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Research on migration has long stood at the forefront of transnational and global approaches to both contemporary social phenomena and more distant historical epochs. Having grown steadily more visible since the late 1990s, interdisciplinary interventions by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, Cristina Blanc-Szanton, Andreas Wimmer, Steven Vertovec, and Nancy Green, among many others, have deeply influenced scholarly analyses of the increasing hyper-mobility—both within Europe and between Europe and the wider world—that has characterized recent decades.[1] Even as the citizens of an expanding European Union (EU) were able to cross its internal and external borders with considerable ease as professionals, workers, students, and tourists, Europeans simultaneously engaged in intense and often hostile debates about the impact of episodes like the so-called "refugee crisis" that intensified

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1. Seminal contributions focusing on contemporary conditions (some also encompassing a historical perspective) include Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Blanc-Szanton, eds., *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity, and Nationalism Reconsidered* (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1992); Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *International Migration Review* 37, no. 3 (2003): 576–610; Steven Vertovec, "Transnationalism and Identity," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 27, no. 4 (2001): 573–82; and Nancy L. Green, "The Trials of Transnationalism: It's Not as Easy as It Looks," *Journal of Modern History* 89, no. 4 (2017): 851–74.

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from 2015 onwards as millions from Africa, the Middle East, and elsewhere risked their lives in hopes of reaching security and better prospects in Europe—often in vain. Freedom of movement within the EU, for its part, created both opportunities and challenges, not least in the eyes of the many Britons who in 2016 voted for Brexit out of resentment and fear about migration's impact on the United Kingdom. Populist nationalism relying on perceptions of unwanted migration, whether actual or potential, was a transnational phenomenon visible in varying ways from Denmark to Hungary to Italy, to name just a few examples—even while so many Danes, Hungarians, Italians, and others regularly traveled in and beyond Europe for work, pleasure, or both.[2] The abrupt standstill that hundreds of millions of Europeans experienced in much of 2020 and 2021 thanks to the COVID-19 pandemic stands out as an exception that proved the rule. But even with the permissible mobility many Europeans had come to take for granted stalled in its tracks in the face of lockdowns, curfews, and severe travel restrictions, "illegal" migrants persisted in attempting to reach European shores from without.

The fever pitch that migration within Europe, and between Europe and the wider world, reached before the pandemic provides further illumination of the global context of European migration in the past and present alike. Taking the late-modern era as its focus, this article considers how Europe's embeddedness in transatlantic, imperial, and other global arenas has been thrown into relief through journeys and relocations that brought people into direct contact with other cultures and ethnicities at both the individual and societal levels. Over the long nineteenth century and into the twentieth, faster and easier travel via rail and steamship along with modern global and imperial infrastructures created increasingly favorable conditions for Europeans themselves to cross land and sea as emigrants, settlers, or in a military, administrative, or commercial capacity. Rough estimates suggest that between 1815 and 1939 over 55 million people left Europe, primarily for North and South America (35 and 8 million, respectively) as well as other global settings, including those that remained parts of European overseas empires.[3] European states and agents also orchestrated multiple global migrations of Africans in the era of the transatlantic trade in enslaved peoples and Asian indentured migration after slavery's formal abolition, to give just two of the most important variations. Multiethnic societies across much of the world thus bore a deep European imprint, whether or not they included substantial numbers of European-descended peoples in settler or non-settler colonial and postcolonial arenas.

2. Nicholas De Genova, ed., *The Borders of "Europe": Autonomy of Migration, Tactics of Bordering* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017); Leo Lucassen, "Peeling an Onion: The 'Refugee Crisis' from a Historical Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 41, no. 3 (2018): 383–410; Adrian Favell, *Eurostars and Eurocities: Free Movement and Mobility in an Integrating Europe* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008); Kathy Burrell et al., "Brexit, Race and Migration," *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space* 37, no. 1 (2019): 3–40.

3. Donna R. Gabaccia, Dirk Hoerder, and Adam Walaszek, "Emigration and Nation Building during the Mass Migrations from Europe," in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation*, ed. Nancy L. Green and François Weil (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 63–90, here p. 63.

Global interactions like these correspondingly became entangled with internal European relations within and between states. Ideas about racial, civilizational, and cultural hierarchies playing out inside Europe as ethnic groups, cultures, and nationalities coalesced, transformed, and came into contact with one another repeatedly bore traces of wider global interactions and frames of reference.[4] In time, moreover, they intersected with responses to the growing presence on the continent of non-European-origin peoples from colonial, postcolonial, or other multiethnic societies across the world, not least as the impact of decolonization was felt in western and southern Europe as well as overseas after 1945. Some migration streams were encouraged, others strictly controlled as inducements and restrictions waxed and waned and repeatedly took racialized forms.

In many respects, the "global turn" has long been integral (if not always explicitly so) to the wider field of migration history, albeit to varying degrees depending on the places and themes in question. Historians have produced an immense literature illuminating countless manifestations of Europe's, and Europeans', migration histories and their globalized contexts and consequences. We now benefit from a substantial body of excellent wide-ranging studies concerned with larger structures, patterns, and demographic trends that show how migration flows—outwards, inwards, and internal—have been central to the history of all parts of the continent.[5] Imperial/global labor migration patterns, whether "forced" or "free" (or somewhere in between); European emigration and its impact on both sending and receiving societies; Europe's internal mobilities, whether circular or permanent, as well as refugee movements and forced population transfers; and the return, arrival, and settlement of postcolonial peoples and other groups from across the world: together with considerations of ethnic diversity, racialized categorizations, "whiteness," hybridity, and other themes, these have been treated in an impressive body of scholarship continually augmented by new approaches and case studies. Some—if only a fraction—will be noted in the sections that follow. Migration, in sum, is at once a shared European history and a global one with social and cultural as well as economic and political ramifications. Given the embarrassment of academic

4. Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2016).

