

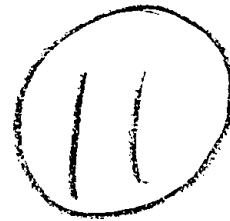
C. E. I. 25.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS — INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE

**INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC
CONFERENCE**

Geneva, May 4th, 1927.

—
DOCUMENTATION
—



MIGRATION IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS

—
GENEVA, 1926

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	5
I. MIGRATION TO OVERSEA COUNTRIES	
Magnitude and Direction of Migration Streams	7
Information relating to Emigrants (Sex, Age, Occupation).	14
II. CONTINENTAL MIGRATION	
Volume and Destination.	19
Proportions of Women, Children, and Occupations in Continental Migration	24
III. SEASONAL INFLUENCES ON MIGRATION	25

MIGRATION IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS

INTRODUCTION

Comprehension of international migration requires that data be provided by the various countries concerning the importance and composition of the various migration movements in order that the results may be compared from the international standpoint.

In pursuance of a Recommendation adopted unanimously by the International Labour Conference in 1922, the International Labour Office has been collecting and preparing statistics relating to migration, and, thanks to data provided by 74 countries and territories, is able to give an outline as to the present state of migration, and to follow to a certain extent its evolution.

Hitherto and up to thirty years ago, a distinction was drawn in certain countries between migration of a permanent character involving a definite change of residence, and that involving only a limited sojourn in a foreign country with a view to taking up a remunerative occupation there on a temporary basis. But never has it been found possible to establish such distinction on a sound basis, and owing to difficulty of application this distinction is no longer adopted in any official national statistics.

In the early days, nationals leaving their country to cross the seas could be regarded as definitely lost to their own country. But as a result of improvement in means of transport and of reduction in fares, an ever-increasing number of oversea emigrants began to return to their countries after some years abroad, or even regularly at the end of each working season. On the other hand, continental emigration, which was often assimilated with temporary emigration, became more and more frequently the first step towards definite expatriation, even when the emigrants had originally left their country for a working season only. Neither was it possible to ascertain with certainty whether or not they had been able to carry out their original intention of returning. For these reasons the information which is collected nowadays is based largely on indirect indications, such as news of their return to their homes.

In these circumstances, the present official statistics have, as a rule, been based on the following characteristics with a view to differentiating between the different classes of migrant:

1. Investigation as to whether the emigration or immigration involves a voyage to countries overseas, or only within the confines of the same continent (overseas or continental emigration or immigration).
2. Ascertainment as to whether emigrants are nationals of the countries they are leaving, or foreigners (emigration and immigration of nationals and foreigners).

The first of these distinctions is of great importance from an economic, financial, and political standpoint, whereas the second is also of national and administrative importance (e.g. in connection with the control of aliens).

The International Labour Office has taken into account this method of classification in the statistics which it publishes in its annual reports on *Migration Movements*, and in current information included in its *Monthly Record of Migration*, and has endeavoured to establish eight homogeneous groups resulting from this subdivision. At the same time, the relative importance of these various groups is very unequal, and several of them are but rarely mentioned in the official statistics of the different States. Treatment of the matter is here confined to an indication of the importance and composition of the major emigration streams.

In Europe, public interest attaches more particularly to statistics relating to the emigration of nationals to overseas countries; but it is nevertheless necessary to take into consideration a corresponding phenomenon observed with interest in the countries of immigration, i.e. statistics relating to the number of foreigners entering overseas countries. In order to appreciate migration at its true value, it is also necessary to take into consideration the return of nationals to their own country.

There is also a second phenomenon to be taken into account.

While the post-war period was characterised by a considerable reduction in emigration to overseas countries, many continental emigration streams to different parts of the same continent have since developed, and these must also be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, national statistics relating to emigration to States in the same continent are, for various reasons and particularly owing to technical difficulties, much less complete and accurate than those relating to emigration in overseas countries. It is, for this reason, particularly desirable in the present case, to have access to the continental migration statistics of such countries as have prepared them, in order properly to understand the movement as a whole. Such repatriation figures as are available will be very useful to complete the information on, and define the importance of, this form of migration.

I. MIGRATION TO OVERSEA COUNTRIES

MAGNITUDE AND DIRECTION OF MIGRATION STREAMS

During the post-war period, migration to the new world has remained the most important so far as Europe is concerned, but notwithstanding the various circumstances calculated to lead to a development of migration, the rate of emigration to oversea countries has remained substantially below that obtaining previous to the War.

The figures showing the mean annual emigration from the principal European countries (Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland), before the War, indicate that on an average the number of emigrants leaving those countries was one million from 1901 to 1910, and 1,370,000 from 1911 to 1913. In this connection it has been possible to draw up the following table showing the fluctuation in emigration between 1881 and 1913 for the principal European countries.

OVERSEA EMIGRATION OF NATIONALS OF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES FROM 1880 TO 1913

Country	Yearly average			
	1881-1890	1891-1900	1901-1910	1911-1913
Austria-Hungary	22,384	35,680	110,332	240,979
Belgium	4,027	2,850	3,055	5,607
Denmark	8,162	5,151	7,342	7,632
Finland	2,679	5,905	15,883	13,384
Germany	134,242	52,988	27,965	22,359
Great Britain and Ireland	255,853	174,279	281,843	390,292
Italy	99,000	157,959	361,517	408,550
Netherlands	5,211	2,393	2,801	2,374
Norway	18,669	9,485	19,086	10,486
Portugal	18,532	26,889	32,531	82,909
Spain	37,782	38,780	109,090	161,709
Sweden	32,751	20,451	22,404	16,228
Switzerland	9,091	4,408	4,907	5,858
Total	648,383	537,218	998,756	1,368,367

Further, it can be established according to reliable statistics compiled by immigration countries — notably the United States — that, as a general rule,

the tide of foreign immigrants has not ceased to swell. The annual number of emigrants going to the United States, for example, varied for the various decades between 1820 and 1914 as follows:

6,354	to	27,382	between	1820	and	1829
22,633	„	76,243	„	1830	„	1839
52,496	„	297,024	„	1840	„	1849
112,123	„	427,823	„	1850	„	1859
72,183	„	352,768	„	1860	„	1869
138,469	„	459,803	„	1870	„	1879
334,203	„	788,992	„	1880	„	1889
229,299	„	579,663	„	1890	„	1899
448,572	„	1,285,349	„	1900	„	1909
838,172	„	1,218,480	„	1910	„	1914 ¹

Thus at the beginning of the twentieth century oversea emigration was undergoing a remarkable development.

