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Introduction: Migration and the European City

1 Cities and migration in historical perspective

Looking back over the centuries, mobility and migration have always formed an important part of human existence. Given the multiplicity of push/pull factors and shifting constellations, the groups as well as trajectories involved in the movement of people can vary dramatically. It is worth remembering, for example, that regions like Europe – perceived as a preferred destination in the twenty-first century – provided large numbers of emigrants in the past, particularly during the high medieval crusades or global expansion and colonialization between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. In numbers, however, the migration of labor was to outweigh these groups by far; roughly, 60 million Europeans crossed the Atlantic to the Americas during the long nineteenth century in search of a new place of work¹.

By the close of the Middle Ages, the starting point for this volume, people had plenty of reasons to travel already²: to advance their learning, scholars – like the humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam – moved from one university to another; in their quest for salvation, pilgrims visited both local shrines as well as the distant holy sites of Rome, Santiago de Compostela, and Jerusalem; to earn a living, agricultural laborers covered great distances in search of seasonal employment at harvest time, mercenaries enlisted for whichever army promised the best prospects, while pedlars carried sought-after commodities from commercial centres into the remotest villages and mountain valleys³. Once we move into the spiritual upheavals of the early modern period, additional groups included religious refugees fleeing persecution by the confessional Churches emerging out of the European Reformations; in this way, thousands of individuals were forced into temporary or permanent exile across Europe

1 F. Tramontana, *Migrants Have Crossed the Mediterranean for Centuries – but They Used to Head from North to South*, in “The Conversation” (26 June 2018). URL: <https://theconversation.com/migrants-have-crossed-the-mediterranean-for-centuries-but-they-used-to-head-from-north-to-south-97287>; K.J. Bade, *Migration in European History*, Malden, MA 2003.

2 For surveys, see A. Mączak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. U. Phillips, Cambridge 1995; J. Verdon, *Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. G. Holoch, Notre Dame 2003; R. Salzberg, *The Renaissance on the Road: Mobility, Migration and Cultural Exchange (1400–1650)*, forthcoming.

3 Individual contexts are examined in e.g., D. Dyas, *The Dynamics of Pilgrimage. Christianity, Holy Places, and Sensory Experience*, London 2020; L. Fontaine, *History of Pedlars in Europe*, Cambridge 1996; N. Furrer et al. (eds.), *Gente ferocissima: mercenariat et société en Suisse (XVe–XIXe siècle)*, Lausanne 1997.

and beyond⁴. Alongside religious persecutions, unprecedented numbers of itinerant poor were driven from their homes by socio-economic factors, such as substantial population growth, resource shortages, and worsening climatic conditions⁵. Here again, the intensity and volume of dislocations reflected contextual factors like war and peace (in France famously the passing and revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and 1685 respectively; in the Holy Roman Empire the highly variable demographic losses of the Thirty Years War for different regions of Germany), recurrent outbreaks of plague (right up to the eighteenth century) or the timing of subsistence crises (with the 1580s and 1590s proving two particularly challenging decades across much of Europe).

For many centuries, therefore, cities all over Europe have been exposed to substantial waves of internal or international migration. In recent years, historians have investigated how mobility and migration shaped urban space and impacted on everyday life⁶. Early modern cities like Venice or Amsterdam became major cosmopolitan hubs. A crossroads of migration, trade and travel between mainland Europe and the Mediterranean, Venice's dynamic development was built on constant interchanges between locals and newcomers, between travellers and short- or long-term migrants. Although these various population movements took place under highly specific circumstances, it can be safely assumed that they reached much higher levels than once thought of for preindustrial economies⁷. Thus, for example, the records of early modern German towns provide evidence that up to one-half of the citizens had arrived as migrants, with particularly high rates among the less prosperous residents without full burgher rights. General surveys on cities in other European regions suggest similar conclusions, but the migration regimes of republics such as Venice and the Low Countries stand out as exceptional due to their high levels of urbanization and low entrance barriers for immigrants in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In any case, it seems wise to jettison the formerly stark distinction

4 N. Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World. An Alternative History of the Reformation*, Cambridge 2015. Regional case studies include O.P. Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England*, Aldershot 1996.

5 D. Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society*, London 2018.

6 L. Zenobi, *Mobility and Urban Space in Early Modern Europe. An Introduction*, in P. Gonzalez Martin / R. Salzberg / L. Zenobi (eds.), *Cities in Motion: Mobility and Urban Space in Early Modern Europe*, special issue of "The Journal of Early Modern History", 25, 2021, 1/2, pp. 2–10.

7 L.P. Moch, *Internal Migration before and during the Industrial Revolution: the Case of France and Germany*, in *Europäische Geschichte Online (EGO)*, ed. by Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2011–07–25. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/mochl-2011-en>. See also her *Moving Europeans. Migration in Europe since 1650*, Bloomington 1992, and N. Canny (ed.), *Europeans on the Move. Studies on European Migration, 1500–1800*, Oxford 1994.

between town and country because the pre-modern economy represented a closely integrated system, with seasonal flows of labor between rural and urban areas⁸.

From the early eighteenth century, further cities in the western part of the Netherlands and the Mediterranean littoral emerged as migration centers, alongside London, Paris, St Petersburg and Moscow. These major conurbations attracted above all laborers and domestics, but also skilled artisans and workers for the surrounding agricultural belts⁹.

