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The Informative Value of Migration Statistics on Overseas Migrations (1945-1961) Exemplified for Emigrations from Germany

Renate Vollmer*

Abstract: Validity, comparability and informative value of German, Canadian, Australian and U.S. statistics, as well as of the 'U.N. Demographic Yearbook' and 'A Decade of Post World-War II European Migration' (JSP). are exemplified for German overseas emigration 1945-1961. The statistical series are discussed separately and in comparison. General problems of migration statistics are pointed out. Due to differences in definitions, categorizations, areas and time-spans covered as well as the wide variety of data-collecting strategies employed, comparisons of data are seldom possible. German statistics present the lowest figures. Australian material is the most reliable. Canadian material the most diverse. U.S. data is of little value since most of it is based on 'Country of Birth'. The 'Demographic Yearbook' often publishes data of the immigration country. JSP seems to contain the best estimates. Overall, a combination of statistical series should be used.

1. Introduction

In this paper, the informative value of migration statistics of Germany, the United States of America, Canada, and Australia will be ascertained by evaluating the material available on migrations from Germany in the period 1945-1961. (1) Its aim is to provide a general introduction and analysis of the available statistical series, as well as to determine which data can be used best. Using German emigration as an example, a closer look will be taken at the reliability, comparability and validity of national and international statistical series. Much of what is being said not only concerns

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emigrations from Germany, but also applies to emigrations in general. Furthermore, most problems mentioned are not particular problems of the post-war period, but have existed ever since migration statistics have been kept.

The material covered is limited to series containing information for the period 1945-1961 for two reasons: 1. Information presented in German emigration statistics changed after 1961. 2. Emigrations from Germany started to decline strongly in the late 1950s. (2) Besides German series, material published by the above mentioned immigration countries, JSP (3) and the U.N. Demographic Yearbook (UNDY) will be consulted. Comparisons of data presented by two or more series, however, are usually not possible for the entire period.

Due to a lack of information, and due to problems presented by the data-collecting strategies of various countries and organisations, the number of emigrants from Germany in the period 1945-1961 will probably never be known to any degree of certainty. (4) Even though it is not necessary to know the number of migrants down to the last digit, the discrepancies in various statistics are such that they need to be discussed, and if possible explained.

Between 1945 and 1961 an estimated 1,5 million people left Germany for overseas countries, and between 1945 and 1957 at least 630,000 left for European countries. Despite this large number of emigrants, which does not include those being repatriated by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) or other organisations, little research on how many migrants went to which country, at what time, and for what reason has been done. As regards migrations in post-war Germany, research has centered on the integration of refugees and expellees in the 1950s as well as on the immigration of guest workers in the 60s. (5)

Even though detailed information is missing on every aspect of post-war migrations from Germany, some general statements are possible. First, German emigration was extensive. Of the estimated 1,5 million migrants to overseas countries, roughly 800,000 were German nationals and 700,000 of other nationalities. Leading immigration countries were the United States (385,000), Canada (234,000) and Australia (81,000). 635,000 emigrants left for European countries, with Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Switzerland being favourite destinations. (6)

Second, the migration movement was highly diverse. After 1945, migrations from all countries were influenced by the regulations of the country of immigration, as well as of the country of emigration. As regards Germany, immediate post-war emigration was hampered by Law No. 161, stating that "except as authorized by Military Government, no person shall cross the frontiers of Germany [...]. The frontiers of Germany as referred to in this Law are such frontiers as they existed on 31 December 1937.« (7)

The special exit permit required did not keep several thousand German nationals and ethnic Germans from emigrating in 1946 and 1947, mostly to the United States and Israel. After the law had been relaxed, emigration from Germany was governed rather by regulations of the immigration countries than by any measures imposed by Allied occupation powers or German authorities. (8) The number of aliens migrating surpassed the number of Germans (9) by far until 1951, even though immigration restrictions for Germans were abolished in numerous countries in 1948/49. In part this was due to special programs for DP's and non-German emigrants. Their emigration reached its peak in the mid-50s, although starting in 1952 the number of German nationals emigrating continuously surpassed the number of aliens. In 1957/58 the total number of emigrants from Germany started to decline, and in 1961 only 41,000 people left the country for overseas destinations.

»Migration statistics are notoriously bad.« (10) For decades it has been an accepted fact that migration statistics are less than perfect. (11) Renewed interest in furthering international comparability of statistical series arose after the Second World War. The United Nations Population Commission, for example, recommended that priority be given to the improvement of international migration statistics since imperfections greatly impeded serious studies in this field. However, even though various aspects and problems of migration statistics have been discussed and recommendations been given, this has usually been done only in regard to international comparability, on a very general basis or in regard to various statistical theories. Little critique of the general reliability and informative value of statistics of any one country has been published. (12)

2. General Problems of Migration Statistics

Statistics tend to have the same problems and difficulties, indépendant of where and when they have been published. Two types of problems can be found: 'Internal' difficulties, such as discrepancies in the categorization of migrants over the years, changes of borders or inconsistent publication, and 'international' difficulties, which appear in regard to international comparability of statistical material. Such problems are, for example, differences in definitions and classifications of migrants as well as differences in periods covered, e.g. fiscal year vs. calendar year. (13)

Comparability is often hampered by the different classifications, definitions and methods used. The fact that no universally accepted definition for 'immigrant' and 'emigrant' exists must be seen as one of the major problems. In 1949, the U.N. recommended that an emigrant be defined as someone leaving the country for a minimum of one year, and that last

permanent residence' was to be defined as the country in which the person last resided for a period of more than one year. The majority of the overseas countries are following this recommendation in determining the country of last residence. (14)

A second hindrance to comparability is the variety of methods used in compiling the data. Alltogether, six main categories of migration data are available: statistics based on control at ports, control of land frontiers, passports, population registers, transport contracts, and coupons detached from certain documents. As regards overseas migration from Europe, the majority of the countries of immigration base their statistics on persons entering with immigration visas for permanent residence. (15)

A third hindrance is the use of calendar year by some countries and of fiscal year by others. Furthermore, not all fiscal years start on the same date (Fiscal year of Canada: 1 April-31 March; USA and Australia: 1 July-30 June). Comparisons are therefore only possible if data is available on a monthly or at least quarterly basis and can so be compiled into corresponding time-spans. (16) In addition, not all publications present material for the same years.

Differences in definitions and classifications hinder international comparability and influence the number of immigrants accounted for. For example, according to UNDY, in 1952 19,390 migrants left Western Germany for Canada as 'Country of intended residence'. In the same year, 25,716 immigrants with Western Germany as 'Country of last permanent residence' entered Canada.

Data, however, is not only influenced by the categories applied to it, but the same terms do not necessarily cover the same immigrants throughout the years. For example, the borders of the countries covered must be considered. As regards Germany, it is hardly ever possible to discern whether the term 'Germany' is supposed to be equated with Federal Republic of Germany', 'German Democratic Republic' or both. Whether the Saarland and Berlin are included is also uncertain in most cases. (17)

A special problem is posed by refugees and displaced persons (DP's) as it is often difficult to discern how they have been classified. (18) Especially in Germany, but also in Austria and Italy, DP's and refugees were present in large numbers. (19) After repatriations of DP's by UNRRA had slowed down, special emigration programs for DP's started in 1947. At the same time, UNRRA was succeded by the International Refugee Organisation (IRO).

Same as UNRRA, the IRO was not to care for members of ex-enemy countries - Germans, ethnic Germans (Volksdeutsche) and Austrians. In contrast to UNRRA, responsible only for DP's, the IRO also had to care for refugees. (20) Since neither UNRRA nor IRO handled Germans, ethnic Germans or Austrians, statistical data on migrants leaving Germany with one of the two organisations can only cover 'aliens'.

When IRO started to close down, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) was created in December 1951. Its first and most urgent task was to provide international assistance to people wanting to emigrate from Europe, irrespective of nationality or refugee status, and for whom overseas settlement seemed the best prospect for the future. This agency provided, for the first time, an opportunity for ethnic Germans and German nationals to emigrate with the help of an international organisation and at reasonable prices. (21)

Several migration movements are not represented in statistical series, not only due to methodical problems but also due to difficulties in determining and classifying such movements. For example, contract laborers, students and participants in exchange programs are difficult to trace. How many contract laborers, who supposedly only leave for a year or two, do not return can not be determined. The same applies to exchange students, scientists etc., but the number of non-returnees among members of these groups should be fairly small. (22)

POW's remaining in their country of imprisonment are also often not registered as migrants. On the one hand they are difficult to trace once they have left the camps, unless some sort of control is still exerted over them, and on the other hand, they are not immigrants in the usual sense of the term. Still, several ten-thousand POW's did not return to Germany after their release, most remaining in France and Great Britain, and these numbers should not be ignored.

Migrations of 'war-brides' also cause problems since these movements were mostly handled by Allied authorities until the mid-1950s. Data was apparently not forwarded to German authorities and data presented by the countries of immigration generally does not include specific information on this group of migrants. Depending on the policy of the receiving country, war-brides either became citizens the day they married or they kept their old nationalities and had to apply for a new citizenship. Usually it can not be determined whether the number of war-brides is included in the total number of immigrants from Germany or not.

The extent of illegal migrations, of which only the number of those caught trying to cross the border can give a vague indication of the number leaving, can not be estimated. This problem exists especially in regard to intra-European migration since complete border control is not possible. In contrast, the number of illegal migrants to overseas countries or Great Britain should be negligible, since entering those countries illegally is problematical due to transport difficulties.

3. Statistics of the Federal Republic of Germany

Between 1945 and 1961, more than 2 million people left the FRG. German statistics reflect this movement only to a certain extent. Data was collected in accordance with recommendations given by the U.N. Statistical Office in 1949 (23), but not until 1950 were migration statistics published. Complete command over passport control had been handed over to German authorities on October 1, 1951, and after a trial period, emigration statistic started to be published in January 1953. (24)

3.1 German statistics

Information is presented in three tables in WiSta as well as in the Statistisches Jahrbuch der Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

The table »Migrations over the borders of the Federal Republic in the year ... according to area of emigration and area of immigration« (25) is based on local registration of migrants and deals with »persons who, under current regulations, notify their arrival or departure to the local authorities responsible for registration, by means of a registration certificate. In this way they include all persons who change their residence and therefore in particular all arrivals and departures across the frontiers of the Federal territory.« (26) Starting in 1952, data is broken down by origin and destination, and from 1953 onwards a distinction is made between German nationals and aliens. The intended length of stay is not taken into consideration, therefore making it impossible to distinguish between 'true' emigrants and those who intend to return after a period.

The tables »Emigrants in ... according to countries of immigration and groups of people« and »Emigrants from 1871 to ... according to countries of immigration and border crossing station« (27) are based on frontier control. Everybody who intends to settle in a foreign country for a period exceeding one year, and who has lived for at least one year in the Federal Republic, the Saarland, the Soviet Occupation Zone (SOZ) or Berlin, is regarded as an emigrant. In the first table, the number of migrants to a few selected overseas countries is given, but only a total for intra-European emigration. The second table contains more detailed data on emigrants to various European and overseas countries. (28) The figures are only estimates the first year they are published. Revised estimates for overseas migration, but not for intra-European migrations, are published the following year.

