109,000	12,000 (2)	4,000	819,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 527, 560, 731, 1035. (1) US, prior to 1926, data for Northern Ireland included in Ireland: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Australia: Fitzgerald & Lambkin 2008: 251-255.

Table 31: Migration from Ireland to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	South Africa	Total
1951-1975	87,000			87,000
1976-2000	95,000	4,000	2,000	101,000
Total migration	182,000 (1)	4,000 (2)	2,000 (3)	188,000

Source: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Italy (1901-2000)

Table 32: Migration from Italy to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Argentina	Brazil	Canada	Algeria	Other Africa	Other	Total
1901-1925	3,697,000	1,166,000	244,000	165,000	50,000	138,800	372,000	5,832,800
1926-1950	354,000	699,000	32,000	13,000 (3)			228,000	1,326,000
Total migration	4,051,000	1,865,000 (1)	276,000 (2)	178,000	50,000	138,800	600,000 (4)	7,158,800

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 454, 504, 525-527, 535, 560, 830-835, 852-854, 897, 952-954, 1028, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1065, 1068, 1075. (1) For Argentina: Nascimbene 1994: 18 and Silva 1990: 48; (2) Brazil 1934-1956: Ladame 1958: 473; (3) Canada 1946-1950: Ladame 1958: 469; (4) For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471.

Table 33: Migration from Italy to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	Brazil	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	464,000	369,000	68,000	447,000		1,348,000
1976-2000	195,000	5,000		30,000	4,000	234,000
Total migration	659,000 (1)	374,000 (2)	68,000 (3)	477,000 (4)	4,000 (5)	1,582,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Ladame 1958: 471: Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (4) Ladame 1958: 469; E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; (5) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Latvia (1918-1950; 1989-2000)

Table 34: Migration from Latvia to extra-European countries (1918-1950)

	Russia	Oceania	Brazil	US	Total
1918-1925				1,500	1,500
1926-1950	52,000	10,000	2,000		64,000
Total migration	52,000 (1)	10,000 (2)	2,000 (3)	1,500	65,500

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 393, 527, 783, 897. (1) Russia 1940-1953: Polian 2004: 164; Between 1940-1953 52,541 people were sent to Asiatic Russia. Banished people were transported to Irkutsk, Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk Kray, Novosibirsk and Amur. For camps inside European Russia, see chapter 4; (2) For Australia and New Zealand: Lochore 1951: 97-98 and Ladame 1958: 471; (3) For Brazil: Silva 1990: 153.

Table 35: Migration from Latvia to extra-European countries (1989-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Total
1989-2000	5,000	?	100	5,100
Total migration	5,000 (1)	14,000 (2)	100 (3)	19,100

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Ladame 1958: 471; (3) New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Lithuania (1918-1950)(1993-2000)

Table 36: Migration from Lithuania to extra-European countries (1918-1940)

	US	Brazil	Oceania	Other	Total
1918-1925	2,300	2,000		7,000	11,300
1926-1950		26,000	4,000	2,000	32,000
Total migration	2,300	28,000 (1)	4,000 (2)	9,000 (3)	43,300

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 367, 393, 432-443, 525, 897, 1035, 1057, 1065. (1) Silva 1990: 151; (2) For Australia and New Zealand Lochore 1951: 97-98 and Ladame 1958: 471; (3) For Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; For Russia 1940-1953: Polian 2004: 167.

Table 37: Migration from Lithuania to extra-European countries (1993-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1993-2000	8,000	10	8,010
Total migration	8,000 (1)	10 (2)	8,010

Source: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Luxemburg (1901-2000)

Table 38: Migration from Luxemburg to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Brazil	Oceania	Canada	Total
1901-1925	100	?	100	200
1926-1950	100	200		300
Total migration	200 (1)	200 (2)	100	500

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 367, 1031, 1035. (1) Brazil 1919-1933: Silva 1990: 153; (2) New Zealand 1941, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 39: Migration from Luxemburg to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Total
1951-1975	200		200
1976-2000		100	100
Total migration	200 (1)	100 (2)	300

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

The Netherlands (1901-2000)

Table 40: Migration from the Netherlands to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	East Indies	US	Canada	Oceania	Other	Total
1901-1925	129,000	108,000	17,000	5,000	10,000	269,000
1926-1950	248,000	35,000	50,000	12,000	9,000	354,000
Total migration	377,000 (1)	143,000 (2)	67,000 (3)	17,000 (4)	19,000 (5)	623,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 390-393, 525-527, 535, 560, 742-743, 897, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1068, 1075. (1) For the Dutch East Indies 1920-1949: Elich: 1987: 88; (2) US: Lucas 1955: 641 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (3) Canada: Lucas 1955: 646; (4) Australia and New Zealand: Elich 1987: 35; and Lochore 1951: 97-98; (5) For Surinam and Antilles 1946-1950: Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk werk 1971: 14, 16; for 1937-1946 see: CBS Statline: Bevolking, huishoudens en bevolkingsontwikkeling vanaf 1899; Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Argentina 1900-1924, 1927 and Brazil and Africa: Silva 1990: 48, 152; migration of Jews to Israel: Panagiotidis 2012; Obdeijn & Schrover 2008: 190.

Table 41: Migration from the Netherlands to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Overseas destinations (US, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, South America)	(Former) colonies in the East (Indonesia) and the West (Suriname/Antilles)	Total
1951-1975	539,000	167,000	706,000
1976-2000	237,000	160,000	397,000
Total migration	776,000	327,000	1,103,000

Source: CBS/Statline: (http://statline.cbs.nl/StatWeb/publication/?DM=SLNL&PA=37556&D1=168-177&D2=51-100&HDR=G1&STB=T&VW=T).

Norway (1901-2000)

Table 42: Migration from Norway to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Brazil	Oceania	Other	Total
1901-1925	293,000	31,000	300	200	300	324,800
1926-1950	50,000	12,400	100		100	62,600
Total migration	343,000 (1)	43,400 (2)	400 (3)	200 (4)	400 (5)	387,400

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 525-527, 752, 897, 1031, 1035, 1068, 1072, 1075. (1) US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) For Canada: Norman & Runblom 1988: 294-295; (3) For Brazil: Silva 1990: 153; (4) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950; (5) For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 43: Migration from Norway to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Ocenania	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	40,000	2,000	4,000	55,000	101,000
1976-2000	54,000	5,000	7,000	87,000	153,000
Total migration	94,000 (1)	7,000 (2)	11,000 (3)	142,000 (3)	254,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; Statistics Norway. Population Statistics. Immigration and Emigration 1966-2000; (2) New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); Statistics Norway. Population Statistics. Immigration and Emigration 1966-2000; (3) Statistics Norway. Population Statistics. Immigration and Emigration 1966-2000.

Poland (1920-2000)

Table 44: Migration from Poland to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Palestine	Canada	Ocenania	Other	Total
1920-1925	184,000	86,000	16,000	700	65,000	351,700
1926-1950	139,000	192,000	31,000	35,000	11,000	408,000
Total migration	323,000 (1)	278,000 (2)	47,000 (3)	35,700 (4)	76,000 (5)	759,700

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 393,. 525-527, 546, 787-788, 897, 952-954, 1035, 1057, 1065, 1068, 1075. (1) US: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19: For 1900-1919 data for Poland included in Austria-Hungary, Germany and the Soviet Union; (2) Between 1919-1948 172.000 people migrated to Palestine: Thomson & Trlin 1970: 130; Panagiotidis 2012; (3) Canada 1946-1950: Ladame 1958: 469.; (4) For Australia and New Zealand: Thomson & Trlin 1970: 130; Ladame 1958: 471; Lochore 1951: 97-98; (5) For Brazil: Silva 1990: 151-152: Migration between 1923-1933 includes migration from Danzig; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; For Jewish Polish emigration into Latin American countries: De Avila 1964: 259.

Table 45: Migration from Poland to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	82,000	65,000			60,000	207,000
1976-2000	284,000		1,000	123,000	9,000	417,000
Total migration	366,000 (1)	65,000 (2)	1,000 (3)	123,000 (4)	69,000 (5)	624,000

Source: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Ladame 1958: 471; (3) New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; (5) Brazil: Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Portugal (1901-2000)

Table 46: Migration from Portugal to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Brazil	US	Argentina	Hawaii	Colonies	Other	Total
1901-1925	692,000	185,000	37,000	6,000	37,500	14,000	934,000
1926-1950	294,000	25,000	25,000		100,000	8,000	352,000
Total migration	986,000 (1)	210,000 (2)	62,000 (3)	6,000	137,500 (4)	22,999 (3)	1.423,500

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 560, 844-845, 898, 952-954, 1022, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1065. (1) Brazil 1900-1933: Silva 1990: 151; Brrazil 1934-1956: Ladame 1958: 473; (2) US: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (3) Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; For Argentina: Immigrants were all second- and third-class passengers arriving in the port of Buenos Aires, estimated numbers for 1928-1931, 1935: Borges 2009: 10; New Zealand 1921, 1941: Lochore 1951: 97-98; (4) Clarence-Smith 1985: 181, our estimate;

Table 47: Migration from Portugal to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Brazil	Canada	Australia	Colonies	Other	Total
1951-1975	147,000	241,000	132,000	5,000	408,000		933,000
1976-2000	114,000	12,000	62,000			10,000	198,000
Total migration	261,000 (1)	253,000 (2)	194,000 (3)	5,000 (4)	408,000 (5)	10,000 (6)	1,131,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (3) E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006; (4) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (5) Penvenne 2005: 86; (6) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec).

Romania (1901-2000)

Table 48: Migration from Romania to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Brazil	Israel	Other	Total
1901-1925	126,000	15,000	16,000		3,000	160,000
1926-1950	39,000		22,000	118,000		179,000
Total migration	165,000 (1)	15,000	38,000 (2)	118,000	3,000 (3)	339,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 525-527, 875, 898, 952-954, 1031, 1035, 1057, 1065, 1068. (1) US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Silva 1990: 151; (3) For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 49: Migration from Romania to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Brazil	New Zealand	Israel	Total
1951-1975	10,000	1,000		182,000	193,000
1976-2000	88,000		400	30,000	118,400
Total migration	98,000 (1)	1,000 (2)	400 (3)	212,000 (4)	311,400

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Anuário estatístico do Brazil: various years; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) Panagiotidis 2012.

Spain (1901-2000)

Table 50: Migration from Spain to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Argentina	Brazil	US	Algeria	Other Africa	Other	Total
1901-1925	1,237,000	171,000	113,000	359,000	109,169	1,032,000	3,021,169
1926-1950	187,000	108,000	20,000			245,000	560,000
Totoal migration	1,424,000 (1)	279,000 (2)	133,000 (3)	359,000 (4)	109,169	1,277,000 (5)	3,581,169

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 289-393, 560, 852-854, 898, 952-954, 1022, 1031, 1035, 1068, 1075. (1) Argentina 1924-1928: Silva 1990: 48; For Argentina 1929-1930 and Cuba 1924-1930: Alonso 1995: 282, 286-287; (2) Brazil 1924-1933: Silva 1990: 151; Brazil 1934-1950: Ladame 1958: 473; (3) US: Carter 2006: 561-563 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (4) Moya 1998: 47; (5) Chile 1900-1913: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 51: Migration from Spain to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Argentina	Brazil	Venezuela	Other	Total
1951-1975	72,000	164,000	109,000	266,000	129,000	740,000
1976-2000	57,000	1,000	2,000	9,000	6,000	75,000
Total Migration	129,000 (1)	165,000 (2)	111,000 (3)	275,000 (4)	135,000 (5)	815,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Anuarios Estadísticos de España, various years; (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (4) Anuarios Estadísticos de España, various years; (5) Anuarios Estadísticos de España, various years.

Sweden (1901-2000)

Table 52: Migration from Sweden to extra-European countries

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Other	Total
1901-1925	397,000	36,000	2,500	2,000	4,000	441,500
1926-1950	64,000	14,000	100	300		78,400
Total migration	461,000 (1)	50,000 (2	2,600 (3)	2,300 (4)	4,000 (5)	519,900

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 525-527, 560, 756, 898, 1031, 1035, 1068, 1075; (1) US: Norman & Runblom 1988: 118-119 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Norman & Runblom 1988: 294-295; (3) For Argentina: Silva 1990: 48; (4)) Brazil: Silva 1990: 152; (5) For Chile: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; For Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98.

Table 53: Migration from Sweden to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Brazil	Other	Total
1951-1975	42,000		2,000		44,000
1976-2000	27,000	3,000		200	30,200
Total migration	69,000 (1)	3,000 (2)	2,000 (3)	200 (4)	74,200

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (4) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Switzerland (1901-2000)

Table 54: Migration from Switzerland to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Argentina	Brazil	Oceania	Other	Total
1901-1925	76,000		12,800	1,700	14,500	105,000
1926-1950	32,000	7,000	200	2,600	3,000	44,800
Total migration	108,000	7,000 (1)	13,000 (2)	4,300 (3)	17,500 (4)	149,800 (5)

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 389-393, 525-527, 560, 769-770, 898, 1031, 1035, 1068, 1072, 1075. (1) Argentina: Silva 1990: 48; (2) Brazil: Silva 1990: 152; (3) New Zealand 1921, 1941, 1948, 1950: Lochore 1951: 97-98; (4) Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Australia, Asia, Africa 1924-1939, Central America and Latin America 1900-1939: Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer 1997: 336, 339, 342, 358, 367; (5) US: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19.

Table 55: Migration from Switzerland to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	New Zealand	Brazil	Other	Total
1951-1975	40,000	5,000		4,000		49,000
1976-2000	25,000		5,000		2,000	32,000
Total migration	65,000 (1)	5,000 (2)	5,000 (3)	4,000 (4)	2,000 (5)	81,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (4) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (5) Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years.

Turkey (1901-1915/1924)

Statistics of arrivals in non-European destinations do mostly not distinguish between European and Asian parts of Turkey, except for the United States (1901-1924). We have estimated that half of the Turkish emigrants to other countries in the period 1901-1915 came from the European part.

Table 56: Migration from European Turkey to extra-European countries (1901-1915)

	US	Canada	Argentina	Brazil	Australia	Total
1901-1925	148,000	2,000	63,000	24,000	10	237,010
Total migration	148,000	2,000	63,000	24,000	10	237,010

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-365, 389-393, 525-527, 546, 550-552, 891, 952-954, 1065. See also Table 24. For the years after 1924 no separate migration figures for the highly reduced European parts of Turkey are known to us.
Note: These numbers do not include the forced expulsion of Ottoman Turks from the European parts of the Ottoman empire (the Balkans and Greece) in the years 1914-1923, as they have already been included in the emigration from Greece (Table 24).

United Kingdom (1901-2000)

Although the Irish Free State was only established in December 1922, all major extra-European emigration destinations have counted Irish migrants separately from 1901 onwards (see Tables 30-31). These numbers have therefore not been included in those of the United Kingdom.

Table 57: Migration from the United Kingdom (UK) to extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Canada	Oceania	S-Africa	Argentina, Chile and Brazil	India	Rest colonies	Other	Total
1901-25	1,062,000	1,408,000	719,000	447,000	42,000	219,000	229,000	243,000	4,369,000
1926-50	342,000	226,000 (2)	473,000 (3)	74,000			599,000 (6)		1,714,000
Total migration	1,404,000 (1)	1,634,000	1,192,000	521,000	42,000 (4)	219,000 (5)	828,000	243,000 (7)	6,083,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 389-393, 504, 516, 520, 525-527, 535, 560, 629, 637, 644, 898, 925, 1018, 1028, 1031, 1035, 1043, 1049, 1067, 1072, 1075 and Thomas 1973: 390; (1) US, Since 1925 data used is for United Kingdom and refers to England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Prior to 1926, data for Northern Ireland was included in Ireland: U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; Panagiotidis 2012; (2) Canada 1946-1950: Ladame 1958: 469; (3) Australia and New Zealand 1925-1940: Roe 1995: 3; Australia and New Zealand 1946-1949: Ladame 1958: 178, 471; (4) Argentina 1900-1924, 1927 migration from Great Britain: Silva 1990: 48; Uruguay 1901-1940, Brazil 1900-1933: Silva 1990: 152, 321, 343; Chile 1906-1908, 1910, 1911, 1913: Silva 1990: 250, 258-259; (5) Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I, 629. This includes all persons irrespective of nationality who travelled from British ports to the 'East Indies' (India and Ceylon). We assume that the large majority were British citizens; (6) British North America 1946-1949: Plant 1951: 177; (7) Here we used the category 'other countries' in the statistics of passengers to extra-European countries that left British ports in the years 1901-1924 (Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I, 629). The total number in this category is 362,786. However, as this concerns both British citizens and aliens, this would lead to double counts. We therefore first calculated the proportion of aliens among all passengers leaving British ports in this period (33%) and then deducted one third, resulting in 243,000 emigrants.

Table 58: Migration from the United Kingdom (UK) to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	New Zealand	Australia	Canada	Other	Total
1951-1975	485,000		1,463,000	873,000	612,000	3,433,000
1976-2000	380,000	260,000	305,000	241,000	251,000	1,437,000
Total migration	865,000 (1)	260,000 (2)	1,768,000 (3)	1,114,000 (4)	863,000 (5)	4,870,000

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Statistics New Zealand. International Travel and Migration. Permanent & long-term migration totals (Qrtly-Mar/Jun/Sep/Dec); (3) Roe 1995: 3; Ladame 1958: 471; Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; Migration to Australia also contains some migration from Ireland; (4) Ladame 1958: 469; E-stat CANSIM Table 051-0006 (5) Brazil: Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; South Africa: Stone 1973: 276-277; Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; India and other British Possesions: Mitchell 1988: 84; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Yugoslavia (1920-2000)

Table 59: Migration from Yugoslavia to extra-European countries (1920-1950)

	US	Argentina	Brazil	Canada	Other	Total
1920-1925	43,000	11,000	15,000	7,000	17,000	93,000
1926-1950	33,000	18,000	7,000	16,000	24,000	98,000
Total migration	76,000 (1)	29,000	22,000 (2)	23,000	41,000 (3)	191,000

Source: Unless otherwise indicated, based on Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 364-367, 527, 880-886, 898, 1031, 1035, 1065, 1068. (1) US: Eeckaute 1988: 156 and U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-19; (2) Brazil: Silva 1990: 152-153; (3) Australia 1947-1950: Ladame 1958: 471; New Zealand: Lochore 1951: 97-98 and Thomson & Trlin 1970: 66; Argentina, Chile and Australia 1921-1928 and Uruguay 1924-1928: Eeckaute 1998: 165; Uruguay 1901-1940: Silva 1990: 321, 343; Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

Table 60: Migration from Yugoslavia to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	US	Australia	Brazil	South Africa	Other	Total
1951-1975	44,000	157,000	1,000		1,000	203,000
1976-2000	101,000	17,000		400	2,000	120,400
Total migration	145,000 (1)	174,000 (2)	1,000 (3)	400 (4)	3,000 (5)	323,400

Source: (1) U.S. Department of Justice 2003: 18-23; (2) Australian Demographic Review: various years. 3401.0 - Overseas Arrivals and Departures; (3) Anuário estatístico do Brasil: various years; (4) South Africa: Statistical news release. Department of statistics. Republic of South Africa, various years; (5) Israel: Panagiotidis 2012.

2.3: Conclusion

Table 61: Total Gross Emigration from Europe to extra-European destinations (1901-1950)

From	Total Emigration
Albania	330
Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1900-1919)	3,321,000
Austria (1920-1950)	133,000
Belgium	188,300
Bulgaria	125,660
Czechoslovakia	244,200
Denmark	201,250
Estonia (1922-1950)	40,900
Finland	74,600
France	5,502,000
Germany	1,586,000
Greece	1,643,000
Hungary (1920-1950)	253,000
Iceland	7,800
Ireland	819,000
Italy	7,158,800
Latvia (1920-1950)	65,500
Lithuania (1918-1950)	43,300
Luxemburg	500
Netherlands	623,000
Norway	387,400
Poland (1920-1950)	759,700
Portugal	1,423,500
Romania	339,000
Spain	3,581,169
Sweden	519,900
Switzerland	149,800
Turkey (European)	237,010
United Kingdom	6,083,000
Yugoslavia (1920-1950)	191,000
Total Europe	**35,702,619**

Table 62: Total Gross Emigration from Europe to extra-European countries (1951-2000)

From	Total Emigration
Albania	26,070
Austria	159,000
Belgium	156,000
Bosnia-Herzegowina (1993-2000)	51,200
Bulgaria	30,500
Croatia	6,500
Czechoslovakia	41,100
Denmark	40,000
Estonia	2,010
Finland	19,000
France	522,000
Germany	4,624,000
Greece	629,000
Hungary	100,300
Iceland	2,400
Ireland	188,000
Italy	1,582,000
Latvia (1989-2000)	19,100
Lithuania (1993-2000)	8,010
Luxemburg	300
Netherlands	1,103,000
Norway	254,000
Poland	624,000
Portugal	1,131,000
Romania	311,400
Spain	815,000
Sweden	74,200
Switzerland	81,000
United Kingdom	4,870,000
Yugoslavia	323,400
Total Europe	**17,793,490**

2.4 Adjusting for double counts

One important methodological problem with the emigration statistics is that they may hide a considerable number of double counts: emigrants who returned and then left again. Especially with regard to colonial circuits this was a widespread phenomenon. As table 20 shows, between 1901 and 1924 almost 3,000,000 departures by boat from France to Algeria have been recorded, whereas the French population in that Département increased from around 421,000 in 1900 to 657,000 in 1933.[10] Even if we would assume that there was no natural increase immigration may have accounted at most for some 230,000 people, one tenth of the total flow. Given the fact that almost the same number (2.9 million)[11] returned to France in the same period even that is most unlikely. What is crucial for our calculations, however, is not whether emigrants stayed, but how many people who left a European country returned and then left again. Unfortunately there are no data at the individual level that allow us to answer that question. We therefore have to resort to educated guesses, based on contextual information. In order to make such 'guestimates' we have to distinguish between 1) emigration within colonial circuits, like the French in Algeria, English in India and Dutch in the East Indies; and 2) emigration to overseas settler destinations, like the Americas and Oceania.