During the years which followed, a great change took place in the situation. Whereas in pre-war days the annual migration from Europe to oversea countries included approximately one and a half million souls, this movement, according to available statistics concerning European States (Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Hungary, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland), never at any time reached a million, and, as a rule, barely exceeded half a million.

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925 ²
845,000	647,000	561,000	895,000	574,000	502,000

More detailed information is given for the various countries in the following table:

¹ In order to understand this table it is essential to remember that the year to which the United States statistics apply does not always end on the same date. The termination of the statistical year was successively 30 September, 31 December, and 30 June. Since 1858 the statistics have referred to the financial year ending 30 June. At certain periods the statistical year had only six or nine months. The above figures concern only complete years.

² Exclusive of France.

OVERSEA EMIGRATION OF EUROPEANS

Countries	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	Total 1920-1924
Austria	5,200	5,176	10,579	15,497	2,650	39,102
Belgium	4,751	2,018	2,041	1,885	1,928	12,623
Czechoslovakia	—	—	14,343	18,343	6,626	39,312
Denmark	6,300	5,309	4,094	7,601	6,319	29,623
Estonia	—	—	—	—	661	661
Finland	5,595	3,557	5,715	13,835	5,114	33,816
France	4,010	1,760	1,380	1,650	1,600	10,400
Germany	8,457	22,681	36,470	115,088	58,328	241,024
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	285,102	199,477	174,096	256,284	155,374	1,070,333
Malta	—	—	1,823	1,664	1,782	5,269
Greece	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hungary	1,000	6,004	5,544	5,087	1,710	19,345
Irish Free State	—	—	—	13,396	19,077	32,473
Italy	211,227	198,891	128,529	186,192	137,517	862,356
Netherlands	5,978	3,286	2,158	5,648	3,137	20,207
Norway	5,581	4,627	6,456	18,287	8,492	43,443
Poland	74,121	87,334	38,516	55,401	22,511	277,883
Portugal	46,410	17,915	29,037	30,792	22,279	146,433
Roumania	10,000	2,058	16,812	12,719	3,105	44,694
Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom	5,988	12,965	6,086	9,370	17,238	51,647
Spain	150,566	62,527	64,119	93,246	86,920	457,378
Sweden	7,093	5,881	8,895	26,559	8,401	56,919
Switzerland	7,988	6,102	4,924	7,121	3,454	29,589
Total	845,776	647,568	561,707	895,665	574,223	3,524,530

The emigration curve fell during 1920, 1921 and 1922, and rose again in 1923 to a point higher than at the commencement. In 1924 it showed a further reduction of about 350,000 and continued to fall during 1925. According to figures received up to the present, however, it would appear that for 1926 it shows a slight tendency to rise again ¹.

When the situation of the various countries is examined with regard to the magnitude of emigration, the following facts are brought to light:

The figures for *The British Isles*, which had for long been the principal centre of European oversea emigration, were during the last pre-war decades exceeded

¹ It should, however, be noted that comparison of migration statistics still remains difficult owing to the lack of standardisation in their compilation. (For the methods employed see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Methods of Compiling Emigration and Immigration Statistics*, Geneva, 1922; and explanatory notes in *Migration Movements, 1920-1923*.) In a general manner it may be said that great improvement has recently been made in methods of compilation.

by those for Italy. After the World War, however, they regained first place. The mean annual emigration during the period 1901-1910 was 284,145, and during 1911-1913, 390,292, whilst the curve of British emigration has not appreciably differed from the general European curve since the War. Including figures for Ireland it was as follows:

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926 (1st half year)
285,102	199,477	174,096	269,680	174,451	170,775	97,175

From 1890 up to the outbreak of the war, Italian emigration to oversea countries exceeded that of any other nation (on an average 361,517 between 1901 and 1910, and 408,550 between 1911 and 1913), whereas since the War it has shown a tendency to fall appreciably:

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926 (Jan.-May)
211,227	198,891	128,529	186,192	137,517	114,301	39,140

The country next in order of importance from the emigration standpoint is *Spain*, the figures for which show a continuous increase between 1900 and 1914: on an average 109,090 during the period 1901 to 1910, and 161,709 from 1911 to 1913. This number has fallen considerably since the end of the War, viz.:

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926 (Jan.-May)
150,566	62,527	64,119	93,246	86,920	55,544	20,255

The emigration figures for *Germany*, which during the period 1880-1890 averaged 134,242 per annum and were exceeded by those of England alone, diminished continuously from that time up to the War. During the period 1901-1910 the average was 27,965 per annum, whilst from 1911-1913 it was 22,359 only. After the War, contrary to the general movement in other European countries, emigration gradually increased until finally it considerably exceeded the pre-War rate, the actual figures being as follows: 1920, 8,457; 1921, 22,681; 1922, 36,470; 1923, 115,088; 1924, 58,328; 1925, 62,563; and, from January to July 1926, 33,396.

Emigration in *Austria-Hungary* greatly increased between 1881 and the time of the World War: the average per annum was 22,384 between 1881-1890, 110,332 between 1901-1910, and as high as 240,979 from 1911 to 1913. In *Migration Movements, 1920-1923*, an attempt was made to estimate the number of emigrants leaving the territory of the old Hapsburg Monarchy since the War; the estimate during the period 1920-1923 was an average of 47,620 per annum, which shows a still greater reduction than in the case of Italy.