3.2 Internal' difficulties

Generally, statistics of immigration countries are more precise and reliable than those of the countries of emigration, since it is always easier to control those coming into a country than those leaving it. Furthermore, it is usually of more interest to the country of immigration to know who arrives then for the country of emigration to know who leaves. (29) German overseas emigration statistics were bound to be incomplete right from the beginning due to recording difficulties, e.g. people leaving for overseas countries were frequently not identified as migrants because they crossed the German frontier by train for embarkation at Italian or Channel ports. Movements, such as the migration of German wives of United States forces to the U.S., were handled by Allied Military authorities until 1955, and even after this date the German statistical office was apparently not notified of the number of 'war-brides' since only estimates have been published. (30)

Already in 1953 the German statistical office pointed out that emigration statistics could only indicate the minimum number of emigrants. By 1955, an estimated 10,000 more emigrants than appeared in the statistics had left the country. (31) In 1958 it was assumed that the available German statistics covered merely 3/4 of the actual volume of the emigration to overseas countries, and in 1960 only about 1/2 of the actual overseas emigration was accounted for. (32)

As regards intra-European migration only very unreliable figures are available. Starting in January 1956, the German statistical office reported only on those migrants registered at harbors or airports, therefore not paying attention to most intra-European migrations after 1955. (33) Even though JSP material also contains information on intra-European migration for 1956-1957, this data was not published in German statistical series. (34)

An assessment of German emigration statistics is hampered by the lack of material for a number of years. German figures are only available for 1953-1956 and 1958-1961. In 1958, the publication of emigration data was stopped, but in 1963 one more table covering the period 1945-1961 was presented, in which the figures published by JSP for 1945-1957 were given as the offical emigration figures for Germany. (35) German data is also available for 1958 to 1961, but no explanation of how it was collected, other than the short notice that the figures were mostly based on the material presented by the immigration countries, is given. (36)

The countries of immigration covered and the terms applied to them changed over the years. Possibly, the same geographical areas were still meant when the term changed, but this can not be stated as a certainty. Due to this fact, data presented for European countries can usually only be compared for 1954-1956, and data on overseas emigrations for 1954—1956 and 1958-1961.

The German borders used did not vary in the period 1954-1956. No explanation is available for 1953, but 1953 data appears unchanged in 1954-1956. Which borders were used in 1958-1961 is not explained. Next to residents of the FRG, those who last resided in the SOZ, the Saarland or Berlin and who passed through the Federal Republic of Germany on the way to their point of departure, were counted as emigrants. Other "transit migrants' were not recorded.

Whether emigrants from East-Berlin, the SOZ and the Saarland, who left without entering the FRG, have been counted as emigrants from Germany is unknown. Whereas the number of migrants leaving directly from the SOZ or East Berlin is probably small, about 8,000 migrants left the Saarland between 1953 and 1955 for countries other than Germany, and about 24,000 left West-Berlin, an unknown number of which went to the FRG. (37)

Since Berlin did not officially belong to the FRG until 1990, it is often impossible to discern how emigrants from Berlin to overseas countries were classified and whether they were included in the total for the FRG. German emigration statistics apparently take East- and West-Berlin into consideration. The Saarland was part of Germany in 1945, after which it was incooperated into French territory even though nominally remaining a separate country or state. In October 1955, a large majority of the population voted for a return to Germany, and on January 1, 1957 the Saarland officially became one of the German states ('Bundesländer'). (38)

As regards the Saarland, Berlin and the SOZ, political events of the post-war years can cause difficulties in classifying emigrations from the FRG to the GDR, Berlin and the Saarland. These movements can either be classified as internal migrations or as emigrations, but no matter how they are classified, the fact that between 1950 and 1961 nearly half a million people left the FRG for the GDR and that from 1953 to 1956, about 18,000 left the FRG for the Saarland, should not be ignored. (39)

As has been pointed out before, discrepancies in migration statistics result from differences in the categorization of migrants. This, however, is not a special problem of the post-war period. (40) Who is recorded as a German citizen, as a DP or a refugee and expellee differs widely, and often exact definitions seem to be lacking.

As regards the varied and numerous groups of emigrants from Germany, special care must be taken. In German statistical series, data is presented for expellees ('Vertriebene': Persons of German nationality or ethnic origin who had their domicil in the German possessions in the East (borders of December 31, 1937) under foreign administration and which lost their residence due to the events of the World War II, through flight or expulsion) as well as for 'Zugewanderte' (Persons of German nationality or ethnic origin who had their domicile in Berlin or the SOZ on September 1,

1939) and 'foreigners and stateless persons' ('Ausländer und Staatenlose': Persons neither of German nationality nor of German ethnic origin. As long as they fall under the mandate of the U.N. refugee commission, they are considered non-German 'refugees'). (41)

Special problems are posed by ethnic German refugees (Volksdeutsche*) since they consider themselves to be Germans due to descent and ethnic origin, even if their mother tongue is not necessarily German. Apparently anybody of German ethnic origin was classified as a German emigrant in German statistics, independent of the nationality indicated in their passports. (42)

In addition, besides data on the total number of emigrants to selected European and overseas countries, the table »Emigrants in ... according to country of immigration and group of people« also holds information on several other categories. (43) The number of Germans is further differentiated into total number and male emigrants', total number of expellees and male expellees' ('Vertriebene'), 'Zugewanderte', and 'Foreigners and Stateless Persons' ('Ausländer und Staatenlose'). Foreigners and Stateless Persons' are subdivided into 'total number of foreigners and foreign refugees' ('Insgesamt und ausländische Flüchtlinge'). (44) The data is of little value since the number of male and female emigrants under the age of 16 was assigned according to estimates, impeding the reliability and informative value of the information. (45)

The German definition of ethnic Germans as German nationals causes difficulties especially in regard to immigration countries which categorize immigrants according to ethnic origin, and where this category is not combined with last country of residence. How difficult it can be to determine the status of immigrants is indicated by the fact that in German immigration statistics, immigrants are only classified either as 'Germans' or 'foreigners and stateless immigrants'. Immigrants who are citizens of other countries or stateless persons were classified as 'foreigners and stateless persons', independent of their ethnic origin. There was to be an attempt to differentiate this group into ethnic Germans ('Volksdeutsche') and 'others', but it was considered doubtful that reasonable results could be achieved, especially since the citizenships are often unclear. (46) How those claiming to be of German ethnic origin, but not being able to prove this, were categorized is uncertain.

3.3 Conclusion

German statistical material, available for only a few years, is not very informative. The diversity in definitions and categories offered probably causes more problems than does it offer sensible information. It also hampers, rather than helps comparisons with other series. More information is

presented for overseas migration movements than for intra-European migrations. Overall, the statistics presented by the countries of immigration should be consulted first, German statistics second.

4. International' Statistics: United Nations Demographic Yearbook and Joint Statistical Project

German data being problematical, it is necessary to consider information presented by other statistical series in order to gain a more precise picture of German post-war emigration. Important 'international' statistics, i.e. series for which data is collected by international organisations and covering numerous countries, are the UNDY and the JSP. In these series, standardization of categories and terminology used by emigration and immigration countries has been attempted, and care was taken to collect the most reliable figures available.

4.1 United Nations Demographic Yearbook

The UNDY is published annually and contains a wealth of information on numerous subjects. As regards migrations, information is usually available on Emigrants by country of intended (permanent) residence', 'Immigrants by country of last (permanent) residence' and Major categories of departures and arrivals'. (47) Material presented in the tables is obtained by two principal methods: 1. Use of special communications sent by the governments to the International Labour Office in reply to a questionnaire. 2. Use of supplementary data extracted by the U.N. Secretariat from official publications of the countries concerned. (48) For each table, information on the source of the statistics is given, on who constitutes the group of migrants as well as any additional information necessary. (49)

Difficulties are caused by changes in the number of countries covered in the various tables of one year, e.g. in 1948 data for continental and intercontinental migrants of the period 1936-1947 is presented for forty-four countries. The number of emigrants by 'country of intended residence' is given for seventeen countries for the years 1945-1947, the number of immigrants by last permanent residence' for sixteen countries for the years 1945-1947. Furthermore, even though the latter two tables cover only three years, it was not possible to obtain data for each year for each country. (50) Information on German migration is often missing for the late 1940s, and data is only available until 1957. Even though migration statistics were still published in the UNDY after this date, the German figures for all migratory movements, independent of the intended length of stay of the person changing his residence, were used. (51)

UNDY is the only publication which takes political developments in Germany into consideration. Therefore, several of the categories change over time. In the table »Country of emigration« in 1950-1952, data is presented for »France: Saar«, »Western Germany« and »West Berlin«. Whether the category »France: Saar« is supposed to be the Saar by itself, or the migrations between France and the Saar, or even France and the Saar is undetermined. For 1953-1955, data is presented for »West-Germany«, »Saar« and »West Berlin«, and for the period 1956-1958 data for »Federal Republic of Germany« and »West Berlin«. In order to determine the emigration from Germany to any country, the relevant figures need to be added, but since data was collected differently in each area, it is debatable whether the total determined in this way can be considered a valid number. Data for country of emigration in the table »Emigrants by country of intended residence« for West Germany is based on frontier control, whereas for the Saar and Berlin data is based on local population register. Furthermore, data for the Saar represents 'residents departing', a classification not otherwise defined, and Berlin data includes temporary immigrants departing and residents departing temporarily. (52) Due to these facts, the number of emigrants arrived at through the addition of the three groups must be used cautiously.

Geographical and political areas covered in various tables also differ. Tables on 'Emigrants by country of intended permanent residence' cover West Germany, Saar and West Berlin', tables on 'Immigrants by country of last permanent residence' cover Berlin, Eastern Germany and the Federal Republic. (53)

4.2 Joint Statistical Project

A second international series is the JSP. As regards Germany, data published by this organisation is of more interest than UNDY data since JSP data was accepted by German authorities as the official emigration figures for the period 1946-1957. (54) The project was carried out as a Joint Secretariat Project for the study of European Migration Statistics by the OEEC, ICEM, ILO and the UN. (55) The tables of estimates presented by JSP are intended to give an over-all picture of European migration movements, but they are not supposed to substitute official statistics issued by any Government, nor are they intended to challenge the validity of such statistics. (56)

Generally, attempts were made to obtain the best possible approximations of the criteria of last or future residence. Repatriation movements of POW's and DP's were not taken into account since information on these movements was not complete. Explanatory notes on statistics used and short estimates of their reliability are contained in Annex IV of the series.

Despite the apparent transparency of the methods and materials employed, uncertainties remain. Especially data for intra-European migrations from Germany leaves much to be desired.

Comparability of tables for intra-European and overseas migration is reduced by the different categories given for intra-European and overseas migration. While it was apparently possible to distinguish between nationals and aliens for overseas emigration, this was not done for intra-European migrations. Whether most or all of the migrants were refugees or nationals is indicated in some years and for a few movements. Therefore, the total number of migrants from a country can be compared, but not the number of aliens and nationals separately.

The category 'country of departure' in intra-European migration tables is insofar problematical as the term is not explained or defined'. Presumably, the same category was used in overseas migration tables, but the tables have no heading. (57) Most probably, the category is equivalent to last country of residence', i.e. country in which the migrant has lived for at least one year before emigrating. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that JSP figures for 'country of departure' and Canadian migration statistics for last permanent residence' match closely starting in 1953.