The first category was predominantly characterized by temporal stays, as the French – Algerian example shows.[12] We can only guess how many of them made the voyage several times and for the moment we estimate that on average half of all departures concerned the same persons, which would mean that we have to reduce colonial emigrations by 50%. For the second category this percentage was probably lower, as the return rate was not almost 100% (as in the French case), but 34% for Europe as a whole, at least for the US in the years 1908-1923.[13] If we assume that 50% of the returnees made a second voyage to the US, we would have to reduce the total number of non-colonial emigrants with 15%. If we apply these two rough measures on the total emigration from Europe in the first half of the 20th century we arrive at the following outcomes:

[10] Kateb 2001: 187.

[11] Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I, 1028-1029.

[12] For the Dutch colonial emigration to the Dutch East Indies see Bosma 2007: especially p. 530, which (on the basis of the municipality of The Hague in 1913) shows the relation between the total emigration to the Dutch East Indies and the proportion of newcomers, which is roughly 50%.

[13] Wyman 1993: 11 (3 million returned to Europe out of 9 million arrivals from Europe).

Table 63: Adjusting gross emigration from Europe for double counts (1901-1950)

	Colonial (France, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal)	Non-Colonial	Total
Gross emigration	6,421,500	29,322,119	35,099,000
Reduction %	*50*	*15*	
Adjusted for double counts	**3,210,750**	**24,923,801**	**28,134,551**

Table 64: Adjusting gross emigration from Europe for double counts (1951-2000)

	Colonial (France, United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium and Portugal)	Non-Colonial	Total
Gross emigration	835,000	16,958,490	17,894,000
Reduction (%)	*50*	*15*	
Adjusted for double counts	**417,500**	**14,414,717**	**14,832,217**

3: Immigration

3.1: Introduction

Immigration to Europe from other continents and countries, like Asia, Africa, the America's, and Russia, was limited during the first half of the 20th century. Except for France (from Algeria and Morocco) European countries with a colonial empire did not (yet) attract substantial numbers. Migration from Asia, the Americas, Oceania and Africa to states without such an empire was negligible. An exception was South Eastern Europe, especially Greece, which 'received' some 1.2 million ethnic Greeks from the former Ottoman Empire in Asia. Due to the crumbling of the empire and the rise of ultra-nationalist states, they were forced to migrate from the Asian part of Turkey to Greece in the early 1920s (see also Tables 24 and 56 for the counter flows of Muslims who were forced to resettle in the Asiatic part of Turkey). For most countries, however, the number of immigrants from other continents was extremely low and we therefore will not discuss these.

To avoid double counts, we cannot count return migrations to Europe as immigration, because this regards persons who have already been counted as emigrants. Among the Westward overseas emigrations that we discussed in the previous paragraph, the return rates were quite high in the early 20th century, ranging from 5% for Russian Jews to 89% for Bulgarians and Serbs.[14] In the period 1908-1923 this amounted to some 3 million returns, or one third of all departures in this period.[15] The duration of their stay abroad differed. Some emigrants who left Europe as early as the mid or late 19th century stayed abroad for decades, others returned within a few years. Besides that, there were European seasonal workers in South America who often came back home within the year.[16] Although it is highly interesting to study these returnees and their cross-cultural effect on European societies, we left them out because all of these migrants have already been counted in the category emigration. The same goes for (forced) return migrations from the Asian part of the USSR to the European part.[17] Finally we did not count Europeans who returned from the colonies. This regards especially returnees from colonies who had been populated recently, like Angola and Mozambique[18] and the Belgian Congo.

Finally, in this chapter we did not count as 'immigrants' migrants from extra-European countries who were recruited as colonial (especially from French and British colonies in Asia and Africa) or Commonwealth (Canada, US, Australia) soldiers, who fought (or worked behind the frontline) in Europe during the two world wars. These migrants have been subsumed under the 'Temporary Multi-Annual' category (chapter 7.1). As in all the other categories, the numbers presented here must be seen as the minimum number of immigrants.

In the second half of the 20th century the immigration from other continents increased rapidly. Especially the collapse of the overseas empires and the ensuing decolonization which led to political independence of almost all of the former colonies resulted in mass migrations to the (former) motherlands (England, France, The Netherlands, Portugal).[19] These postcolonial immigrations were insufficient to solve the labor shortage that resulted from the economic

[14] Wyman 1993: 11.

[15] Wyman 1993: 11. In the shorter or longer run many of them returned. In some cases (e.g. Russia, southern Italy, Romania, Hungary) over 50 percent of the emigrants returned to their home country.

[16] Kirchner 1980; Cinel 1991; Frid de Silberstein 2001.

[17] After the massive west-to-east migrations between 1920-1930, almost a quarter of the more than one million migrants returned to European Russia (Kulischer 1948).

[18] Castelo 2013: 113-120. In 1920 only some 11,000 Portuguese had settled there, which number from then on would quickly increase to ultimately 500,000 in 1973 (of whom 35% was born in the colonies). Before 1951 we estimate that very few returnees (in total 76,000 arrivals in the years 1943-1950 against 36,000 departures) were born in Africa and therefore should be counted as immigrants.

[19] Bosma, Lucassen & Oostindie 2012.

recovery of many of the northern European countries (Belgium, Germany, France, Scandinavia, The Netherlands) after WWII. A number of Western European countries (with the exception of Great Britain) therefore started recruiting 'guest workers', first in Southern Europe, and soon at the fringes of other continents like Asia (Turkey) and Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia). As a result millions of guest workers (and later their families) settled there. Scandinavian countries did not join in these recruiting activities, but nevertheless received small numbers of labour migrants from Turkey, North Africa, and in the case of Denmark and Sweden also Pakistan.

In the second half of the century Europe also witnessed considerable flows of refugees from other continents, especially in the last two decades of the 20th century. Refugees (political and economic) from Asia (Tamils from Sri Lanka, Kurds from Turkey, Afghans, Iranians, Iraqis), Africa (from Somalia, Central and West Africa) and South-America (especially Chile, Brazil and Argentina) moved to Europe in search for safety and a better life. Finally, there were smaller numbers of migrants from North America and Oceania. In the following tables that deal with the first half of the twentieth century we have listed the numbers of immigrants per 25-year period and distinguished the most important countries/continents of origin. Where we have stocks in both periods we added these to arrive at the total number of migrants. Where we only have a stock at the end of the entire 50-years period we have doubled that number, assuming that many of these migrants only stayed temporarily and that the flows are at least double the stock. The stock of 1901, finally, are left out, because these are included in the numbers of the period 1851-1900.

3.2: Results per country, 1901-1950

Finland

In this period Finland was predominantly an emigration country. The only non-European source of migration for Finland was the bordering Russian state, especially after the Russian Revolution.

Table 65: Migration to Finland from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

From	Russia	Total
1900-1925	33,500	33,500
1926-50	400,000	400,000
Total migration	433,500	433,500

Source: Kjeldstatli 2011: 8.

France

The first large immigrations to France from other continents occurred during World War I. The main reason was the shortage of manpower after the mass mobilization in 1914. From Algeria 86,000 soldiers (subsumed in this paper under the category 'Temporal Multi-Annual') and 78,000 workers came, who were part of a total of 220,000 workers from all colonies. Partly they were assigned to munitions factories, partly to carry out other kind of work behind the front lines. As almost all of them were sent home in the first months of 1919, we have added them to the stocks of the mid 1920s and 1946.[20]

[20] Moch 2011: 56.

Table 66: Migration to France from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Algeria	Morocco/ Tunisia/rest Africa	Armenia	China	Indochina	Total
Stock 1914-1919		78,000	55,000	67,000	37,000	50,000	287,000
Stock 1920/30	40,000	300,000	77,000		25,000		442,000
Stock 1946/50		224,000	29,400			70,000	323,400
Total	40,000	602,000	161,400	67,000	62,000	120,000	1,052,400

Source: Census 1921 (http://www.insee.fr/fr/insee-statistique-publique/bibliotheque/tableaux_sgf/tableaux.asp?domaine=rec), T239; Moch 2011: 56-57; Hofmann 2011: 238 (Armenians); Wang 2011: 281; Thunø 2011: 283; Kateb 2001; Bokbot & Faleh 2010: 49. Ferenczi & Willcox 1929, I: 1029-1029. See also Bennoune 1988: 76-77.

Germany

Although Germany experienced tremendous migrations, especially during and after World War II, including millions of 'Volksdeutsche' and 'Aussiedler' very few of them came from non-European countries, largely due to the lack of colonies in Africa and Asia after World War I. Americans, who were drawn to Germany, especially during the Weimar Republic,[21] most probably were the largest group of non-Europeans during the first half of the 20th century, followed by Chinese peddlers.

Table 67: Migration to Germany from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	Other	China	Total
Stock 1920/30	20,000	5,000	1,000	26,000
Stock 1950	20,000	5,000	1,000	26,000
Total	40,000	10,000	2,000	52,000

Source: Hubert 1998: 349; Thunø 2011.

Greece

As explained in the introduction of this paragraph, in relative figures Greece received by far the most immigrants in the first half of the 20th century, due to the population exchange in the early 1920s after the breakdown of the Ottoman Empire and the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923.

Table 68: Migration to Greece from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Turkey	Total
Flow 1920s	1,250,000	1,250,000

Source: Zürcher: 2007: 460-463.

[21] Saunders 2004.

Ireland

For Ireland we only have stock figures for 1946 and, as explained in the introduction, we therefore doubled these to arrive at an estimate for the entire 50-year period.

Table 69: Migration to Ireland from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Americas		Asia (including India)	Russia	Africa	British dominions (without Canada)	Other (1)	Total
	LA	NA[22]						
Stock 1901		9,823	3,713	1,966	0	1,582	8,270	25,354
Stock 1946	398	9,498	1,694		287	1,172		13,049
Multiplier (2)	796	18,996	3,388		574	2,344		26,098
Total migration	796	18,996	3,388		574	2,344		26,098

Source: Stock 1901: Irish Census; Stock 1946: Irish Census 1971, p. 74.

Note: (1) In the original 1901 Census (not the online one) 16,541 inhabitants are classified as born in 'Foreign parts'. We assume that 50% came from European destinations and the rest from outside.

The Netherlands

Just like other European countries the Netherlands received hundred thousands of migrants form the colonies, especially from the Dutch East Indies. Most of them were born in the Netherlands and have already been counted as emigrants. We have no statistics that differentiate between those who were born in the Netherlands and those who were not, but the literature suggests that until the end of the Second World War only few people arrived who were actually born overseas, whether they were children from native Dutch or from the native Indonesian population (or of mixed descent). In the Dutch East Indies, however, since the 18th century a considerable group of mixed Eurasian families had developed, many of whom also became part of the colonial migration circuit.[23] This changed immediately after the defeat of the Japanese army, at the start of the Indonesia war of independence. From 1946 onwards ten thousands of 'repatriates', many born in the East Indies, arrived in Dutch ports, soon to be followed by hundred thousands of others, totaling some 300,000 in the period 1946-1964 (of whom 140,000 in the period 1946-1950). As in the case of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey the bulk of the immigrants to the Netherlands (after World War II) were one-time movers of whom we listed the total numbers.

Table 70: Migration to The Netherlands from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	Indonesia	Surinam and Antilles	China	Other[24]	Total
A: 1901-1925	5,000	100	2,000	1,000	8,100
B: 1926-1950	140,000	16,100	5,000	2,000	163,100
Total migration	145,000	16,200	7,000	3,000	171,200

Source: Censuses of 1920 and 1930; Willems 2001: 327; CBS Statline; Thunø 2011.

[22] 'United States' and 'America'.

[23] Bosma 2007a and 2007b.

[24] US and Turkey.

Spain

Spain had long been a country of emigration, but also experienced some immigration from abroad in the first half of the 20th century. Most of these were Europeans (during the Civil War), and do therefore not qualify as immigrants in our model. The same is true for those Spaniards who returned after brief or longer stays in Spanish Morocco or French Algeria. The only considerable group of immigrants born in other continents were some 17,000 Moroccans who fought in Franco's army and who arrived in 1934.[25] As mentioned earlier they are already counted in the category 'Temporal Multi-Annual' and are therefore left out here.

United Kingdom

Apart from Brits moving in their colonial migration circuits (mainly to Asia) migration from the British empire outside Europe was rather restricted until World War II, and only really took off with the first groups of West Indian immigrants in 1947 of whom already in 1951 some 18,000 arrivals had been recorded.[26] Only small numbers of Asians and Africans were able to study or work in England, like Ghandi. According to the Census of 1911, 14,000 Americans and another 8,500 foreigners from Asia and other non–European countries resided there, against 37,000 Americans and 31,000 Asians and others in 1931.[27] Besides, like in France, there were migrants from the colonies who were recruited to fill the labour shortage at home, as the 15,000 West-Indians in munitions factories in Birmingham.[28] Finally, we have to mention sailors from Africa and India (often subsumed under the label 'Lascars'), of whom in 1914 over 50,000 were employed by the British merchant fleet. They, however, will be dealt with under the heading of 'Temporal Multi-Annual' migrations. If we take these numbers as point of departure, then we have at least a bare minimum. After the war immigration from South Asia (initially India and Pakistan) and the West Indies (respectively 36,000 and 17,000 in the 1951 Census) quickly increased.

Table 71: Migration to the United Kingdom from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

	US	South Asia	Caribbean	East Asia	Africa	Total
Stock 1914-1919*			15,000			15,000
Stock 1920s	14,000	3,000			5,000	22,000
Stock 1950	25,000	36,000	17,000	12,000	6,000	96,000
Total	39,000	39,000	32,000	12,000	11,000	133,000

Source: UK Censuses 1901-1951; Appleyard 1988: 267; Ansari 2004: 40-41; 50-51; Anwar 1998: 7; McDowell 2013: 98.

* Total number recruited during World War I.

3.3: Conclusion Immigration, 1901-1950

Europe as a whole we can conclude that immigration from other continents was extremely limited, not even reaching 1% of the total population. As the developments after 1945 already indicated, this would change soon, however.

[25] Madariaga 1992: 77.
[26] Lucassen 2005: 118.
[27] Lunn 2011: 20.
[28] Appleyard 1988: 267.

Table 72: Migration to Europe from extra-European countries (1901-1950)

To	Total Immigration
Finland	433,500
France	1,052,400
Germany	52,000
Greece	1,250,000
Ireland	26,098
Netherlands	171,100
United Kingdom	133,000
Total Europe	**3,118,098**

3.4: Results per country, 1951-2000

After the Second World War immigration to Europe increased rapidly. First by migrants from (former) colonies and empires, especially to Great-Britain, France, The Netherlands and Portugal, and from the 1960s onwards through labour migrants from North Africa and Turkey, followed by their families in the 1970s and 1980s. Less numerous, but important in economic and cultural respect, were skilled migrants from North America, Oceania, Japan and later on also other Asian countries (China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Middle East). For Eastern Europe, non-European migrants consisted mainly of Russians. Lastly, starting in the 1970s refugees from Latin America, and from the 1980s Asian and African countries became an important factor, especially in the West, but partly (from socialist countries in South America, Africa and Asia) also in Eastern Europe.

To have data that are as uniform as possible we have chosen for the moments in which the stock of foreign born from other continents is recorded. The best dataset is that of the OECD/Sopemi which offers stocks for individual countries around the year 2000.[29] We did not include the stock of 1950, because those numbers were already included in the totals of the period 1901-1950. Secondly, to stay in line with the method we applied to immigration in the first half of the 20th century, we tried to do find uniform stocks for the mid 1970s, but that proved to be less easy by lack of a uniform dataset. We therefore used the stocks inbetween (1970, 1975, 1980 etc.) only as an indicator for the presence and size of migrants from non-European origin. Instead of adding the 1970s stock to those of 2001, we applied a multiplier to the 2001 stock in order to reconstruct the total number of individuals entering 1951-2000. The size of the multiplier depends on the length of the period between the arrival of the migrants and the census of 2001. The earlier migrants from a certain origin settled in the country of destination, the larger the multiplier, which leads to the following breakdown.

[29] OECD 2005: 144.

Table 73: Multiplier for postwar immigrations

Date of arrival	Multiplier
Around 1995	1,1
Around 1990	1,2
Around 1985	1,3
Around 1980	1,4
Around 1975	1,5
Around 1970	1,6
Around 1975	1,7
Around 1960	1,8
Around 1955	1,9
Around 1950	2

Note: the multiplier of '2' for the entire 50-years period is a rough estimate, but is in tune with the scattered empirical data which we have for European groups for whom we have stocks for every 10 years since 1950, such as Italians in Switzerland and Germany.[30]

Legend:

In the following tables (74-97) we used the following abbreviations: C= (former Colonial migrants; Car=Caribbean; GW= Guest Workers; LA- Latin America; NA=North America; Ot= Other; R= Refugees;

Austria

As in most Western European countries labour migration from non-European countries, in the case of Austria mainly from Turkey (mainly as part of Asia), started in the course of the 1960s.

Table 74: Migration to Austria from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia		Russia	Africa		Oceania	Total
	LA	NA	GW	Ot		GW	Ot		
Stock 1950	?	?	?	?		?	?	?	
Stock 1975		6,000	16,000	4,000			1,000		
Stock 2001	6,000	9,000	125,000	57,000	6,600	4,000	16,000	2,000	225,600
Multiplier	1,5	1,8	1,6	1,5	1,2	1,4	1,4	1,8	
Total migrants		25,200	200,000	85,500	7,920	5,600	22,400	3,600	350,220

Source: Stock 1975: Hahn 2011: 92; Stock 2001: OECD 2005 and Reeger 2009: 119; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

[30] Rieker 2011: 507.

Belgium

Although Belgium was a colonial nation, it restricted the migration from the Belgian Congo (later Zaire) so that the number of colonial migrants remained small. Most non-European migrants were Moroccan and Turkish guest workers and their families.

Table 75: Migration to Belgium from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia		Russia	Africa			Oceania	Total
	LA	NA	GW	Ot		GW	Ot (1)	C (2)		
Stock 1971/75	2,000	15,000 *	42,000	7,000 *		72,000	8,000 *	7,000		
Stock 2001		43,000	60,000	10,000	10,000	140 ,000 (3)	93,000	15,000	1,000	232,000
Multiplier		1,5	1,6	1,5	1,2	1,6	1,4	1,4	1,8	
Total migrations		64,500	96,000	15,000	12,000	224,000	130,200	21,000	1,800	564,500

Source: Stock 1975: Caestecker 2011: 48 (average of 1970 and 1981); Stock 2001: OECD 2005; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').
* Stock 1970 (Eggerickx et al. 1999: 45) .
(1) Most countries except (apart from Morocco) South Africa, Egypt, Malawi, Nigeria, Cape Verdean Islands, Kenya, Tanzania; (2) De Bruyn & Wets 2008: 51.; (3) Most of them Moroccans, further Algerians and Tunisians.

Bulgaria

Table 76: Migration to Bulgaria from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Russia	Total
Stock 2001	13,000	
Multiplier	2	
Total migration	26,000	26,000

Source: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic and Slovakia)

Migration from outside Europe, apart from Russia, only started after the fall of the Soviet Union, we therefore only calculated the death and replacement rates for the last decade of the 20th century. Furthermore we combined the numbers for the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

Table 77: Migration to the Czech Republic and Slovakia from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa	Total
	LA	NA	Ot		Ot	
Stock 1950	?	?	?		?	?
Stock 2001	2,000	4,000	23,000	15,000	3,000	47,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	2	1,2	
Total migrations	2,400	4,800	27,600	30,000	3,600	68,400

Source: Stock 2001: OECD 2005 (Czech Republic and Slovakia); Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Denmark

Table 78: Migration to Denmark from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia		Russia	Africa		Oceania	Total
	LA	NA	GW[31]	Ot		GW[32]	Ot		
Stock 1980	3,000[33]	7,000	14,000	18,000[34]		2,000	3,000	1,000	48,000
Stock 2001	10,000	11,000	50,000	60,000	3,600	7,000	25,000	2,000	168,600
Multiplier	1,6	2	1,6	1,5	1,2	1,6	1,5	2	
Total migrations	16,000	22,000	80,000	90,000	4,320	11,200	37,500	4,000	265,020

Source: Stock 1980: www.statbank.dk (country of origin); Stock 2001: OECD 2005 and Benito 2012: 4; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Estonia

Table 79: Migration to Estonia from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Russia	Total
Stock 2001	191,000	
Multiplier	2	
Total migration	382,000	382,000

Source: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Finland

During the first decades of the postwar period Finland was a country of emigration (mostly to Sweden). Only from the mid 1970s migrants from other continents arrived.

Table 80: Migration to Finland from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa	Oceania	Total
	LA	NA	Ot		Ot		
Stock 2001	2,000	4,000	18,000	35,000	10,000	1,000	70,000
Multiplier	1,5	2	1,5	1,2	1,4	2	
Total migrations	3,000	8,000	27,000	42,000	14,000	2,000	96,000

Source: OECD 2005; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Former Soviet Union (before 1991)' and 'Russia').[35]

[31] Turks.
[32] Algerians, Tunisians, Egyptians and Moroccans.
[33] Of whom 1,000 from Chile and 800 from Argentina.
[34] Of whom almost 8,000 from Pakistan.
[35] When it comes to Russia Eurostat differentiates between three categories: 1) Former Soviet Union before 1991; 2) European Republics of the former Soviet Union, and 3) Asian Republics of the Soviet Union. The first category is, however, not the sum of the second and third and seems to refer mainly to the European part of the present Russian Federation, whereas the second seems to refer to the Baltic States, Ukraine and Belarus. We therefore decided to count category 1 and 3 as extra-European migrants and category 2 as intra-European migrants.