5. Essential overarching studies that have emerged since the 1990s include Klaus J. Bade, *Migration in European History* [2001], trans. Allison Brown (Malden: Blackwell, 2003); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002); Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992); and Leo Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat: The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005)—not to mention countless articles written by Leo Lucassen and Jan Lucassen, among others, and invaluable reference books like Klaus J. Bade et al., eds., *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder with Donna Gabaccia, *What Is Migration History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009). Many contributions to the two volumes comprising Donna Gabaccia, gen. ed., *The Cambridge History of Global Migrations* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2023), will demonstrate how the field continues to evolve.

riches already at our disposal, what topics and perspectives stand out as areas with the potential to take European history's global turn in new directions?

This essay departs from many treatments of migration that focus on macro-level histories, arguing that zooming in on individual interpretations and experiences can open up nuanced perspectives that are frequently sidelined in more general, broad-brush studies where, rather paradoxically, actual migrants can often find themselves submerged beneath an emphasis on migration phenomena. Historians of Europe's late modern era might take further inspiration from scholars of global microhistory, for example, many of whom have focused on earlier periods, and more generally from landmark treatments of lives lived beyond borders that use intricate evaluations of individuals and their movements to comprehend interlocking wider worlds.[6] By the same token, they can evaluate how studies like Tara Zahra's *The Great Departure* deftly combine a far larger European and global picture with individual examples that bring it to life—a balance rarely struck within much existing historiography.[7] Not only does this approach enable time-, place-, and circumstance-specific stories to emerge; it also shows how fields of migration scholarship that have largely remained separate can be fruitfully brought together to produce new insights into the histories of Europe, Europeans, and the worlds in which they moved.

As an example of this approach, the pages that follow will trace the global implications of two lives that together span almost two centuries, using vignettes of their individual circumstances and perspectives to open out broader questions. Although born nearly eighty years and thousands of kilometers apart, Jacob Riis (1849–1914) and Gérald Bloncourt (1926–2018) were both leading documentary photographers who shared a deep commitment to social reform and the amelioration of working-class conditions, bequeathing invaluable visual archives to posterity.[8] Each recorded migration histories both on camera and in writing, thereby

6. Romain Bertrand and Guillaume Calafat, eds., "Micro-analyse et histoire globale," thematic dossier, *Annales HSS* 73, no. 1 (2018); and John-Paul Ghobrial, ed., "Global History and Microhistory," *Past & Present*, supplement 14 (2019), offer recent overviews of global microhistory. Among the leading book-length studies centered on individuals, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006); Mercedes García-Arenal and Gerard Wiegers, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallache, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe* [1999], trans. Martin Beagles (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Linda Colley, *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Maya Jasanoff, *The Dawn Watch: Joseph Conrad in a Global World* (London: Penguin, 2017). Isabella Löhr, "Lives beyond Borders, or: How to Trace Global Biographies, 1880–1950," *Comparativ. Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 23, no. 6 (2013): 7–21, provides a valuable discussion focused on more modern examples.

7. Zahra, *The Great Departure*.

8. Many of Riis's photographs form part of the Jacob A. Riis Collection of the Museum of the City of New York (see https://collections.mcny.org/Explore/Highlights/Jacob-A--Riis), while a selection of Bloncourt's thousands of images can be viewed via https://

enabling an analysis of multi-media representations emanating from the same source. That both were of migration backgrounds themselves renders the images and texts they created particularly resonant, for their own origins and mobile lives proved crucial to their heightened interactions with and perceptions of the wider flows of people that connected Europe with different global settings. Some of the countless ways that they, and their subject matter, were part of far bigger histories and bring telling intersections into sharp relief are flagged along the way.

Jacob Riis's European and American Worlds

When his book *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* first appeared in 1890, Riis already had an established reputation as an investigative journalist and newspaper editor.[9] Through his many books, articles, and public lectures, middle- and upper-class Americans could visit the dilapidated, overcrowded tenement housing, workplaces, back-alleys, and markets of Lower Manhattan and learn second-hand about the grinding poverty, labor exploitation, and structural disadvantages suffered by much of New York City. Unlike more judgmental commentators, Riis saw New York's poor largely as victims abused by profiteering landlords and employers. The enduring power of *How the Other Half Lives* stemmed not just from its first-person textual narrative but also its illustrations—initially line engravings based on photographs taken either by Riis himself or by others more experienced in the still-emerging technologies of the camera and flash photography. It took until the mid-twentieth century for the original images to resurface and gradually gain recognition as pioneering works of visual social realism.[10] Today, Riis is often better known as an eminent documentary photographer than as a passionate reformer and author who successfully campaigned for improved urban conditions. In time, both the author/photographer and his subjects became an established, even canonical, part of the turn-of-the-century American story.

www.bloncourt.net. For a suggestive piece on the use of photographs as a historical source, see Derek Sayer, "The Photograph: The Still Image," in *History beyond the Text: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed. Sarah Barber and Corinna Peniston-Bird (London: Routledge, 2009), 49–71 (which refers to Jacob Riis on pp. 50 and 55).

9. Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890).

10. The later edition used here—Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*, ed. Sam Bass Warner Jr. (1890; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010)—first appeared in 1970, replacing many of the engraved images with Riis's original photographs. Though the secondary literature is extensive, particularly useful discussions of Riis and his photographs can be found in Alan Trachtenberg's introduction to the aforementioned edition as well as Edward T. O'Donnell, "Pictures vs. Words? Public History, Tolerance, and the Challenge of Jacob Riis," *The Public Historian* 26, no. 3 (2004): 7–26; Bonnie Yochelson and Daniel Czitrom, *Rediscovering Jacob Riis: Exposure Journalism and Photography in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); and Tom Buk-Swienty, *The Other Half: The Life of Jacob Riis and the World of Immigrant America* [2005], trans. Annette Buk-Swienty (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).

Figure 1. Bohemian cigar makers at work in their tenement

Source: Jacob A. Riis, black-and-white photograph, New York, c. 1890 © Museum of the City of New York, 90.13.1.149.