Emigration in fact decreased continuously in *Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia* during the period 1920-1925, but in the *Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom* it has appreciably increased (1921, 12,965; 1925, 15,005). But it is questionable whether

this increase may not simply be due to a modification in the method of compiling the statistics.

As far as *Poland* is concerned it is difficult to make a comparison with pre-War figures, but oversea emigration from that country has been very reduced during the last few years.

In *Portugal* oversea emigration, which was very considerable during the years 1910-1913 (82,909), has approximately reached the pre-War level.

In *Russia*, emigration was strictly prohibited during a certain period and, later, rendered very difficult, at least officially and openly.

The emigration figures for other European countries may be ignored, since — apart from the northern countries and Switzerland, which are particularly favoured by the American immigration law and have for that reason shown a substantial increase, particularly in 1923 — they have followed the general curve.

With regard to oversea emigration by peoples of non-European countries, the only reliable figures available are those relating to *Japan*, and comparison of these with those of European countries is of little value. Their number has considerably diminished, as, while in 1920 it amounted to 12,346, by 1925 it had fallen to 1,655. Moreover, in common with Japanese emigration, that of *China*, *India*, and *Africa* appears to be more and more confined to the same continent, as far as it is possible to judge from the statistics of immigration countries.

For a proper estimate of migratory currents it is also essential to take into consideration the immigration statistics of the great oversea countries. The annual immigration in distant countries for which post-War figures are available (North Africa, Mauritius, Nyasaland, Seychelles, Kenya Colony, St. Helena, United States, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii, Samoa, and the Philippines) are as follows for the years 1920-1924 (those for 1925 being as yet incomplete):

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
1,106,607	920,548	709,436	1,096,854	734,161

When these figures are compared with those concerning emigration, there is seen to be an excess figure of 150,000 to 200,000 immigrants. This is due to a variety of causes, chief among which is the development of indirect emigration, and the fact that the statistics for the immigration countries include immigrants from all parts, whereas those for emigration take into account only emigrants from European countries.

The curve of European emigration moreover agrees closely with that based upon immigration data. The present statistics on oversea migration (particularly those established in the ports) are therefore sufficiently accurate to enable the figures relating to emigration countries to be checked by those relating to immigration countries, and vice-versa.

The fall observed in migration statistics is mainly due to the decrease in immigration into the United States of America. The influx of foreigners from oversea countries has diminished so greatly that this fact alone is sufficient to account for the general fall and the suspended animation in the migration streams.

Whereas in pre-War years annual immigration into the United States exceeded one million, this figure has fallen as shown below:

572,229 persons in 1920	487,057 persons in 1923
494,761 „ „ 1921	135,321 „ „ 1924
281,351 „ „ 1922	171,454 „ „ 1925

An idea as to the power of attraction exercised by the various great countries on emigrants may be obtained from the following table, which has been compiled in accordance with statistics supplied by the European emigration countries:

ABSOLUTE AND PERCENTAGE FIGURES OF EMIGRANTS FROM EUROPE

Immigration countries	1922		1923		1924	
	Absolute figures	Per-centage	Absolute figures	Per-centage	Absolute figures	Per-centage
Argentina	108,745	19.6	161,391	18.4	131,812	23.0
United States	227,235	40.9	370,315	42.3	128,692	22.5
British North America.	53,972	9.7	113,358	13.0	93,854	16.4
Brazil	48,083	8.7	67,812	7.7	67,117	11.7
Oceania	55,433	10.0	51,268	5.9	58,442	10.2

The decreased migration since the War has been accompanied by important changes in certain migration streams. Whereas before the War about half the number of European emigrants normally went to the United States, only about two-fifths went there in 1922 and 1923 and one-fifth in 1924. The influx to Canada, Argentina, and Brazil, which had appeared to be taking the place of the United States as centres of immigration, also appreciably decreased between 1923-1924. Cuba was the only country to record an increase in immigration statistics.

But the most important changes which have occurred in emigration currents are due to the strengthening of the United States immigration law in 1924, and not only has the exodus from the countries of South-Eastern Europe to the United States been restricted — in some cases virtually prohibited — but the proportion of British nationals choosing the United States as their country of adoption has fallen from 36.3 per cent. to 11.1 per cent., and that of Germans from 80.6 per cent. to 38.6 per cent. of the total emigration of these respective countries. This law has also led to a large number of intending emigrants being refused passports to the

United States. This was especially the case in Italy, where, although the Government received about 600,000 applications for emigrants' passports during 1924-1925, it was only able to issue an average number of 173 per month. This example is more than sufficient to show the enormous effect of the United States law on migration movements.

The importance of the Dominions to Great Britain has consequently greatly increased; in 1924, emigration to British North America amounted to 40.6 per cent., and that to Oceania 31.9 per cent. It is, moreover, to the British Dominions that a large number of emigrants from the central European States go (Hungary 64 per cent., Czechoslovakia 42.7 per cent., whilst in the same year not only Spaniards (46.9 per cent.), but also Italians (50.4 per cent.), Poles (24.8 per cent.), and Yugoslavs (22.4 per cent.) went to Argentina. Brazil was the country chosen by the Portuguese (88.2 per cent.), Germans (36 per cent.), and Yugoslavs (39.8 per cent.), and, since 1925, Hungarians (56.4 per cent.).

The fall in emigration recorded in post-War years is to some extent balanced by continuous reduction in the number of emigrants returning to their country of origin.

Accurate data concerning this return movement exist for thirteen European countries only (Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Hungary, Irish Free State, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Roumania, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Spain, and Sweden).