France

The non-European migration to France has a large (post) colonial component. The migration dynamics of part of the migrants from the colonies, like the Algerians, Moroccans and Tunisians workers and their families from North Africa, however, bear many similarities to those of guest workers in other European countries. We therefore categorized them in the following table as such. Within the remaining colonial migrants we have to distinguish between those who have free entry to France (the inhabitants of the so-called Dom-Tom territories), which are listed under colonial migrants from the Americas, and those coming from (former) colonies in Southeast Asia and Africa. Following the formula explained above, we have arrived at the following reconstruction.

Table 81: Migration to France from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia				Russia	Africa		Oceania	Total
	C[36]	Ot	C	GW	R	Ot		GW	C		
Stock 1975	100,000	40,000*	27,000[37]	74,000[38]		39,000		995,000[39]	93,000	10,000*	1,378,000
Stock 1999/2001[40]	357,000	104,000*	160,000	172,000	107,000[41]	109,000	17,000	1,300,000	392,000	26,000*	2,743,000
Multiplier	2	1,6	1,6	1,6	1,4	1,5	1,2	1,7	1,6	1,6	
Total migrations	714,000	166,400	256,000	275,200	149,800	163,500	20,400	2,210,000	627,200	41,600	4,624,100

Source: Stock 1975 and 1999: Population immigré (2005: 49). For 1999 (Marie 2002) we added those immigrants from the so-called DOM-TOM parts of France (Département d'outre Mer and Territoire d'outre Mer), which include the French Antilles in the Americas and French Polynesia, New Caledonia and Wallis and Futuna in Oceania. As the numbers do not distinguish between the Americas and Oceania and the bulk of these migrants is from the Antilles we subsumed the total number under the Americas. The number for 1975 is based on Moch (2011: 59) for the Antilles. We assume that the number of migrants from the TOMs in Oceania were very low at that time; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

* The 1975 stock figures do not distinguish between the Americas and Oceania (together 50,000). The 40-10 division is an estimate.

[36] From the Dom-Tom regions.
[37] From Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia).
[38] Turks.
[39] Of whom 556,000 from Algeria.
[40] For Russia 2001 (Eurostat).
[41] The numbers for 1999 do for Asia not distinguish between those who came as refugees (Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan) and others. We estimated that both categories roughly made up 50% each.

Germany

Although postwar Germany bustled with movement, with exception of the Turks it attracted only limited numbers from other continents, largely due to the lack of (post) colonial migrations. This was only partly counterbalanced by the immigration from Russia (as part of Asia), including two million 'Aussiedler'. The total rate is therefore lower than countries with a colonial past, like the Netherlands, France and the UK.

Table 82: Migration to Germany from extra-European countries (1951-2000)[42]

	Americas	Asia			Russia ('Aussiedler')	Africa		Oceania	Total
		GW	R[43]	Ot[44]		GW[45]	Ot		
Stock 1971/80	113,000	653,000		219,000			26,000	7,000	1,018,000
Stock 2003	218,000	1,223,000	268,000	716,000		121,000	147,000	12,000	
Multiplier	1,5	1,6	1,4	1,4		1,5	1,4	1,5	
Total migrations	327,000	1,956,800	375,200	1,002,400	2,019,000	181,500	205,800	18,000	6,085,700

Source: Stock 1971: for Turks (Herbert 2001: 198 and 233; and Seifert 2000: 71-72). For the rest we had to depend on the stock in 1980 (Mammey & Schwarz 2002: 204). For Aussiedler: Bade & Oltmer 2011: 78-80; and Wolff 2003: 888.
Stock 2003:
https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/Bevoelkerung/MigrationIntegration/AuslaendBevoelkerung2010200037004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile. We did not use the 2001 stock from the OECD 2005 (table II.A2.3) publication, because for Germany the 'unspecified' category is much too large (almost 1.6 million).

Greece

Although Greece was not part of the former communist Eastern Europe, its postwar history of immigration from other continents resembles that of the Warsaw Pact countries. Only in the 1990s it received increasingly newcomers from the Near East and Africa.

Table 83: Migration to Greece from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Americas	Asia	Russia	Africa	Oceania	Total
Stock 1990	21,000	43,000		11,000	7,000	79,000
Stock 2001	42,000	76,000	73,000	58,000	21,000	240,000
Multiplier	1.4	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,4	
Total migration	58,800	91,200	87,600	69,600	29,400	336,600

Source: Stock 1991 census figures in Baldwin-Edwards & Apostolatou 2009: 239. Stock 2001: OECD 2005; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

[42] As in all cases also here the numbers only refer to foreign born and do not include the Germany born second generation.
[43] Vietnam, Iran, Lebanon, Afghanistan, and Sri Lanka.
[44] Including Russia.
[45] Morocco, Tunesia and Algeria.

Hungary

Hungary experienced immigration from Asia, Africa and the Americas only after the fall of the iron curtain and thus displays the common pattern of ex-communist states in Eastern and Central Europe.

Table 84: Migration to Hungary from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa	Total
	LA	NA	Ot		Ot	
Stock 2001	1,000	3,000	11,000	6,500	3,000	23,500
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	2	1,2	
Total migration	1,200	3,600	13,200	13,000	3,600	34,600

Source: Stock 2001: Hárs & Sik 2009: 176-177; OECD 2005; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Ireland

Until the mid 1980s Ireland still was an emigration country, which only changed around 1990, when a strong economic growth awoke the 'Celtic tiger' and migrants from other continents started to come.

Table 85: Migration to Ireland from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Americas		Asia (including India)	Russia	Africa	British dominions (without Canada)	Total
	LA	NA					
Stock 1946	400	9,498	1,694		287	1,172	13,051
Stock 2001	3,000	26,000	28,000	2,500	27,000	8,000	94,500
Multiplier	1,4	1,6	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,5	
Total migration	4,200	41,600	33,600	3,000	32,400	12,000	126,800

Source: Stock 1946: Irish Census 1971, p. 74. Stock 2001: OECD 2005.; Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Italy

Also in Italy immigration is a rather recent phenomenon which really only started in the last decade of the 20th century.

Table 86: Migration to Italy from extra-European countries (1986-2000)

	North America	Asia	Russia	Africa	Other	Total
Stock 2001	48,000[46]	100,000	18,000	246,000	388,000	800,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	
Total migration	57,600	120,000	21,600	295,200	465,600	960,000

Source: Stock 2001: Bertagna & Maccari-Clayton 2011: 114. For the US see Kosic & Triandafyllidou 2007: 190; for Russia: Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

[46] In 2003.

Latvia

Migration to Latvia consisted almost entirely of Russians, who now form a considerable minority. Here we did not include Russians from former Soviet republics in Europe (such as the Ukraine and Belarus).

Table 87: Migration to Latvia from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Russia	Total
Stock 2001	246,000	246,000
Multiplier	2	
Total migration	492,000	492,000

Source: Eurostat 2001.

Lithuania

Migration to Lithuania, as in Latvia, consisted almost entirely of Russians, who now form a considerable minority. Here we did not include Russians from former Soviet republics in Europe (such as the Ukraine and Belarus).

Table 88: Migration to Lithuania from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Russia	Total
Stock 2001	96,000	96,000
Multiplier	2	
Total migration	192,000	192,000

Source: Eurostat 2001.

The Netherlands

As in France and The United Kingdom colonial migrants are an important part of the non-European immigration in the Netherlands. Part of them made a one time move (from the Dutch East Indies), whereas those from the Caribbean (Surinam and the Antilles) travelled frequently between the (former) colonies and the Netherlands. A second important category are (former) guest workers and their families from Morocco (Africa) and Turkey (Asia), who were highly volatile until the oil crisis of the mid-seventies and then started to bring their families and marriage partners to the Netherlands, most of whom stayed for good. A third group are refugees from Asia (mostly Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan) and Africa (Ghana, Somalia, Congo etc.) who arrived in large numbers from the 1980s onwards. Finally the non-European immigration consists of (often) higher educated labour migrants from the Americas, South Africa and Asia.

Table 89: Migration to The Netherlands from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia				Russia	Africa			Oceania	Other	Total
	C	Ot	C	GW	R[47]	Ot		GW	R[48]	Ot			
Stock 1971	43,000	8,000	204,000	28,000		3,000		21,000				64,000	371,000
Stock 2000	252,000	54,000	141,000	178,000	80,000	90,000	22,000	153,000	214,000	30,000	6,000	-	1,220,000
Multiplier	1,5	1,6	2	1,5	1,4	1,5	1,2	1,5	1,4	1,4	1,6		
Total migration	378,000	86,400	282,000	267,000	112,000	135,000	26,400	229,500	299,600	42,000	9,600		1,867,500

Source: for the stock of 1971: Nicolaas & Sprangers 2007: 40. For 2000 we used the database of the Dutch Bureau of Statistics (CBS: www.cbs.nl): following the sequence 'Cijfers', 'Kerncijfers', 'Bevolking', 'Allochtonen' we then selected the stock of migrants born in other continents in 2000. Note that Turkey is listed by the CBS under 'Europe' and that we have added the number of Turks born in Turkey to 'Asia'. Eurostat 2001 ('Russian'). Finally we added 22,000 Russians to the Asia category (based on Eurostat 2001).

Norway

Immigration to Norway from other continents was extremely low until the 1970s. From that time on small numbers of refugees and labour migrants from Turkey and Pakistan settled. In the last quarter of the 20th century these numbers increased rapidly.

Table 90: Migration to Norway from extra-European countries (1971-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa		Oceania	Total
	LA	NA	Ot		GW	Ot		
Stock 1975						2,000		2,000
Stock 2001	16,000	17,000	100,000	5,000	6,000	26,000	1,000	171,000
Multiplier	1,4	1,4	1,4	1,2	1,4	1,4	1,4	
Total migration	22,400	23,800	140,000	6,000	8,400	36,400	1,400	238,400

Source: Stock 1975: Statistics Norway; Stock 2001: OECD 2005 and Benito 2012: p. 4; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Poland

Poland experienced immigration from Asia, Africa and the Americas only after the fall of the iron curtain and thus displays the common pattern of ex-communist states in Eastern and Central Europe.

[47] Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan and Vietnam.

[48] Most countries except (apart from Morocco) South Africa, Egypt, Malawi, Nigeria, Cape Verdean Islands, Kenya, Tanzania.

Table 91: Migration to Poland from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa	Oceania	Total
	LA	NA					
Stock 2001	1,000	11,000	13,000	54,000	3,000	1,000	83,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	2	1,2	1,2	
Total migration	1,200	13,200	15,600	108,000	3,600	1,200	142,800

Source: Stock 2001: OECD 2005; and Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Portugal

Like in Spain migration from other continents to Portugal started only in the latter decades of the 20th century and was heavily dominated by the country's colonial past. Most Latin American newcomers came from Brazil (21,000 and 3,000 from Venezuela) and also the migrants from Africa overwhelmingly can be categorized as colonial: Cape Verde (43,000), Angola (18,000), Guinea-Bissau (14,000) and Mozambique (5,000). In the period 1951-1975 the number of non-Europeans was very low, consisting mainly of migrants from Brazil and African colonies. This changed after the Revolution of 1974, which led to almost half a million *retornados* from the former colonies in Africa (Cape Verdean islands, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola) and Asia (Timor). Many of them were born in the colonies and have been included in the 2001 Census.

Table 92: Migration to Portugal from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa		Oceania	Other	Total
	C[49]	Ot[50]	Ot		C	Ot			
Stock 1970	6,000				29,000				35,000
Stock 2001	75,000	16,000	17,000	2,300	350,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	464,300
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,5	1,2	1,4	1,4	
Total migration	90,000	19,200		2,760	525,000	2,400	1,400	1,400	662,560

Source: stock 1970: Maciel 2011: 233 (average of the numbers for 1960 and 1980); stock 2001: OECD 2005: 144; Marques 2012: 133 (based on the census of 2001 that counted people by country of birth), added with Baganha 2009: 268-269 (based on holders of residence permits); Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

Romania

Romania experienced immigration from Asia, Africa and the Americas only after the fall of the iron curtain and thus displays the common pattern of ex-communist states in Eastern and Central Europe. Since the fall of the Communist Regime Romania has become predominantly a country of emigration. At the same time small numbers of Turks and Chinese have settled.

Table 93: Migration to Romania from extra-European countries (1991-2000)

	Asia	Russia	Total
Stock 2002	4,000	8,000	12,000
Multiplier	1,2	2	
Total migration	4,800	16,000	20,800

Source: Stock 2001: Tompea & Nastuta 2009; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

[49] Central and South America.
[50] North America.

Spain

In the second half of the 20th century Spain changed from being a country of emigration to a country of immigration, and the number of foreign residents rose from 148,000 in 1970 to over a million in 2001. As we limit ourselves to those coming from other continents, it is interesting to see that the share of non-Europeans increased from 38 to 64%. At the turn of the century the bulk was almost equally divided between Africa (80% Moroccans, at great distance followed by migrants from Senegal and Gambia) and Latin America (Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, Dominican Republic and Argentina). The Asian presence consisted mainly of migrants from China and the Philippines. Although the Spanish empire for the largest part had ceased to exist by the end of the 19th century, its heritage is striking. These figures only represent the legal presence and we realize that illegal temporary labour migration, especially from Northern Africa, was considerable.

Table 94: Migration to Spain from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas		Asia	Russia	Africa	Oceania	Other	Total
	C[51]	Ot[52]	Ot		C			
Stock 1975	36,000	12,000	9,000	14,000	3,000		1,000	61,000
Stock 2000/1	180,000	20,000	71,000	14,000	262,000	1,000	1,000	549,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,2	1,4	1,4	
Total migration	216,000	24,000	85,200	16,800	314,400	1,400	1,400	659,200

Source: Aparicio & Tornos 2003: 217; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia).

Sweden

Immigration to Sweden from other continents was extremely low until the 1970s. Only then small numbers of refugees and labour migrants from Turkey and Pakistan settled. In the last quarter of the 20th century these number would increase rapidly.

Table 95: Migration to Sweden from extra-European countries (1971-2000)

	Americas		Asia			Russia	Africa			Oceania	Total
	LA[53]	NA	GW	R	Ot		GW	R	Ot		
Stock 1975	13,000	7,000	9,000	3,000	36,000		1,000		7,000	1,000	77,000
Stock 2001	63,000	18,000	32,000	142,000[54]	124,000	14,000	10,000	25,000[55]	68,000	3,000	499,000
Multiplier	1,5	1,6	1,5	1,4	1,4	1,2	1,5	1,4	1,4	1,5	
Total migration	94,500	28,800	48,000	198,800	173,600	16,800	15,000	35,000	95,200	4,500	710,200

Source: Stock 1975: Hammar 1991: 193; Stock 1975: average of (Geddes 2005: 108) and Westin on Sweden on: www. migrationinformation.org; Stock 2001: OECD 2005 and Benito 2012: 4; Eurostat 20901 ('Russia' and 'Former Soviet Union').

[51] Central and South America.
[52] North America.
[53] Mainly from Chile (27,000 in 2001).
[54] 15,000 from Syria, 20,000 from Lebanon, 52,000 from Iran and 56,000 from Iraq.
[55] Ethiopia 12,000 and 13,000 from Somalia.

Switzerland

Immigration to Switzerland from other continents was extremely low until the 1970s. Only then small numbers of refugees (from Sri Lanka e.g.) and labour migrants from Turkey settled. In the last quarter of the 20th century these numbers would increase somewhat, while remaining relatively low.

Table 96: Migration to Switzerland from extra-European countries (1971-2000)

	Americas	Asia		Russia	Africa	Oceania	Total
		GW	Ot				
Stock 1970	18, 000	12,000[56]	8,000		5,000	1,000	44,000
Stock 2000/1	51,000	83,000	92,000	7,000	50,000	3,000	279,000
Multiplier	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,2	1,4	1,5	
Total migrations	76,500	124,500	138,000	8,400	70,000	4,500	421,900

Source: Stock 1975: Wanner et al. 2009: 161; Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

United Kingdom

As France, the United Kingdom attracted mainly migrants from their (former) empire. In the first place from South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) and second from the West Indies (mainly Jamaica). Furthermore there were migrants from South Asia who first settled in East Africa (Kenya and Uganda) and later on were forced to leave. Another group was migrants from (former) colonies in Africa and finally there was a considerable exchange of people born in the dominions in North America and Oceania. Finally, as in all European countries there were higher skilled immigrants from all over the world.

Table 97: Migration to The United Kingdom from extra-European countries (1951-2000)

	Americas			Asia		Russia	Africa	Oceania	Other	Total
	Car	LA	NA	China	Ot					
Stock 2001	233,000	95,000	238,000	154,000	1,425,000	16,000	838,000	170,000	43,000	3,276,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,5	1,8	1,5	1,7	1,2	1,7	1,8	1,6	
Total migration	419,400	142,500	428,400	231,000	2,422,500	19,200	1,424,600	306,000	68,800	5,462,400

Source: OECD 2005 (see also Rendall & Salt 2005: 134); Eurostat 2001 ('Russia').

[56] Turks (average of 1970 and 1980).

3.5: Conclusion Immigration, 1951-2000

Table 98: Migration to Europe from other continents (1951-2000)

To	Total Immigration
Austria	350,220
Belgium	564,500
Bulgaria	26,000
Czech Republic and Slovakia	68,400
Denmark	265,020
Estonia	382,000
Finland	96,000
France	4,624,100
Germany	6,085,700
Greece	336,600
Hungary	34,600
Ireland	126,800
Italy	960,000
Latvia	492,000
Lithuania	192,000
Netherlands	1,867,500
Norway	238,400
Poland	142,800
Portugal	662,560
Romania	20,800
Spain	659,200
Sweden	710,200
Switzerland	421,900
United Kingdom	5,462,400
Total Europe	**24,789,700**

4: Migration to land (Colonization)

4.1: Introduction

Colonization in the 20th century had a somewhat different character than in previous periods. In early modern Europe colonization, as we have defined it in our typology, meant voluntary migration to sparsely populated areas within a state or empire (mainly Russia, Prussia and the Balkans).[57] Often these migrants not only were driven by the possibility to acquire land, but also sought and found religious freedom in the new territories.[58] Of course there were cases of forced or unfree migration. A good example are Russian sectarians (Dukhobors, Molokans and Subbotniks) who were sent by the Russian state to the southern frontier of the empire in the 19th century.[59] Once settled, however, they were free to build their lives and in the course of the process ironically even became agents of empire. Others were less lucky and were sent to camps in Siberia. There were two categories: exile (*ssylka*) and forced labour (*katorga*). Often these exiles, those who were deemed politically dangerous by the Tsarist regime, remained in Siberia after having served their term (up to 25 years) and in the 1880s there were some 30 colonies of exiles, each numbering between 4 and 60 people. The exiles had considerable freedom to write and read. It is interesting to note that these political opponents (including Lenin, Trotski and Stalin) had a major influence on Russian peasants who were settled in Siberia in the same period and through this cross-cultural contact the exiles contributed to the emergence of a revolutionary atmosphere at the end of the 19th century.[60] Moreover, many of them also in a way served the tsar by functioning as minor officials in remote Siberia, like Mikhail Bakunin.[61] The number of forced workers that consisted of prisoners was much greater (hundreds of thousand) they were put to hard labour in the so-called prison-farms (*katorga*), which predate the later German concentration camps and the Soviet *Gulags*.[62] Because in this research paper we have defined Europe as unit of analysis for our CCMR calculations, all these migrants to Siberia have already been subsumed under *emigration*.

If we restrict ourselves to Europe (including European Russia) in the 20th century, then we can conclude that not much space was left to colonize, but this did not entirely put an end to this type of migration as such. The main reason was that totalitarian states like Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, especially during wartime and revolution, forced large numbers of people to relocate, either to labour camps or to (new) rural settlements, in remote and non-urbanized areas. Partly such migrations have been covered by the categories *immigration* (Greeks from the Ottoman Empire to Greece in the 1920s) and *emigration* (large numbers of Russians and other who were sent to Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East or Muslims from the Balkans to Turkey). In this section we therefore limit ourselves to those (forced) colonizations that occurred *within* Europe. In principle we distinguish four different sorts of 'colonists':

a) Forced labour by *civilians*;
b) Forced labour and extermination of *ethnic, religious and political categories.*
c) *Temporary refugees housed in camps* (often in neighboring countries)
d) *Prisoners of war* (discussed in the category Temporal Multi-Annual)

[57] Lucassen & Lucassen 2009; Lucassen & Lucassen 2010: 18.
[58] Lucassen & Lucassen 2011: 357.
[59] Breyfogle 2005; Breyfogle et al. 2007.
[60] Wood 1991: 159-161.
[61] Lincoln 2007: 164.
[62] Hellie 2011: 188.

4.2: Forced labour by and relocations of civilians

With respect to non-military prisoners in both world wars, those who for various reasons were taken to camps in Germany, Poland and Russia – to mention the most important destinations – we have tried to be as complete as possible. During World War I Germany was the only country that used European civilians for forced labour. Most of them were Russian Poles, followed by Belgians.

Table 99: Forced civilian laborers in Germany during World War I

Region of departure	Number
Poland[63]	520,000
Belgium[64]	280,000
Occupied Russian territories in the Baltic region.	35,000
Total	835,000

Source: Thiel 2011.

The civilians, mostly Poles and Belgians who were transported to Germany, were put to work either in agricultural sites or in factories. Both in rural as in urban areas the forced workers were kept isolated from German society. As Thiel states: 'On the whole, the possibilities for Polish and Belgian forced laborers to integrate and the populations' willingness to have them do so were minimal'.[65] Nevertheless, their migrations can be considered 'cross-cultural' as they interacted not only with their German guards, but also with forced laborers from other countries.