Yet Riis's life and work, like those of many people he wrote about and photographed, were just as much part of a transnational European global history as an unfolding American one. The vast majority of those featured in *How the Other Half Lives* were either immigrants or the children of immigrants from different parts of Europe. Like many of his contemporaries, Riis described his subjects in terms of their places of origin and ethnicity—as Italians, Irish, Polish or Russian Jews, "Bohemians" (or Czechs), and occasionally Germans and other communities who retained these identities after coming to the United States. Far from being left behind on the "old continent," European historical conditions and conflicts maintained their hold over the distinct European "races" (as Riis and others of his time typically termed them) who journeyed to America. When it was said that New York "beats the world" as a clothing manufacturer, for example, this was attributed in large part to Jewish workers pushed out by Europe's pogroms: "Every fresh persecution of the Russian or Polish Jew on his native soil starts greater hordes hitherward … The curse of bigotry and ignorance reaches halfway across the world."[11]

11. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 116 and 118; see also p. 130. On garment industry workers in comparative perspective, see especially Nancy L. Green, *Ready-To-Wear and*

Riis's descriptions contained a mixture of sympathy accentuated by contempt, certainly when his attention turned from New York's central and eastern Europeans to those from further south. "The Italian comes in at the bottom, and in the generation that came over the sea he stays there," Riis wrote:

> *He not only knows no word of English, but he does not know enough to learn. Rarely only can he write his own language. Unlike the German, who begins learning English the day he lands as a matter of duty, or the Polish Jew, who takes it up as soon as he is able as an investment, the Italian learns slowly, if at all.*[12]

Even so, "the swarthy Italian immigrant has his redeeming traits," Riis believed, being "gay, lighthearted and, if his fur is not stroked the wrong way, inoffensive as a child."[13]

As was then common, Riis often described migrant groups in derogatory terms emphasizing excessive numbers ("hordes"), qualities associated with animals ("fur") or children, and distinctive physical characteristics (Jews' "unmistakable physiognomy"[14] or Italians' "swarthiness")—all familiar forms of group racialization by observers who placed themselves higher in the social hierarchy. In this, his texts complicate and partly undermine the images of individuals that were meant to cultivate compassion and bolster campaigns to ameliorate slum life. Riis described New York City's poor from different parts of Europe in terms of their group identities, not as "Europeans" per se; tellingly, they were mainly referred to as "white" when evaluated alongside local Chinese and "colored" (or "Negro") populations. In these contexts, they became the "white victim[s]" or "white slaves" of opium dens, or were compared unfavorably to "colored people," who in certain respects were "immensely the superior of the lowest of the whites, the Italians and the Polish Jews" (in other words, "the lower grades of foreign white people").[15]

Such immigrants from Europe not only lacked a secure "white" identity as groups still viewed as racially "in between," in the process of "becoming white," or "working towards whiteness"—themes that scholars including David Roediger, Matthew Frye Jacobson, and other important authors have illuminated.[16] They

Ready-To-Work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

12. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 48–49.

13. Ibid., 54.

14. Ibid., 101.

15. Ibid., 93–94 and 142–43.

16. Among the many essential studies (including more by the authors noted here), see David R. Roediger, *Working toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White; The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (2005; New York: Basic Books, 2018); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Zahra, *The Great Departure*; Karen Brodkin, *How the Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America*

were also not—or not yet—American. "The one thing you shall vainly ask for in the chief city of America is a distinctively American community," Riis stated.[17] Becoming American in this view involved both learning English and moving up from the tenement slums—a path along which, of all the groups Riis considered in detail, "the Teuton" (or German) had come farthest.[18] Yet even more pertinent to his account of European newcomers in the United States were those discussed least in his classic study: Scandinavians. Swedes and Finns are occasionally mentioned but never described in depth, while Danes seem entirely absent—aside, that is, from Riis himself.

In *How the Other Half Lives*, Riis significantly did not tell his readers that their liaison into slum communities was himself an immigrant who had become an American citizen only five years before the book's publication. Born on Denmark's North Sea coast into a family with fourteen children, Riis had trained as a carpenter before leaving for the United States in 1870 at the age of twenty-one. Unlike many immigrants, he had the advantage of being able to read English well upon arrival, but he initially lived a peripatetic, hand-to-mouth existence involving periods of hunger and homelessness. He eventually made his name as a newspaper reporter and then owner, counting among those who worked hard and "made good" materially and professionally. But this was a story that he kept fully separate from that of the urban poor about whom he so famously wrote and campaigned, reserving his own experiences for another book: *The Making of an American*, published in 1901. In this memoir, Riis recounted how he retained close ties with Denmark after his initial departure, writing about American topics for the Danish press and making periodic journeys back to marry and visit family.[19] "Thirty years in the land of my children's birth left me as much of a Dane as ever," he wrote, despite becoming an American citizen in 1885. Regardless of his undying love for his native land, it was eventually through his trips back to Denmark that he realized he had "become an American in truth" and not just through his passport.[20]

By contrast, finding Riis's own story in *How the Other Half Lives* requires both reading between the lines and an awareness of the larger history of European migration to the United States. Scandinavians were more likely to be found in Chicago, Minneapolis, and other cities and rural areas of the Midwest than in New York City. But their marginality in Riis's account might also be attributed to some of these groups having come even closer than Germans to counting as "old stock" Anglo-Saxon Americans—as many who were better off and longer-settled

(New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno, eds., *Are Italians White? How Race Is Made in America* (New York: Routledge, 2003); and Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

17. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 22.

18. Ibid., 28.

19. Jacob A. Riis, *The Making of an American* (1901; New York: Macmillan, 1922), 37, 57, 111, 245, 265, and 274–76. This work was translated into French a few years later: Riis, *Comment je suis devenu américain*, trans. Léon Bazalgette (Paris: L. Michaud, 1908).