The subcategorization of the total number of migrants into 'nationals' and 'aliens' is useful and generally causes no difficulties. In contrast, the category »total number of 'aliens' and 'nationals'« entering a country is of little value. Contrary to the usual practice, the terms 'nationals' and 'aliens' in this total column' do not indicate the number of nationals of the immigration country returning or remigrating, but the number of nationals of all the countries of emigration. (58) In regard to the immigration country, however, they are aliens. The 'aliens' in the total column' indicate the number of non-nationals leaving the emigration countries. They are also either aliens for the country of immigration, or theoretically might even be nationals of the immigration country. Due to this policy, only the total number of migrants in the total column' can be used.

4.2.1 Compilation of material: Canada as an example

In order to assess the validity and reliability of JSP figures, data on German emigration to Canada 1946-1957 will be used to evaluate the compilation of figures.

According to information given by JSP, great care was taken to first amass all available figures and only then »weighing the effect of differences in definition and in the method of their preparation, together with non-statistical data [...] an estimate was made of the total movement from one country to another with the breakdown of this movement into figures which would represent 'national' and 'alien' migrants at the time of their

departure from the country of emigration concerned.« (59) Explanatory notes for each country indicate the source of the main official national statistics primarily used, a brief summary of the methods followed in the compilation of these national statistics and a general comment concerning the use made of these national statistics in the preparation of the estimates. (60) For European countries, however, the notes often contain only explanations on how information on emigrations was compiled. How data on immigrants was collected, especially on those from countries which offer little or unreliable statistical material, is not explained.

More specific explanations then the ones above were apparently not published for the general public. In September 1956, however, the governments of the countries covered in the series were presented with a detailed report on how corresponding data had been compiled. These reports were to be forwarded to the appropriate agencies, which were then supposed to comment on them in regard to validity etc (61)

The files concerning German emigration to Canada throw some doubt on the representative value of JSP data, as the methods employed leave room for discussion. Due to the lack of official German data prior to 1950 and the lack of differentiated German data until 1953, the estimates were prepared mainly on the basis of statistics of overseas countries and other data available from international or non-governmental organisations, such as IRO or ICEM movements. Ethnic Germans' ('Volksdeutsche') were considered 'nationals' in accordance with German treatment of Ethnic Germans'. (62)

Data was compiled differently each year. Since the category of last permanent residence' used in Canadian statistics was not very informative and reliable prior to 1952 (63), where estimates of nationals for the years 1948-1950 have been based mainly on the CCCRR [Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees] statistics for 'Volksdeutsche' refugees assisted by that organisation. The figure for 1948 was adjusted to include 1.500 movements which were understood to have been effected by the Mennonite Central Committee outside of any arrangements with the IRO or with CCCRR. For the years 1951 and 1952 a synthesis was arrived at from CCCRR, ICEM, and IRO statistics for eligibles and non-eligibles together with the Canadian Fiscal Year Reports. For the years 1953 and 1954 it was considered that the Canadian figures for last permanent residence could be used as representing the total movement from Germany and the figure for nationals was arrived at after deduction of ICEM refugee statistics which did not compare too unfavorably with the German statistics for 'aliens'. The estimates of 'alien' emigrants from Germany have been mainly based on the statistics of IRO with some adjustment for a comparatively small number of refugees who emigrated without any assistance from IRO.« (64) Table 1 presents the data JSP based its final estimate on.

TABLE 1: COUNTRY OF EMIGRATION: GERMANY; COUNTRY OF IMMIGRATION: CANADA

Yea	sta	erman tistic A	s T		anadian atistic: . N	B/R		Estima ments N	ated I (000 A	
46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53	30315 24456	1732 957	19390 32047 25413	486 267 2475 2941 3815 29196 25716 34193 28479	884 139 289 163 1722 25813 24410 33337 28360	449 300 3051 5988 5825 32395 28257 35015 29845	6797 30677 21455 11188 13314 5320 27977 15420	5.0 5.7 4.6 28.0 24.4 32.5 27.8	.5 6.8 31.1 21.9 11.6 13.6 2.9 1.7 0.7	.5 6.8 36.1 27.6 16.2 41.6 27.3 34.2 28.5
Tot	al		· 	127568	115117	141125	132148	128.0	90.8	218.8

Source: Canadian Archives, HRG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8 Annex 3. N: German Nationals; A: Aliens; T: Total; L.P.R.: Last Permanent Residence; B/R: Birth, Race; IRO or ICEM: IRO or ICEM Movements. Passengers moved from Germany to Canada. Figures in italics denote ICEM data.

JSP figures for 'last permanent residence' and 'nationality' are the same as the ones in the Canada Year Book (C.Y.). Those given by JSP for birth/race'in Canadian statistics, however, differ from those published in the C.Y. No indication of where the JSP figures come from is given. (65)

Whether it was valid to take the number of people moved by the CCCRR as the number of nationals in 1948-1950 is questionable. The purpose of CCCRR was to organise the assembly abroad, selection, presentation to Canadian immigration offices, and onward movement to Canada of refugees and displaced persons who did not come within the mandate of the IRO. (66) The use of these figures in order to determine German immigration is based on two assumptions. 1. Only ethnic Germans ('Volksdeutsche') and no refugees or DP's of other ethnic origin were moved out of Germany by the CCCRR. This does not seem to be likely, however, more research is needed. 2. Except with the help of the CCCRR, no 'Germans' entered the country. Migration to Canada was restricted for Germans and ethnic Germans ('Volksdeutsche') until September 1950, but several hundred migrants of German nationality entered the country before this date (1946: 884; 1947: 139; 1948: 289; 1949: 163; 1950: 1.772). (67) Possibly, these are wives and children of Canadian citizens, scientists, technicians or migrants entering under special conditions, such as the close relative plan. (68)

How the number of nationals in 1953 and 1954 was arrived at is difficult to determine since the explanation given by JSP does not seem to fit the

facts. According to JSP, the number of ICEM refugees was subtracted from the number of migrants with Germany as last permanent residence, as presented in the C.Y., in order to arrive at the number of German nationals. (69) This 'calculation' seems to be based on the assumption that ICEM did not move German nationals, but such restrictions did not exist, i.e. 27,977 refugees emigrated from Germany to Canada with the help of ICEM in 1953. The same year, a total of 34,193 immigrants indicated Germany as their country of last permanent residence'. Therefore, German nationals should number about 6,000 instead of the 1,700 presented in the JSP table. Possibly, JSP was able to use material not available to the general public indicating how many of the refugees were German nationals, however, this is not certain.

Furthermore, at least in 1955, only about 1/3 of the emigrants from Germany came to Canada with the help of ICEM, limiting the value of ICEM tables in regard to the total German emigration. (70) The data does match the number of aliens presented in German statistics (1,732). In addition, it should be noted that in 1953 the number of German nationals presented by JSP fairly closely matches the total number of emigrants presented in German statistics. In contrast, the JSP number of aliens in 1954 does not match the number of aliens in 1954 German statistics as closely as it does in 1953 (German statistic: 957; JSP: 700).

A minor problem, which, however, does not seem to have influenced the final estimate for 1952, is that for the category 'Total of Emigration Country' (Germany) the German figures used include everybody changing their residence, independant of their intended length of stay.

4.2.2 German statistics and JSP on overseas migration

Data published by the FRG and JSP diverges or matches to a large degree, depending on the country of immigration. Considering that in both series the total number of emigrants is given, and that 'nationals' include German citizens as well as ethnic Germans, the figures ought to be fairly similar.

A closer look at the percentage of immigrants accounted for in German statistics in relation to those in the JSP reveals some interesting facts.

JSP figures have obviously been rounded, and, therefore, the last figure behind the decimal point in the percentage column will have to be ignored. Depending on the country of immigration, and the year, the figures either match nearly perfectly or only to about 50%. Roughly the same percentages hold if only the number of nationals is compared. Furthermore, the percentages always continously either increase or decrease. Should it prove to be true that JSP data, even though it is problematical itself, really consists of the best estimates possible, the statement by the

TABLE 2: WISTA AND JSP ON OVERSEAS MIGRATION

			USA	A	CANA	DA	AUST	RALIA
			WISTA	JSP	WISTA	JSP	WISTA	JSP
N	& N	A	15,369	29,200 27,900	32,232	34,200 32,500	7,904	7,900 7,500
N	&	A	17,881	30,900	25,413	28,500	14,206	14,300
	N		16,050	28,900	24,456	27,800	14,101	14,200
N	& N	A	23,108 20,197	37,000 33,100	15,557 14,550	17,600 16,600	6,588 6,371	6,600 6,300
			2009		4 4 4 4 4	1	and at It	The second
N	& N	A	35,650	55,300 47,200	22,326	26,100	6,349 5,967	7,400
			100			- 1 [15]		375
N	& N	A	May suffy		42		- 20	5,700 5,300
	N N	N & N N & N N & N N & N N & N N & N	N & A N N A N N A N N A A N N A A	WISTA N & A 15,369 N & A 17,881 N & A 16,050 N & A 23,108 N 20,197 N & A 35,650 N & A 35,650 N & A	N & A 15,369 29,200 27,900 N & A 17,881 30,900 28,900 N & A 23,108 37,000 N & A 20,197 33,100 N & A 35,650 55,300 N 28,104 47,200 N & A 41,400	WISTA JSP WISTA N & A 15,369 29,200 32,232 N & A 17,881 30,900 25,413 N 16,050 28,900 24,456 N & A 23,108 37,000 15,557 N 20,197 33,100 14,550 N & A 35,650 55,300 22,326 N 28,104 47,200 21,192 N & A 41,400	WISTA JSP WISTA JSP N & A 15,369 29,200 32,232 34,200 32,500 N & A 17,881 30,900 25,413 28,500 N 6 A 23,108 37,000 15,557 17,600 N 20,197 33,100 14,550 16,600 N & A 35,650 55,300 22,326 26,100 N 28,104 47,200 21,192 24,400 N & A 41,400 28,400	WISTA JSP WISTA JSP WISTA N & A 15,369 29,200 27,900 32,232 34,200 7,904 N & A 17,881 30,900 25,413 28,500 14,206 N & A 23,108 37,000 15,557 17,600 6,588 N 20,197 33,100 14,550 16,600 6,371 N & A 35,650 55,300 22,326 26,100 6,349 N 28,104 47,200 21,192 24,400 5,967 N & A 41,400 28,400

WISTA (N & A): Emigrants in — according to countries of immigration and crossing stations. German nationals and aliens; WISTA (N): Ibid. German nationals; JSP (N & A): German nationals and aliens; JSP (N): Country of Departure Germany, German nationals.

TABLE 3: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS ACCOUNTED FOR IN GERMAN STATISTICS IN RE-LATION TO THOSE GIVEN IN JSP

	USA			CANADA	A	
Year	WISTA	JSP	%(7)	WISTA	JSP	%
1953	15,369	- 29,200	52,6	32,232	34,200	94,3
1954	17,881	30,900	57,9	25,413	28,500	89,2
1955	23,108	37,000	62,5	15,557	17,600	88,4
1956	35,650	55,300	64,5	22,326	26,100	85,5
15,00	92,008	152,400J		95,528	106,400	

AUSTRALIA

Year	WISTA	JSP	%
1953	7,904	7,900	100
1954	14,206	14,300	99,3
1955	6,588	6,600	99,8
1956	6,348	7,400	85,8
	25 016	26 200	

Harris Committee Committee

German statistical office that only about 3/4, or even only 1/2 of the emigrants were actually accounted for, must be taken as too optimistic as regards emigrations to the United States and too pessimistic in regard to emigrations to Canada and Australia. (72)

4.3 Conclusion

UNDY data is useful in that it contains information on emigrations from the various parts of post-war Germany. At the same time, the figures should not be added up in order to arrive at a total since they do not cover the same groups of migrants.