During World War II again, but now in much larger numbers, millions of foreign civilian workers (especially Russians and Poles) were taken to Germany for the *Arbeitseinsatz.* The majority of these workers were placed in barracks in the countryside where they were forced to work in factories, agricultural enterprises and mines. Even when they had to work in factories in cities, in armament enterprises for example, the workers were placed in camps, isolated from German society. Apart from this form of forced labor, from 1942 onwards the Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA) of the SS also started to use inmates of concentration camps for labor deployment.[66] The numbers increased from 95,000 in 1942 to 700,000 in the beginning of 1945, distributed over 662 camps. Herbert estimates that between 1939 and 1945 about 2.5 million inmates (including those who died) were taken to WVHA camps, of which 85% came from abroad, resulting in 2.1 million cross-cultural (colonization) migrants. In total, apart from millions of Jews and other targeted people (Sinti and Roma, and others) who were killed immediately or very soon after they arrived in the death camps, 7.6 million foreign civilians were forcibly transported to Germany to work during the Second World War (see Table 100).

[63] 200,000-300,000 Poles from the Russian occupied part of Poland were already in Germany as temporal workers at the outbreak of the war and were not allowed to return. From August 1915 on, 140,000 agricultural workers, 100,000 industrial workers and 30,000 Polish-Jewish workers were recruited from the General Government of Warsaw.

[64] Thiel 2011: 599. Other than the Polish workers in Germany, only 4,200 Belgians were employed temporarily in Germany at the outbreak of the war. 160,000 Belgians voluntarily moved to Germany, the majority of which found work in war-related enterprises. Also these workers lived relatively isolated from German society.

[65] Thiel 2011: 600.

[66] Herbert 2011: 388.

Table 100: Forced civilian laborers in Germany during World War II

Country of origin	Total
Poland (Arbeitseinsatz)	1,700,000
France (Arbeitseinsatz)	1,300,000
Soviet Union (Arbeitseinsatz)	2,500,000
Other countries (foreigners under WVHA)	2,100,000
Total	7,600,000

Source: Herbert 2011: 385-391.

Finally, the category of forced labour by civilians also refers to large groups of migrants who are treated elsewhere, especially under the heading of *emigration*. As we have seen the most well-known example are (small) Russian famers who were accused of sabotaging the Soviet collectivization and who were considered class enemies. Millions were taken to Siberia, where many died, and few returned from. Others, however, especially (Western) Europeans taken to Germany by the Nazi occupying forces, are included (Table 100).

4.3: Forced labour and extermination of ethnic, religious and political categories

The most problematic and troublesome case, both emotionally and in terms of definitions, are the millions of Europeans, especially those branded as 'Jews' and 'Gypsies', who were either killed on the spot or transported from their countries to be massacred in extermination camps in Poland, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Chelmno, Belzec, Majdanek, Sobibor and Treblinka.

We have deliberately chosen not to treat these groups as *hors category*. Not only because technically they *were* migrants, but also because it is the only way to enable global comparisons with people who were treated in a similar way elsewhere, and who are nowadays studied in the field of genocide studies. Think of millions of Cambodians who were forced to leave cities and work themselves to death in the countryside, or Armenians who marched to their death during WWI. Of the about 5.4 million Jews who were murdered during WWII some 3.5 million were killed after being transported to concentration and extermination camps.[67] Some 1.3 million Jews and ten thousands of Gypsies as well as numerous other 'enemies' (especially Poles and Russians) were killed in their region of origin by *Einsatzgruppen* (partly assisted by local militias) in the Baltic states (esp. Lithuania), Poland, Ukraine and Belarus, after Hitler broke his treaty with Stalin by invading the Soviet Union in June 1941. The execution of these Eastern European Jews often happened at the same day of their arrest, very near to the towns and villages where they lived.[68] Like Armenians, or more recently Hutu's and Tutsi's in Rwanda, who were brutally killed in their own towns and villages, they fall outside our migration perspective.

This is different for the 3.5 million Jews who were sent to concentration and extermination camps. Most of them did not travel far, because the majority lived in Eastern Europe and were transported to the six extermination camps in Poland. The journey was much longer for the one million Jews who were rounded up in Germany and occupied countries in Western (France, Belgium, the Netherlands), Northern (Denmark, Norway), Central (Hungary, Czechoslovakia) and Southern Europe (Croatia, Greece, Italy).

Most of those who entered the death camps can be considered migrants, but do not fall in our cross-cultural category, as the genocide prevented them to develop any cross-cultural contacts whatsoever. This was somewhat different for those who were selected for forced labor in the camps, although most of them also died within months due to sickness, brutal treatment and hunger, together with hundreds of thousands (political) prisoners.[69]

[67] Snyder 2010: 253; Orth 2002.
[68] Snyder 2010: 256, 336.
[69] Herbert 2011: 385-391.

The imprisonment, transportation, and forced labor of Jews in WWII bear some similarities with earlier historical events. For example with the early modern Atlantic slave trade. Slaves were coercively and systematically taken to the Americas where they lost their freedom and had to work. One difference with the Jews is the economic value of the African slaves. Hitler's ultimate aim was to exterminate all the Jews, whereas the value of the African slaves depended on their ability to work. The economic contribution of the Jewish people in the form of forced labor however was more than welcome since most of the German working force was away fighting in the army. Especially since the source of (forced) civilian factory personnel started to dry from 1942 on. Herbert states: 'It can be assumed that virtually every concentration camp inmate was used for forced labor for a shorter or longer stretch period during his or her period of incarceration'.[70] So ultimately, forced labor wasn't the main goal of the transportation of the European Jews, but it certainly was a very important aspect of it. The fact that all of this happened *within* Europe made us choose to add this migration to this category.

It is estimated that 10-20% of the transported Jews were put to work and as such came into contact with other from various parts of Europe. The large majority (some 400,000), however, died within 4-8 weeks and only 200,000 survived and it are these survivors whom can be considered as cross-cultural migrants here.

4.4: Temporary refugees housed in camps (often in neighboring countries)

Especially during World War I and after World War II millions of refugees and displaced persons ended up in camps before they could move on or return to their countries of origin. As these camps were mostly situated in the countryside, and even when not, were relatively isolated from their direct environment we decided that this type of cross-cultural migration fits best in the colonization type. To avoid double counts with other categories (especially migration to cities), we only list those refugees of whom we know that they returned within 5-10 years to their country of birth. In practice this regard most clearly the 1.5 million Belgian refugees during World War I, who fled to neighboring countries like the Netherlands, France and Great Britain.[71]

4.5: Prisoners of war

A last important category is prisoners of war who were forced to work. As they have already been counted as soldiers in the category *Temporary Multi-Annual* migrations, we did not include them in our total calculations. We nevertheless would like to memorise them here for reasons of completeness. The mass-scale employment of POW's during WWI, in Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, but also in France and, to a lesser extent, in Great-Britain, was a relatively new phenomenon. Just like civilian workers, POW's were kept isolated from society and very often had to work in the European war-economy. They did not automatically return at the end of the war; some had to wait until 1922 to be repatriated to their homelands. The numbers of POWs during WWI were substantial. In the case of the Russian army, one fifth (3.4 million) of the total number of soldiers fell into captivity. The Austrian-Hungarian army lost nearly one third (2.8. million) of their troops that way.[72] In total we are talking about more than 8 million men.

[70] Herbert 2011: 291.
[71] Amara 2011.
[72] Oltmer 2011: 625.

Table 101: Prisoners of War in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, Britain in WWI

Region of departure	Destination	Number
Russia	Austria-Hungary	2,040,000
Russia	Germany	1,360,000
Austria-Hungary	Russia	2,800,000
France	Germany	600,000
Italy	Germany, Austria-Hungary	600,000
Great-Britain	Germany	200,000
Germany	France, UK	1,000,000
Total		8,600,000

Source: Oltmer 2011 and Jones 2011: 20.

During World War II the number of POW's was again huge. By far the largest number was the 5.7 million Russian soldiers who were taken captive between 1941 and the end of the war. Added to this were some 300,000 Polish and 100,000 French soldiers. Most of the Russian soldiers were kept outside the Reich and by the end of the war more than half of them had died by diseases, hunger or were killed.[73] Only a small fraction was sent to Germany for forced labour, soon joined by millions of Soviet civilians.

Table 102: Prisoners of War in Germany during World War II

Country of origin	Total
Poland	300,000
France	100,000
Soviet Union	5,700,000
Total	6,100,000

Source: Herbert 2011: 385-391.

As all these prisoners of war by definition are part of the armed forces, accounted for in tables 159 and 160, they will not be part of the totals of this chapter.

[73] Herbert 2011: 387.

4.6: Conclusion

In conclusion, we estimate that in the first half of the 20th century some 10 million European civilians fled or were forcefully transported, to resettle, work, and often die, in largely rural or (concentration) camp settlements, outside their country of birth.

Table 103: Total colonization 1901-1950

	Colonization
Forced civilian laborers in Germany WWI	835,000
Forced laborers Germany WWII	7,600,000
Jewish survivors of German concentration and death camps	200,000
Temporary refugees from Belgium housed in camps (during World War I: 1 million in the Netherlands, 325,000 in France and 200,000 in the UK)	1,525,000
Total	**10,160,000**

On top come another 15 million prisoners of war in both world wars, who are discussed in the category *Temporal Multi-Annual*.

5: Migration to cities

5.1: Introduction

In the 2010 research paper, the migration rates to cities in Europe between 1500-1900 were measured by combining the increase of the urban population of cities larger than 9,999 with the natural increase/decrease. The result was the number of migrants moving to cities, regardless of the place of departure (regional or international). To measure twentieth century migration to cities, we chose two different approaches, excluding, respectively including people moving within state borders (internal migrants).

In the first approach we excluded all internal (rural to urban and urban to urban within states) migrations. The argument for doing so is that migration within largely homogenous nation states in the twentieth century does not fit in the definition of cross-cultural migration anymore. The differences in language, customs and social practices between rural and urban areas had decreased in such a way that migration within a state no longer provides a significant cross-cultural experience (compared to the period 1500-1900).[74]

We assume on the other hand that all international (intra-European) migration can be considered as migration to cities (of course except for those migrants subsumed under immigration, colonization and Temporal Seasonal and Multi-Annual). For the first half of the century, we relied primarily on secondary literature.[75] For the second half, we used the data of the statistical office of the European Union (Eurostat) and several national statistical bureaus.[76]

Where available we used stocks of migrants on the basis of censuses, either on the basis of birth (European Foreign Born – EFB) or nationality (European Foreigners – EF). We took these as point of departure and deducted 50% of each subsequent decade to correct for double counts (people who were already counted in the previous census). We realize that this underestimates the real number of foreigners who stayed in the country and in cities for some time, because often we do have no precise decadal data but have to do with larger intervals. Nor do we have good estimates of foreigners who settled in villages. Where we do not have census data we had to rely on information on specific immigrant groups, most of who have been listed in the *Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe*.[77]

Although there are good reasons to exclude internal migrants from our calculations, this change of definition of migration to cities poses a problem for comparisons with earlier periods and partly with other parts of the world, especially (European and Asian) Russia and China, where internal moves to cities remained a major cross-cultural move. Separately, we therefore also applied a second approach, i. e. the original method that does not distinguish between internal and international moves (inside Europe) to cities in the 20th century.

5.2: Results per country, 1901-1950

Austria

Austria is a complicated case, because of the huge border changes after World War I, which reduced the empire to a small nation state. By lack of systematic data we here limit ourselves largely to Vienna, for which we have good data of foreign born, defined as those not born in the territory of post 1918 Austria between 1910-1951.[78] For the foreign born in Vienna we estimate that between each census (1910-1934-1951) 50% of the foreign population was renewed. With the exception of 1923 when half a million of foreign refugees had come to the city most of who

[74] See paragraphs 5.2-5.5.
[75] Especially: Bade et al. 2011.
[76] See paragraphs 5.4-5.5.
[77] Bade et al. 2011.
[78] In 1910 the large majority of these 'foreigners' was born in what was to become Czechoslovakia.

probably had never been there before. Given the large share of Vienna in the total number of urbanites in Austria (80% in 1920),[79] we estimate that for the rest of the Austrian cities we can add 10% of the EFB in Vienna (if we assume that Vienna was double as attractive to foreign migrants than smaller Austrian cities) of the Viennese number of foreigners.

Table 104: Migration to Austria from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	EFB in Vienna 1910	EFB in Vienna 1923	EFB in Vienna 1934	EFB Vienna 1951	*Vienna Total*	EFB rest Austria (estimate)	Total
Stock	739,000	861,000	794,000	631,000	*3,025,000*	302,000	3,327,000
Double counts	369,500	180,000	397,000	315,500	*1,262,000*	126,200	1,388,200
Total migration	369,500 (1901-1910)	681,000 (1911-23)	397,000 (1924-1934)	315,500 (1935-1950)	*1,763,000*	175,800	1,938,800

Sources: Hahn 2011: 89; John & Lichtblau 1999: 15.

Belgium

Table 105: Migration to Belgium from other European countries (1901-1950)

	EF 1900	EF in 1910	EF in 1920	EF 1930	EF1947	Total
Stock	204,000	253,000	148,000	311,000	362,000	1,278,000
Double counts	204,000	126,000	74,000	155,000	181,000	740,000
Total migration						538,000

Source: Caestecker 2011: 48.

Czechoslovakia

With the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918 a large number of Czech and Slovak speaking migrants from the newly configurated state of Austria entered, followed by refugees from Germany and, later (1939), occupied Sudetenland. After the Second World War some 180,000 Czechs and Slovaks returned from Romania, Yugoslavia, France and Bulgaria.

Table 106: Migration to Czechoslovakia from other European countries, 1918-1950

From	Austria	Germany	Sudetenland	Romania, Bulgaria, France et al.	Total
1918-1925	150,000				150,000
1926-1950	10,000	22,000	400,000	180,000	612,000
Total migration	160,000	22,000	400,000	180,000	762,000

Source: Gletter 2011; Zeitlhofer 2011: 157-158; Nenicka 2012: 85.

[79] In 1920 1.841,000 people live in Vienna and about 500,000 in other Austrian cities of > 20,000 (Nitsch 2001: 144).

Denmark

Table 107: Migration to Denmark from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	Germany	Total
1901-1925		
1926-1950	2,000	2,000
Total migration	2,000	2,000

Source: Kjeldstadli 2011: 10.

Finland

Table 108: Migration to Finland from other European countries (1918-1950)

From	Viborg county in (former) Russian (Western) Karelia	Total
1918-1925		
1926-1950	400,000	400,000
Total migration	400,000	400,000

Source: Kjeldstadli 2011: 8.

France

Apart from the foreign born from other European countries in various censuses, we have also additional information on refugees from Spain, Germany and Austria who arrived in the 1930s. To avoid double counts we have to know what share was naturalized by the time the 1946 census was held. Unfortunately, however, this information is largely lacking. The naturalization law of 1927 was very liberal,[80] but in the course of the 1930s the political climate towards immigrants and refugees became more negative and hence naturalization procedures became lengthier.[81] This changed again in 1939 when numbers of naturalized jumped to 44,500 men and women (and when children are included even to some 99,000), and 29,000 in the first months of 1940. This increase was partly caused by the prospect that these new Frenchmen could join the army. During the War the Vichy government reduced the number of naturalized foreigners drastically and given its anti-communist and anti-semitic stance, the naturalization of the two groups fell almost to zero.[82]

Many Spanish refugees had already been rounded up in French detention camps in the period 1936-1939, and then again during Vichy. During the war many of them joined the resistance and at least 35,000 took part in the liberation of France.[83] Given the liberal naturalization policy versus foreigners who had been active in the resistance, we assume that some 20,000 had been naturalized before 1946. Others who should not be included in the remaining refugees after World War II are those who died during the war. This regards 10,000 Spanish refugees who did not survive German concentration camps.[84] Of the 135,000 German, Polish, Czech and Austrian Jewish refugees who lived in France in June 1940, some 56,500 died in the death camps.

[80] Fette 2012: 31; Weil 2008: 80-82; Caron 1999: 238.
[81] Lewis 2007: 238-239.
[82] Sweets 1986: 112.
[83] Berdah 2011: 697.
[84] Tierney 2008: 135; Fogg 2009: 64. Stein 1979.

Table 109: Migration to France from other European countries (1901-1950)

	FE 1911	FE 1931	Spanish refugees in 1940	German, Austrian and Eastern European Jewish refugees in 1940	FE 1946	Total
Stock	1,005,000	2,143,000	325,000	135,000	1,371,000	4,979,000
Naturalized (because Naturalized before the 1946 Census)			20,000 (guestimate)	20,000 (guestimate)		
Died before 1946			10,000	56,500		
Double counts	-	536,000*	30,000	76,500	342,000*	984,500
Total migrants	1,005,000	1,607,000	295,000	58,500	1,029,000	3,994,500

Source: Moch 2011: 54-58; Marrus 1981: 36; Weil 2008: 78 and 144-146; Zuccotti 1998: 492-493.
Note: * We subtracted only one fourth, because the two stocks span respectively two decades (1911-1931) or fifteen years (1931-1946).

Germany

After 1918 the German Reich had to cede much territory to neighboring countries, both in the West (Alsace Lorraine) and the East (Poland and Russia), and as a result many ethnic Germans "returned" to Germany. Part of them only remained briefly and emigrated to the United States. After the war nearly 12.5 million refugees and expellees from the former eastern territories of the German Reich entered the new German Democratic Republic.

Table 110: Migration to Germany from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	Poland	Russia	Czechoslovakia	Yugoslavia, Romania, Hungary	France	Other	Total
1901-1940	850,000	100,000[85]	16,000		150,000	1,333,000	2,449,000
1945-1950	9,000,000		3,000,000	630,000		1,579,000	14,209,000
Total migration	9,950,000		3,016,000	630,000	150,000	2,912,000	16,658,000

Source: Bade & Oltmer 2011.

[85] Many more (600,000) came to Germany, but most then went on to France and the US, so to avoid double counts we limited ourselves to the 100,000 who were still in Germany in 1933 (Bade & Oltmer 2011: 72).

Hungary

Table 111: Migration to Hungary from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	Romania	Yugoslavia	Other successor states Habsburg monarchy	Total
1901-1925	197,000	47,000	106,000	350,000
1926-1950				
Total migration				350,000

Source: Sundhausen 2011: 173.

Ireland

Migration from other European countries to Ireland was low during the first half of the 20th century. The bulk coming from England, Scotland and Wales.

Table 112: Migration to Ireland from other European countries (1901-1950)

	FE 1901	FE 1946	Total
Stock	119,417	51,688	171,105
Double counts	119,417	25,844	145,261
Total migration		25,844	25,844

Source: the original Irish Censuses of 1901 and 1946.
Note: (1) In the printed original 1901 Census (not the online version) 16,541 inhabitants are classified as born in 'Foreign parts'. We assume that 50% came from Europea and the rest from outside (cf. table 69).

The Netherlands

According to the 1899 Census there were 53,000 inhabitants with a non-Dutch nationality in the Netherlands. This number would increase rapidly, especially in the 1920s, with a peak around 1930. Unfortunately, due to the occupation of the Netherlands by German troops in May 1940 there was no Census in that year. As we know that many labour migrants (predominantly Germans) returned to their country of birth, we estimate the number of foreign European born at 100,000 in 1940, including the 15,000 German refugees. After the war immigration was limited to some 12,000 Displaced Persons, most of whom are included in the 1947 Census.

Table 113: Migration to The Netherlands from other European countries (1901-1950)

	FE 1899	FE 1909	FE 1920	FE 1930	FE 1940	FE 1947[86]	Total
Stock	53,000	70,000	112,000	176,000	180,000	74,000	600,000
Double counts	53,000	35,000	56,000	88,000	90,000	48,000	315,000
Total migration	0	35,000	56,000	88,000	90,000	26,000	295,000

Source: Censuses 1899-1947; Lucassen 2001: 99; Lucassen & Lucassen 2011b: 39. FE 1940 is an estimate (due to the lack of a census in that year) based on the stock in 1930 added with net refugees and minus returning (polish and German) miners and (german and Austrian) domestics (Obdeijn & Schrover 2008: 162-168).

Romania

Table 114: Migration to Romania from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	Hungarian Transylvania	Total
1901-1925		
1926-1950	320,000	320,000
Total migration	320,000	320,000

Source: Sundhausen 2011: 173.

Sweden

Table 115: Migration to Sweden from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	Germany Jewish refugees	Scandinavia, Baltic and Germany	Total
1901-1925			
1926-1950	3,000	180,000	183,000
Total migration	3,000	180,000	183,000

Source: Kjeldstadli 2011.

Switzerland

Table 116: Migration to Switzerland from other European countries (1901-1950)

From	FE 1900	FE 1910	FE 1920	FE 1930	FE 1941	FR 1950	Total
Stock	385,000	552,000	403,000	354,000	222,000	288,000	2,204,000
Double counts	385,000	276,000	201,500	177,000	111,000	144,000	1,294,500
Total migration							909,500

Source: Vuilleumier 2011: 97.

[86] As the interval between 1940-1947 is only 7 years, the double count rate is 65% instead of 50%.

United Kingdom

Migration from other European countries to Britain was not spectacular during the first half of the 20th century. The 1930s saw an increase due to the inflow of (German) refugees and Irish male and female workers.

Table 117: Migration to United Kingdom from other European countries (1918-1950)

From	EF 1911	EF 1931	EF 1940	European (Jewish) exiles 1930s	Irish born (1910-1950)**	DP's 1945-1950	Total
Stock	93,000	78,000	231,000	65,000	2,578,000	460,000	1,552,000
Double counts	46,500	19,500*	115,500		1,289,000		181,500
Total migration	46,500	58,500	115,500	65,000	1,289,000	460,000	2,034,500

Source: Lunn 2011: 22; Benz 2011: 537; Delaney 2000: 45; Baines 2007: 336-340.