20. Riis, *The Making of an American*, 5, 267, 274, and 283–84.

hoped. As studies by Erika K. Jackson and Jørn Brøndal on Scandinavians and Russell A. Kazal on Germans have shown, such groups, not least if they were Protestant, occupied a far more privileged place in a racialized American ethnic hierarchy than southern and eastern Europeans, who were largely Roman Catholic or Jewish.[21]

The omission of the Danish experience and Riis's own story from *How the Other Half Lives* suggests the extent to which his own assertively "American" identity implicitly derived from the contrasts between his ultimate success and the multinational, impoverished, and unassimilated tenement population he surveyed. While he remained a parvenu with an audible foreign accent, grouping eastern and southern Europeans along with Chinese as "hopelessly isolated and ignorant of our language and our laws" bolstered his own narrative inclusion amongst those who could use words like "our," "us," and "we."[22] His admiration of "the Negro's" advancement in the face of immense prejudice since slavery's abolition brought this home: "with fair treatment," he hoped, "the Negro" could do "quite as well as the rest of us, his white-skinned fellow citizens, had any right to expect."[23]

The figure of Riis, in sum, suggests how one could self-include as American on a level beyond formal citizenship, but also that being accepted as such by others could prove considerably more complicated. Education, speaking English, achieving a respected class and professional status, and the ability to be seen as "white" helped immensely; being able to comfortably claim multiple identities, in his instance American and Danish, was a privilege and not a given. Indeed, white Anglo-Saxon/anglophone American nativism rose markedly during Riis's later life and after his death in 1914—a sentiment to which selected newer arrivals like himself might also contribute at the expense of others less fortunate. This culminated in fierce new immigration restriction acts in 1921 and 1924 that used quotas to exclude many ethno-national groups, particularly those from southern and eastern Europe. For many, finding fuller acceptance as American and "white" (or "Caucasian") took considerably longer, as historians including Mary Waters and Gary Gerstle have perceptively examined.[24] Significantly, a more overarching "white" identity became consolidated in the context of mounting activism and civil rights demands by blacks and other minority groups from the 1950s on.

21. Erika K. Jackson, *Scandinavians in Chicago: The Origins of White Privilege in Modern America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019); Jørn Brøndal, "'The Fairest among the So-Called White Races': Portrayals of Scandinavian Americans in the Filiopietistic and Nativist Literature of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 33, no. 3 (2014): 5–36; Russell A. Kazal, *Becoming Old Stock: The Paradox of German-American Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).
22. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 100 and 138.
23. Ibid., 149.
24. Mary C. Waters, *Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Gary Gerstle, *American Crucible: Race and Nation in the Twentieth Century* (2001; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017). See also the references given in notes 16 and 21 above.

Equally important, Riis's accounts illustrate how European identities survived in other places and were nourished by the direct links individuals maintained with their homelands. He was one of millions of European emigrants to North and Latin America and settler colonies across the globe who returned home either temporarily or permanently, engaging in various forms of cyclical migration that sustained connections between nations, communities, and families across time and distance.[25] Influential studies by Caroline Brettell, Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, Donna Gabaccia, José Moya, Michael Goebel, and many others explore how durable interpersonal and associational networks, together with remittances sent home, contributed to migration's central place in the history of sending and receiving societies alike, whether at the level of households, localities, regions, countries and their far-flung "diasporic nations," or indeed entire continents.[26] Countless destinations had transnational European-origin populations, from Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina to French Algeria (whose French citizens also included many of Italian, Spanish, and Maltese descent), and these diverse groups might gradually converge, retain aspects of earlier identities, or a combination of both.[27] In short, the history of emigration did not just mark much of modern Europe: the fallout from Europe's population growth, uneven economic development, political transformations, and ethnic conflicts (including the recurrent persecution of Jews) had lasting demographic and cultural consequences across the world, not least when it came to entrenched racial inequality privileging whiteness.[28]

25. Dirk Hoerder notes that approximately one-third of those who arrived in the United States around 1900 returned to Europe; see Hoerder, "European Migrations," in *The Oxford Handbook of American Immigration and Ethnicity*, ed. Ronald H. Bayor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 34–52, here p. 42. In addition to extensive work by the authors named in this paragraph, see also Green and Weil, *Citizenship and Those Who Leave*.

26. Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987); Brettell, *Gender and Migration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016); Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Donna R. Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850–1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

27. Michael Goebel, "*Gauchos*, *Gringos*, and *Gallegos*: The Assimilation of Italian and Spanish Immigrants in the Making of Modern Uruguay 1880–1930," *Past & Present* 208 (2010): 191–229; Yuval Tal, "The 'Latin' Melting Pot: Ethnorepublican Thinking and Immigrant Assimilation in and through Colonial Algeria," *French Historical Studies* 44, no. 1 (2021): 85–118.

28. Settler colonialism and related themes have received innovative academic treatment in many monographs and edited collections. Outstanding examples include James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Lorenzo Veracini, *The World Turned Inside Out: Settler Colonialism as a Political Idea* (London: Verso, 2021); Robert A. Bickers, ed., *Settlers and Expatriates: Britons over the Seas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010);

The decolonizations of the mid-to-late twentieth century that followed violent colonial insurgencies and defensive metropolitan-settler counterinsurgencies helped send some of these migration streams into reverse. Approximately 800,000 of French Algeria's *pieds-noirs* became *rapatriés* in 1962 and over 500,000 settlers from collapsed Portuguese African communities became *retornados* in 1974 and 1975, contributing to the flow of people—both former colonizers and formerly colonized—entering Europe in the decades after the Second World War.[29] It was during this era that Europe gradually transformed from a continent primarily of emigration to one where inward migration prevailed. By one calculation, while circa 3.1 million people migrated to Europe from other continents between 1901 and 1950, nearly 25 million did so between 1951 and 2000.[30] In different ways, to different degrees, and at different times, extra-European arrivals became a significant presence not only in western and southern Europe, where they often came from former colonies, but also in Europe's north, east, and center. These shifts merged with a much longer but equally dynamic history of intra-European mobilities that also took new forms from the mid-twentieth century on.[31] The trajectories of migrants moving from one part of Europe to another overlapped and intersected with those coming from overseas, histories that Gérald Bloncourt's life and work illuminate in ways that scholarship has yet to adequately address.

Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, eds., *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005); Nicola Foote and Michael Goebel, eds., *Immigration and National Identities in Latin America* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2014); and Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism* (London: Routledge, 2016).

29. Elizabeth Buettner, *Europe after Empire: Decolonization, Society, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), part 2; Peter Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present* (London: Allen Lane, 2019).

30. Leo Lucassen et al., "Cross-Cultural Migration in Western Europe 1901–2000: A Preliminary Estimate," IISH research paper 52, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, https://pure.knaw.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/777930/researchpaper_52_lucassen_lucassen_et.al_versie_voor_web140801.pdf, pp. 35 and 47.