Easier to use for the period 1945-1957 is JSP data, however, as has been shown using Canada as an example, the procedure employed in compiling JSP data is not without fault, raising the question to what extent JSP figures, and therefore German figures, reflect emigrations of the post-war period. The only data available for the period 1958-1961 is material published by the countries of immigration or German data, which, however, is based on information presented by the countries of immigration.

5. Immigration into Canada

Depending on the statistical series used, the number of immigrants from Germany (German nationals and aliens) for the period 1946-1957 is given as somewhere between 200,000 and 300,000. During the period 1958-1961, for which only one statistical series is available, another 41,000 immigrants entered the country. A survey of the published material leads to the conclusion that more than just one series must be used if the extent of the immigration is to be measured.

5.1 Canadian Statistics

Statistics are published in several tables which present a wide variety of information. They can be divided into tables providing 'two-dimensional' information, such as 'birthplace' or 'nationality', and into tables presenting 'three-dimensional' information, i.e. cross-indexes of categories, such as 'ethnic origin' by 'citizenship' by year. Due to the diversity and the numerous aspects covered, Canadian statistics are probably among the most informative available.

5.1.1 'Internal' difficulties

A comparison of data, especially between 'two-dimensional* and 'three-dimensional' tables is hampered by the presentation of data for calendar year by the former and for fiscal year by the latter. The C.Y., containing 'two-dimensional' tables, is based on calendar year. The Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration (RDCI), presenting 'three-dimensional' information, is based on fiscal year (April 1 to March 31) until 1953 and then on calendar year. A rearrangement of data for the years prior to 1953 did not take place. The Report of the Department of Mines and Resources (RDMR), in which migration statistics were published until 1949, is also based on fiscal year.

In the C.Y., breakdowns for the number of immigrants admitted - by 'last permanent residence', 'nationality' 'birthplace' and 'racial origin' - are published. The RDCI contains detailed tables showing 'racial origin' by 'nationality', 'racial origin' by 'country of last permanent residence', as well as occupational or age and sex breakdowns. Some problems are caused by the fact that until the mid-fifties, most of these tables only cover immigration via Ocean Ports. Even though the number of immigrants entering via airports in the immediate post-war years was small, in 1955 already 8.9% of all immigrants from Germany used planes to reach their destination. (73)

In order to allow more comparisons in this paper, mostly C.Y. data will be used, as it is continously given for calendar year. (74)

Each of these categories used in the C.Y., as well as in other national and international statistical series, presents significant information, however, none reflects the size of the immigration from a specific country without problems.

RACIAL ORIGIN: Starting in 1955 the tables formerly headed Hacial Origin'were issued quarterly as 'Immigration to Canada by Ethnic Origin'. The C.Y. publishes them as 'Origins of Immigrant Arrivals'. "The 'racial origins' reported are a fantastic mixture of nationalities and other noncomparable groups. A person may be reported as being of German or Dutch race, though he may have come from Australia, South Africa or England. Among the so-called races are such anomalies as Austrian, Swiss and Hebrew. [...] is there an Austrian race? [...] Again, Hebrew is a clear enough religious category, but what is the Hebrew 'race'." (76) Racial or ethnic origin refers to the cultural group from which the person is descended, being derived from his/her father, usually being the equivalent to the father's nationality. (77)

Besides the fact that nationality does not necessarily have to have anything to do with cultural group, this definition poses difficulties in regard to ethnic German immigrants ('Volksdeutsche'). Many probably considered themselves to be German, but their nationality (78) often was either

TABLE 4: CANADA YEAR BOOK

	Racial 0.	Birthpl.	Natio.	L.P.R.
1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954	584 1,298 1,186 3,713 6,721 6,642 33,234 29,344 36,241 31,106	184 758 445 2,892 3,762 3,918 24,257 20,423 26,788 24,212	196 884 139 289 163 1,772 25,813 24,410 33,337 28,360	486 267 2,475 2,941 3,815 29,196 25,716 34,193 28,479
1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961	19,588 27,843 31,191 15,842 12,481 12,430 8,023	15,288 23,216 26,486 13,015 9,704 9,920 5,686	17,138 25,590 28,513 14,107 10,401 10,596 6,060	17,630 26,061 28,430 13,888 10,423 10,774 6,231
Total	277,467	210,954	227,768	241,005

Racial O.: Racial Origin; Birthpl.: Birthplace; Natio.: Nationality; L.P.R.: Last permanent residence.

different, unclear or undetermined. It should be kept in mind that 'racial origin' does not have to have anything to do with citizenship or country of last permanent residence.

Data on immigrants of German ethnic origin prior to 1953 is also problematical since it can not be determined whether Austrians were included or not. According to the RDCI, Austrians were included in the table Immigration to Canada by Ethnic Origin' »up to and including 1952; also in the five year period ended Dec. 31, 1954«. For the table Hacial Origin of Immigrants by Country of Last Permanent Residence' presented in the same publication, this information is given only for fiscal year, ended March 31, 1953. Again, according to the C.Y., Austrians were included in the table 'Origins of Immigrant Arrivals' only in 1952, but figures published in the RDCI and the C.Y. for all years prior to 1953 are the same.

As regards the number of DP's of German racial origin admitted up to March 31, 1950, a not further specified number of 'minor racial groups' has been included. Whether this practice was continued after 1950 is uncertain. (79)

BIRTHPLACE: A better indicator of where immigrants came from than 'racial origin' might be 'place of birth'. As regards German post-war immigration, however, several objections can be raised: 1. Birthplace' is not necessarily equivalent to 'nationality', especially not in Germany where

citizenship is mostly based on inheritence (ius sanguinis). 2. Children born to refugee or DP-families will have Germany as their 'country of birth', but since the status of the parents is inherited by the children, it is uncertain whether the children were included in the category 'Country of Birth: Germany' or the special DP categories. 3. Previous migrations are not taken into account.

NATIONALITY/CITIZENSHIP: This might be one of the most reliable categories available, especially since it is easy to confirm at the border through passport control. It is, however, not without fault. Someone of a certain nationality does not have to have last lived in the corresponding country. As regards ethnic Germans ('Volksdeutsche'), birthplace and nationality do not necessarily match. Finally, citizens emigrating are only a part of the total number of emigrants from a country.

LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE: Next to citizenship, this category is especially important from the point of view of the country of emigration, as it has to deal, at least to some extent, with all emigrants, whether or not they are citizens. Data in this category can be misleading if the questionaires, on which the statistics are based, do not clearly indicate what is meant by last permanent residence'. When JSP statistics were compiled, it was found that prior to October 1953 almost all IRO refugees admitted during 1947-1951, as well as large numbers of other refugees from Western European countries, appeared in Canadian statistics with their last permanent residence' under Eastern European countries. Generally last permanent residence' was interpreted to mean last legal residence or last country in which the individual had his home for a reasonable length of time. After Canadian instructions specified in October 1953 that last permanent residence' should normally refer to residence of one year or more in a country prior to emigration to Canada, data becomes more reliable. (80)

Even after 1953, information presented in the C.Y. for last permanent residence' must be used cautiously. The data not only includes migrants coming from Germany directly, but also those entering via the United States. (81) However, since Canada complies with the UN recommendation that last permanent residence' should be one year or more in a country prior to immigration, those immigrants entering via the United States probably did not spent much time there.

The limitedness of the above categories, as regards their informative value, becomes apparent when similar information is presented in 'three-dimensional' tables. This will be exemplified for the category 'ethnic or racial origin', since this categorization, despite its known vagueness and, therefore, inaccuracy, has been widely used, not only in Canada but in most overseas countries.

Information on the number of immigrants with Germany as last permanent residence, independant of their racial origin, and on the number

of ethnic German immigrants with Germany as last permanent residence, is presented by the RDCI for the fiscal years ending March 31, 1946-1954.

TABLE 5: IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA, FISCAL YEAR ENDED MARCH 31.

Year	'Last permanent residence': Germany	Racial Origin 'Germans' from Germany (1.p.r.)	i 1. •
1946	526	49	
1947	` 66	36	
1948	473	64	:
1949	3,224	383	
1950	2,994	456	
1951	4,853	3,013	
1952	32,908	28,171	
1953	24,130	22,656	
1954	33,512	31,528	
	, -		
Total	102,686	82,356	
	, - 5 0	,	2.0

Large discrepancies exist especially in the early 1950s. The increase in the percentage of ethnic Germans among the total number of immigrants with Germany as last permanent residence in the 1950s could possibly be explained by the final lifting of immigration restrictions for Germans in 1950. On the other hand, if ethnic origin is determined through the nationality of the father (82), the increase might be explained by the granting of German citizenship in 1950/51 to numerous refugees and expellees.

As Table 6 shows, the same way ethnic origin does not have to have anything to do with last permanent residence, it also does not have to have anything to do with citizenship.

No information is available on two groups of immigrants, at least not as separate groups. No information at all is presented for German POW's remaining in Canada. Of the roughly 38,000 soldiers interned in Canada at the end of the war, large numbers were apparently sent to the United Kingdom in 1945/46, and the number actually 'immigrating' into Canada is most probably very small. (83)

Very little information is available on the immigration of war-brides. According to the RDMR, the movement of dependants of service personnel started in 1945 and practically ceased during the fiscal year ended March 31, 1948. (84) Information on sex, age and marital status of immigrants is published in the C.Y., but since it is not differentiated according to nationality or last permanent residence, nothing can be infered about the immigration of war-brides from Germany. The total number of dependants of service personnel (wives and children) for fiscal years, as well as the total number of dependants brought to Canada from the commencement of the movement is given in the RDMR, but again it is not

TABLE 6: ETHNIC ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS BY COUNTRY OF CITIZEN-SHIP, CALENDAR YEAR

111

Year	Ethnic 0. (German) N & A		C. of C. & Ethnic 0. (German(y)	Ethnic o. & C. of C.	(German) (other)
1954	31,106	28,360	27,706	3,400	
1955	19,625	17,138	16,855	2,770	
1956	27,843	25,590	25,107	2,736	
1957	31,191	28,513	27,991	3,200	
1958	14,107	15,842	13,820	287	
1959	10,401	12,481	10,156	245	• 4
1960	10,596	12,430	10,291	305	
1961	6,060	8,023	5,949	111	
Total	150,929	148,377	137,875	13,054	

RDCI; Ethnic O.: Ethnic Origin; C. of C: Country of Citizenship

differentiated according to nationality. The number of war-brides might be included in the number of 'regular' migrants from Germany, as non-Canadians did not automatically become Canadian citizens upon marriage. A mandatory residence in Canada of one year before being able to apply for a certificate of citizenship probably led to a tegular' immigration of war-brides. (85)

5.1.2 International' difficulties: Canada Year Book, JSP and WiSta

Several difficulties have already been discussed in a national and international context. The comparable information on migrations to Canada is further reduced when not two, but three statistical series are looked at. JSP, C.Y. and WiSta all present information for calender year. (86) A 'three-way' comparison of the series, however, is only possible for the number of German nationals emigrating to Canada, as well as the total number of immigrants from Germany.