Note: * We subtracted only one fourth, because the two stocks span two decades. ** We summed the stocks of Irish born in the censues of England, Wales and Scotland in 1911, 1921 and 1931 (Delaney 2000: 84) plus (our) estimates for 1941 and 1950 (500,000 each) and then subtracted 50% of each cesnsus.

5.3: Conclusion Immigration to cities, 1901-1950

Table 118: International migration within Europe (1901-1950)

From	Total migration to cities
Austria	1,938,800
Belgium	538,000
Czechoslovakia	762,000
Denmark	2,000
Finland	400,000
France	3,994,500
Germany	16,658,000
Hungary	350,000
Ireland	25,844
Netherlands	295,000
Romania	320,000
Sweden	183,000
Switzerland	909,500
United Kingdom	2,034,500
Total Europe	**28,411,144**

5.4: Results per country, 1951-2000

For the second half of the century we chose to use the data of the European Statistical Office (Eurostat). On the basis of the population census of European countries in 2001 (selecting those born in other European countries), we estimated the number of European immigrants who moved to that country in the past fifty years. The 2001 numbers of course do not include those migrants who arrived after 1950 and died or left before 2001. As with 'Immigration' in the previous paragraph, we applied the multiplier method, which depends on the length of the period between the arrival of the migrants and the census of 2001. The longer ago migrants from a certain country of origin settled in the country of destination, the larger the multiplier, which leads to the following factors, which we uniformily applied to the migration of the six main groups of European migrants.

Table 119: Multiplier for postwar internal European migrations

Date of arrival	Multiplier	Groups
Around 1990	1,2	1) Eastern Europeans in Western and Southern Europe after the opening of the Iron Curtain
Around 1970	1,6	2) Southern Europeans in Southern Europe 3) Southern Europeans, Ireland and Iceland
Around 1960	1,8	4) Southern Europeans as guest workers in Western Europe
Around 1950	2	5) Eastern Europeans within Eastern Europe 6) Western Europeans within Western Europe

Note: the multiplier of '2' for the entire 50 years period is a rough estimate, but is in tune with the few empirical data that we have for European groups for whom we have stocks for every 10 years since 1950, such as Italians in Switzerland and Germany.[87]

Source:

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/eurostat/home/

To arrive at the table we used for the 2001 stock data, follow the following steps and navigate to: **statistic**s> (a-z) **Population** > **Data** > **Database** > **Census (cens) > Census round 2001 - national level (cens_01n)** > **Population structure** > **Population by sex, age group and country of birth (cens_01nscbirth)**. The next step is to 'select data' and then 'select all' for GEO and C-BIRTH and 'update' both. The last step is to drag with the left mouse click 'country of birth' to the position of 'sex' and thereby replace 'sex' by 'country of birth'. The programme then automatically generates the table with vertically the countries of destination and horizontally the countries of birth of the foreign born population.

We have chosen to classify the internal European migrants in three broad categories which have a roughly similar timing in 'sending' people to other European countries: **Western Europe** (in principle the entire period): Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, the UK, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, France, Monaco. Liechtenstein; **Southern Europe** (as reservoir of 'guest workers', roughly from the 1960s onwards): Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, (former) Yugoslavia, Malta, Cyprus; and **Eastern Europe** (Only after 1990): Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Albania, Romania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia.

[87] Rieker 2011: 507.

Austria

Table 120: European immigrants in Austria (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	179,000	384,000	196,000	759,000
Multiplier	2	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	358,000	691,200	235,200	1,284,400

Belgium

Table 121: European immigrants in Belgium (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	396,000	226,000	40,000	662,000
Multiplier	2	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	792,000	406,800	48,000	1,246,800

Bulgaria

Table 122: European immigrants in Bulgaria (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	1,000	6,000	14,000	21,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,4*	1,8	
Total migrants	1,200	8,400	25,200	34,800

* From Yugoslavia

Czech Republic

Table 123: European immigrants in the Czech Republic (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	25,000	12,000	369,000	406,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,4*	1,8	
Total migrants	30,000	16,800	664,200	711,000

* From Yugoslavia

Denmark

Table 124: Stock of European immigrants in Denmark (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	129,000	38,000	23,000	166,000
Multiplier	2	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	258,000	68,400	28,000	354,400

Estonia

Table 125: European immigrants in Estonia (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	3,000		48,000	
Multiplier	1,2		1,8	
Total migrants	3,600		86,400	90,000

Finland

Table 126: European immigrants in Finland (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	41,000	8,000	11,400	60,400
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	73,800	14,400	13,700	101,900

France

Table 127: European immigrants in France (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	669,000	1,423,000	175,000	2,211,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	1,204,200	2,561,400	210,000	3,975,600

Germany

When calculating the stock of foreign born Europeans, Germany poses a problem, because the country is missing in the Eurostat statistics on foreign born. The reason is that Germany does register migrants according to nationality and not according to country of birth, which means that ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe (Poland, Romania etc.) and naturalized citizens are left out. On the other hand the stock of ‘foreigners’ does not distinguish between the first and second

generation.[88] For this reason, Germany has not been included in the 2001 stock data of Eurostat that we used as a benchmark for this paragraph. We therefore had to rely of different sources that give an overview of the most important groups of European migrants who settled in Germany (until 1991 especially West Germany) in the second half of the 20th century.

The most numerous were 'Aussiedler' or 'ethnic Germans' who entered the country from Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Romania. Fortunately this immigration has been well recorded and an additional advantage is that we know very few returned so that we can add the yearly flow numbers to the total number.[89] Being a one time refugee flow of which we have the total numbers, we have not applied a multiplier to these numbers. The second largest categories are European guest workers from Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Spain. Here we used the stock numbers from 1976. Very few had naturalized by then and only limited numbers entered the country after the mid 1970s, because of the economic recession and because we know that these European guest workers, in contrast to the Turks, did not call on a large scale on their families to settle in Germany by way of family reunification. A third group that drew a lot of attention is refugees from former Yugoslavia, predominantly Bosnia-Herzegovina, who settled after the civil war broke out in 1991. In 1997 342,000 of them lived in Germany of whom 70,000 returned to Bosnia by the end of that year. This return migration continued and by 2003 only some 40,000 were left in Germany.[90] Finally, we had to estimate the number of European migrants who settled in Germany from other countries than the Southern European homes of the guest worker and the Eastern European countries of origin of the 'Aussiedler'.[91]

[88] Rühl 2009.
[89] The numbers of Aussiedler have been summarized and recalculated on the basis of Bade & Oltmer 2001: 78-80; Dietz 2006: 133; and Dietz 2011.
[90] Goeke 2011b: 633.
[91] Statistisches Jahrbuch 2001: 65.

Table 128: European immigrants in Germany (1951-2000)

	Yugoslavia	Italy	Greece	Spain	Poland	Romania	Rest Aussiedler (except Russia)	Other	Total
Aussiedler 1951-1987					848,000	206,000	313,000		1,367,000
Aussiedler 1988-2000					486,000	260,000			746,000
Subtotal Aussiedler					1,334,000	466,000	313,000		2,113,000
Guest workers: stock 1960		197,000		30,000					
Guest workers: stock 1970	469,000	573,000		40,700					
Guest workers: stock 1987	551,600								
Guest workers 1955-1977			638,400						
Guest workers: stock 2001	500,000 *	601,000	400,000 *	139,000 *					
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,8	1,8					
Subtotal guestworkers	900,000	1,081,800	720,000	250,200					2,952,000
Bosnian refugees (1990s)									272,500
Stock of foreign nationals 2000 (except Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece, Spain, Poland, and Romania)								719,000	
Multiplier								1,8	
Subtotal other migrants								1,294,200	1,294,200
Total migrants									6,631,700

Source: Bader & Oltmer 2011: 78-80; Dietz 1996 and 2011: Rieker 2011: 507; Schaefer & Thränhardt 1998: 153; Goeke 2011a: 746; Goeke 2011b: 633. Statistisches Jahrbuch 2001 (Statistisches Bundesamt): table 3.21, p. 65. Vermeulen 2011: 457.
Note: * Estimate based on earlier stocks and the number of foreign nationals in 2001.

Greece

Table 129: European immigrants in Greece (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	147,000	37,000	514,000	698,000
Multiplier	1,6	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	235,200	59,200	616,800	911,200

Hungary

Table 130: European immigrants in Hungary (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	21,000	35,000	212,000	268,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,8	
Total migrants	25,200	42,000	381,600	448,800

Iceland

Table 131: European immigrants in Iceland (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	9,000	1,000	2,000	12,000
Multiplier	1,6	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	14,400	1,600	2,400	18,400

Ireland

Table 132: European immigrants in Ireland (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	275,000	11,000	19,000	305,000
Multiplier	1,6	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	440,000	17,600	22,800	480,400

Italy

Table 133: European immigrants in Italy (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	857,000	237,000	324,000	1,418,000
Multiplier	1,6	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	1,317,200	379,200	388,800	2,085,200

Latvia

Table 134: European immigrants in Latvia (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	3,500		163,000	166,500
Multiplier	1,2		1,8	
Total migrants	4,200		293,400	297,600

Lithuania

Table 135: European immigrants in Lithuania (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	2,500		91,000	93,500
Multiplier	1,2		1,8	
Total migrants	3,000		163,800	166,800

Luxembourg

Table 136: European immigrants in Luxembourg (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	60,000	65,000	3,000	128,000
Multiplier	2	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	120,000	117,000	3,600	240,600

The Netherlands

Table 137: European immigrants in the Netherlands (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	272,000	113,000	30,000	415,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	489,600	203,400	36,000	729,000

Norway

Table 138: European immigrants in Norway (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	108,000	13,000	30,000	151,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	194,400	23,400	36,000	253,800

Poland

Table 139: European immigrants in Poland (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	150,000	510,000	16,000	676,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,8	
Total migrants	180,000	612,000	28,800	820,800

Portugal

Table 140: European immigrants in Portugal (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	168,000	17,000	19,000	204,000
Multiplier	1,6	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	268,800	27,200	22,800	318,800

Romania

Table 141: European immigrants in Romania (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	5,000	12,000	81,000	98,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,8	
Total migrants	6,000	14,400	145,800	166,200

Slovakia

Table 142: European immigrants in Slovakia (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	3,000	2,000	107,000	112,000
Multiplier	1,2	1,2	1,8	
Total migrants	3,600	2,400	192,600	192,600

Slovenia

Table 143: European immigrants in Slovenia (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	12,000	154,000	1,600	176,600
Multiplier	1,2	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	14,400	246,600	19,200	280,200

Spain

Table 144: European immigrants in Spain (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	601,000	93,000	139,000	833,000
Multiplier	1,5	1,6	1,2	
Total migrants	901,500	149,000	167,000	1,217,500

Sweden

Table 145: European immigrants in Sweden (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	402,000	157,000	93,000	652,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	724,000	282,600	112,000	1,118,600

Switzerland

Table 146: European immigrants in Switzerland (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	416,000	678,000	52,000	1,146,000
Multiplier	2	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	832,000	1,220,400	62,000	2,114,400

United Kingdom

Table 147: European immigrants in the United Kingdom (1951-2000)

	Western Europe	Southern Europe	Eastern Europe	Total
Stock in 2001	1,093,000	389,000	131,000	1,613,000
Multiplier	1,8	1,8	1,2	
Total migrants	1,968,000	700,200	157,000	2,825,200

5.5: Conclusion Immigrants to cities (1951-2000)

Table 148: Total Immigrants to cities (1951-2000)

To	Total migrants to cities
Austria	1,284,400
Belgium	1,246,800
Bulgaria	34,800
Czechoslovakia	711,000
Denmark	354,400
Estonia	90,000
Finland	101,900
France	3,975,600
Germany	6,631,700
Greece	911,200
Hungary	448,800
Iceland	18,400
Ireland	480,400
Italy	2,085,200
Latvia	297,600
Lithuania	166,800
Luxembourg	240,600
Netherlands	729,000
Norway	253,800
Poland	820,800
Portugal	318,800
Romania	166,200
Slovakia	192,600
Slovenia	280,200
Spain	1,217,500
Sweden	1,118,600
Switzerland	2,114,400
United Kingdom	2,825,200
Total	**28,829,700**

5.6: Migration to cities within European countries (1901-2000)

A second way of calculating migration to cities in Europe is to follow the procedure we applied to the period 1500-1900.[92] For this period we took the increase in the number of Europeans in cities as point of departure assumed that the growth of the number of Europeans living in cities mirrored cityward migrations.

Table 149: Migration to cities in Europe (1901-2000) (millions)

	1890	**1900**	**1950**	**2000**
Urbanization rate (%)	29	32	52,4	73,8
Total Population (without Russia)	231	354	444	580
Total urban population	67	134	242	523

Source: 1950 and 2000: United Nations 2002: 8, 23-25 and 40. For total population numbers see table 167. The urbanization rate for 1900 is derived from De Vries 1984: 46-47.

Second, for those periods during which more people died than were born in cities (until the second half of the 19th century), we used the period specific urban mortality rates to calculate the additional number of migrants needed to make up for the surplus mortality. In the 20th century cities were no longer unhealthy places and birth rates surpassed death rates. For the first half of the 20th century we then estimated that only two thirds of the growth of cities was caused by immigration from the countryside and 50% in the second half. Finally we subtracted the numbers of immigrants coming from other continents (the bulk of whom ended up in cities), to avoid double counts.

Table 150: Migration to cities in Europe (without Russia) (1901-2000) (millions)

	Increase urban population	X 2/3 (1901-50) and X ½ 1951-2000	Minus Immigration	Total migration to cities	Average population
1901-1950	108	65	3,1	61,9	395
1951-2000	281	140	24,7	115,3	512

[92] Lucassen & Lucassen 2009 and 2010.

6: Seasonal migration (< 1 year)

There are no systematic studies of seasonal migrations in Europe in the 20th century. Although the numbers must have dwindled after 1900 because of the accelerating mechanization of agriculture, the phenomenon has not entirely disappeared, as the thousands of Eastern Europeans who have come to Western Europe since the 1990s to pick strawberries, harvest asparagus and many other crops (including flower bulbs) show. Furthermore in the first half of the 20th century in all parts of Europe seasonal work in agriculture (much less in other sectors) was still widespread, although with relatively low numbers. For the moment we estimate that in the first half of the 20th century the number was only a quarter of the number in the second half of the 19th century (12 million) and then dropped to under 10% in the second half of the 20th century. This estimate is based on the numbers of Eastern European seasonal workers in Germany in the 1990s (240,000 in 2000), which was one of the biggest countries of destinations at that time. Other destination countries were the Netherlands, Belgium, France, the United Kingdom and Ireland, and in the course of the 1990s also Italy, Greece and Spain. In total the OECD estimated that at the end of the 20th century, yearly some 1 million temporary workers from Eastern Europe were active in Western Europe.[93]

Table 151: Seasonal migrations in Europe (1901-2000) (millions)

	Estimate
1901-1950	3
1951-2000	1

[93] Garnier 2001: 132. See also Dietz & Kaczmarczyk 2008.

7: Temporal Multi-Annual migration (> 1 year)

7.1: Soldiers

Warfare in the 20th century produced an enormous number of people (predominantly men) who moved over national boundaries and thus became cross-cultural migrants, although for many of them this also meant the end of their life. Not only are the European soldiers included in this category, also non-European and colonial soldiers. Basically we counted three types of soldiers: 1) those born outside Europe and active (fighting or otherwise) in Europe; 2) born in Europe and active in another European state(s); and 3) born in Europe and active outside Europe. For the twentieth century it mainly regards the two world wars, and the temporary occupations following these wars and secondly American and Russian military bases after World War II, mainly in West and East Germany.

World War I mobilized over 50 million soldiers, most of them fighting in Belgium and Northern France and a substantial number at the Eastern front where German and Russian troops confronted each other. Most soldiers were Europeans, added with a trickle from British colonies and dominions and two million Americans.

Table 152: Soldiers active in (other) European countries during World War I

Origin	Estimates	Source
United Kingdom	5,700,000	Tucker & Wood 1996: 313
British colonies	20,000 (west Indies) + 142,000 (India)	Rutherford Young 2005: 508; Aldrich & Hilliard 2010: 525; Pati 1996: 37
France	8,400,000	Tucker & Wood 1996: 258/9
French colonies	571,000	Aldrich & Hilliard 2010: 526
Germany	7,000,000	Tucker & Wood 1996: 294
Russia*	15,000,000	Sanborn 2005: 296.
Austria-Hungary	7,800,000	Tucker & Wood 1996: 86
Italy	2,900,000	Tucker & Wood 1996: 373
Turkey	3,000,000	Marshall 2001: vii-viii
Australia	332,000	Aldrich & Hilliard 2010: 526; Montgomery Andrews 2000: 5.
South Africa	50,000	Aldrich & Hilliard 2010: 526
Canada	485,000	Busch 2003: x.
New Zealand	112,000	Brooking 2004: 103; Aldrich & Hilliard 2010: 525
United States	2,000,000	Sharp et al. 2002: 285
Total	53.512,000	

With the ending of the Great War, not all soldiers went home. A relatively small number, some 150,000 French and English troops, was kept in the Western parts of Germany, because the Versailles treaty had stipulated that the Rhineland was to be occupied by the allies for fifteen years in order to put pressure on the German state to pay reparations. In 1930 the last (French) troops left.

Table 153: Allied occupation forces in Germany (1918-1930)

Origin	Number	Source
France	85,000	Schubert 2007: 591
United Kingdom	12,000	Schubert 2007: 591
Belgium	?	
United States	?	
Total	97,000	

Because these concerned most probably soldiers who already fought during the war, they were not included in the total numbers, to avoid double countings.

The number of soldiers involved in the Second World War was somewhat less, but with a much larger contingent Americans. Almost half of the troops were Russians, fighting the Germans and at the end occupying large stretches of Eastern Europe. As many Russian soldiers fought on European soil, as defined in this paper (the Baltic States, Belarus, Ukraine, Poland, and in the end Germany and Austria), we decided to include them in our total numbers of table 159.

Table 154: Soldiers active in (other) European countries during World War II

Origin	Number	Source
United Kingdom	3,500,000	
British colonies		
Germany	10,000,000	Vego 2009: III-37
Russia	20,000,000	Vego 2009: III-37
Australia	322,000	
Canada	418,000	
New Zealand	124,000	
United States	8,000,000	Kennet 1997: 4
Total	42,364,000	

When Germany also lost the Second World War, like in 1918 again allied occupation troops (Americans, English, French and Russians) occupied Germany, which was soon divided between an Eastern and Western part. The numbers were much higher than in the 1920s and amounted to some 3.5 million soldiers. The reason was not so much reparations, but to ensure that Germany developed in a democratic way and war criminals were apprehended and tried.

Table 155: Allied occupation forces in Germany (1945-1950)

Origin	Number	Source
France		
United Kingdom	500,000	
United States	2,000,000	Duke 1989: 60 and 64
Russia	1,000,000	Müller 2011
Total	3.500,000	

When Germany became divided between two separate states (FRG and GDR) and the Cold War broke out, both the Russians (in East Germany) and the Americans (and their Western allies) stationed large numbers of soldiers at bases in Germany, which lasted the entire 20th century. According to Maria Höhn since 1945, more than 15 million American soldiers and their families lived and worked in West Germany, the great majority (75%) as members of the American military, and smaller numbers in countries like the United Kingdom, France, Italy and the

Netherlands.[94] In the remainder of this paragraph we will try to calculate how many individual American soldiers (and other army personnel) and their American born dependents have stayed for some time in Europe in the period 1951-2000.

The first step is to summarize all the data we have on the numbers of GI's, civil personnel and their wives and children, both in Europe as a whole and Germany (Table 156).

Table 156: US Troops (including civil personnel) in Europe and Germany (1951-2005)

	Military Europe (yearly average)	Military Germany	Families Europe	Families Germany	Source
1951-60	326,000				Duke 1989: 60
1951		110,000			Höhn 2002: 17
1957		244,000			Höhn & Moon 2010: 9
1960	323,000		327,000		Duke 1989: 64; Alvah 2010: 156
1961-67	329,000				Duke 1989: 64
1970			204,000		Alvah 2010: 156
1982		250,000		161,000	Müller 2011: 226
1988		252,000		228,000	Höhn 2002: 17
2003	100,000				Campbell/Johnson Ward 2003: 99
2005		66,000/97,000		120,000	Höhn & Moon 2010: 9; Calder 2007: 95

These numbers are a good starting point to make reasonable estimates for the missing years, using the following rules:

1) The average tour of duty in Europe was two years, both for the draftees (until 1973) and the professional soldiers.
2) Based on the U.S. Censuses of 1960 and 1970 (for Europe) and the numbers for Germany 1988 we assume that the relationship between soldiers and their families is 1:1, except for the period until 1973 (end of the draft), when some 25% of the dependents were European women and children born in Europe. In 1960 (US Census 1960, table 9) 28,000 women of 18 years and older (we assume they were wives of US soldiers) and 52,000 of their joint children were born in Europe, which makes up one quarter of all dependents of US soldiers in Europe.

When we apply these rules and average the numbers for the missing years using the data provided in Table 156, we arrive at the following estimates of individual Americans who stayed two years in postwar Europe on American military bases.

[94] Höhn 2002: 5; Höhn & Moon 2010: 9; Müller 2011.