31. Matthew Frank and Jessica Reinisch, eds., *Refugees in Europe, 1919–1959: A Forty Years' Crisis?* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017); Rita Chin, *The Guest Worker Question in Postwar Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Alena K. Alamgir and Christina Schwenkel, "From Socialist Assistance to National Self-Interest: Vietnamese Labor Migration into CMEA Countries," in *Alternative Globalizations: Eastern Europe and the Postcolonial World*, ed. James Mark, Artemy M. Kalinovsky, and Steffi Marung (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020), 100–24; Felipe Arocena, "From Emigrant Spain to Immigrant Spain," *Race and Class* 53, no. 1 (2011): 89–99; Pamela Ballinger, *The World Refugees Made: Decolonization and the Foundation of Postwar Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2020); Cristina Lombardi-Diop and Caterina Romeo, "Italy's Postcolonial 'Question': Views from the Southern Frontier of Europe," *Postcolonial Studies* 18, no. 4 (2015): 367–83; Ruth Ben-Ghiat and Stephanie Malia Hom, eds., *Italian Mobilities* (London: Routledge, 2016); Elizabeth Buettner, "Europeanising Migration in Multicultural Spain and Portugal during and after the Decolonisation Era," *Itinerario* 44, no. 1 (2020): 159–77.

Gérald Bloncourt's Lens on European and Postcolonial Transformations

In 1946, Bloncourt, a twenty-year-old Haitian, made his first journey to France—or, to be more precise, to "European" or "hexagonal" France. Although Haiti had not counted as part of France's empire since its revolution over a century earlier, other parts of the Caribbean most certainly still did: Martinique and Guadeloupe, like French Guiana, were made "overseas departments" (*départements d'outre-mer*) within the postwar French Union of 1946–1958 and remain French today. Bloncourt's departure was as hasty as it was forced. Having come of age as a communist in the aftermath of the United States' 1915–1934 occupation, in 1946 he played a crucial role in a five-day insurgency against the Haitian government and was forced into exile when it failed. He sailed to France, where he could claim nationality through his French mother and his Guadeloupe-born father. He arrived as a committed activist championing working-class causes and social equality as well as a poet, painter, engraver, and apprentice printer. In the coming decades, he would become best known for his photojournalism over a long career working for newspapers like *L'Humanité*, *L'Avant-garde*, and many others.[32]

Bloncourt's biography, clearly exceptional on many levels, nevertheless fits within a wider pattern of multiple mobilities that connected Europe across its internal borders and with the wider world. Migration had been part of his family history well before his expulsion from Haiti. His French mother's parents were Italian, attesting to France's long history of immigration from within and beyond Europe compared to most parts of the continent—a history so influentially charted by Gérard Noiriel, Patrick Weil, and a host of other scholars.[33] His father, meanwhile—whom Bloncourt described as a "mulatto" and whose ancestors thus included both enslaved Africans and white settlers—had traveled from Guadeloupe to France and served in the First World War before settling in Haiti. He was thus part of a multi-layered francophone "Black Atlantic" history spanning nations, empires, and continents that was perpetuated in the next generation: one of his sons was killed by the Nazis for his involvement in the French Resistance during the Second World War and another was studying medicine in Paris at the time of Gérald's

32. Bloncourt's memoir, published in 2004, provides much of the biographical information that follows: Gérald Bloncourt, *Le regard engagé. Mémoires d'un franc-tireur de l'image* (Paris: Bourin, 2004), here 70 and 91. His other books concern Haiti in 1946—including *Journal d'un révolutionnaire* (Montreal: Mémoire d'encrier, 2013)—and after the fall of its dictatorship in the 1980s, as well as Haitian art and culture.

33. Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity* [1988], trans. Geoffroy de Laforcade (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Patrick Weil, *La France et ses étrangers. L'aventure d'une politique de l'immigration 1938–1991* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1991); Ahmed Boubeker and Abdellali Hajjat, eds., *Histoire politique des immigrations (post)coloniales. France, 1920–2008* (Paris: Éd. Amsterdam, 2008); Benjamin Stora and Émile Temime, eds., *Immigrances. L'immigration en France au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 2007).

arrival.[34] Despite being better educated and having more family resources behind him than many could claim, Bloncourt's own journey, ethnicity, and non-hexagonal background gave him something in common with the hundreds of thousands of other migrants who headed for mainland France as it gradually recovered from the Second World War and moved into an era widely remembered as *les trente glorieuses*. These "thirty glorious years" after 1945 characterized by reconstruction, economic growth, and the spread of greater affluence also saw attempts to preserve European empires superseded by widescale decolonization and Europe's gradual integration.

His vast photographic archive from the 1950s through the 1970s and beyond provides a sympathetic portrayal of migrants that was rare among contemporary reporters and social commentators. Bloncourt, like Riis before him, offered insights into the lives of people who did not commonly make their own stories public. He emphasized their dignity and strength in the face of tremendous adversity, focusing not only on male migrants but also women and children. Documenting a multi-ethnic France in the making like few others, his lens captured many different groups who together contributed to a "super-diversity" encompassing Algerians, Moroccans, Africans and Antilleans, Yugoslavs, Portuguese, and others.[35]

Yet Bloncourt's mid-twentieth-century images differed markedly from Riis's late nineteenth-century oeuvre, and not simply because photographic technologies and conventions had moved on. His politics were far more radical and militant than Riis's reformist stance, and his work sought to rouse more than the ambivalent sympathy of Riis's photographs that were juxtaposed with texts reinforcing racialized categories, hierarchies, and stereotypes. Bloncourt's repeated proclamations of fraternity and solidarity with the oppressed classes extended in no small part from empathy. Unlike Riis, who separated his own immigration story from those of the racialized tenement population, Bloncourt interwove his own circumstances with those of his subjects, emphasizing that "I, too, am an immigrant."[36] After all, on arrival he had experienced trade union representatives asking if he had only come to France for sex and talking to him as though he were Tahitian rather than Haitian, revealing racist assumptions about the mixed origins suggested by his skin color (not to mention an entitled ignorance of geography).[37]

34. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993). Among many outstanding treatments in English, see Charles Tshimanga, Didier Gondola, and Peter J. Bloom, eds., *Frenchness and the African Diaspora: Identity and Uprising in Contemporary France* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009); Trica Danielle Keaton, T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, and Tyler Stovall, eds., *Black France/France Noire: The History and Politics of Blackness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); and Michael Goebel, *Anti-Imperial Metropolis: Interwar Paris and the Seeds of Third World Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
35. Steven Vertovec, "Super-diversity and Its Implications," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1024–54.
36. Marie Poinsot and Anne Volery, "Gérald Bloncourt par lui-même. Hommage," interview with Gérald Bloncourt conducted in April 2013, *Hommes & Migrations* 1325 (2019): 137–44, here p. 144.
37. Bloncourt, *Le regard engagé*, 81.