The total number of emigrants leaving the country can be compared as long as it is assumed that the JSP category of Total; Country of Departure' covers the same emigrants as the C.Y. category last permanent residence' and the German Nationals and Aliens'. These categories should indicate the absolute number of people who leave Germany, since neither nationality nor ethnic or racial origin are taken into consideration. (87)

JSP and C.Y. data matches closely for 1953-1957 since JSP relied on Canadian figures for last permanent residence* starting in 1953. The same holds true for German material for 1958 to 1961. In contrast, a difference of roughly 90,000 between the number of immigrants given by JSP and

TABLE 7: JSP, CANADA YEAR BOOK AND WISTA ON GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA

	JS	P	CANADA YEAR BOOK				WISTA	
19-	N & A	N	R.O.	B.P.	Natio.	L.P.R.	N & A	N
45			584	184	196			
46	500	0	1,298	758		486	A PO	
47	6,800	0	1,186	445		267		
48	36,100	5,000	3,713	2,892				
49	27,600	5,700	6,721	3,762	163			
50	16,200	4,600	6,642	3,918		3,815		
51	41,600	28,000	33,234	24,257	25,813	29,196	M -5 7 78	
52	27,300	24,400	29,344	20,423	24,410	25,716	21845	
53	34,200	32,500	36,241	26,788	33,337	34,193	32,047	
54	28,500	27,800	31,106	24,212	28,360	28,479	25,413	24,456
55	17,600	16,600	19,588	15,288	17,138	17,630	15,557	14,550
56	26,100	24,400	27,843	23,216	25,590	26,061	22,326	21,192
57	28,400	27,000	31,191	26,486	28,513	28,430		
58	ar de ma	-	15,842	13,015	14,107	13,888	13,900	12,900
59		100	12,481	9,704	10,401	10,423	10,400	9,800
60			12,430	9,920	10,596	10,774	10,800	10,000
61	SIMILE !		8,023	5,686	6,060	6,231	6,200	5,600

JSP (N & A): Country of Departure Germany. German nationals and aliens; JSP (N): German nationals. CANADA YEAR BOOK (R.O.): Racial Origin; (B.P.): Birthplace; (Natio.): Nationality; (L.P.R.): Last permanent residence. WISTA (N & A): Emigrants in the year ... according to country of immigration and crossing station. German nationals and aliens; WISTA (N): Ibid. German nationals.

C.Y. exists for the period 1946-1957. This difference develops mostly in the period 1946 to 1951, (JSP (1947-1951): 128,300 immigrants; C.Y. (1947-1951): 38,694). JSP's explanation is that IRO refugees filled out the questionaires for last permanent residence' wrongly. After Canadian instructions specified in October 1953 that last permanent residence' should mean residence of one year or more in a country prior to emigration to Canada, JSP and C.Y. data starts to match. (88)

The number of departures, according to JSP, for the period 1947-51 was 128,300, whereas the sum of the C.Y. and IRO figures comes to 122,125, a discrepancy of 6,175. Some difference is always to be expected, mostly since migrants who have already been registered change their minds or are prevented from leaving. However, a difference of roughly 6,000 people in just four years is a bit high. For the entire period 1946-1957, the difference comes to 7,780. Furthermore, it must be remembered that everything is based on the assumptions that not a single IRO refugee indicated Germany as last permanent residence, and that starting in 1953 all those leaving Germany actually did fill in Germany as last permanent residence.

Differences in regard to the total number of migrants from Germany (JSP) and the number of immigrants (C.Y.) exist also in data for 1946 and

TABLE 8: CANADA YEAR BOOK, IRO REFUGEES AND JSP

C.Y. AND IRO 1947-1951	JSP 1947-1951	C.Y. AND IRO 1946-1957	JSP 1946-1957
38,694 LPR 83,431 IRO		199,689 LPR 83,431 IRO	, .
122,125	128,300	283,120	290,900

C.Y.: Last permanent residence; IRO: IRO refugees;

JSP: Country of departure.

1947. According to JSP, 500 migrants, none of German nationality, entered Canada in 1946. According to the C.Y., 486 migrants with Germany as last permanent residence' and 884 immigrants of German nationality entered the same year. Possibly, JSP based its figure of 500 on the Canadian estimate for last permanent residence*. Why the number of German nationals immigrating was not taken into consideration could not be determined. (89) Therefore, JSP's claim that no German national entered Canada in 1946 must be used cautiously.

In 1947, 6,800 migrants, none of German nationality, entered according to JSP. Canadian figures for that year are lower (Racial Origin: 1,186; Birthplace: 445; Nationality: 139; Last Permanent Residence: 267). Since according to JSP no German nationals from Germany entered, those 267 migrants filling in Germany as 'last permanent residence' must have been foreigners. Therefore, they are either IRO refugees filling out the questionaire correctly, or they are foreigners migrating without the help of IRO. Either way, no matter how small the number, some doubt is thrown on the validity of the JSP figures.

Comparisons of data on German nationals immigrating are possible only for the periods 1954-1956 and 1958-1961 (cf. Table 7).

Figures presented in WiSta are lower than Canadian figures for the same years. During the period 1945-1956, a difference of several thousand appears every year. For the period 1958-1961, with the exception of 1958, however, a yearly difference of less than 700 exists. The reduction in the difference for the late 1950s can probably be explained by Germany basing its figures mostly on Canadian data. The existance of differences in general can be explained by immigrations of ethnic Germans or German nationals from other countries, and especially by the fact that it is easier for the country of immigration to determine the number of arrivals, then for the country of emigration to account for all departures.

5.2 Conclusion

Canadian statistics present a wide variety of information on numerous aspects of migration movements. The use of 'three-dimensional' tables enables differentiations of 'totals' otherwise not possible.

In order to determine the number of immigrants from Germany during the period 1946-1961, Canadian statistics as well as JSP data should be used. German data is available only for a few years and is consistently lower than the data of the other two series. After 1953 figures presented for last permanent residence in Canadian statistics must be considered to be the most reliable indicators of the absolute number of immigrants from Germany. Prior to this date, JSP figures, even though problematical themselves, should be used. The categories 'Country of Birth' and 'ethnic or racial' origin employed in Canadian statistics are of little value due to the vagueness of the terms, as well as to the migratory movements of flight and expulsion in the post-war period.

6. Immigration into the United States of America

Migration from Germany to the U.S. was generally much more extensive than the one to Canada. Statistical data on immigrations into the U.S., however, is less informative and diverse than Canadian material, making estimates on the size of the immigration nearly impossible.

Much of what has been said in regard to definitions, categorizations and time-spans for Canadian statistics also applies to U.S. statistics. »It is impossible to know accurately the total number of immigrants admitted to the U.S. throughout our history, or their exact distribution by countries of origin or by nationality, or just how many should be deducted from statistics to allow for return to their homelands.« (90) Even though this refers to total immigration since the discovery of America, it also holds true for post World War II migration.

6.1 U.S. Statistics

Migration statistics are presented in several publications. Data for fiscal year (1.7.- 30.6.) appears in the 'Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service' (ARIN), the 'Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States' and the United States Statistical Abstracts'. In order to receive a more complete picture of immigration movements, it is necessary to consult all three series, as each presents data on different aspects of the movement. Most significant data, however, can be found in the 'Statistical Abstracts'. (91)

6.1.1 Internal'difficulties

One problem of U.S. statistics is a lack of information on how data has been collected. According to JSP, ARIN data is based on visa issued by consular offices. (92) In contrast, according to UNDY, U.S. migration statistics are based on frontier control.

As in Canadian statistics, the use of various categories and definitions also causes difficulties in U.S. statistics. Data is presented in 'two-dimensional' tables, nearly all of which are based either on Immigrants by country of last permanent residence' or 'Immigrants admitted by country of birth'. Until 1952, migrants were also classified according to 'race or nationality'. (93) Each category presents specific problems in regard to the number of immigrants registered.

Generally, the largest number of immigrants from Germany is presented in the category last permanent residence', however, a differentiation between nationals and aliens does not take place. 'Country of Birth' data is of little value since post-war migration movements are not taken into account. Finally, the categorization of immigrants in one table according to either 'race' or 'nationality', without indicating which category has been used, makes comparisons between the countries and the years impossible. (94)

The number of people born in Germany surpasses those having last lived in Germany in 1946-1948, 1955, 1958 and 1960-1961 by a total of roughly 10,000. A number of those having been born in Germany, but not last living there, probably resided outside Germany prior to entering the U.S., however, even though this explanation surely applies to a certain percentage of migrants in the mid-40s, it does not explain the discrepancy of several thousand migrants in 1958, 1960 and 1961. The number of immigrants with Germany as last permanent residence surpasses the number of those born in Germany in the early 50s probably due to various refugee and DP-programs.

An estimate of the total number of emigrants from Germany, indépendant of nationality, is not easily arrived at, mostly due to the separate presentation of data on quota and non-quota immigrants. The number of immigrants allowed into the country by each quota is not necessarily the number of immigrants entering for several reasons: 1. Quotas were not always filled. 2. Immigrants were charged to the quota of their country of birth, instead of their country of last permanent residence, and 3. Quota limits were surpassed. (96) Totals of immigrants admitted are presented differentiated into various categories (97) according to 'country of birth' as well as last permanent residence', however, immigrants admitted under special programmes are not necessarily included. Therefore, these totals' do not represent the true total of immigrants.

TABLE 9: IMMIGRATION FROM GERMANY

Year	St. Abstr. L.P.R.	St. Abstr. C.o.B. Total	ARIN C.o.B., DPs	St. Abstr. Refugees
1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960	2,598 13,900 19,368 55,284 128,592 87,755 104,236 27,329 33,098 29,596 44,409 60,353 29,498 32,039 29,452	4,010 14,674 21,365 23,844 31,255 26,369 50,283 27,305 32,985 29,603 38,390 45,230 32,145 31,422 31,768	16,071 4,626 15,617 13,953 25,993	67 598 5,931 14,321
1961 Total	25,815 	29,048	 	

St. Abstr. (L.P.R.): Last permanent residence; St. Abstr. (C.o.B., Total): Total number of migrants with 'Country of Birth' Germany; ARIN (C.O.B, DP's): DP's admitted under the Displaced Persons Act of June 25, 1948, as amended. Includes German ethnics, their wives and children; St. Abstr. (Refugees): Refugees admitted under Refugee Relief Act of 1953, Act of September 11, 1957, and Act of September 2, 1958 and Hungarian parolees admitted under Act of July 25, 1958.

Data on ethnic Germans, DP's, expellees and refugees can be difficult to trace in the publications, since information appears in numerous tables, and which group has been included where, at what time, seems a bit arbitrary. E.g., in the 1955 Statistical Abstracts a summary of immigrant aliens admitted under the DP Act of 1948 by 'classes' and 'country or region of birth' is presented. Ethnic Germans have been included in the data. In contrast, they were not included in a table dealing with the same group in the 1956 Statistical Abstract. Usually, however, ethnic Germans appear as a separate group only if they immigrated under some kind of special programme, such as the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

As has been pointed out, DP's, refugees and expellees are not covered in 'regular' migration statistics. Information on DP's is only available for 'country of birth', a classification which completely ignores the special situation of DP's. More information can be found on refugees, escapees, German expellees and eligible orphans. The Refugee Relief Act of 1953 provided for 209,000 special non-quota immigrant visa for these groups in

the period August 1953 to 31 December 1956. (98) Special tables providing information on immigration under this act must be used carefully. Each term covers a specific group of immigrants, and the definitions do not necessarily correspond to those used by other countries or agencies.