According to these statistics the volume of emigrants returning to their country of origin during 1920-1925 was as follows:}]

1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925 ¹
355,272	361,870	233,972	171,067	198,987	186,809

It will be noted that the number of returning emigrants in 1920 and 1921 was very high, which is explained by the difficulties caused by the state of war previously existing which up to that time had prevented any movement of this kind. On the other hand, far fewer cases were recorded during the period 1922 to 1925, and this applied particularly to the succession States of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (Poland, Hungary, and the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom).

Without losing sight of the fact that a considerable period often elapses between the departure from and the return to the country of origin, it is interesting to compare the relative figures for emigrants and returning emigrants. This comparison is given below for the countries mentioned above, in regard to which accurate data are available in respect both of emigration and repatriation:

¹ Exclusive of the Netherlands and Roumania.

	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925 ¹
Emigrants	802,236	598,356	492,089	716,586	487,605	354,930
Immigrants	335,272	361,870	233,972	171,067	198,987	186,809
Outward balance in absolute figures	466,964	236,486	258,117	545,519	288,618	168,121
Percentage	58.2	39.5	52.5	76.1	59.2	47.4

¹ Exclusive of Holland and Roumania.

These statistics show that, during the period 1920 to 1925, 57 per cent. of the oversea emigrants were definitely lost to their countries.

INFORMATION RELATING TO EMIGRANTS (SEX, AGE, OCCUPATION)

The oversea emigration of males has, both for the countries from which they emigrate and those to which they immigrate, a different significance from that of females. In the first instance the emigrants are generally productive workers, whereas in the second case they are usually persons connected with the male emigrants and do not directly participate in the economic production of the country. In this connection it should be emphasised that the emigration of whole families more frequently develops into definite expatriation than does that of unmarried persons, this being due to the larger proportion of women among the emigrants in the former case.

Moreover, the expenses and inconveniences arising from the maintenance of two households, such as occurs when married men emigrate, leaving families in their own country, should also be taken into consideration from the economic and moral standpoint.

In the following table the sexes of those emigrating overseas and of those returning to their own country are compared. The top lines of figures represent the number of Europeans emigrating to oversea countries supplied by thirteen European States (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Irish Free State, Italy, Norway, Portugal, the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom, Spain, and Switzerland). The lower lines show the sex of nationals of six European States (Belgium, Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden) returning from overseas.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO SEX, OR EUROPEAN EMIGRANTS AND RETURNING EMIGRANTS FOR THE PERIOD 1922-1924

	1922		1923		1924	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Emigrating to over-sea countries . .	297,442	186,656	532,455	265,296	340,267	194,721
<i>Percentage</i> . .	61.4	38.6	66.7	33.3	63.6	36.4
Returning emigrants	131,279	67,252	98,401	51,845	125,739	53,964
<i>Percentage</i> . .	66.1	33.9	65.5	34.5	70.0	30.0

These figures show that the number of male emigrants considerably preponderates, representing on an average 61 to 66 per cent. of the outgoing and 66 to 70 per cent. of the returning emigrants. It is thus seen that during 1922-1924 more men than women returned to their native country; at the same time the proportion between the sexes has undergone but slight change during recent years.

The preponderance of the male element in oversea migration is at present below that of the period immediately preceding the War.

The fact thus emerges that the proportion of male emigrants to the United States during the pre-War period (1901-1910) was approximately 70 per cent., whilst at a later period (1920-1925) it fell to 57 per cent.

One of the principal causes of this phenomenon lies in the fact that after the War, in impoverished countries providing a large number of emigrants, the only persons who were in a position to emigrate were those who received a pre-paid passage from near relatives already established in America, who as a rule only sent for their wives, children and relations, a fact which meant that the majority of the emigrants were women. Moreover, the new American immigration law tends to favour the reunion of families and the immigration of women.

The proportion between the sexes of those emigrating from Europe varies primarily according to the proportion bound for the United States. During the years 1922-1924 Italy, which has a high percentage of male emigration, directed its nationals to South America (73.5 per cent., 79.6 per cent., and 72.3 per cent. respectively) and for returning emigrants (valorisation policy), 75.4, 80.0 and 82.9 per cent. respectively. In the case of Portugal, the male element represents three-quarters of the total number of emigrants for the years 1922 and 1923. For these two countries and a number of others this preponderance of males arises from the temporary character of their emigration. An outstanding characteristic of emigra-

tion from British sources, on the other hand, is the substantially equal division of the sexes among emigrants, which is explained by the fact that the Governments interested have always favoured the emigration of whole families. Moreover, it is in the regions colonised by the British that the best division between the sexes from the immigration standpoint is found.

The age of emigrants also plays an important part from the economic standpoint. The economic value of the individual, this human capital of which there is so often question in discussions between the partisans and opponents of migration, is necessarily decided by the age and cost of the individual to his country from the day of his birth to his departure for abroad. It is the age of the individual that determines the working capacity of the newly arrived emigrant. The proportion of children in a group of emigrants is also one of the factors that decides its assimilation, success, or ultimate repatriation. And in many other respects the age of the emigrant is of great importance. Therefore it is desirable to know at least the number of children as well as that of adults among the emigrants. But since the classification of emigrants according to age is not carried out in a uniform manner in the statistics of all countries, it is impossible to set up comparisons in the matter for all countries. Nevertheless some information on this subject is given below. The figures for children under 15 years of age are available in respect of nine countries. This age is moreover that prescribed by the International Labour Office as the lower classification limit. Fifteen is the age at which man becomes a productive factor, and sometimes even exercises a remunerative occupation.

PROPORTION OF CHILDREN BELOW 15 (IN PER CENT. OF EMIGRANTS)

Country of emigration	1922	1923	1924
Austria	35.3	31.3	29.8
Czechoslovakia.	—	—	15.3
Denmark	12.0	10.6	10.8
Italy	15.0	13.2	18.4
Malta	11.4	13.3	12.0
Norway	9.8	7.2	10.1
Spain	11.8	—	—
Sweden	8.0	8.5	14.6
Switzerland	13.3	9.8	12.6

The proportion of children is greater among emigrants from Central and Southern Europe (for example, 30 to 35 per cent. of Austrian emigrants) than amongst those of the northern countries (Norway, 7 to 10 per cent.). As far

as the United States are concerned this fact is explained by circumstances already mentioned — the system of “prepaid tickets”, and the immigration laws. Another significant fact is that the percentage of emigrants over 45 years of age has practically doubled itself since the War.