Figure 2. Workers during the strike at the Renault factory in Billancourt, France

Source: Gérald Bloncourt, "Grève à Renault Billancourt," 1045/3a, black-and-white photograph [1968] © Gérald Bloncourt, all rights reserved 2022, Bridgeman Images.

Bloncourt emphasized a common fate that encompassed poverty, exploitation, political and economic oppression, and often racism, regardless of migrants' ethnic or national background and whether or not they held French nationality or came from elsewhere in Europe. Unlike photographers who came, snapped, and left, Bloncourt prioritized a *regard engagé*, or "committed gaze," that involved getting to know his subjects where they lived and worked, including when they demonstrated and went on strike. In May and June of 1968, for instance, he spent thirty-three days and nights alongside the strikers at the Renault factory in Billancourt, just outside Paris, considering it his responsibility to "speak, translate, and transmit the anger of these men who wanted to end their condition as slaves of capital in order to build a more just and humane society."[38] He conveyed workers' exploitation, emotions, and ambitions to a wider public through photographs that showed individuals' expressive faces, not simply an anonymous mass (fig. 2). In short, as he saw it, "it was necessary to bear witness."[39]

38. Ibid., 201.

39. Gérald Bloncourt and Johann Petitjean, "L'œil, le monde et la colère: Gérald Bloncourt et ses images," *Cahiers d'histoire. Revue d'histoire critique* 132 (2016): 157–84, here § 34 of the online edition, https://doi.org/10.4000/chrhc.5420.

As his photographs cumulatively demonstrated, living in *bidonvilles* (shanty-town slums), toiling in factories and on construction sites, and suffering discrimination based on ethnicity or foreign origins (if not both) were the lot of many migrants, regardless of birthplace or ancestry. "I rubbed shoulders with these immigrants who were the brothers of all these other exploited French, Italians, Portuguese, Africans, or Turks. Together they formed the 'working class' that rebuilt postwar France," he recalled. He later wondered what had happened to "these nameless thousands, these hundreds of Mohameds, Ricardos, [and] Miguels" who endured so much racism and scorn: "What have they become, these women and men who built our urban landscapes?" In all likelihood, he imagined, many would respond that their children came to inhabit the *banlieues* on the outskirts of Paris—remaining confined, in other words, to the margins in social, economic, and often racialized ways.[40]

It is perhaps for his depictions of Portuguese migrants that Bloncourt is best remembered today, particularly in France and Portugal but also on a wider international scale.[41] He not only wanted to know (and show) how they worked and lived, but also what had brought them to France in the first place. Communism became his entry ticket into Portuguese lives determined not only by poverty but also by the *Estado Novo* dictatorship, embroiled in fighting anticolonial insurgencies in Portuguese Africa between 1961 and 1974. In Paris, he met many men who were leftist political exiles like himself as much as they were labor migrants; some were also evading military conscription in the wars of decolonization. He was inspired to chart their lives not only after their arrival in France but from their points of departure, providing a unique visual record of the migration process as it unfolded. In the mid-1960s he visited Lisbon, Porto, and the rural Chaves region in the north, photographing impoverished Portuguese villages (which many men had already left for France or other foreign destinations) and migrants' illegal journeys out of the country, accompanying them on trucks through Spain, on foot across the Pyrenees, and then on trains bound for Paris.[42]

As he came to realize, however, in France feelings of solidarity across ethnic and national lines could have decided limits, especially when it came to Algerians and others from the Maghreb. His memoir described the corrosive effects of the Algerian War within French trade unions and political organizations in the 1950s and early 1960s, and his aim to show through photographs that "we were all part of the same society in which we all had to rub shoulders, accept, and value each other." Yet he found "racism plaguing sections of the working population," and not just dividing white French from newcomers: "Sometimes [it] infect[ed] other

40. Bloncourt, *Le regard engagé*, 137–38.

41. Nuno Ferreira de Carvalho, ed., *Por uma vida melhor. O olhar de Gérald Bloncourt/ Pour une vie meilleure. Le regard de Gérald Bloncourt*, trans. A. J. Silva Onoma (Lisbon/ Lyon: Fondation Berardo/Fage, 2008); Jennifer Marc, "Pictures Tell the Story of the Portuguese in France," *New York Times*, May 24, 2013, https://rendezvous.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/05/24/pictures-tell-the-story-of-portuguese-in-france/.

42. Marie Poinsot and Anne Volery, "Entretien: Gérald Bloncourt, *Les Portugais*," *Hommes & Migrations* 1302 (2013): 152–53; Bloncourt and Petitjean, "L'œil, le monde et la colère," § 32–35; Bloncourt, *Le regard engagé*, 188–89 and 209–15.

immigrants or children of immigrants who considered themselves 'more French' than the Arabs because they themselves were European."[43]

Bloncourt's words and images do not simply reflect a particular leftist ideological perspective and an uncommon Franco-Guadeloupean-Italian-Haitian background that crossed ethnic and national lines as well as oceans. They also provide revealing insights into mass migration phenomena that encompassed a range of different experiences and groups, from Algerians settling into a decolonizing and then postcolonial European France to those who moved from south to north within Europe itself—mobilities that still tend to be studied separately, yet in reality were both comparable and convergent. Portuguese leaving a late-colonial and ultimately decolonizing Portugal competed with Algerians for the status of France's largest group of newcomers in the 1960s, 1970s, and afterwards, but were—and remain—on the sidelines of common understandings of France's diversity, despite important studies by Victor Pereira, Marie-Christine Volovitch-Tavares, and others.[44] Although Algerians—the subject of a vibrant historiography by Benjamin Stora, Abdelmalek Sayad, Neil MacMaster, Jim House, Todd Shepard, and Paul Silverstein, to name only a few—arrived legally as French Union citizens after 1947, this did not pave the way for their public acceptance or prevent France from retreating from inclusive citizenship and severely restricting their primary migration after decolonization.[45] Many Portuguese, by contrast, arrived illegally but later had their status regularized.