Besides a lack of comparability with information provided by other statistics on these categories, the definitions used by the U.S. are not exclusive enough. For example, 'refugees' can be ethnic Germans as well as German nationals. The same holds true for 'escapees'. Finally, German expellees had to have been born in certain countries, which makes it impossible to determine how children of expelles born in Germany, who according to German definitions are also expellees, were classified.

The extent to which data presented for country or region of birth does not reflect the number of immigrants from a country is shown by a comparison of figures on maximum visas authorized and immigrant aliens admitted to the U.S. According to ARIN, 9,955 German expellees with Germany as 'country or region of birth', entered the U.S. during the period 1954-1957 (years ended June 30). At the same time, 37,191 German expellees from Western Germany, Berlin, or Austria arrived. Even if another 3,050 German expellees born in Austria would be added to the 9,955 expellees born in Germany, the total is still only about 1/3 of the number actually arriving. (99)

Only little information is available on two groups of immigrants -POW's and war-brides. As for Canada, it could not be determined how many POW's remained legally or illegally in the U.S.A. In May 1945, the number of German POW's in U.S. camps had reached its peak with 378,898 persons, but by June 1946 only 141 had not been repatriated. In contrast to Great Britain and France, no 'work-programmes' were offered in the post-war years. Rather, large numbers of POW's were not released back to Germany immediately, but spend some time working in Great Britain or France. (100)

A little more information is available on war-brides, as several tables published in ARIN contain information on alien spouses and alien minor children and even alien fiance(e)s of members of the Armed Forces. All of these tables are based on 'Country of Birth', thus greatly reducing their value. A better indication of the number of wives or husbands of citizens entering is given in tables based on last permanent residence', even thought the data is not differentiated into people married to Service Personnel and others. The lack of information on war-brides, however, is insofar of little importance as the number of spouses seems to be included in the total number of aliens admitted by 'country of last residence'.

6.1.2 International' difficulties: U.S., German and JSP statistics

Comparisons between U.S., 'international' and German statistical series are made nearly impossible by the U.S. use of fiscal year, and calender year by other series. Therefore, a comparative look can only be taken at data presented in 'international' and German publications.

To what extent JSP figures reflect and indicate the true number of emigrants from Germany is difficult to determine. No explicit explanation of how material was collected is available. Apparently, UNDY data was used until 1953. (101) Unexplained discrepancies of no more than a few thousand appear in 1946 and 1947.

TABLE 10: EMIGRATION FROM GERMANY TO THE U.S.A.

	WISTA N & A	WISTA	JSP N & A	JSP N	UNDY	UNDY	UNDY
	N O A	N	IA & W	N	L.p.r.	I.p.r.	(Fisc. Y.)
1945					153		
1946	1000	K ITHE STATE	7,300	1,800	5,833	Mean that	2,598
1947	les Course	nou reci	23,300	3,700	21,297	Mariae 1	13,900
1948			25,800	18,000			19,368
1949	Salar M.	TOUR WALL TO	120,300	8,300	120,325		State of the state
1950			91,300	17,600			
1951		CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	98,400	25,500	98,440		The Alleran
1952	Service Sci	The state of the s	63,600	53,200	63,603	48,159	No. of the last of
1953	15,369		29,200	27,900	29,235	17,568	
1954	17,881	16,050	30,900	28,900	30,871	19,759	
1955	23,108	20,197	37,000	33,100	36,991	25,439	
1956	35,650	28,104	55,300	47,200	55,283	53,167	
1957			41,400	35,300	41,403	42,429	
1958	31,200	23,900			31,155	33,741	
1959	31,400	23,900			1	/	
1960	27,600	19,600			DATE	N. S. Mario	
1961	24,000	17,000			iber Samuel		

WISTA (N & A): Emigrants in — according to countries of immigration and crossing stations. German nationals and aliens; WISTA (N): Ibid. German nationals; JSP (N & A): Country of Departure Germany. Nationals and aliens; JSP (N): German nationals; UNDY (L.p.r.): Immigrants by country of last permanent residence Germany. German nationals and aliens; UNDY (l.p.r.): Emigrants by country of intended permanent residence and country of emigration: Western Germany and West Berlin. German nationals and aliens; UNDY (Fisc. Y.): Last permanent residence Germany. Nationals and aliens. Data for fiscal year ended June 30.

Data in the two series matches for the period 1948-1957, however, after 1953 JSP based its figures on slightly different sources than the UNDY. JSP figures for 1954 and 1955 were obtained directly from the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Furthermore, when United States immigration statistics for country of last permanent residence (by calendar year) were

followed closely in elaborating the estimates as they were considered quite reliable.« In order to arrive at the number of aliens, UNRRA/IGCR, IRO or ICEM figures were used as main sources as U.S. statistics for 'country of birth' were not considered to be accurate for the purpose of estimating the breakdown between 'nationals' and 'aliens'. (102)

According to UNDY explanations, when materials included in the tables have been obtained by two principal methods. In many cases, use was made of special communications sent by the governments to the International Labour Office in reply to a questionnaire. Supplementary data were extracted by the U.N. Secretariat from official publications of the countries concerned.« (103) Except for this very general explanation, no other indication of how data was obtained is given. The fact that in 1946-1948 the UNDY first published data presented in the Statistical Abstracts suggests that the figures are mostly based on statistics published by the U.S.A.

As has been shown, JSP most probably relied on UNDY in determining the total number of emigrants from Germany. This publication, however, relied on U.S. statistical material on immigrants categorized according to last permanent residence', and, therefore, indirectly, did JSP.

The acceptance of U.S. data on last permanent residence' strongly differs from the policy applied to Canadian material for the same category. JSP claimed that, due to misunderstandings, all IRO refugees immigrating into Canada filled out the forms asking for last permanent residence' wrongly. Therefore, Canadian statistics for immigrants by last permanent residence' could not represent the total number of migrants from Germany before 1953. In contrast, U.S. data for last permanent residence is supposed to be reliable. It does not seem logical that migrants might fill out questionaires wrongly for Canada but not for the U.S., especially when it was inopportune to be German.

Furthermore, data presented by various relief agencies such as IRO or ICEM was only used to determine the number of 'aliens', and, therefore, figures given for 'aliens' might be correct. Data on the total number of emigrants, however, can not be considered to be reliable.

Not much can be said about German and JSP statistical material as regards migrations to the U.S. Comparisons are only possible for the period 1953-1956 for total number of emigrants, and for the period 1954-1956 for emigration of German nationals. (104) Furthermore, as has been shown, JSP figures are doubtful themselves.

German data on emigration to the U.S. is, as for migrations to all countries, lower than data presented by JSP. According to WiSta, during the period 1953-1956 a total of 92,008 emigrants left for the U.S. Of these, 64,351 were German nationals. According to JSP, during the same period, 152,400 persons left Germany, of which 137,100 were German nationals. Whereas in regard to Canada, JSP and WiSta data for total number of

migrants matches to about 90%, it only does so to about 50% in regard to the U.S. The figures for 'nationals' match to about 60%. (105) These large discrepanices are probably caused by differences in data-collecting methods as well as in definitions and categories used.

6.2 Conclusion

Neither U.S. statistics nor 'international' or German statistics contain satisfactory informations on migrations from Germany to the United States. The use of 'country of birth' in numerous U.S. tables reduces the value of the information contained within. Since U.S. statistics are based on fiscal year, comparisons with other series are nearly impossible. International' series, however, are problematical at best and the data they present has to be used cautiously. For migration movements to the U.S. it is probably best to use U.S. data, even though it is only available for fiscal year. (106) As regards data for calender year, UNDY data should be used.

7. Immigration into Australia

»Australian migration statistics are amongst the best in the world. In the first place they are comparatively accurate. In the second place they are most informative: place of embarkation, country of last permanent residence, nationality, age, occupation, family status, number of persons assisted by the government, number of persons naturalized, number of adults attending English language classes - all this and more is to be found in the Bulletin issued by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics and the Commonwealth Department of Immigration.« (107)

7.1 Australian statistics

Australian data is generally presented for fiscal year, ending June 30. Statistics are published in the »Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia« »Demography Bulletin« and the »Australian Demographic Review«. Consolidated statistics for the post-war period were published by C.A. Price in 1966. (108)

Australia is one of the few overseas countries of immigration following existing international recommendations for the definition of migrants. Permanent immigrants comprise arrivals of persons who intend to reside in Australia for one year or longer as well as Australian residents returning after an absence of one year or longer. Statistics are compiled from passenger manifests which all carriers are required to complete prior to arrival in Australia. These manifests are checked against the passport of the individuals concerned by immigration authorities. (109)

7.1.1 Internal' difficulties

Price points out that the information on migratory movements, despite it being among the best available, contains three gaps: 1. There exist only statistics of British nationality - and these include Maltese, Cypriots, Asians of British nationality, persons of alien birth who acquired British nationality before migrating to Australia, and so on. 2. Published figures contain no reference to religious affiliation, and 3. There is no satisfactory way of discovering how many of those who enter Australia each year are persons who intend to settle in the country, and how many are Australians returning after trips abroad or visitors who intend to stay a year or so and then depart again. (110) The first two 'gaps' are not relevant in regard to immigrations from Germany. The third 'gap', however, makes it impossible to arrive at an estimate of the total number of migrants from Germany, or the number of German nationals entering Australia.

As Price mentioned, Australian statistics offer a variety of information. For German emigration, the breakdowns by 'country of last permanent residence', 'nationality' and 'assisted passage' are especially informative. (111)

Only minor questions concerning the data and categories of Australian statistics can be raised. As regards last permanent residence', the same problem as for U.S. and Canadian statistics also exists for Australian statistics, in that questionaires were possibly filled out wrongly by IRO refugees. Whether ethnic Germans are included among Germans in the 'nationality' column could not be determined.

As regards data on 'assisted passage immigrants', the question remains whether the figures mean 'nationality' or last permanent residence'. Most probably they are based on 'nationality' as the data is presented for 'German' and not for 'Germany'. Should this be true, the figures for immigration under assisted migration schemes do not reflect the total number of immigrants from Germany since data for DP's, who are not of German nationality, arriving under such schemes is not available for last permanent residence'. Thus it can not be determined how many DP's came from Germany.

Different statements exist as to when Germans received assistance. According to the table »Arrivals under Assisted Migration Schemes«, the first Germans arrived in August 1952. In contrast, according to the table »Nationality of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals«, in which the total number of German immigrants is divided into 'assisted' and 'other', close to 2,000 assisted Germans arrived in the period 1947-1952.

After 1952, the number of assisted German immigrants is also presented in the 'nationality' table. (112) Whether or not these Germans have been included in the separate tables for assisted passages could not be discerned. According to Price, "arrivals under these schemes include a small number

TABLE 11: IMMIGRATION FROM GERMANY FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30.