Table 157: Total number of individual Americans in Europe (soldiers plus families) (1951-2000)

	A: Military	B: Yearly average	C: Dependents	A+C (Total)
1951-1960	1,500,000	300,000	1,125,000	2,625,000
1961-1967	1,150,000	328,000	86,000	2,010,000
1968-1973	75,000	25,000 (E)	56,000	1,310,000
1974-1980	1,400,000	400,000 (E)	1,400,000	2,800,000
1981-1990	2,000,000	400,000	2,000,000	4,000,000
1991-2000	500,000	100,000	500,000	1,000,000
Total 1951-2000	7,400,000		6,400,000	13,700,000

Source: Table 156.
Legend: E= Estimate.

The second large contingent of soldiers based outside their own country is the Russians who were based predominantly in East Germany, facing their American adversaries in the West. According to Müller between 1945 and 1994 on average 400,000 Russian troops were permanently stationed in East Germany.[95] Until 1968 they served a three year conscription time, which was then reduced to two years. In total this would add up to 7.6 million individuals.

Finally we included European soldiers who were active in other continents, mostly in (ex) colonies. Apart from some 100,000 Dutch men who were sent to Indonesia in the second half of the 1940s, most of them were active after 1950. For the second half of the 20th century, by far the largest number was the two million French engaged in the colonial war in Algeria.

Table 158: European soldiers fighting in colonies (1951-2000)

Origin	Number	Source
France (Vietnam and various African countries)	2,000,000	Aldrich 1996: 297
United Kingdom (Falklands, 1982)	9,000	Gibran 1998: 80
Portugal (Mozambique and Angola)	135,000	Zacarias 1999; Minter 1972
Belgium (Congo, 1960)	2,000	Gérard-Libois 1966 and Vanthemsche 2012
Total	2,146,000	

[95] Müller 2011: 225.

7.2: Conclusion Migrating Soldiers, 1901-2000

Table 159: Total number of soldiers (1901-1950)

	European soldiers in other European countries	Non-European soldiers in Europe from the colonies	Non-European soldiers in Europe from the U.S. and (former) U.K. dominions	Total
First World War	49,800,000	733,000	2,000,000 (US) and 979,000	53,512,000
Allied occupation forces in Germany 1918-1930				97,000
Second World War	33,500,000	?	8,000,000 (US) and 864,000	42,364,000
Postwar occupations	1,500,000		2,000,000 (US)	3,500,000
Colonial wars	100,000			100,000
Subtotal	84,900,000	733,000	13,843,000	99,573,000

Table 160: Total number of soldiers and dependents in Europe (1951-2000)

	Western European soldiers	Eastern European soldiers	Non-European soldiers in Europe from the U.S. and (former) U.K. dominions	Total
Intra-European wars (Yugoslavia mid 1990s)	54,000		22,500 (US)	76,500
Extra-territorial military bases	1,400,000	7,600,000	13,000,000 (US)	22,000,000
Colonial wars (Table 158)	2,135,000	-		2,135,000
European wars and peace keeping in Korea (1950-54)	100,000			100,000
European soldiers engaged in peace keeping forces in Africa, Asia and the Americas (1951-2000)	50,000 (estimate)			50,000
Total	3,739,000	7,600,000	13,022,500	24,361,500

Source: for Yugoslavia see: Bowman 2003; for Korea: Edwards 2006; and Edwards 2013: 96 and 124. In Korea by far most European soldiers were from the UK (around 80,000), France and the Netherlands sent some 3,500 each, and other countries (Belgium, Luxemburg, Greece) even smaller contingents; for Congo and Lebanon see United Nations Limitations 1997, appendix III. For other peace keeping forces1951-2000, see Pitta & McCouaig 1994: appendix.They only mention the maximum strength, not the total number of

individuals involved. Nor do they give information about numbers per country. Based on their more general information we have made an estimate of 50,000 men and women.

7.3: Sailors

To measure the number of seamen who experienced cross-cultural contacts, both Europeans and non Europeans, two methods are required for both halves of the century. Until WWII the merchant shipping industry was quite similar to earlier centuries. Of course, technological improvements like the invention of steam and motor driven engines on ships resulted in higher productivity and faster transportation. But the way the industry, and more specific, the labor market was organized remained more or less the same. Ships were registered in a given country and were owned by nationals of this particular country. Crews of the ships were mainly recruited in their homeland. In some countries, especially countries with overseas colonial territories, a substantial share of the prewar crew consisted of foreigners. This was the case with Great-Britain, France and the Netherlands, where up to one-third of the crew was foreig. Most of the foreigners on these ships were from British, French or Dutch colonies, although Chinese formed the largest group on Dutch ships. But also on German ships, more than 10 percent of the crew were foreigners, mostly African and Asian seamen.[96] Our method however does not make a distinction between autochthonous and foreign crew members. They are both considered as cross-cultural migrants.

The second half of the century saw major changes in the way the industry was organized, especially from the 1970s on. One of the main changes in the merchant shipping industry was the flagging out of ships to so called 'flags of convenience'. Ship owners started to register their ships in countries with favorable tax policies such as Panama, Liberia and Malta instead of in their country of origin. Not only did ship owners benefit from the lower taxes, by flagging out they avoided certain crew nationality requirements that still existed in some European countries. In this way they could recruit their crew in low-wage countries like the Philippines, Korea and in Eastern European countries and thus save on personnel costs. The result was a drastic shrinkage of national (European) crews and a rapid internationalization of shipping crews. However, the increase in the number of non-European seamen on the world fleet (owned by European shipowners) does not automatically mean an increase in cross-cultural migrants in Europe. First of all because of the recruitment process. Before the 1970s, foreigners on European ships were recruited through mechanisms of local and national based labor markets. They migrated to Europe where they worked under national labor regulations.

Most Asian seamen working on European owned ships (but registered under 'flags of convenience') are recruited in their home country by independent crew agencies that have been hired by the shipping company. When selected to work on a European owned ship, they are directly transferred to the harbor where the ship is located. There is no connection with the national European labor markets anymore.[97] Therefore we have only counted the European nationals for this period and excluded all non-Europeans (mainly Asians) in our statistics.

The second reason why the intensity of the cross-cultural contacts is probably rather is their short stay in European ports. Because of technological innovations, the turnaround time for ships has dropped dramatically since the 1970s. Most of the ships spend less than 24 hours in a port, before getting back to sea. At the same time, most modern ports are now located far outside city centers. Visiting and meeting the local population had become almost impossible for seamen, not in the least because of tightened custom regulations.[98] The result is that crews stay on the harbors until the ship is ready to leave again.

[96] Van Rossum 2014: 9-10, Alderton 2004: 57-58, footnote 1.
[97] Sampson & Schroeder 2006: 62.
[98] Alderton 2004: 102-106.

For the second half of the 20th century, we looked at the accurately kept manning statistics from international organizations like the OECD, ILO and the BIMCO/ISF seafarer reports. Because of the fast increase of labor productivity in the 20th century, we chose to divide the first half into two parts. The data on tonnage and the data on productivity are used to calculate the number of sailors.

Table 161: Average annual maritime work force European countries (1901-1925)

	1905		1914		1925		Average annual maritime workforce 1901-1925 (our calculations)
	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	
Austria			1,100				15,714
Belgium	159		352		543		5,019
Denmark		15,802 (1901)	820			17,700 (1930)	16,751
Finland					211		2,857
France	1,728		2,319		3,512		35,995
Germany		45,000 (1900)		73,000 (1912)	3,074		53,971
Greece		15,419		17,602		14,000 (1926)	15,674
Italy	1,189		1,668		3,029		28,029
Netherlands		8,500		15,500		21,000	15,000
Norway	1,776		2,505		2,681		33,154
Russia							
Spain	732		899		1,185		13,410
Sweden	804		1,118		1,301		15,348
UK (Incl. Ireland)		157,000 (1903)		256,000 (1913)		237,000	216.667
Yugoslavia					168		2,143

Source: All numbers on tonnage: Statistical tables, Lloyd's register of shipping (1969): 47-53, except tonnage for Austria-Hungary: Sturmey 2010: 32; Denmark: Holm 2002: 69-71, Germany: Van Rossum 2013: 8-11; Greece: Harlafitis 1996: 170, 208; Netherlands: Van Rossum 2011: 38, UK: Mogridge 2010: 247.

N.B: labor productivity (tonnage per man) in the period 1900-1925 was 70. We arrived at this number by comparing the available data on seamen in Denmark, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands and the UK for the period 1900-1925 with the data on tonnage in the same countries and same years (for sources, see above). The number 70 is the average labor productivity of individual seamen in these countries. To give an example of countries with productivity above average: Dutch and UK seamen have a productivity of almost 80 tons per man for that specific period. Greece and Denmark had (much) lower productivity rates (respectively 37 and 65).

Table 162: Average annual maritime work force European countries (1926-1950)

	1925		1935		1950		Average annual maritime workforce 1926-1950 (our calculations)
	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	Tonnage (x 1000)	Men	
Belgium	543		402		482		5,227
Denmark		17,700 (1930)		12,200	1,269		14,615
Finland	211		481		503		4,377
France	3,512			45,424	3,207		39,735
Germany	3,074			37,199	460		25,345
Greece		14,000 (1926)		19,000	1,439		16,271
Italy	3,029			34,723	2,580		32,113
Netherlands		21,000		19,071		32,000	24,024
Norway	2,681			36,387	5,456		42,835
Russia				15,252			15,252
Spain	1,185			10,294	1,190		12,131
Sweden	1,301			22,353	2,048		19,718
UK (Incl. Ireland)		237,000		152,793	18,219		196,667
Yugoslavia	168		347		215		2,674

Source: Manning numbers 1935: Maritime Statistical Handbook (ILO publication 1936), All numbers on tonnage: Statistical tables, Lloyd's register of shipping (1969): 47-53, Numbers Netherlands: Van Rossum 2011: 38.

N.B.: Tonnage per man in the period 1926-1950 was 91. We came to this number by comparing the available data on seamen in Greece, the Netherlands and the UK for the period 1926-1950 with the data on tonnage in the same countries and same years. The number 91 is the average labor productivity of individual seamen in these countries.

Table 163: Average annual maritime work force European countries (1951-2000)

	1950 (=Tonnage, x1000, men)	1965	1974	1982	1992	2000 (1)	Average annual maritime workforce
Bulgaria	X	X	X	X	5,149 (1995) (2)		5,149
Denmark	1,269 T =13,945	17,710	17,691	14,442	7,722	9,809 (1997)	13,553
Finland	503 T =5,527				8,200 (1995)	5,218 (1998)	6,315
France	3,207 T =35,242	34,818	18,858	11,630	7,004		21,510
Germany	460 T =5,055	41,969	31,914	24,562	18,747	10,415 (2001)	22,110
Greece	1,439 T =15,813	33,456	51,096	46,021	40,000 (1995) (3)	32,500 (3)	36,481
Italy	2,580 T =28,352	44,065			34,170	23,500 (3)	32,522
Latvia	X	X	X	X	14,305 (1995) (2)		14,305
Netherlands	32,000 (=men)	33,190	13,719	1,117	10,530		21,111
Norway	5,456 T 59,956	62,230	39,738	35,216	40,055	20,352 (2001)	42,925
Poland	X	X	X	X	12,000 (1995) (2)		12,000
Romania	X	X	X	X	9,942 (1995) (2)		9,942
Spain	1,190 T =13,077	15,410	24,548	18,406	10,229		16,334
Sweden	2,048 T =22,505	20,401	13,946	12,102	14,204	15,117 (1997)	16,379
UK	18,219T =200,209	143,330	73,400 (1976) (4)	53,772	33,037	14,442	86,365
Ukraine	X	X	X	X	38,000 (1995) (3)	37,000 (3)	37,500

Source: Unless otherwise indicated: Alderton 2004: 57-59; (1) numbers on 2000: Belcher 2003: 10; (2) Li & Wonha 1999: 300; (3) Tsamourgelis 2010: 459; (4) Transport Statistics Great Britain, National Statistics 1986: 174. For 1950, see table 2.

7.4: Conclusion Migrating Sailors, 1901-2000

These calculations lead to the following totals:

Table 164: Total number of individual sailors on the European fleet (1901-2000)

	1901-1950	1951-2000
Austria	31,028	
Belgium	20,492	
Bulgaria		5,149
Denmark	62,732	54,212
Finland	14,468	25,260
France	151,460	86,040
Geremany	158,632	88,440
Greece	63,890	145,924
Italy	120,284	142,088
Latvia		14,305
Netherlands	78,048	84,444
Norway	151,960	171,700
Poland		12,000
Romania		9,942
Spain	51,082	65,336
Sweden	70,132	65,516
United Kingdom	826,668	345,460
Ukrane		37,500
Yugoslavia	9,634	
Total	1,810,510	1,353,316

Note: Average length of a career: 12,5 years. Annual averages of 1900-1925 and 1925-1950 are first multiplied by two and then added together, annual averages of 1951-2000 are multiplied by four. Exceptions are some Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Latvia, Poland, Romania, Russia and Ukraine). These countries only have a substantial amount of seafarers since the end of the Soviet Union. Before that they had no access to the international market for seafarers. Their annual averages are not multiplied.

7.5: Conclusion

Table 165: Total Temporal Multi-Annual migrations in Europe (1901-2000)

	Sailors	Soldiers	Total
1901-1950	**1,810,510**	**99,573,000**	**101,383,510**
1951-2000	**1,353,316**	**24,361,500**	**25,714,816**

8: Population figures and migration rates

In the following table we have listed the population numbers for Europe and European Russia in the twentieth century.

Table 166: Population numbers for Europe (without Russia) (1901-2000)

	1900	1950	2000
Western Europe	233,000,000	306,000,000	393,000,000
Eastern Europe	71,000,000	88,000,000	121,000,000
Belarus	6,500,000*	7,700,000	10,000,000
Ukraine	28,500,000*	36,700,000	49,000,000
Baltic States	6,000,000*	6,000,000	7,400,000
Total Europe without Russia	345,000,000	444,000,000	580,000,000
European Russia**	56,000,000[99]	79,000,000	114,000,000

Source: Maddison http://www.ggdc.net/MADDISON/oriindex.htm; Eberhardt 2003: 32 and 196.
Legend: ** In 2000 some 78% of the total Russian population lived in the European part of Russia. We applied this percentage to the total number of 'Russia' as mentioned by Maddison.

This leads to the following averages for both half centuries:

Table 167: Average population of Europe, with and without Russia (1901-2000)

	1901-1950	1951-2000
Europe without Russia	395,000,000	512,000,000
European Russia	68,000,000	97,000,000
Europe with European Russia	462,000,000	609,000,000

When we combine these average populations with the total number of cross-cultural migrants, we arrive at the following overview:

Table 168: Total CCMR's for Europe without Russia, without corrections for life expectancy and excluding internal migrations to cities (1901-2000) (millions)

	Em	Im	Col	Cit	Seas	TMA	Total	Pop	Migration Rate (%)
1901-1950	27,6	3,1	10,1	27,9	3	101,4	173,4	395	43,9
1951-2000	15,1	24,7	-	29,1	1	25,7	95,6	512	18,7

Legend: Em= emigration; Im= immigration; Col= Colonization; Cit= to Cities; Seas= seasonal; TMA= Temporal Multi-Annual; Pop= (average) population.

For the sake of comparability these numbers have to be corrected for the longer life expectancy in the twentieth century, which was 1.1 and 1.35 for the first and second half of the 20th century:

[99] Spulber (2003: 7) mentions 94.2 million for European Russia in 1897. We estimated that this number had increased to 97 million in 1900. We then subtracted the numbers for the Ukraine, Belarus and the Baltic states.

Table 169: Total CCMR's per category for Europe without Russia, corrected for life expectancy and without internal migrations to cities (1901-2000) (millions)

	Em	Im	Col	Cit	Sea	TMA	Total	Pop	LE (x)	CCMR (%)
1901-50	28.1	3,1	10,2	28,4	3	101,4	174,2	395	1.1	48,5
1951-00	14,8	24,8	-	28,8	1	25,7	95,1	512	1.35	25,1

Legend: Em= emigration; Im= immigration; Col= Colonization; Cit= to Cities; LE= Life expectancy; Sea= seasonal; TMA= Temporal Multi-Annual; Pop= (average) population.

In order to show the differences between the figures we published before and our current results, we provide the following table:

Table 170: Gross and net CCM's per category for Europe without Russia, without internal migrations (1501-2000) (000s)

	Em	Im	Col	Cit	Sea	TMA	Total CCM	Ges (TMA)	Total CCM (+ Ges)	Pop	GCCMR (%)	LE	NCCMR (%)
1501-50	349	250	0	2807	0	5340	8746		8746	101,4	8,6	0.7	6
1551-00	474	200	0	3809	0	7235	11718		11718	118,6	9,9	0.7	6,9
1601-50	1120	125	127	4351	244	11525	17492		17492	125,7	13,9	0.7	9,7
1651-00	535	125	510	2116	774	11136	15196		15196	130	11,7	0.7	8,2
1701-50	1043	50	250	2555	1290	11654	16842	172	17014	145,7	11,7	0.7	8,2
1751-00	712	20	425	4569	1440	14124	21290	642	21932	177,1	12,4	0.7	8,7
1801-50	3903	0		15972	2414	16101	38390	2522	40912	238,6	17,1	0.7	12
1851-00	23517	0		36990	8250	10450	79207	2102	81309	318,7	25,5	0.85	21,7
1901-50	28134	3118	10160	28411	3000	101383	174206		174206	395	44,1	1.1	48,5
1951-00	14832	24789	0	28829	1000	25714	95164		95164	512	18,6	1.35	25,1

Legend: (see Table 169); Ges= Gesellen; CCM= Cross-Cultural Migrations; Pop= Population (of Europe), averaged for each 50 years period; GCCMR= Gross Cross-Cultural Migration Rate; NCCMR= Net Cross-Cultural Migration Rate.

In this working paper we have tried to estimate the total number of people in Europe who experienced at least one cross-cultural migration, differentiated for the six categories of the typology presented in the introduction. As we explained in the paragraph on migration to cities, there are two ways to calculate the number of people involved in rural to urban migrations. The first one is to leave out internal migrations to cities because nation states had become so homogenous that people who moved to a city within France or Poland did not really cross a significant cultural barrier anymore. This decision, however, complicates comparisons with earlier periods, and with other parts of the world where states were much less homogenous (China, Indonesia, Asian Russia). We therefore decided to present both methods in the last two tables. In both cases we corrected the numbers for the longer life expectancy in Europe, as explained in paragraph 8.

Table 171: CCMR's per category for Europe without Russia, including internal migrations (1901-2000) (millions)

	Em	Im	Col	Cit	Sea	TMA	Total	Pop	LE (x)	CCMR (%)
1901-1950	28.1	3.1	10.1	61.9	3	101.4	207.6	395	1.1	57.8
1951-2000	14.8	24.8	-	115.3	1	25.7	181.6	512	1.35	47.9

Legend: see Table 169.

Table 172: Gross and Net CCM's per category for Europe without Russia, including internal migrations (1501-2000) (000s)

	Em	Im	Col	Cit	Sea	TMA	Total CCM	Ges	Total CCM (+Ges)	Pop	GCCMR	LE	NCCMR
1501-50	349	250	0	2807	0	5340	8746		8746	101,4	8,6	0.7	6
1551-00	474	200	0	3809	0	7235	11718		11718	118,6	9,9	0.7	6,9
1601-50	1120	125	127	4351	244	11525	17492		17492	125,7	13,9	0.7	9,7
1651-00	535	125	510	2116	774	11136	15196		15196	130	11,7	0.7	8,2
1701-50	1043	50	250	2555	1290	11654	16842	172	17014	145,7	11,7	0.7	8,2
1751-00	712	20	425	4569	1440	14124	21290	642	21932	177,1	12,4	0.7	8,7
1801-50	3903	0	0	15972	2414	16101	38390	2522	40912	238,6	17,1	0.7	12
1851-00	23517	0	0	36990	8250	10450	79207	2102	81309	318,7	25,5	0.85	21,7
1901-50	28134	3118	10160	61900	3000	101383	207696		207696	395	52,6	1.1	57,8
1951-00	14832	24790	0	115300	1000	25714	181635		181635	512	35,5	1.35	47,9

Legend: see Tables 169-170.