Children represent but a small proportion of the total of emigrants bound for those oversea countries most favoured by peoples of the Latin race. Thus in the case of Cuba, children below 14 formed but 6.8 per cent. in 1922 and 2.2 per cent. in 1924 of the total number of emigrants, the figures for Argentina in respect of the same period being 10.4 per cent. and 12.1 per cent. respectively. This primarily represents temporary immigration by males. It should be noted, however, that owing to the family character of child emigration, and certain special measures in force to facilitate it, children are strongly represented among British emigrants going to the Dominions, the figures for Canada for children under 16 for the years 1922, 1923, and 1924 being 20 per cent., 15 per cent., and 17.5 per cent. respectively, while those for New Zealand in respect of children under 15 for the same years were respectively 22.5 per cent., 23.2 per cent., and 23.7 per cent.

Among emigrants returning from the United States, children and adults figure only in the following proportions: 1922, 4.8 per cent.; 1923, 5.6 per cent.; 1924, 4.8 per cent.

From the point of view of occupation, the largest group among oversea emigrants from Europe before the War was that of agricultural workers. After the War, on the other hand, the proportion of this class decreased, that of domestic servants and manual workers rising to first place. The number of emigrants from eleven European countries during the period 1922 to 1924, classified under six heads according to occupation, is given below. Those without occupation (children, women, and the aged) are included under the sixth head (various occupations and without occupation) ¹.

¹ Finland, Italy, and Czechoslovakia classify the members of families under the various heads according to the trade or profession of its head. They have not been indicated in the above table owing to the great difference in the methods whereby the statistics are compiled. For more detailed information, see INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE: *Migration Movements, 1920-1924*. Geneva, 1926.

CLASSIFICATION OF OVERSEA EMIGRANTS FROM TWELVE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES
(AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, DENMARK, GERMANY, GREAT BRITAIN AND NORTHERN
IRELAND, IRISH FREE STATE, NORWAY, POLAND, SERB-CROAT-SLOVENE KINGDOM,
SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND) ACCORDING TO TRADE OR PROFESSION

Year	I Farmers	II Industry and miners	III Transport and commerce	IV Servants and labourers	V Non- manual workers and employees	VI Other oc- cupation, unknown, or without occupation	VII Total
Absolute figures							
1922 . .	48,236	55,753	30,418	61,424	14,869	117,442	328,142
1923 . .	62,165	114,728	43,536	67,938	15,331	118,373	422,071
1924 . .	46,451	38,688	23,708	33,503	9,292	84,781	236,423
Percentage							
1922 . .	14.7	17.0	9.3	18.7	4.5	35.8	100
1923 . .	14.7	27.2	10.3	16.1	3.6	28.0	100
1924 . .	19.7	16.4	10.0	14.2	3.9	35.9	100

This table shows that during these three years agricultural workers represented about one-fifth or one-sixth only of the total of emigrants. This proportion, however, appears likely to increase, which may perhaps be explained by the special facilities extended to the immigration of agricultural workers to the United States and other agricultural countries favouring immigration (Canada, Brazil, Argentina). In 1922 one-sixth of the emigrants were industrial workers or miners. This class, which has shown a sharp increase, exceeding 25 per cent. in 1923, fell again in 1924 to below the 1922 level. The proportions of other classes remain substantially equal and regular: transport and commerce average one-tenth, servants and manual workers one-sixth, non-manual workers and employees one-twenty-fifth, other trades and professions, and those of unknown occupation or without occupation (including the members of the family) one-third.

It is interesting to note that, as a national characteristic, Italian emigration remains of a somewhat agricultural character. Thus, this element represented 51.3 per cent. in 1922, 44.2 per cent. in 1923, and 43 per cent. in 1924, including all members of families. For the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom and Czechoslovakia

the agricultural element for the same years, and including all members of families, represented one-third of the total number of emigrants. The agricultural element is also in chief demand in the British Dominions and the exodus of this class of emigrants from the British Isles is gradually increasing as a result of the facilities extended to it (7.4 per cent. in 1922, 10.2 per cent. in 1923, and 14.4 per cent. in 1924).

II. CONTINENTAL MIGRATION

VOLUME AND DESTINATION

The chief characteristic of post-War continental migration lies in the great advance which this form of migration has made practically everywhere in America, Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe. But considerable changes have also taken place in the direction of the currents.

Until latterly statistics, generally of recent date, relating to such migration were usually less complete than those relating to oversea emigration. Thus the data available up to now concerning migration in South America, Asia, and Africa were insufficient to permit of accurate evaluation. With regard to European internal migration, current figures are available for Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Poland, and Sweden only from 1920 onwards. The Belgian and Swedish figures are confined to those leaving their country of origin for more than one year, and thus afford no information concerning emigrants intending to return to their country at the end of the working season.

The national emigration statistics must be completed with the help of the French immigration figures in respect of certain countries lacking statistics, and for which France represents, if not the only goal, at least the most frequent so far as emigration is concerned¹. It would also be possible, by perusal of the Home Office immigration statistics, to determine the number of duly authorised workers classified according to nationality entering Great Britain, but the number is so insignificant that this is scarcely worth while (1921, 2,789; 1922, 1,821; 1923, 2,114; 1924, 3,105).

¹ "L'immigration contrôlée des travailleurs étrangers en France de 1920 à 1925." *Bulletin du Ministère du Travail*, July-August-September 1926, p. 263.