	Natio.	L.P.R.	Migration Scheme	Assisted
1947/48 1948/49 1949/50 1950/51 1951/52 1952/53 1953/54 1954/55 1955/56 1956/57 1957/58 1958/59 1959/60	373 1,039 1,092 2,692 7,156 5,749 10,755 12,342 7,655 5,881 5,272 7,300 10,090	63,982 32,035 9,949 5,944 10,980 12,435 7,850 6,221 5,517 7,843 10,371	3,419 9,792 11,304 5,973 4,701 4,218 6,541 9,514	344 591 804 192 3,456 9,760 11,345 5,894 4,400 4,035 6,210 8,970
1960/61 1961/62	10,862 3,209	10,954 2,951	10,151 2,234	9,750 2,124
Total	91,467	187,031	67,847	67,877

Price (ed.), Australian immigration. Natio.: Nationality of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals; L.P.R.: Country of Last Residence of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals; Migration Scheme: Arrivals under Assisted Migration Schemes (Date of First Arrival: August 1952); Assisted: Data presented in table 'Nationality of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals' for assisted passage.

of nationals of other countries and stateless persons, the figures do not necessarily argee with those in Nationality tables published elsewhere in this issue.« (113) This explanation seems to indicate that data presented for assisted passages in the two tables covers the same group of people. This is insofar not satisfactory as for a few years the number of assisted passages in the 'nationality' table slightly surpasses the number of passages in the 'migration scheme' tables. Also, it does not explain where data for assisted passages in the 'nationality' table came from. For those figures, no indication is given that they possibly include small numbers of 'non-nationals'.

7.1.2 International statistics: JSP, UNDY and WiSta

As regards international comparability, Australia's use of fiscal year causes the same problems that have already been pointed out for Canadian and U.S. statistics. A closer comparison is only possible for 'international' and German statistical material.

TABLE 12: GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO AUSTRALIA

	WISTA		JSP		UNDY
	N & A	N	N & A	N	N & A
Year			i l		
1945	1.0				12
1946	`!	'	100	0	64
1947			1000	0	1135
1948			12700	200	9490
1949	12.41		70700	900	52791
1950		1	47400	600	57247
1951			6900	2300	11033
1952			5900	4800	8019
1953	7904		7900	7500	8254
1954	14206	14101	14300	14200	13074
1955	6588	6371	6600	6300	9866
1956	6348	5967	7400	7000	6324
1957			5700	5300	5795
1958	6100	5600			6120
1959	9600	8600		111 4	
1960	13200	12000			
1961	5800	5200			

. 1

WiSta (N & A): Emigrants according to countries of immigration and crossing stations. German nationals and aliens; WiSta (N.) Ibid., German nationals; JSP (N & A): German nationals and aliens; JSP (N.): German Nationals; UNDY: Country of Last Permanent Residence: Germany. German nationals and aliens.

WiSta, JSP and UNDY all present data based on last permanent residence' for German nationals and aliens emigrating during a given calendar year. Figures presented in the N & A' categories ought to match reasonably closely since everybody leaving Germany after a residence of one year or more should have been included.

In some years, discrepancies of up to 20,000 immigrants appear between JSP and UNDY figures, however, the total presented by the two series for the period 1946-1957 differs only by about 3,000 (JSP: 186,600; UN: 183,092). As regards JSP data, it was considered advisable to attempt to arrive at estimates of departures from Europe whenever possible, due to the fact that the long sea voyage of 3 1/2 to 8 weeks causes considerable difficulties in comparing statistics of departures from Europe and arrivals in Australia. (114)

The resulting estimates are considered the best possible although their relationship to Australian statistics, after analysing all factors, indicate some discrepancies in the period 1947-1951 for the number of Eastern European nationals arriving in Australia. A number of IRO refugees had indicated their last residence as an Eastern European country and were

recorded under these countries in Australian statistics. »This problem was partially resolved by the use of IRO statistics for the estimates.« (115)

In contrast to JSP, data presented by UNDY is based on port statistics, i.e. Australian statistics. This fact most probably explains the differences in the annual number of immigrants presented by UNDY and JSP.

The total number of emigrants from Germany given in German and JSP statistics matches perfectly for 1953-1955. JSP based its figures on estimates of departures, and, therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that it is either based on German statistics or on ICEM data. (116) If German data was used, it would be helpful to know why German data was considered to be reliable for emigrations to Australia, but not for emigrations to other countries. On the other hand, if ICEM material was used, JSP tables do not present the total number of emigrants for two reasons: 1. Even though the German statistical office claims that nearly all emigrants to Australia did so with the help of ICEM, there was no obligation to do so on the part of the emigrant. (117) 2. Australian statistics for immigrants either by last permanent residence' or 'nationality' show consistently higher figures than corresponding tables for assisted passages or migration schemes.

7.2 Conclusion

Generally, one must concur with Price's statement that Australian statistics are amongst the best available. The consolidated statistics published in 1966 allow easy access to important data, which should be used foremost. A small problem is caused by Australia's compliance with the UN recommendation that everybody should be counted as an immigrant who returns after an absence of one year or more, independent of nationality.

International statistical series are less informative. Comparisons with Australian data are difficult due to the usage of calender year by international statistics and fiscal year by Australia. Data is only available until 1957, as JSP did not publish any material after this date and UNDY changed its data collecting strategy. (118)

8. Summary

The review of migration statistics has shown that the question of how many emigrants left Germany for overseas destinations can not be answered by the use of material available to the general public. Migration statistics covering overseas emigrations during the period 1945-1961 generally contain a wealth of data, however, they are usually of little use.

Several problems, which not only hamper estimates of how many people emigrated from Germany but estimates for emigrations in general, are encountered, at least to some extent, in all migration statistics:

1. A lack of exact definitions, e.g. who is a German migrant, who a migrant from Germany and which geographical area is covered by the term 'Germany'?. 2. Use of categories which no longer fit the situation of many migrants of the post-war period, e.g. 'country of birth', 'nationality'.

3. Absence of material for the immediate post-war years, and 4. Lack of international comparability due to different methods employed in data-collecting, use of incompatible definitions and categories and differences in time-spans covered (calendar year vs. fiscal year). Depending on the country of immigration, the extent, validity and reliability of the information presented varies greatly.

Australian statistics are amongst the best available, comparisons only being hampered by the Australian use of fiscal year. Canadian statistics are very informative, however, data on emigrants by last permanent residence' should be used starting in 1953, and JSP data prior to that. U.S. statistics are nearly always based on 'country of birth' and thus of limited value for the post-war period. JSP data for U.S. immigration must be used cautiously since it is difficult to discern what information it is based on. As far as could be determined, U.S. data for last permanent residence' was used extensively. This category had been rejected as unreliable by JSP for Canada until 1953, but was apparently considered reliable for the U.S. German statistics are available for only a few years. They consistently present lower figures than any other publication. Measured against JSP, German data represents, depending on the country of immigration, between 50% and 95% percent of the actual emigrants.

International' series, i.e. JSP and UNDY, can provide useful additional information, depending on the country of immigration. Whereas the UNDY often publishes data of the country of immigration, JSP's aim was to provide the best estimates possible based on surveys of the available statistical series.

Overall, more research is needed if the number of German migrants or migrants from Germany is to be determined. Currently available figures are more or less precise estimates, which can only indicate the minimum number of emigrants.

Notes

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- (1) Only emigration and immigration statistics presenting the number of migrants have been considered. Statistics covering other aspects, e.g. intended occupation, age or sex of the migrants, have not been included.
- (2) Statistics on migration movements over German borders, i.e. statistical material including everybody who changed his place of residence to a foreign country with or without intending to emigrate, were still published after 1961.
- (3) A decade of post world-war II European Migration 1946-1955. Statistical project on European migration I.C.E.M.-I.L.O.-O.E.E.C.-U.N. (1960). For 1956 and 1957 cf. Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Joint Statistical Project on European Migration. Information, Twelfth Session. MC/INF/79.
- (4) Various governments realised that their statistical series were less than perfect. Often, estimates of the *true' number of emigrants can be found in government documents covering this topic, however, these documents are often not published. Mostly material available to the general public has been used.
- (5) Post-war migrations, international cooperation in migration policies and European integration will be covered in Steinert, Westdeutsche Wanderungspolitik.
- (6) Wirtschaft und Statistik (WiSta) 5,1963, p.329*. The figures for overseas countries cover German nationals, those for European countries German nationals and aliens. In 1946-1949 a total of 77,200 emigrants, of which 7,800 were German nationals, left Germany for Israel. Figures are based on: A decade of post world-war II European Migration 1946-1955 for 1946-1957 and on German calculations for 1958-1961.
- (7) The law came into effect in March 1945. Law No. 161 of Military Government Germany Supreme Commander's Area of Control. Quoted according to Military Government Gazette, p.35.
- (8) For information on immigration regulations cf. International Labour Office, Analysis of the Immigration Laws and Regulations of Selected Countries.
- (9) The terms 'Germany' and 'Germans' are fairly vague. Cf. chapter 3.
- (10) United Nations, Secretariat of the Economic Commission for Europe (ed.), Economic Survey of Europe in 1961, Chapter IV, p.2.
- (11) The publication by Willcox (ed.), International Migrations, was an attempt to provide a basis for research. The need for informative

- migration statistics has not been answered yet. Cf. Levine/Hill/Waren (eds.).
- (12) Cf. U.N. Dept. of Social Affairs (ed.), Problems of migration statistics, p.iii.; U.N. Statistical Office, International migration statistics; Hauser/Duncan; Brazzell/Gillespie.
- (13) Bouscaren; Brazzell/Gillespie; Leszek Kosinski/R. Mansell Prothero, People on the Move. Studies in internal migration. London 1975; Levine/Hill/Waren, Immigration Statistics; Taft/Robbins; U.N. Dept. of Social Affairs (ed.), Problems; U.N. Statistical Office, International migration statistics; Valibouja. A summary of the most common problems is given in JSP.
- (14) JSP,p.4.
- (15) UNDY 1949/50, p.27. A number of difficulties concerning European and overseas migration statistics are pointed out in the introduction of the JSP statistical series.
- (16) Quarterly and monthly statistics are generally not available outside the migration country being covered. A compilation of material into corresponding time-spans was not considered necessary for this paper.
- (17) In 1945, the term 'Germany* was generally used for the territory of the German Empire in the borders of December 31, 1937, i.e. excluding territories gained through annexations and conquests. Cf. Benz/Graml, pp. 124-125. JSP data covers the Federal Republic of Germany. Cf. also United Nations Statistical Office, Secretariat Committee for the Standardization of Geographic Names, Nomenclature of Geographic Areas.
- (18) The Economic and Social Council of the U.N. noted that the problem of refugees and DP's must be distinguished from the general question of migration as a special question. Separate statistics need to be obtained, but it is not necessary to impose any particular statistical nomenclature. Resolution adopted by the Economic and Social Council during its seventh session, resolution 156 A (VII) of 10 August 1848, in: U.N. Department of Social Affairs (ed.), Problems, p.4.
- (19) At the same time that ethnic Germans entered these countries due to flight and expulsion, the DP population in Germany was estimated at roughly 900,000. Terminology changes often and who is considered a refugee differs according to country or organisation.
- (20) Jacobmeyer, pp.162-163. These were defined as people having left their country or place of residence and who, whether or not they still had their citizenship, belonged to one of three categories: 1. Victims of national-socialist or fascist regimes which had fought against the United Nations during WW II, or victims of the regime of Quisling or other regimes, which had supported the fascist regimes against the

United Nations, independent of whether these victims had an international status as refugees. 2. Spanish Republicans or other victims of the Falanga-Regime, independent of whether these victims had an international status as refugees. 3. Persons, who before the beginning of WW II had been considered 'refugees' because of race, nationality or political attitudes.