Figure 2: Total net CCMR's per category for Europe without Russia, excluding internal migrations (1501-2000) (%)

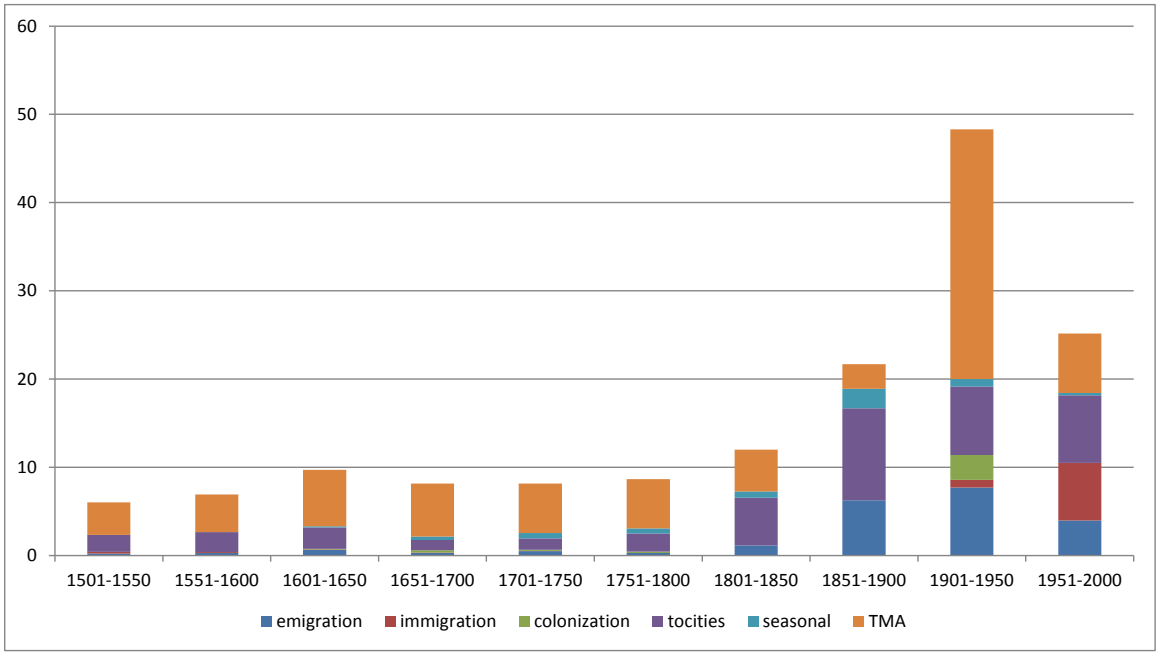
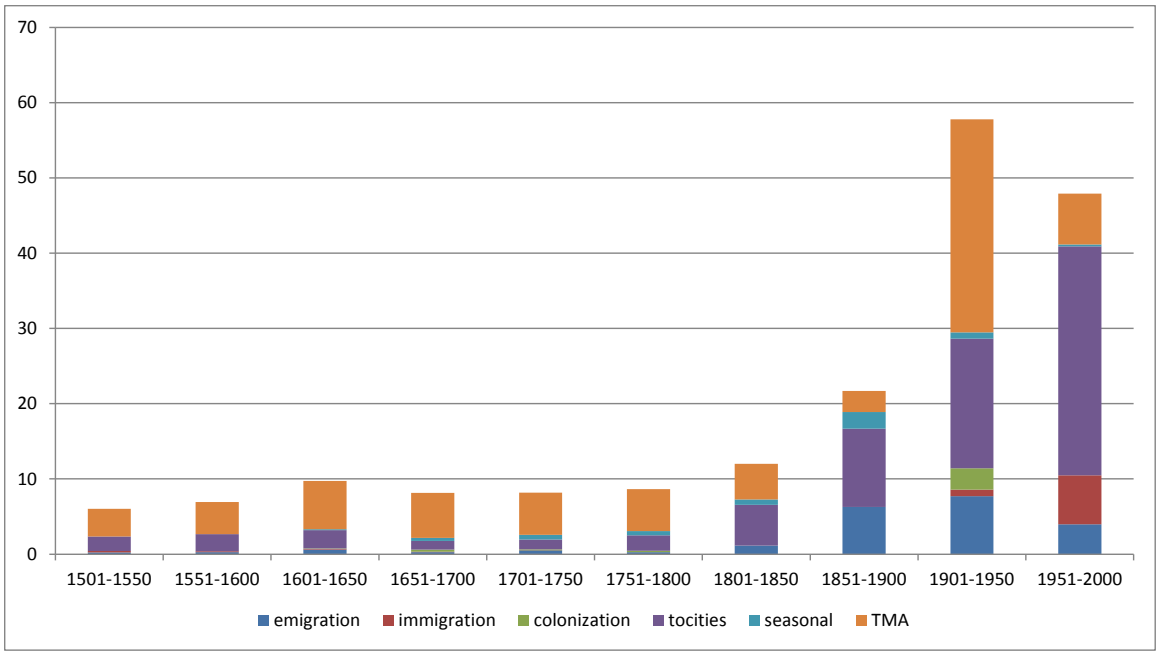


Figure 3: Total net CCMR's per category for Europe without Russia, including internal migrations (1501-2000) (%)



9: Conclusion

After applying our CCMR method to Europe in the 20th century we can conclude that the results are surprising. Whereas there is a communis opinio that in our times we have reached the zenith of human mobility, our results offer a different picture. Not the second, but the first half of the twentieth century shows an all time high. The main reason is the tremendous number of people who had cross-cultural experiences due to the two world wars, especially as soldiers, but also as refugees and forced laborers. These temporal moves, especially of soldiers, are almost always ignored by migration scholars and historians in general, with a few exceptions.[100] The effects of their migrations, both on the persons themselves, those they encounter and those they (may) return to, are much more pervasive than people realize. And not only on individuals, but also on social, economic, cultural and political relations in the areas of origin destination.[101]

The main reason why most people, and public opinion, think that migration is a relatively new phenomenon and that Europe has never experienced so large flows of migrants is due to a very selective and politically constructed definition of what constitutes migration: people with a foreign nationality who for cultural or socio-economic reasons are seen as a problem. Apart from soldiers (and sailors) this largely excludes internal migrants, foreigners with an alleged similar cultural and socio-economic background (Germans in the Netherlands, Belgians in France etc.). However, when we steer away from the loud public sphere and its obsessions with Muslims, cheap Eastern European laborers and destitute refugees, and concentrate on people who cross-cultural boundaries, whether high or low skilled, a different picture arises. As we are interested in the relationship between social and cultural change and the encounters between people with different cultural capital, to use Bourdieu's term, a much broader, and at the same time more pointed, typology of migration is necessary.

This CCMR typology, which we have applied to Europe and Asia in the period 1500-2000 enables us to make structured comparisons and direct our attention not only to trends in the development of the overall rates, but also to differences between areas and periods in the way these rates are composed. Thus, our CCMR methods show a different light on the role of mobility and cross-cultural migrations in the development and long-term social, cultural, political and economic changes of European societies.

How we have to evaluate the second half of the 20th century depends on the question whether we include internal migration to cities as a form of cross-cultural migration. In the previous paragraph we have offered two definitions with different outcomes. When we take our starting point, cultural boundaries, serious, there is much to be said to exclude people who move to cities within their own nation state, because the process of cultural homogenization that reached its apogee in the 20th century largely erased the salience of the cultural boundary between the countryside and cities. This would mean that we should follow the trend in Figure 2, rather than Figure 3. This accentuates the singularity of the first half of the 'age of extremes', with two world wars and their aftermath (the Greek-Turkish exchange and the ten of millions of German refugees after World War II). The CCM rate in the period 1951-2000 almost equals the second half of the 19th century, with one big difference: never before did so many migrants enter from other continents (especially North Africa and Turkey) and this is exactly what has caught the eye of the contemporaries, not in the least authorities in nation states. Although the myopic view on 'problematic migrants' is understandable, it hides the more long-term structural developments and trends in the rate and composition of the main expressions of cross-cultural migrations. Think of American soldiers as agents of consumerism or high skilled expatriate professionals in London as financial innovators, just to mention a few examples. We hope that this working paper serves as a first and undoubtedly primitive basis for developing a different understanding and approach

[100] See for example Sandford 2005; Höhn & Mooon 2010; Müller 2012; Zürcher 2013.
[101] Höhn & Klimke 2010.

of cross-cultural migrations and their effects. Not only in Europe, but also for comparisons with other large geographical entities, such as Russia, China and Japan.[102] Let us finish by summarizing the main results and compare these with previous preliminary outcomes.

Figure 173: CCMR's of this research paper compared to previous estimates (1901-2000)

	Lucassen & Lucassen 2014		Lucassen, Lucassen, De Jong & Van de Water 2014	
	Without internal moves to cities	With internal moves to cities	Without internal moves to cities	With internal moves to cities
1901-1950	47	61,7	48,5	57,8
1951-2000	29,1	41,6	25,1	47,9

Source: Lucassen & Lucassen 2014: Lucassen, Saito & Shimada 2014: p. 394, Table 13.

As this figure shows, the outcomes of this research paper do not differ significantly when it comes to the first half of the twentieth century. The same is true for the rates for the CCMR's without internal moves in the period 1951-2000. The difference is somewhat larger concerning CCMR's that include European citydwellers who moved within their own nation state in the second half of the twentieth century. Overall, however, the trends do not change fundamentally. The real 'age of extremes' (1901-1950) remains in all cases on top, whereas the postwar period shows in all cases a significant decrease.

[102] Lucassen & Lucassen 2014.

10: References

Alba, R. D. and V. Nee (2003). *Remaking the American mainstream: assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press.

Alderton, T., Ed. (2004). *The global seafarer. Living and working conditions in a globalized industry*. Geneva.

Aldrich, R. and C. Hilliard (2010). The French and the British empires. *A companion to the First World War*. J. Horne, Wiley Blackwell**:** 524-540.

Alonso, B. S. (1995). *o, Las causas de la emigración española 1880-1930*. Madrid.

Alvah, D. (2007). *Unofficial ambassadors. American military families overseas and the Cold War*. New York and London, New York University Press.

Amara, M. (2011). Belgian refugees in Western Europe during World War I. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 253-255.

Ansari, H. (2004). *'The infidel within'. Muslims in Britain since 1800*. London, C. Hurst & Co.

Anwar, M. (1998). *Between Cultures: Continuity and Change in the Lives of Young Asians*. London, Routledge.

Aparicio, R. and A. Tornos (2003). Towards an analysis of Spanish integration policy. *The Integration of Immigrants in European Societies: National Differences and trends of convergence*. F. Heckman and D. Schnapper. Bamberg, Lucius**:** 213-252.

Appleyard, R. T. (1988). *International migration today*. New York, Unesco.

Bade, K. J., Ed. (1992). *Deutsche im Ausland-Fremde in Deutschland: Migration in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. München, Beck.

Bade, K. J., et al., Eds. (2011). *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Bade, K. J. and J. Oltmer (2011). Germany. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 65-82.

Baganha, M. I. B. (2009). Portugal. *Statistics and reality concepts and measurement of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

Baines, D. (2007). Immigration and the labour market. *Work and Pay in 20th Century Britain*. N. F. R. Crafts, I. Gazeley and A. Newell. Oxford, Oxford University Press**:** 330-352.

Baker, A. (2004). *American soldiers overseas: the global military presence*. Westport, Praeger.

Baldwin-Edwards, M. and K. Apostolatou (2009). Greece. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 233-260.

Belcher, P., Ed. (2003). *Women Seafarers: Global Employment Policies and Practices*. Geneva, ILO.

Benito, M. (2012). *Migration to Sweden: national analysis*. Boras, The Immigrant Institute.

Bennoune, M. (1988). *The Making of Contemporary Algeria, 1830-1987,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Benz, W. (2011). Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and from German-occupied Europe since 1933. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 536-540.

Berdah, J.-F. (2011). Spanish political refugees in Europe since the beginning of the Civil War in 1936: the example of France. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press: 695-697.

Bertagna, F. and M. Maccari-Clayton (2011). Italy. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 107-115.

Bokbot, M. M. and A. Faleh (2010). "Un siècle d'emigration marocaine vers la France: apercu historique." *Papeles de Geografia* **51-52**(55-64).

Borges, M. J. (2009). *Chains of gold. Portuguese migration to Argentina in transatlantic perspective*. Leiden and Boston, Brill.

Bosma, U. (2007a). "Sailing through Suez from the South: the emergence of an Indies-Dutch migration circuit, 1815-1940." *International Migration Review* **41**(2): 511-536.

Bosma, U. (2007b). "Beyond the Atlantic: connecting migration and world history in the age of imperialism, 1840-1940." *International Review of Social History* **52**(1): 116-123.

Bosma, U., G. Kessler and L. Lucassen, Eds. (2013). *Migration and membership regimes in global and historical perspective*. Leiden and Boston, Brill.

Bosma, U., J. Lucassen and G. Oostindie, Eds. (2012). *Postcolonial migrants and identity politics: Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in comparison*. New York, Berghahn.

Bowman, S. R. (2003). *Bosnia: U.S. military operations*. Washington, Congress.

Breyfogle, N. B. (2005). *Heretics and colonizers: forging Russia's empire in the south Caucasus*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Breyfogle, N. B., et al. (2007). Russian colonizations. *Peopling the Russian periphery: borderland colonization in Eurasian History*. N. B. Breyfogle, A. Schrader and W. Sunderland. New York, Routledge.

Brooking, T. (2004). *The history of New Zealand*. Westport, Greenwood Press.

Buescher, P. A. (2010). "Age-Adjusted Death Rates." *Statistical Primer*(13): 1-8.

Busch, B. C., Ed. (2003). *Canada and the Great War: Western Front Association Papers*. Québec, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Caestecker, F. (2011). Belgium and Luxembourg. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 44-51.

Calder, K. (2007). *Embattled garrison: comparative base politics and American globalism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Caron, V. (1999). *Uneasy Asylum: France and the Jewish Refugee Crisis, 1933-1942*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Carter, S. B. (2006). *Historical statistics of the United States: earliest times to the present. Vol. 1, Part A: Population*. New York.

Castelo, C. (2013). 'Colonial migration to Angola and Mozambique', in: E. Morier-Genoud and M. Cahen (eds.), *Imperial Migrations: Colonial Communities and Diaspora in the Portuguese World* (Basingstole, Palgrave MacMillan) 107-128.

Cinel, D. (1991). *The national integration of Italian return migration 1870-1929*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Dagevos, J., et al. (2007). *Türken in Deutschland und den Niederlanden*. Den Haag, SCP and CPB.

De Avila, F. B. (1964). *Immigration in Latin America*. Washington.

De Bruyn, T. and J. Wets (2008). Strengthening migrant organizations' involvement in development cooperation. The case of the Congolese (Democratic Republic of Congo) migrant organizations in Belgium *Diaspora involvement in development cooperation*. T. d. Bruyn, J. Wets, H. Plessers and D. Sorrosal. Geneva, IOM**:** 17-94.

De Vries, J. (1984). *European urbanization 1500-1800*. London, Methuen.

Delaney, E. (2000). *Demography, state and society. Irish migration to Britain, 1921-1971*. Liverpool, Liverpool University Press.

Dietz, B. (2006). Aussiedler in Germany. From smooth adaption to tough integration. *Paths of integration. Migrants in Western Europe (1880-2004)*. L. Lucassen, D. Feldman and J. Oltmer. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 116-138.

Dietz, B. (2011). Aussiedler/Spätaussiedler in Germany since 1950. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press: 245-250.

Dietz, B. and P. Kaczmarczyk (2008). On the demand side of international labour mobility: the structure of the German labour market as a causal factor of seasonal Polish migration. *International Migration in Europe: New Trends and New Methods of Analysis*. C. Bonifazi, M. Ikólski, J. Schoorl and P. Simon. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press: 37-64.

Duke, S. (1989). *United States military forces and installations in Europe*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Eberhardt, P. (2003). *Ethnic Groups and Population Changes in Twentieth-century Central-Eastern Europe: history, data , and analysis*. Amonk NY, M.E. Sharpe.

Edwards, P. M. (2006). *Korean War Almanac*. New York, Facts on File.

Edwards, P. M. (2013). *United Nations Participants in the Korean War: The Contributions of 45 member countries*. Jefferson, McFarland and Company.

Eeckaute-Bardery, D. (1991). *Migrations balkaniques et danubiennes II Bulgarie, Hongrie, Roumanie*. Paris.

Eggerickx, T., et al. (1999). *De allochtone bevolking in België*. Brussel, Ministerie van Economische Zaken.

Elich, J. H. (1987). *Aan de ene kant, aan de andere kant: de emigratie van Nederlanders naar Australie 1946-1986*. Delft, Eburon.

Engel, J. (2009). 'Over there ...to stay this time': the forward deployment of American basing strategy in the Cold War and beyond *Military bases. Historical perspectives, contemporary challenges*. L. Rodrigues and S. Glebov. Amsterdam, IOS Press**:** 17-

Ferenczi, I. and W. F. Willcox (1929). *International migrations*. New York, National Bureau of Economic Research.

Fette, J. (2012). *Exclusions: Practicing Prejudice in French Law and Medicine, 1920-1945*. Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press.

Fitzgerald, P. and B. Lambkin (2008). *Migration in Irish history 1607-2007*. Basingstoke.

Fogg, S. L. (2009). *The Politics of Everyday Life in Vichy France: Foreigners, Undesirables, and Strangers*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Frid de Silberstein, C. (2001). Migrants, farmers and workers: Italians in the land of Ceres. *Italian workers of the world. Labor migration and the formation of multiethnic states*. D. Gabaccia and F. Ottanelli. Chicago and Urbana, University of Illinois Press**:** 79-.

Garnier, P. (2001). Foreign workers from central and eastern European countries in some OECD European countries: status and social protection. *Migration policies and EU enlargement. the case of Eastern and Central Europe*. Paris, OECD: 131-154.

Garthoff, R. L. "Estimating Soviet military force levels." *International Security* 14 (4): 93-116.

Geddes, A. (2005). *The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe*. London, Sage.

Gemenne, F. (2009). United Kingdom. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam University Press**:** 89-107.

Gérard-Libois, M. (1966). *Independent Congo Katanga Secession*. Madison,Milwaukee and London, University of Wisconsin Press.

Gibran, D. K. (1998). *The Falklands War: Britain Versus the Past in the South Atlantic*. Jefferson, McFarland.

Glettler, M. (2011). Czech labor migrants in Austria in the 19th and early 20th centuries. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 302-303.

Goedde, P. (2003). *GIs and Germans: Culture, Gender, and Foreign Relations, 1945-1949*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Goeke, P. (2011a). Yugoslav labor migrants in Western, Central, and Northern Europe since the end of the World War II. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press.

Goeke, P. (2011b). Refugees from former Yugoslavia in Europe since 1991. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 630-635.

Grau, L. W. (1998). *The Bear Went Over the Mountain: Soviet Combat Tactics in Afghanistan*. Washington DC, National Defense University Press.

Green, N. L. (2012). "Americans Abroad and the Uses of Citizenship: Paris, 1914–1940." *Journal of American Ethnic History* **31**(3): 5-34.

Hahn, S. (2011). Austria. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 83-93.

Hammer, T. (1991). 'Cradle of freedom on earth'. Refugee immigration and ethnic pluralism. *Understanding the Swedish model*. J. E. Lane. London, Frank Cass**:** 182-196.

Harlafitis, G. (1996). *A history of Greek owned shipping: The making of an international tramp fleet, 1830 to the present day*. London.

Hárs, Á. and E. Sik (2009). Hungary. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 169-193.

Héduy, P. (1998). *Histoire de l'Indochine: la perle de l'empire (1624-1954)*. Paris.

Hellie, R. (2011). Russia and Belarus. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 181-192.

Herbert, U. (2001). *Geschichte der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland. Saisonarbeiter, Zwangsarbeiter, Gastarbeiter, Flüchtlinge*. München, C.H. Beck.

Herbert, U. (2011). Forced laborers in Germany and German-occupied Europe during World War II. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 385-390.

Hirschon, R. (2004). *Crossing the Aegean. An appraisal of the 1923 compulsory population exchange between Greece and Turkey*. New York.

Hoerder, D. (2002). *Cultures in contact. World migrations in the second millennium*. Durham and London, Duke University Press.

Höhn, M. (2002). *GIs and fräuleins: the German-American encounter in 1950s West Germany*. Chapel Hill & London, The University of North Carolina Press.

Höhn, M. and M. Klimke (2010). A breath of freedom: the civil rights struggle, African American GIs, and Germany. New York, Palgrave MacMillan.

Höhn, M. and S. Moon, Eds. (2010). *Over there: living with the U.S. military empire from World War Two to the present*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Hofmann, T. (2011). Armenian refugees in France since World War I. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 235-237.

Holm, P. (2002). Recources and infrastructures in the Danish maritime economy: Evidence for the coastal zone, 1500-2000. *Resources and the infrastructures in the maritime economy, 1500-2000*. G. Boyce and R. Gorski. St. John's**:** 63-82.

Horvath, T. and G. Neyer, Eds. (1996). *Auswanderungen aus Österreich. Von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*. Wien.

Hubert, M. (1998). *Deutschland im Wandel: Geschichte der deutschen Bevölkerung seit 1815*. Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag.

John, M. and A. Lichtblau (1990). *Schmelztiegel Wien. Einst und Jetzt. Zur Geschichte und gegenwart von Zuwanderung und Minderheiten*, Wien.

Jones, H. (2011). *Violence against Prisoners of War in the First World War: Britain, France and Germany , 1914-1920*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kateb, K. (2001). *Européens, "Indigènes" et juifs en Algérie (1830-1962). Représentations et réalités des populations*. Paris INED/PUF.

Kessler, G. (2001). *The peasant and the town: rural-urban migration in the Soviet Union, 1929-40*. Florence, European University Institute. PhD-thesis.

Kessler, G., J. Lucassen & L. Lucassen. (2014). *Cross-cultural migrations in Russia, 1901-2000.* Amsterdam, IISH Research Paper.

Kjeldstadli, K. (2011). Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 5-15.

Kirchner, J. A. (1980). *Sugar and seasonal labor migration: the case of Tucumán, Argentina*. Chicago, University of Chicago.

Kosic, A. and Triandafyllidou (2003). "Albanian immigrants in Italy: migration plans, coping strategies and identity issues." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* **29**(6): 997-1015.

Kulischer, E. M. (1948). *Europe on the move. War and population changes, 1917-47*. New York.

Ladame, P. A. (1958). *Le rôle des migrations dans le monde libre*. Paris.

Lancaster, H. O. (1990). *Expectations of Life: A Study in the Demography, Statistics, and History of World Mortality*. New York, Springer Verlag.

Lewis, M. D. (2007). *The boundaries of the Republic. Migrant rights and the limits of universalism in France 1918-1940*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Lewis, R. A. and R. H. Rowland (1976). Urbanization in Russia and the USSR, 1897-1970. *The City in Russian history*. M. F. Hamm. Lexington, The University Press of Kentucky**:** 205-221.

Li, K. X. and K. X. Wonha (1999). "Who mans the world fleet? A follow-up to the BIMCO/ISF manpower survey." *Maritime Policy & Management: The flagship journal of international shipping and port research.* **26**(3): 295-303.

Lincoln, W. B. (2007). *The Conquest of a Continent: Siberia and the Russians*. Ithaka, Cornell University Press.

Lochore, R. A. (1951). *From Europe to New Zealand. An account of our continental European settlers*. Wellington.