The following table has been composed from these different sources:

CONTINENTAL EMIGRATION (EUROPEAN COUNTRIES)

Country	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Belgium (Direct figures) . . .	32,135	18,086	21,992	18,969	17,142	—
(French figures) . . .	28,422	26,260	24,677	33,912	40,256	46,777
Czechoslovakia	16,000 ¹	16,000 ¹	31,558	24,334	29,371	14,509 ¹
Italy	153,717	88,295	170,155	229,854	271,089	207,617
Poland	26,846	12,129	31,373	72,058	26,136	42,769
Portugal (French figures) . . .	6,741	1,041	8,749	12,043	14,218	6,008
Spain (French figures) . .	53,306	28,310	45,392	36,497	38,960	19,005
Sweden	3,149	3,069	2,812	2,679	2,270	—
Total (according to data supplied)	320,316	193,190	336,715	430,346	439,442	—

¹ Exclusive of seasonal workers without passports.

According to the figures in this table it may be seen that continental emigration has closely followed fluctuations in the labour market. Thus the economic crisis in 1921 caused a considerable drop, while the great demand for workers (particularly in France) during the period 1922-1924 resulted in a considerable rise.

The development and the characteristics of continental migration may be best perceived by a study of the very complete statistics published by Italy, a country in which continental migrants represent more than half the total number of classified European migrants (913,100 Italians out of a total of 1,720,000 European migrants classified during 1920-1924)¹.

The first point to be noticed is the change in the course of the continental and overseas emigration currents: whereas before the War the average annual exodus of overseas and continental emigrants from Italy was respectively 400,000 and 270,000 (40 per cent. of the total continental emigration), this proportion increasing to 55 per cent. in 1923, 60 per cent. in 1924, and 64 per cent. in 1925. Nor does this increase correspond to an absolute increase in the number of continental emigrants which for the years 1910-1914 averaged 270,000 per annum, but was only 229,854 in 1923, 271,089 in 1924, and 207,617 in 1925. It is not without interest to note the change in the course of this movement, practically all of which was directed towards France (190,589 in 1923, 231,040 in 1924, 174,445 or 83 per cent. in 1925). During the course of these three years Switzerland received about 38,000 Italian emigrants, or 5 per cent. of the total, and the other countries much less. Indeed, the Italian wave of emigration towards France was much more important than the total overseas Italian emigration.

¹ See *L'Emigrazione italiana negli anni 1924 e 1925. Relazione sui servizi dell'emigrazione dal Commissario generale.* Rome, 1926.

It must be admitted, however; that the significance of the two movements is not the same: on the one hand it is a question of emigration properly so-called, on the other it is rather an emigration of labour, which, however, is tending more and more to become a movement of definite expatriation.

As far as immigration statistics are concerned the most interesting are those published by France, and the following table compiled by the French Government on the basis of records kept between 1 January 1920 and 1 January 1926, and relating to industry and agriculture, shows the number of workers entering France or returning to their native country:

Nationality	Foreign workers entering France (1 Jan. 1920 to 1 Jan. 1926)				Foreign workers leaving France (1 Jan. 1920 to 1 Jan. 1926)
	Industry	Agri- culture	Total	In per- centage of total	
Belgians	105,200	95,114	200,314	17.0	17,914
Czechoslovaks	10,273	12,317	22,590	2.0	1,629
Greeks	1,805	—	1,805	0.1	1,179
Italians	360,842	59,404	420,247	35.7	153,562
Poles	124,632	66,197	190,829	16.2	9,006
Portuguese	27,678	6,018	33,696	2.8	28,271
Russians	11,652	1,029	12,681	1.0	8
Spaniards	43,562	177,919	221,481	18.0	74,059
Various	64,085	10,188	74,273	6.4	1,464
Total	739,930	428,186	1,178,186	100.0	287,092

It should also be noted that in addition to the above figures, large numbers of foreign workers, principally Belgians, for whom passport restrictions have been abolished, arrive in or leave France without having their identity recorded at the frontier.

In view of the unemployment prevailing more or less throughout Europe, most countries — with the present exception of France — have in recent years adopted severe measures, which in certain cases amount to prohibition, to restrict the immigration of foreign workers. For example, Germany, which before the War needed a million foreign workers, has introduced a system of permits and identity cards, which resulted in reducing during a lengthy period the number of seasonal immigrants to a minimum.

Nevertheless, continental immigration has shown a tendency to rise these last few years:

1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	Jan.-June 1926
21,687	29,917	29,642	29,118	47,998	47,733

This fact coincides with the rise in Polish continental emigration which in past years was directed mainly towards France. During the period January-April 1926, however, the number of Poles emigrating to various European countries was 65,558, of whom 39,416 went to Germany alone.

At the beginning of 1926 the chief directions of Polish emigration were as follows :

Direction	January	February	March	April
France	3,295	2,934	7,169	7,936
Germany	14	172	29,787	9,443

The stream of continental emigration has flowed principally towards France, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. Several of these countries are, moreover, both emigration and immigration countries.

Migration between the various central European States which, in the period immediately following the War, was considerable, has fallen. So far as it still occurs at all it is often illegal, and due only to the difficulties of strict control along the great length of their frontiers. But here also there are a certain number of labour and emigration conventions in force which authorise continental migration (Austria, Czechoslovakia).

With regard to the proportion of emigrants returning to their native countries — which may also serve as a basis for determination of the periodicity of migrations — far less information is available than on emigration itself. Here again the Italian statistics must be used as the authority. According to these, the number of returning emigrants from continental countries was 55,000 in 1920, 30,083 in 1921, 55,641 in 1922, 79,498 in 1923, 107,421 in 1924, 122,160 in 1925, and 35,091 between January and May 1926. The proportion as compared with emigration was thus only one-third during the period 1920-1923, whilst in 1924 it rose, reaching three-fifths in 1925. Changes in the economic conditions of a country exercise at least as great an influence on repatriation as on emigration, but it should be remembered that emigration and repatriation statistics for any one year do not coincide, and that in periods of prosperity continental emigrants often remain abroad for a period of two or three years without returning to their native land.