- (21) For information on these organisations cf. Hawkins; Jacobmeyer; Memo to America.
- (22) Such migrations raise the question of how people who intended to return home, but who later decide to stay in the new country, should be classified or termed.
- (23) U.N. Statistical Office, International migration statistics.
- (24) Some movements, however, were handled by Allied Military authorities until 1955. An description of how the statistical material is collected and which terms are used is published in WiSta 5, 1953, pp.418^21.
- (25) »Die Wanderungen über die Auslandsgrenzen des Bundesgebietes im Jahre ... nach Herkunfts- und Zielgebieten«. The dots indicate the year, which is mentioned in the table, but not cited here.
- (26) JSP, p.48.
- (27) »Die Auswanderer im Jahre ... nach Zielländern und Grenzübergangsstellen«; »Auswanderer in den Jahren 1871 bis ... nach Zielländern und nach Grenzübergangsstellen«. The latter table contains a summary of the data presented in the former.
- (28) See further down for a more extensive description.
- (29) The FRG tried to keep a close check on those would-be emigrants who held important jobs. Cf. Steinert, Westdeutsche Wanderungspolitik.
- (30) JSP, p.49. An estimated 30,000 to 40,000 wives of Allied soldiers left in 1955 to 1959 and an estimated 19,000 in 1959 to 1961. WiSta 12, 1960, p.587; WiSta 15, 1963, p.205.
- (31) WiSta 7, 1955, p.347. The main reason for this discrepancy are recording difficulties, especially at land frontiers, due to the volume of travellers.
- (32) Ebenda 12, 1960, pp.586-587. It can not be determined whether this means 1/2 of the migrations of the past few years or of the total migration since 1945 or 1953.
- (33) Ebenda 12, 1960, pp.586-587.
- (34) Information on this migration is only presented in the table »Die Wanderungen über die Auslandsgrenzen des Bundesgebietes im Jahre ... nach Herkunfts- und Zielgebieten«. Cf. chapter 3.1.
- (35) WiSta 5, 1963, 329*.
- (36) Summaries of the problems in German statistics are presented in WiSta 10, 1958, pp.507-508 and WiSta 12, 1960, pp.586-587. For an

- english-language summary cf. the short article Emigration from Germany.
- (37) UNDY 1957, p.622. 'Country of emigration' by 'Country of intended permanent residence'.
- (38) WiSta 7, 1955, p.348; UNDY 1957, pp.622-623.
- (39) As regards migrations to the GDR, no figures are available for 1945 to 1949. According to WiSta 6,1954, p.76, an estimated 61,700 left for the GDR in 1949. Table covering migrations from the FRG to the GDR in Statistisches Jahrbuch 1963, p.68.
 - 1950: 56,700 1956: 46,700
 - 1951: 45.300 1957: 52.600
 - 1952: 30,900 1958: 38,700
 - 1953: 28,100 1959: 38,700
 - 1954: 49,000 1960: 28,500
 - 1955: 48,700 1961: 23,100
- (40) The U.S., for example, has classified immigrants according to mother tongue ever since they have kept immigration statistics. Therefore, the number of immigrants from any particular country can not be determined.
- (41) It must be kept in mind that other countries at times employ different definitions. Especially the terms 'refugee* and 'expellee' are used to define numerous groups.
- (42) Schwarz/Nellner, pp.6-7. »Deutscher im Sinne dieses Grundgesetzes ist vorbehaltlich anderweitiger gesetzlicher Regelung, wer die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit besitzt oder als Flüchtling oder Vertriebener deutscher Volkszugehörigkeit oder als dessen Ehegatte oder Abkömmling in dem Gebiete des Deutschen Reiches nach dem Stande vom 31. Dezember 1937 Aufnahme gefunden hat.« Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Art. 116.
- (43) The total number of emigrants to European or overseas countries is also presented.
- (44) For definitions cf. WiSta 5, 1953, pp.418-421 and Schwarz/Nellner, pp.6-7.
- (45) Only for 1953 is the percentage of emigrants under the age of 16 available. They represented about 25% of the total number of emigrants. WiSta 6, 1954, p.277*.
- (46) WiSta 5, 1953, p.420. Whether the classification schemes used for immigrants were also used for emigration statistics could not be determined.
- (47) Information is also presented on the number of emigrants and immigrants by age and sex.
- (48) UNDY 1948, p.34.
- (49) E.g. on what kind of statistic the migration statistics are based on. Cf. chapter 2.

- (50) UNDY 1948, p.34.
 - (51) Cf. chapter 3.1. Statistical series »Migrations over the borders of the Federal Republic in ..., according to area of emigration and area of immigration«.
 - (52) UNDY 1957, pp.622-628.
 - (53) Cf. UNDY 1957 and 1959. In the tables Immigrants by country of last permanent residence' usually only the total number of emigrants from all three areas covered is presented.
 - (54) The German statistical office decided in 1958 to use the figures published by JSP as the official German emigration figures for 1946 to 1957. WiSta 10, 1958, p.508.
 - (55) This was the result of a recommendation of Working Party No. 4 of the OEEC Manpower Committee, which met in March 1955 to examine the question of European migration statistics. They found that even though many statistics were available on European migration movements, they could not be compared because of differences of definition and various methods of preparation. JSP, Annex 1, Introduction.
 - (56) Ebenda.
 - (57) The footnote "The term Nationals' and 'Aliens' used as column headings above, refer to the classification of the emigrants at the time of their departure from the European migration countries« seems to indicate that the category used was 'country of departure'«.
 - (58) For example, in 1946 300 French, 700 Italian, 500 Portugese, 2100 Spanish, 100 Swiss and 200 United Kingdom nationals migrated to Argentina. The figure for nationals in the total column for that year is 3,900, i.e. the sum of all nationals of all countries entering Argentina.
 - (59) JSP,p.43.
 - (60) Ibid.
 - (61) Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Appendix A. Annex 4.
 - (62) JSP, p.49; Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Appendix A. Annex 4.
 - (63) Cf. chapter 5.1.2
 - (64) JSP, p.49; Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Annex 5. The last sentence probably applies only to the period 1947-1951.
 - (65) Possibly they are based on fiscal year and have been rearranged to fit the calendar year. However, this does not seem logical, as figures for calendar year were also published. Cf. Table 4.
 - (66) Hawkins, p.304.
 - (67) C.Y. 1948/49, p.180; C.Y. 1954, p.163.
 - (68) Possibly a number of German immigrants had their last permanent residence outside Germany.

- (69) Cf. paragraph on last permanent residence* in chapter 5.1.1.
- (70) WiSta 8, 1956, p.360.
- (71) JSP figures are set equal to 100.
- (72) WiSta 12, 1960, pp.286-587.
- (73) WiSta 8, 1956, p.361. This does not mean that 8.9% of all German emigrants to Canada used airplanes to reach the country. The Immigration Statistics of the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration (Statistics Section) contain a table on »immigrants admitted to Canada, by country of last permanent residence and Mode of Arrival for Calendar Year ...«.
- (74) Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Annex 4, p.1.
- (75) In 1952 Austria is included in the number. Cf. paragraph on 'racial origin'.
- (76) Corbett, pp.59-60.
- (77) Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Annex 4, p.1.
- (78) In the following, nationality is used synonymously to citizenship.
- (79) RDCI 1954-55, p.30; C.Y. 1948-49, p.179; 1954, p.163; 1956, p.185.
- (80) Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8. Annex 4.
- (81) No indication of this policy is given in the C.Y. Information is available in the Immigration Statistics published by the Dept. of Citizenship and Immigration (Statistics Section).
- (82) Cf. paragraph on ethnic/racial origin.
- (83) Included in the figure are also Protected Personnel' (112 persons) and about 6500 civilians, refugees etc Wolff, p.97.
- (84) RDMR for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1948, p.240.
- (85) C.Y. 1954, p.169. Since the movement of war-brides was often handled by Allied military authorities, registration of war-brides as regular immigrants can not be taken as a certainty.
- (86) UNDY published C.Y. data for last permanent residence'. Therefore, it will not be covered here.
- (87) Cf. Table 9.
- (88) Canadian Archives RG 26 108/3-24-6 Pt. 8 Annex 4.
- (89) One explanation might be that German nationals immigrated to Canada from countries other than Germany, however, their numbers are small. For example, between 1956 and 1961, a total of 4000 migrants of German nationality entered via the United States. C.Y. 1956ff.
- (90) Taft/Robbins, p.387.
- (91) Easy access to information was made possible when in celebration of the U.S. Bicentennial a compilation of statistics covering the past 200 years was published. U.S. Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics of the United States.
- (92) JSP,p.55.

- (93) A short introduction to the various categories used over the years is presented in U.S. Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics, pp.97-101.
- (94) For a more extensive criticism of these categories cf. chapter 5.1.1.
- (95) According to Statistical Abstracts 15,949 DP's entered that year.
- (96) The number of quota-immigrants granted for future years could be filled in earlier years. For a description of U.S. immigration policies and the quota system cf. Bennett.
- (97) Quota immigrants; Husbands of citizens; wives of citizens; unmarried children of citizens; natives of non-quota countries; wives, children of natives, non-quota countries; ministers, their wives, children; professors, their wives, children; women who had been citizens; other classes.
- (98) For definitions cf. International Labour Office, Analysis of the Immigration Laws and Regulations, Vol. II, p. USA 14.
- (99) ARIN 1957. »Maximum visa authorized and immigrant aliens admitted to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953: Years ended June 30, 1954-1957«; »Immigrant aliens admitted under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, by Class of admittion and country or region of birth: Years ended June 30, 1954-1957«.
- (100) Jung, p.380.
- (101) »The immigration statistics of the United States give classifications of immigrants by country of last permanent residence and by country of birth. The classification by last permanent residence may be found in the U.N. Demographic Year Book for the period 1946-1953.« JSP, p.55.
- (102) JSP, p.55.
- (103) UNDY 1948, p.34.
- (104) For the period 1956-1961, JSP figures were published as the official German emigration figures by the German statistical office.
- (105) Cf. chapter 4.2.2.
- (106) U.S. statistics are published on a monthly and quarterly basis, however, this material is difficult to obtain outside the U.S.
- (107) Price, The Effects Of Post-War Immigration.
- (108) Price (ed.), Australian Immigration. Monthly and quarterly statistics are also available. Data presented by Price was mostly used for this paper. Cf. also Zubrzycki. He attempts to close some of the 'gaps' in migration statistics by using other available material.
- (109) JSP, p.45.
- (110) Price, Effects of Post-War Immigration, pp.28-29.
- (111) Migrants were classified by racial origin during the fiscal years 1946 and 1947. This was changed to 'nationality' in 1948.
- (112) Table: Nationality of Permanent and Long Term Arrivals.

- (113) Price (ed.). Australian Immigration, p.65. »Arrivals under Assisted Migration Schemes«.
- (114) JSP, p.45.
- (115) Ibid.
- (116) IRO was no longer active at the time, so data is most probably based on ICEM materials.
- (117) WiSta 8, 1956, p.360. WiSta bases its statement on not further specified ICEM material.
- (118) Cf. chapter 4.1.

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