Lucas, H. S. (1955). *Netherlanders in America : dutch immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen (2009). "The mobility transition revisited, 1500-1900: what the case of Europe can offer to global history." *The Journal of Global History* **4**(4): 347-377.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen (2010). The mobility transition in Europe revisited, 1500-1900: sources and methods. *IISH Research Papers*. M. v. d. Linden. Amsterdam, International Institute of Social History. **44:** 126.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen (2011a). "From mobility transition to comparative global migration history." *The Journal of Global History* **6**(2): 299-307.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen (2011b). The Netherlands. *The Encyclopedia of European Migration and Minorities*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 34-43.

Lucassen, J. and L. Lucassen, Eds. (2014). *Globalising Migration History. The Eurasian experience (16th-21st centuries)*. Leiden and Boston, Brill.

Lucassen, L. (2005). *The Immigrant Threat: The integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*. Urbana and Chicago, The University of Illinois Press.

Lucassen, L., O. Saito & R. Shimada (2014). *Cross-Cultural Migrations in Japan in a Comparative Perspective, 1600–2000. Globalising Migration History. The Eurasian experience (16th–21st centuries)*. J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen. Leiden and Boston, Brill: 362-411.

Lunn, K. (2011). Great Britain. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 16-26.

Maciel, C. (2011). Angolan and Mozambican labor migrants in Portugal since the 1970s. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe from the 17th century to the present.* K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 233-235.

Madariaga, I. d. (1981). *Russia in the age of Catherine the Great*. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Mammey, U. and K. Schwarz (2002). *The Demographic Characteristics of Immigrant Populations.* W. Haug, P. A. Compton and Y. Courbage. Strasbourg, Council of Europe**:** 245-298.

Manning, P. (2005). *Migration in world history*. New York and London, Routledge.

Manning, P. (2006). "Homo sapiens populates the earth: A provisional synthesis, privileging linguistic evidence." *Journal of World History* **17**(2): 115-158.

Manning, P. (2013). *Migration in world history. Second edition.* Abingdon and New York, Routledge.

Marie, C.-V. (2002). "Un quart des personnes nées aux Antilles vit dans l'hexagone." *Antiane* 52.

Marques, M. M. (2012). Postcolonial Portugal. Between Scylla and Charybdis. *Postcolonial migrants and identity politics. Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in comparison*. U. Bosma, J. Lucassen and G. Oostindie. New York, Berghahn**:** 127-154.

Marrus, M. (1981). *Vichy France and the Jews*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

Marshall, S. L. A. (2001). *World War I*. New York.

McDowell, L. (2013). *Working Lives: Gender, Migration and Employment in Britain, 1945-2007*. Malden and Oxford, John Wiley & Sons.

Minter, W. (1972). *Portuguese Africa and the West*. New York and London, Monthly Review Press.

Mitchell, B. R. (1988). *British historical statistics* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Moch, L. P. (2011). France. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 52-64.

Mogridge, B. (2010). Labour relations and labour costs. *British shipping and world competition*. S. G. Sturmey. St. John's**:** 237-269.

Moon, D. (2002). Peasant migration, the abolition of serfdom, and the internal passport system in the Russian empire, c. 1800-1914. *Coerced and free migration. Global perspectives*. D. Eltis. Stanford, Stanford University Press**:** 324-357.

Moya, J. C. (1998). *Cousins and strangers. Spanish immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930*. Berkeley, University of California Press.

Müller, C. T. (2011). Allied military personnel in Germany since the end of World War II. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present.*

K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 225-229.

Müller, C. T. (2012). *US-Truppen und Sowjetarmee in Deutschland. Erfahrungen, Beziehungen, Konflikte im Vergleich*. Paderborn, Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag.

Nascimbene, M. C. (1994). *Italianos Hacia América 1876-1978. Los flujos emigratorios regionales y provincials peninsulares con destino al Nuevo Mundo*. Buenos Aires.

Nenicka, L. (2012). Changes of immigration policy and labour market: the European experience and situation in the Czech Republic. *Labour Markets & Employment*. K. Lordoğlu, D. K. Demirer and İ. Şiriner. London, IJOPEC**:** 83-95.

Nicolaas, H. and A. Sprangers (2007). "Buitenlandse migratie in Nederland 1795-2006: de invloed op de bevolkingssamenstelling." *Bevolkingstrends*(4): 32-46.

Nitsch, V. (2001). *City Growth in Europe*. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot.

Norman, H. and H. Runblom (1988). *Transatlantic connection. Nordic migration to the New World after 1800*. New York.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, G. (2007). *The Congo: From Leopold to Kabila: A People's History*. London, Zed Books.

Obdeijn, H. and M. Schrover (2008). *Komen en gaan: immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550*. Amsterdam, Bert Bakker.

Odom, W. E. (1998). *The Collapse of the Soviet Military*. New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

OECD (2005), *Trends in international migration. Sopemi 2004 Edition*. Paris. Part II.

Oltmer, J. (2011). Prisoners of war in Europe 1914-1922. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 625-629.

Orth, K. (2002). Camps. *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*. P. Hayes and J. K. Roth. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Panagiotidis, J. (2012). Laws of return? Co-ethnic immigration to West Germany and Israel (1948-1992). *History and Civilization*. Florence, European University Institute. PhD thesis.

Pati, B. (1996). *India and the First World War*. New Delhi, Atlantic publishers.

Penvenne, J. M. (2005). 'Settling against the tide: the layered contradictions of twentieth-century settlement in Mozambique', in: C. Elkins and S. Pedersen (eds.), *Settler colonialism in the twentieth century*. New York, Routledge

Pitta, R. and S. McCouaig(1994). *UN Forces 1948-94*. Oxford, Osprey.

Plant, G. F. (1951). *Oversea settlement. Migration from the United Kingdom to the dominions*. London.

Polian, P. (2004). *Against their will: the history and geography of forced migrations in the USSR*. Budapest, CEU Press.

Population immigré. Qui, et combien. Les immigrés en France (2005). Paris, INSEE.

Reeger, U. (2009). Austria. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 111-130.

Rendall, M. and J. Salt (2005). The foreign born population. *Focus on people and migration*. R. Chappell. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan**:** 131-151.

Rieker, Y. (2011). Italian labor migrants in Northern, Central, and Western Europe since the end of World War II. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present* K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press: 507-511.

Ritzmann-Blickenstorfer, H. (1997). *Alternative Neue Welt. Die Ursachen der Schweizerischen Überseeauswanderung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, Zürich.

Roe, M. (1995). *Michael Roe, Australia, Britain, and Migration, 1915-1940. A study of desperate hopes*, Cambridge.

Rühl, S. (2009). Germany. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 131-150.

Rutherford Young, D. (2005). Great Britain colonies. *The encyclopedia of World War I*. S. C. Tucker. Santa Barbara, ABC Clio**:** 508-509.

Sanborn, J. A. (2005). "Unsettling the empire: violent migrations and social disaster in Russia during World War I." *The Journal of Modern History* **77** (2): 290-324.

Sampson, H. and T. Schroeder (2006). "In the wake of the wave: globalization, networks and the experiences of transmigrant seafarers in Northern Germany." *Global Networks* **6**(1): 61-80.

Saunders, T. J. (2004). How American was it? Popular culture from Weimar to Hitler. *German Pop Culture: How "American" Is It?* A. C. Mueller. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press**:** 52-65.

Schaefer, M. and D. Thränhardt (1998). Inklusion und Exklusion: die Italiener in Deutschland. *Einwanderung und Einbürgerung in Deutschland*. D. Thränhardt. Münster, LIT**:** 149-178.

Schubert, M. (2007). Französische, belgische, britische und US-amerikanische Besatzungstruppen in West- und Südwestdeutschland 1918-1930. *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. Paderborn and München, Wilhelm Fink Verlag/Ferdinand-Schöningh-Verlag**:** 591-594.

Scott, H. F. and W. F. Scott (1984). *The armed forces of the USSR*. Boulder and London, Westview Press and Arms and Armour Press.

Seifert (2000). *Geschlossene Grenzen, offene Gesellschaften?: Migrations- und Integrationsprozesse in westlichen industrienationen*. Frankfurt am Main, Campus.

Sharp, M., et al. (2002). *History of World War I*. New York, Marshall Cavendish Corporation.

Silva, H. A. (1990). *Inmigración y estadísticas en el cono sur de América: Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Uruguay* Mexico.

Snyder, T. (2010). *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York, Basic Books.

Spulber, N. (2003). *Russia's economic transitions: from late tsarism to the new millennium*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Stein, B. (1979). *Beyond Death and Exile: The Spanish Republicans in France, 1939-1955*. Cambridge Mass., Harvard University Press.

Sturmey, S. G. (2010). War and reconstruction. *British shipping and world competition*. S. G. Sturmey. St. John's**:** 31-51.

Sundhausen, H. (2011). Southeastern Europe. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 163-180.

Sweets, J. (1986). *Choices in Vichy France: The French Under Nazi Occupation*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Thiel, J. (2011). Polish and Belgian forced laborers in Germany during World War I. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, J. Lucassen and J. Oltmer**:** 599-600.

Thomas, B. (1973). *Migration and economic growth. A study of Great Britain and the Atlantic economy*, Cambridge.

Thomson, K. W. and A.D. Trlin (1970). *Immigrants in New Zealand*. Palmerstoin North.

Thränhardt, D. (2011). Spanish labor migrants in Western, Central and Northern Europe since the end of World War II. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press: 689-691.

Thunø, M. (2011). Chinese itinerant merchants in Europe since the end of World War I. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 283-284.

Tierney, D. (2007). *FDR and the Spanish Civil War: Neutrality and Commitment in the Struggle that divided America*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Tompea, A. D. and S. Nastuta (2009). Romania. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 217-230.

Tsamourgelis, I. (2010). "Selective replacement of national by non-national seafarers in OECD countries and the employment function in the maritime sector." *Maritime Policy & Management: The flagship journal of international shipping and port research* **36**(5): 457-468.

Tucker, S. C. and L. M. Wood (1996). *The European powers in the First World War: an encyclopedia*. New York, Garland.

United Nations (2002). *World Urbanization Prospects The 2001 Revision Data Tables and Highlights*. New York.

United Nations: Limitations in Leading Missions Requiring Force to Restore Peace. Washington, General Accounting Officer (GAO no. 34.

Van Rossum, M. (2009). *Hand aan hand (blank en bruin). Solidariteit en de werking van globalisering, etniciteit en klasse onder zeelieden op de Nederlandse koopvaardij, 1900-1945*. Amsterdam, Aksant.

Van Rossum, M. (2014). *Werkers van de wereld. Globalisering, arbeid en interculturele ontmoetingen tussen Aziatische en Europese zeelieden in dienst van de VOC, 1600-1800*. Hilversum, Verloren.

Vanthemsche (2012). *Belgium and the Congo, 1885–1980*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Vego, M. N. (2009). *Joint operational warfare. theory and practice*. Newport, United States Naval War College.

Vermeulen, H. (2011). Greek labor migrants in Western, Central, and Northern Europe after 1950: the examples of Germany and the Netherlands. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present* K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press: 457-460.

Viola, L. (2007). *The unknown gulag. The lost world of Stalin's special settlements*. New York.

Vuilleumier, M. (2011). Switzerland. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 94-105.

Wang, N. (2011). Chinese contract workers in France during World War I. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 281-283.

Wanner , P. et al. (2009). Switzerland. *Statistics and reality. Concepts and measurements of migration in Europe*. H. Fassmann, U. Reeger and W. Sievers. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press**:** 151-166.

Weil, P. (2008). *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*. Durham, Duke University Press.

Willcox, W. F. (1929). Statistics of Migrations, National Tables, Russia, Italy. *International Migrations, Volume I: Statistics*. New York, National Bureau of Economic Research**:** 790-840.

Willems, W. (2001). *De uittocht uit Indië, 1945-1995*. Amsterdam, Bert Bakker.

Wolff, S. (2003). *The German Question Since 1919: An Analysis with Key Documents*. Westport T, Praeger.

Wood, A., Ed. (1991). *The History of Siberia: From Russian Conquest to Revolution*. London, Routledge.

Wyman, M. (1993). *Round-trip America: the immigrants return to Europe, 1880-1930*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Zacarias, A. (1999). *Security and the State in Southern Africa*. London, Tauris Academic Studies.

Zeitlhofer, H. (2011). Czechia and Slovakia. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. London, Cambridge University Press**:** 152-162.

Zuccotti, S. S. (2002). Surviving the Holocaust. The situation in France. *The Holocaust and History: The Known, the Unknown, the Disputed, and the reexamined*. M. Berenbaum and A. J. Peck. Bloomington, Indiana University Press: 492-509.

Zürcher, E.-J. (2007). Griechisch-orthodoxe und muslimische Flüchtlinge und Deportierte in Griechenland und der Türkei seit 1912. *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. K. J. Bade, P. C. Emmer, J. Oltmer and L. Lucassen. Paderborn and München, Ferdinand Schöningh/Wilhelm Fink**:** 623-627.

Zürcher, E.-J. (2011). Greek Orthodox and Muslim refugees and deportees in Greece and Turkey since 1912. *The encyclopedia of migration and minorities in Europe. From the 17th century to the present*. J. Bader, P. C. Emmer, L. Lucassen and J. Oltmer. New York, Cambridge University Press**:** 460-463.

Zürcher, E.-J., Ed. (2013). *Fighting for a living. A Comparative History of Military Labour in Europe and Asia, 1500-2000*. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press.

11: About the authors

Jan Lucassen is emeritus professor of social history at the VU University in Amsterdam and honorary fellow of the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam.

Leo Lucassen is Director of Research at the International Institute of Social History (IISH) in Amsterdam and professor of Global Migration and Labour History at the Institute for History of Leiden University.

Rick de Jong has an MA in history from the Radboud University and is affiliated with the Institute for History of Leiden University.

Mark van de Water has an MA in history from Leiden University and is currently PhD student at the Leiden Institute for Area Studies (LIAS) of Leiden University.

IISH Research Papers

1. Tony Saich, Frank Pieke, *The Chinese People's Movement Spring 1989: Some Initial Impressions*. Amsterdam, 1989
2. Ursula Langkau-Alex, *"Der Kampf für die Demokratie und den Frieden". Die Debatte in der Sozialistische Arbeiter-Internationale 1938/1939*. Amsterdam, 1991. Zweite, um Literatur erweiterte Auflage 1992.
3. Jan Lucassen, *Dutch Long Distance Migration. A Concise History 1600-1900*. Amsterdam, 1991
4. Jan Lucassen (red.), *Symposium Racisme en Arbeidsmarkt: IISG september 1991*. Amsterdam 1992.
5. C.H. Wiedijk (in samenwerking met L.J. Altena, J.M. Peet, G.J. Schutte en H.E.S. Woldring, *Kalendarium "Honderd jaar sociaal 1891–1991"*. Amsterdam, 1992.
6. Marcel van der Linden en Jan Willem Stutje, *De Nederlandse vakbeweging, haar basis en de staat. Een lange-termijnperspectief*. Amsterdam, 1992.
7. Tjebbe van Tijen, *Je bevrijden van de drukpers. Jongeren en hun eigen pers in Nederland: 1945-1990. Met een bibliografisch aanhangsel over de tijdschriften van Provo, Kabouter, de culturele underground- en kraakbeweging, vrije stadskranten en punkfanzines*. Amsterdam 1993.
8. Emile Schwidder, *Selected Bibliography on "Labour and the Law in Historical Perspective"*. Amsterdam 1993.
9. Jan Gielkens, *Books and articles on German labour law. Selected Bibliography*. Amsterdam 1993.
10. Larry Peterson, *The Free Labor Unions and Arbeiter-Unionen in Rhineland-Westphalia, 1920-1924: Statistical Sources*. Amsterdam, 1993.
11. Gijs Kessler, *Vakbonden in verandering. Een verkennende studie naar de vakbondsontwikkeling in Rusland na 1985*. Amsterdam 1994.
12. Ursula Langkau-Alex, *Asiel en ballingschap in Nederland*. Amsterdam 1994.
13. Marcel van der Linden. *Social Democracy and the Agrarian Issue, 1870-1914: Notes for discussion*. Amsterdam 1994.
14. Reinier Deinum, *'Verenigd door Vaart'. Gids van de bronnen betreffende watertransport en havenbedrijven in het IISG en NEHA*. Amsterdam 1994.
15. Jacques van Gerwen and Jan Lucassen, *Mutual Societies in the Netherlands from the Sixteenth Century to the Present*. Amsterdam 1995.
16. Sander Vis, *Survey of the Archival Sources Concerning Migration and Settlement Held at the IISH*. Amsterdam 1995.
17. Gijs Kessler, *Trade Unions in Transition. Moscow 1994, a case study*. Amsterdam 1995.
18. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Displaced Archives on the Eastern Front: Restitution Problems from World War II and its Aftermath*. Amsterdam 1995.
19. Kees Mandemakers, *Negen classificaties voor 19e en 20e eeuwse beroepstitels*. Amsterdam 1995.

20. Marcel van der Linden, *Marx and Engels, Dutch Marxism and the "Model Capitalist Nation of the Seventeenth Century"*. Amsterdam 1995.

21. Adam Conroy, *Christiania: the Evolution of a Commune*. Amsterdam 1996.

22. Flemming Mikkelsen, *Working-class formation in Europe: In search of a synthesis*. Amsterdam 1996

23. Gijs Kessler, *The "schools of communism" under neo-liberal reform. Russia's traditional trade union movement in the transition to a free market.* Amsterdam, 1996.

24. Alfons Fransen, *Verzekering tegen Seerovers en Godts weer. Een onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de zeevarende beurzen, circa 1635-1815*. Amsterdam, 1996.

25. *Port Reports prepared for the Conference Comparative International History of Dock Labour, c. 1790-1970, Amsterdam, 13–15 November 1997*. 3 vols. Amsterdam, 1997.

26. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Archives of Russia Five Years After: 'Purveyors of Sensations' or 'Shadows Cast to the Past'?* Amsterdam, 1997.

27. Leo van Rossum, *The Former Communist Party Archives in Eastern Europe and Russia: A Provisional Assessment*. Amsterdam, 1997.

28. *Het Italiaanse complex. Crisis in de Europese politiek: de gevallen Italië en België*. Amsterdam, 1997.

29. Ursula Langkau-Alex, *The International Socialist Labor Movement and the Elimination of the "German Problem". A comparative view on ideas, politics, and policy of the French, English, Swedish and US Labor Movement.* Amsterdam, 1998.

30. Klaus Misgeld, *Trade Union Neutrality? The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the Trade Union International at the Beginning of the Cold War*. Amsterdam, 1998.

31. Marcel van der Linden, *Producer Cooperatives:The Historical Logic of Workers' Organizations (I)*. Amsterdam, 1998.

32. Marcel van der Linden, *Consumer Cooperatives:The Historical Logic of Workers' Organizations (II)*. Amsterdam, 1998.

33. *A Working Guide to Sources on Historical Utopian Experiments in the Western World at the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam*. Compiled by Nienke van Wijk. Edited by Huub Sanders. Amsterdam, 1998.

34. Marcel van der Linden, *Metamorphoses of European Social Democracy*. Amsterdam, 1998.

35. Jan Gielkens, *Maranga mai te hunga mahi. De Internationale internationaal*. Amsterdam, 1998.

36. Simone Goedings, *EU Enlargement to the East and Labour Migration to the West. Lessons from previous enlargements for the introduction of the free movement of workers for Central and East European Countries.* Amsterdam, 1999.

37. Nicola Hille, *Zur Darstellung und dem Wandel von Gewalt auf russischen und sowjetischen Plakaten der Jahre 1917-1932*. Amsterdam, 1999.

38. Hein Wiedijk, *Het 'nieuwe socialisme' van de jaren dertig. Frans en Nederlands neo-socialisme gedurende de grote depressie*. Amsterdam, 2000.

39. Jan Lucassen, *In Search of Work*. Amsterdam 2000

40. *Free Love and the Labour Movement. Papers presented at the workshop 'Free Love and the Labour Movement', International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 6-7 October 2000*. Amsterdam, 2001

41. Marcel van der Linden and Jan Lucassen, *Work Incentives in Historical Perspectives. Preliminary Remarks*. Amsterdam, 2001.

42. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *The Odyssey of the Turgenev Library from Paris, 1940-2002. Books as Victims and Trophies of War*. Amsterdam 2003.

43. Jelle van Lottum, *Immigranten in Nederland in de eerste helft van de 19e eeuw. Een onderzoek op basis van de Utrechtse volkstellingen van 1829 en 1839*. Amsterdam 2004.

44. Sergey Afontsev, Gijs Kessler, Andrei Markevich, Victoria Tyazhel'nikova and Timur Valetov, *Urban Households in Russia and the Soviet Union, 1900-2000. Size, Structure and Composition*. Amsterdam, 2005.

45. Klaus Misgeld, *A Complicated Solidarity. The Swedish Labour Movement and Solidarność*. Amsterdam, 2010.

46. Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, *The mobility transition in Europe revisited, 1500-1900: Sources and methods*. Amsterdam, 2010.

47. Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder. A Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR)*. Amsterdam, 2011.

48. Erika Kriukelytė, *The Creation of Modern Prisons in the Russian Empire: Research Report*. Amsterdam, 2012.

49. Peter Waterman, *An Emancipatory Global Labour Studies is Necessary! On Rethinking the Global Labour Movement in the Hour of Furnaces*. Amsterdam, 2012.

50. *Striking Numbers: New approaches to quantitative strike research*. Edited by Sjaak van der Velden. Amsterdam, 2012.

51. Jan Lucassen, *Outlines of a History of Labour*. Amsterdam, 2013.

52. Leo Lucassen, Jan Lucassen, Rick de Jong & Mark van de Water, *Cross-cultural migration in Western Europe 1901-2000: A preliminary estimate*. Amsterdam, 2014.