French immigration statistics show such a small proportion of departures for the country of origin that it must be asked if the smallness of the registered figures is not due to some change in statistical methods: during a period of six years (1 January 1920 to 1 January 1926) only 287,092 cases of such departure were notified against 1,178,186 arrivals, which represents a proportion of one departure for every four arrivals.

It seems to be obvious from the statistics covering the last few years that the European streams of continental migration, which are often considered as temporary movements of labour, are tending more and more to assume the character of migration which ends in definite settlement in another country.

With regard to other continents, and America in particular, the fact may be emphasised that, since the advent of the new United States policy towards Europe, a strong immigration current from Canada and Mexico has set in towards that country.

The reason for this is that the only condition as to nationality imposed upon immigration from these sources is that immigrants shall have been born in either of the two countries. This provision forms, in a way, the channel through which American economy obtains the necessary labour from abroad and especially from Mexico; thus the number of emigrants to the United States from neighbouring countries during the last few years has been officially as follows:

1920	136,333	1924	219,449
1921	69,144	1925	118,896
1922	99,816	1926 (Jan.-July) .	87,163
1923	263,993		

On the other hand, according to the same statistics, the volume of immigrants returning from the United States to Canada and Mexico was very small.

Nevertheless, a considerable number of American continental emigrants appear to have returned to their native country. During the fiscal year April 1924 to March 1925 the Canadian Government registered 43,775 cases of repatriation, and 47,221 in the following year. On the other hand the Mexican official statistics show a considerable number of returning emigrants: there were 109,786 Mexicans (83,300 men and 26,486 women) among the 150,507 immigrants entering Mexico in 1924, most of whom (129,256) came in through the Northern Zone.

The statistical methods in use are, however, too varied to permit an exact comparison being made between the United States' figures and those of other countries. Moreover, on the northern frontier of the United States, great changes in the population have always been taking place; in pre-War years, for example, Canada had agents in the United States whose duty it was to recruit settlers for her western provinces, although the bulk of the migration movement then tended in exactly the opposite direction. There is also a constant emigration movement across the southern frontier of the United States, although it is very difficult to say exactly whether this is a movement which concerns "national" emigrants properly so-called.

As regards continental emigration between the States of South America, statistics give little or no information. A certain amount of activity takes place on the land frontiers of Argentina, but information on this subject is so fragmentary that nothing is to be gained by quoting it.

In Asia, the districts which have to be considered as emigration countries are British India, China, and Japan, and as immigration countries Ceylon and British Malaya. These movements, which have never been sufficiently observed, include very large numbers of people. The number of Indians immigrating to Ceylon was 136,699 in 1920, 106,598 in 1921, 174,569 in 1922, 169,607 in 1923, 156,523 in 1924,

and 125,585 in 1925. In British Malaya, Chinese and Indian immigration show the following figures: 221,297 in 1920, 236,716 in 1921, 191,560 in 1922, 208,651 in 1923, and 243,482 in 1924.

Transit statistics for Hong-Kong show the importance of the great Chinese continental emigration movement. Thus, the number of emigrants passing through Hong-Kong on their way to the various States in Asia, but particularly to British Malaya, was 105,258 in 1920, 156,011 in 1921, 98,393 in 1922, 120,224 in 1923, and 129,859 in 1924. The number of those who returned to their country of origin during the same period was 122,438 in 1920, 159,084 in 1921, 143,547 in 1922, and 121,103 in 1923, which shows the temporary character of such emigration. It will be noticed that these movements are numerically more important than those of Europe.

Mention should finally be made of the great importance of continental migration in Africa (Union of South Africa, Katanga, Fernando-Po, Zambesi, Nigeria, etc.), but on this subject only isolated statistics are at present available, such as those for Basutoland, which show in round figures an average of 70,000 continental emigrants for the period 1920 to 1924.

PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND OCCUPATIONS IN CONTINENTAL MIGRATION

Generally speaking, continental migration is characterised by a marked preponderance of the male sex, for the reason that emigrants are called upon to carry out arduous work, which is often new to them, and so that it may be possible for them to return to their families at least once a year. There are, however, so many variations in this matter as between the various countries that it would be impossible to supply general information concerning the age and sex of emigrants, as statistics are rarely kept in an orderly manner. Thus, Italian statistics, which are the most complete, do not differentiate between the sexes except in the case of adults, that is to say, for about only 90 per cent. of the continental migrants in 1924, the proportion of adult males in the same year being 67.7 per cent. of the total continental emigration. In 1925 the proportion was a little less (69 per cent.). The same fact may be observed even more strikingly in the case of Czechoslovakia, the proportion of each sex in 1924 being as follows: males 77.8 per cent., women 22.2 per cent. (74.1 adult males and 18.7 per cent. adult women).

In this connection, immigration has recently developed in Germany under conditions very different from those obtaining in other countries; but on this subject the only statistics available are those supplied by the German Central Office for Workers, which show that the number of foreign workers admitted during the first six months of 1926 was 15,494 men and 32,329 women. This enormous proportion of women is the result of the re-establishment of Polish immigration, which had been severely restricted for a considerable period.

In continental migration children play but a small part, particularly in the case of short term emigration (seasonal emigration). Thus, the proportion of children to the total Italian continental emigration was 7.1 per cent. in 1923 and 9.1 per cent. in 1924. In Czechoslovakia, in 1924, the proportion was 3.7 per cent. for male children and 3.8 per cent. for girls.