As Bloncourt observed, the so-called "Arab" (often an Algerian, and always a Muslim) was the main fixation, not only among native French but also among immigrant groups whose European origins, even if initially foreign, could become a form of claim-making on French national belonging. Despite distinct evidence of their racialization upon arrival, over time a sense of the shared Europeanness of groups like the Portuguese—enhanced by Portugal's ultimate accession to the European Economic Community (EEC) after the 1974 Carnation Revolution

43. Bloncourt, *Le regard engagé*, 158–59.

44. Victor Pereira, *La dictature de Salazar face à l'émigration. L'État portugais et ses migrants en France (1957–1974)* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2012); Marie-Christine Volovitch-Tavares, *Portugais à Champigny. Le temps des baraques* (Paris: Autrement, 1995). Charting Portuguese migration histories involving France also moves beyond empire-centered histories of Portuguese mobility; see Cristiana Bastos, "Intersections of Empire, Post-Empire, and Diaspora: De-Imperializing Lusophone Studies," *Journal of Lusophone Studies* 5, no. 2 (2020): 27–54; and Pedro Góis and José Carlos Marques, "Portugal as a Semi-peripheral Country in the Global Migration System," in "Migration in the Lusophone World," special issue, *International Migration* 47, no. 3 (2009): 21–50.

45. Benjamin Stora, *Ils venaient d'Algérie. L'immigration algérienne en France, 1912–1992* (Paris: Fayard, 1992); Abdelmalek Sayad, *The Suffering of the Immigrant* [1999], trans. David Macey (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004); Neil MacMaster, *Colonial Migrants and Racism: Algerians in France, 1900–62* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997); Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Paul A. Silverstein, *Algeria in France: Transpolitics, Race, and Nation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004).

launched its transition to democracy—rendered them "good immigrants," "like us," and "assimilated" (or assimilable) in the eyes of many observers, and perhaps also themselves. The presence of Muslims of North and sub-Saharan African descent, cast in the role of perennially unassimilated and threatening colonial or postcolonial outsiders regardless of birthplace or nationality, afforded the luxury of invisibility to those whose whiteness and cultural attributes (especially Catholicism) appeared to facilitate acceptance. Yet this should not obscure the overlaps Bloncourt recognized or the solidarities he hoped for, even if they proved partial and difficult to sustain.[46]

Migration Histories and Contemporary Global Europe

Irrespective of their many differences, Riis and Bloncourt both provide detailed written and visual snapshots that show Europe's dense interlocking relations with multiple global locations—an inseparability with a far longer history, to be sure, but one that has taken on particular intensity since the nineteenth century. The richness of their work should invite historians of migration to engage in greater depth with personal narratives, written and oral, from a wider range of historical actors, including not only women and children but also those whose class and educational disadvantages have rendered their experiences far less readily accessible than those of Bloncourt or Riis.[47] Together with fiction, photographs, film, music, art, and other cultural manifestations, these life stories offer finely textured individual vantage points on Europe's global turn in many of its forms—including but certainly not limited to European emigrants' place within a dynamic "transnational America" that encompassed the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America, or how Europeans circulated within and beyond particular overseas empires as workers or professionals, or for political or other reasons.[48]

Global turn approaches, moreover, provide fresh ways of analyzing internal European mobilities through their juxtapositions and convergences with peoples arriving from places both near and far that commonly fall outside habitual understandings of what counts as "Europe." Did Europe, for example, include overseas possessions that particular European states once considered part of their national territories rather than colonies, as was the case with French Algeria until 1962 or Portuguese Africa until the mid-1970s, when decolonization led former imperial powers to effectively "de-nationalize" places and peoples that had formerly

46. Victor Pereira, "Portuguese Migrants and Portugal: Elite Discourse and Transnational Practices," in *A Century of Transnationalism: Immigrants and Their Homeland Connections*, ed. Nancy L. Green and Roger D. Waldinger (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 56–83, here pp. 69 and 77.
47. Katharine M. Donato and Donna R. Gabaccia, eds., *Gender and International Migration: From the Slavery Era to the Global Age* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2015), constitutes one recent wide-ranging analysis.
48. Hoerder, "European Migrations"; Green, "The Trials of Transnationalism," 851.

qualified as French or Portuguese and rendered them newly foreign? Does Europe extend to France's *départements d'outre-mer* or their Dutch equivalents in the Caribbean that still count as part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands? And has formal access to European nationalities (whether before decolonization or in the postcolonial era) necessarily meant a full and unproblematic acceptance as properly "European"—as legitimate co-citizens—for those not of European descent or white?[49]

Questions like these underscore how capturing multiple migration histories entails more than surpassing a "methodological nationalism" that privileges the nation-state as an analytical container to the exclusion of habitual forms of cross-border flows with transnational and local resonances.[50] Just as importantly, they work against rigid frameworks that Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson have called "methodological continentalism."[51] Writing of the inseparability of the EU's mid-twentieth-century origins and the late-colonial "Eurafrican" projects shared by many of its founding member states (and which ultimately became unsustainable after decolonization), they describe "the transformation of the Mediterranean from a uniting surface into a separating [moat], a transformation that both inspires and is inspired by a 'myth of continents' that disregards connections between the histories of Africa and Europe."[52] This misleading dissociation that sidelines shared (albeit vastly unequal) imperial histories had as its counterpart the gradual coalescing of a "Fortress Europe" mentality when it came to preferred or permissible migration.