Before the War the majority of continental emigrants were agricultural workers, whereas industrial workers have since taken first place. In 1924, the proportion of the industrial elements of Italy concerned in continental emigration was 54.2 per cent., and of Czechoslovakia 41.2 per cent., whereas for the same years the proportion of agricultural labourers was no higher than 14.8 per cent. and 23.9 per cent. for the two countries respectively. Statistics for Poland are also available, but whereas Italy and Czechoslovakia classify the members of a family according to the occupation of the head of the family, in Poland children are put in a special category. The Polish statistics show that 29.2 per cent. of emigrants are agricultural workers and 22.2 per cent. industrial workers.

Contrary to the position in France before the War, industrial workers now supply the majority of immigrants to that country. From 1920 to 1925, 749,930 industrial immigrants and 428,186 agricultural workers were recorded as entering France. The majority of the agricultural workers were Spaniards and Czechoslovaks, while Italians, Poles, and Portuguese formed the bulk of the industrial immigrants, Belgians being about equally represented in both classes (see table above, page 21).

In Germany, immigrants are nearly all agricultural workers (29,118 in 1924, 47,577 in 1925, and 47,637 in the first six months of 1926¹), whereas industry seems to be virtually closed at present to foreign labour (78 in 1924, 495 in 1925, and 96 in the first six months of 1926).

As the result of the departure of a large number of foreigners who were settled in Prussia before the War, and of the restriction of all further immigration, the number of foreign workers recorded in Prussia in 1925 was 107,000 in agriculture and 100,000 in industry, as against 383,000 and 517,000 respectively in 1914.

The Asiatic and Central African emigrants are employed mainly in agriculture, but many work in the mines. Inclusive statistics are, however, wanting.

III. SEASONAL INFLUENCES ON MIGRATION

Not only do migration movements exhibit important fluctuations when they are examined over a period of several years, but the different months of the year often have a considerable influence on them.

These changes are of considerable economic importance as regards the industrial

¹ Provisional figures.

profits and social charges proper to the various emigration and immigration countries. They also allow of a more precise calculation of the yearly wages earned by migrants and should lead to the undertaking of a large amount of interesting social and economic research work which up to the present has been barely touched on account of the lack of sufficient documentation. Again, where oversea emigration is concerned, a study of these phenomena enables estimates to be made of the amount of tonnage required at various periods for the transport of emigrants.

An increasing number of countries (35 at present) supply the International Labour Office with tables relating to monthly migration movements, and efforts are made to make a clear distinction in these tables between emigration and immigration movements, continental and oversea emigration, and the respective movements of nationals and foreigners.

A table showing the immigration into a number of countries, month by month, during the years 1922-1925 is given below.

	1922	1923	1924	1925
January	28,312	61,217	71,257	60,765
February	33,948	62,493	72,151	70,761
March	37,990	105,135	93,622	99,604
April	48,577	109,574	101,693	87,311
May	45,623	130,120	96,132	96,076
June	38,442	102,141	92,660	83,146
July	56,481	131,852	53,964	72,334
August	55,228	154,852	63,392	67,061
September	70,457	151,525	68,268	35,776
October	79,801	149,354	77,490	93,360
November	77,977	152,677	77,748	84,332
December	64,769	106,412	73,788	74,168
Total	637,605	1,417,352	942,165	974,694
Number of countries included	8	12	13	15

Many discordant and sometimes contradictory phenomena have had their influence on the total figures quoted above, e.g. temporary disturbances caused by the application of certain laws (the considerable effects felt in July 1923 and 1924 as a result of the application of the two successive American laws on immigration quotas and of the commencement of the fiscal year), the great difference between statistics of the Northern Hemisphere where migration is most active in the

summer, and those of the Southern Hemisphere where the greatest activity takes place in winter, the different habits of continental and oversea emigrants, etc.

Therefore before making any general statement regarding the regularity of seasonal migration, account must be taken of the various component elements of the monthly statistics; then, and then only, is it possible to see the regular ebb and flow of the different migration streams. It is possible to follow in detail the development in each country in the statistics published each month in the *Monthly Record of Migration*, published by the International Labour Office.

It may thus be seen that the maximum point of certain forms of migration coincides with the minimum point of others and that a fall in one direction is compensated for by a rise in another.

It would take up too much space to make a detailed study in these pages of the various migration streams, the number and the definite outline of which suggest a network spread over the whole world in accordance with the laws of nature and humanity, not yet sufficiently studied or appreciated. As an example, however, figures are given for one year (1925) to show how the monthly oversea emigration and continental immigration movements repeat themselves more or less in a certain rhythm and alternation year after year.

IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGNERS IN 1925

	Overseas ¹	Conti- nental ²	Total
January	33,280	27,485	60,765
February	31,033	39,728	70,761
March	45,455	54,149	99,604
April	40,860	46,451	87,311
May	45,487	50,589	96,076
June	36,975	46,171	83,146
July	30,624	41,710	72,334
August	35,092	31,969	67,061
September	36,858	48,918	85,776
October	50,212	43,148	93,360
November	47,874	36,458	84,332
December	43,146	31,022	74,168
Total	476,896	497,798	978,694

¹ Countries included in oversea immigration: Argentina, Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Palestine, United States, Union of South Africa.

² Countries included in continental immigration: Austria, Canada, Ceylon, France, Germany, Hungary, United States.

Whereas oversea immigration of foreign nationals reaches its peak in October and November, it may be seen that the continental immigration movement is greatest from March to May. The minimum period for oversea immigration is in July, that for continental immigration in January. But the two movements are so definitely opposed as to have almost no effect on the total figures.

Similar tables may be established to include the two Hemispheres, and these again show the some contradictory and compensatory phenomena. Thus as regards oversea immigration of foreigners during 1926, the Northern Hemisphere reaches its maximum during the months of April and May and in the Southern Hemisphere in November and December, while minimum movements are found to take place respectively in January-February and in July-August.

In the same way it is possible to compose statistics of emigration properly so called with those relating to repatriation and to draw several conclusions therefrom, and the same may be said of a number of other aspects of emigration.

Herein there is undoubtedly a wide field open to investigation which is likely to lead to important practical conclusions.