As the EEC and then the EU gradually enlarged via new member states, the commitment to internal freedom of movement had as its counterpoint an increasingly exclusionary stance towards many peoples from overseas, whether from Europe's former empires or elsewhere. After earlier accessions in 1973 (Britain, Ireland, and Denmark) and the 1980s (Greece, Spain, and Portugal), the most significant expansion occurred following the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR and the Eastern Bloc satellite regimes as the EU enlarged into eastern and central Europe from 2004. This occurred alongside the extended transition of many poorer European countries, and certainly those in southern Europe, from being societies mainly of emigration to societies attracting increasing numbers of newcomers

49. Étienne Balibar, *We, the People of Europe? Reflections on Transnational Citizenship*, trans. James Swenson (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004); Elizabeth Buettner, "Postcolonial Migrations to Europe," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, ed. Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 601–20; Buettner, "What—and Who—Is 'European' in the Postcolonial EU? Inclusions and Exclusions in the European Parliament's House of European History," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 133, no. 4 (2018): 132–48.

50. Wimmer and Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism."

51. Peo Hansen and Stefan Jonsson, *Eurafrica: The Untold History of European Integration and Colonialism* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 259–62.

52. Ibid., 260. See also Martin W. Lewis and Kären E. Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: ACritique of Metageography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 35–36, and 104–108.

in their own right.[53] As had already been the case in much of Europe's better-off northwest, these arrivals came from both inside and outside the EU. Contemplating these transformations, Adrian Favell has pondered the relationship between new "free movers" from Europe's "porous East" and its increasingly "bordered South," represented first and foremost by its increasingly fortified Mediterranean shores: "The strong suspicion is that the eastward expansion of Europe is being built with a racial logic, seeking to open borders to the East while closing them to the South."[54] At the same time, he observes, this phenomenon was rendered more complicated as newer EU citizens were "shuffled into economic roles in the West European economies assigned in the postwar period to traditional non-European immigrants" from colonies, ex-colonies, and other developing countries.[55] In this sense, they have occupied similar roles to those once played by southern Europeans like the Portuguese in and beyond France, alongside Algerians and other groups.

In other ways, however, as with "traditional non-European immigrants," the extent to which peoples from eastern EU states deserved to be called "immigrants" at all is open to debate. Given that many from Europe's former colonies arrived as citizens, ultimately became citizens, and had children born in Europe, terms like "immigrant/immigration" or even "migrant/migration" may well be patently incorrect, serving to reflect and reinforce their social and cultural exclusion. By the same token, the application of these labels to Europeans moving inside the EU can be contested on many grounds. Hungary's prime minister Viktor Orbán, for instance, insisted in early 2016 as the Brexit referendum gathered momentum that "it is very important that we are not considered as migrants … into the UK. We are citizens of a state that belongs to the European Union who can take jobs anywhere freely within the European Union."[56] As József Böröcz and Mahua Sarkar deduce

53. Italy as it shifted from being a society mainly of emigration towards one in which immigration predominated stands out as a particularly vibrant area of study that extends not only across the Atlantic and through Europe but also involves trans-Adriatic and trans-Mediterranean mobilities. Alongside Lombardi-Diop and Romeo, "Italy's Postcolonial 'Question'," Ben-Ghiat and Hom, eds., *Italian Mobilities*, and Ballinger, *The World Refugees Made*, see Pamela Ballinger, "A Sea of Difference, a History of Gaps: Migrations between Italy and Albania, 1939–1992," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 60, no. 1 (2018): 90–118, together with key collections that focus on gender issues: Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta, eds., *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); and Loretta Baldassar and Donna R. Gabaccia, eds., *Intimacy and Italian Migration: Gender and Domestic Lives in a Mobile World* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011).

54. Adrian Favell, "Immigration, Migration, and Free Movement in the Making of Europe," in *European Identity*, ed. Jeffrey T. Checkel and Peter J. Katzenstein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 167–89, here pp. 188–89.

55. Ibid., 172. On related themes, see also De Genova, *The Borders of "Europe"*; and Gabriele Proglio, "Is the Mediterranean a White Italian-European Sea? The Multiplication of Borders in the Production of Historical Subjectivity," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 20, no. 3 (2018): 406–27.

56. Cited in József Böröcz and Mahua Sarkar, "The Unbearable Whiteness of the Polish Plumber and the Hungarian Peacock Dance around 'Race'," *Slavic Review* 76, no. 2 (2017): 307–14, here pp. 312–13.

from this, the "migrant" label contains "a palpable element of 'racial' downgrading," making Orbán "keen to extricate the ethnonational category he represents ('Hungarians') from that discounted, racialized location that it has been assigned in at least some influential west European discussions of EU policy."[57]

Apparent here is the simultaneous (re-)racialization of peoples from Europe's east, a phenomenon that brings to mind not only Riis's disparaging rhetoric over a century earlier but also some Europeans' own race- and culture-based claims as "Europeans" vis-à-vis "others," particularly those not considered Christian and white—an attitude that Bloncourt would have immediately recognized (and condemned) in other contexts. Orbán's Hungary, with other member states on the EU's outer borders, has responded to the arrival of people from the Middle East, Africa, and elsewhere with anti-refugee platforms that extend beyond hostile exclusionary statements to building fences and walls to keep out those trying to enter the EU through its territory; in a similar way, mobile peoples from Europe's east might deploy racism against Muslims, blacks, and other minorities they encounter after moving further west or south. Writing of "New Europeans" in early twenty-first-century, pre-Brexit Britain, Jon Fox has suggested that "Racism darkens others and whitens the self; if this does not actually improve the standing of East Europeans, it improves their perception of their standing."[58] Studying the many historical antecedents of this broader tendency, both within and beyond a globalized Europe, helps make sense of its recent manifestations that sadly retain such immense and destructive power today.

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57. Ibid. On Hungary and the history of migrations, see also Nora Berend, "Les récits de la migration dans la Hongrie médiévale," *Annales HSS* 76, no. 3 (2021): 457–88.
58. Jon E. Fox, "The Uses of Racism: Whitewashing New Europeans in the UK," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36, no. 11 (2013): 1871–89, here pp. 1881–82.