2 Modern developments

In quantitative and qualitative terms, however, the dynamics of the industrial revolution changed this basic setup fundamentally. Firstly, in many regions internal flows of people intensified to unprecedented levels, accompanied by the rise of trans-oceanic emigration and seasonal migration. Secondly, the breakthrough of the new industrial order ensured that internal and international migrations into the cities reached new peaks. Consequently, the proportion of town dwellers became a central fact of European life as urban growth outstripped rural growth. From 1850, the ratio of Europeans living in cities doubled from 16,6 percent (including Russia) to 33,6 percent in 1913, while Europe's population underwent a massive expansion from 275 to 481 million people, all in a relatively short period¹⁰. In the year before the outbreak of the First World War, Paris, for example, reached 4.8 million inhabitants (1850: 1.05 m), Vienna 2.1 (1850: 410,000), and Naples 740,000 (1850: 409,000). Moreover, the suburbs of the large cities had grown faster than city centers, and new industrial towns had sprung up. In contrast, traditional village society and its attendant culture had lost its preeminence for good¹¹.

At this point, however, it seems necessary to introduce several caveats. Firstly, historical research has repeatedly demonstrated that urban growth was neither a linear nor a one-directional process. Instead, reoccurring rural crises made people move back and forth between their places of origin and towns repeatedly, seeking to secure a livelihood at different stages of their life cycle and in response to evolving economic circumstances. In this sense, migration to the city was in fact “a two-way

⁸ D. Hoerder / J. Lucassen / L. Lucassen, *Terminologies and Concepts of Migration Research*, in K.J. Bade et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe: from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, Cambridge 2011, pp. XXV-XXXIX, here p. XXX.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. XXV. On rural and urban labor migration in pre-industrial society see also the essays in A. Caracausi / N. Rolla / M. Schnyder (eds.), *Travail et mobilité en Europe: XVIe-XIXe siècles*, Villeneuve d'Ascq 2018.

¹⁰ F. Lenger, *Metropolen der Moderne. Eine europäische Stadtgeschichte seit 1850*, München 2013, pp. 51–53.

¹¹ T. Caponio / P. Scholten / R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of the Governance of Migration and Diversity in Cities*, London 2019.

current between town and country”¹². Only the large metropolises such as London and Paris, various textile regions (e.g., Lancashire), and industrialized city-regions deviated from this basic pattern¹³.

Compared to the enormous growth of European cities during the long nineteenth century, the ensuing decades witnessed a slowing down in the influx of migrants. However, at specific moments in time, this general trend was reversed for various reasons. On the one hand, starting with the Balkan Wars in 1912–13, mass violence prompted considerable population transfers, both temporary and permanent, which transformed Europe into a refugee-generating continent that substantially altered the structures of innumerable urban societies. Furthermore, the national-socialist German and Bolshevik Russian regimes established vast systems of forced labor in the 1930s and 1940s, which partly also impinged on the major cities in that period. After 1945, on the other hand, the global search for labor and accelerating decolonization motivated hundreds of thousands of men and women from non-European regions to leave their homes. The latter process began to gather strength with Algerians immigrating into France, post-colonial flows into the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Belgium, alongside the *retornados* fleeing from the Portuguese African colonies in the mid-1970s¹⁴.

These migrations were to impact European cities, many of which became more ethnically mixed. Often, the new arrivals settled in the urban belts which expanded dramatically from the 1950s. From about the same time, this began to be accompanied by large movements of people within a south-north labor migration system that encompassed all the Mediterranean countries as places of departure and the more industrialized countries north of the Alps as destinations. Although both governments and the public of the receiving societies – like many of the migrants themselves – perceived this as a temporary phenomenon, the so-called ‘guest workers’ often settled for good, in most cases in the vicinity of the industrial centers of European cities.

The period after the Cold War represents the latest phase of this development, when Europe began to experience massive additional flows from Asia and the developing world. Since the 1990s, asylum- and labor-seeking migrants have increasingly come from south of the Mediterranean and other countries in the southern hemisphere because industrialization and incomes there did not provide the expanding populations with sufficient means to make a living. Moreover, in many countries, the lack of political liberalization or the threat of physical violence encouraged a constant flow of refugees from the global south to Europe. This trend continues in

¹² L.P. Moch, *Internal Migration*.

¹³ F. Lenger, *Metropolen der Moderne*, pp. 87–88.

¹⁴ P.C. Emmer / L. Lucassen, *Migration from the Colonies to Western Europe since 1800*, in *Europäische Geschichte Online* (EGO), ed. by Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte (IEG), Mainz 2012–11–13. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/emmerp-lucassenl-2012-en> URN: urn:nbn:de:0159-012111308.

the present and ensures that European cities' social and cultural contours are fundamentally changing. While the phenomenon of ethnic diversity remained confined to the large capitals and industrial towns until the late 1980s, by now it has become the norm; London provides the leading example of a global metropolis, with about a third of its population foreign-born. Similar trends determine the situation in many other cities, notably Paris and Amsterdam (with 28 % foreign-born inhabitants in 2005), Frankfurt (25 %), Rotterdam (20 %) and Brussels (30 %). In recent years, cities like Galway, Lyon, Munich, Vienna, Copenhagen, and Budapest have also attracted ever growing numbers of migrants, a trend not unrelated to the dynamic growth of regional economies¹⁵. For southern European societies, all these migratory processes constituted a seminal change. Thus, countries that formerly had lost considerable parts of their population due to emigration across the Atlantic or as part of labor transfers in a widening transnational European labor market, now turned into regions that absorbed more and more migrants from abroad. For example, since the 1990s, Southern Europe has turned into a semi-periphery of global migration, with considerable shifts in the social and cultural fabric of numerous cities in the region.

Over the past twenty years or so, migration has transformed cities and towns across Europe. Many urban centres and agglomerations continue to attract an increasing share of people searching for a job and improved quality of life. As centers of economic growth that hold out opportunities for study, innovation, and employment, they function as magnets for a broad spectrum of people – national or international migrants. On average, close to two-thirds of the foreign-born population cluster in mostly metropolitan regions¹⁶. This development has led to a situation in which significant destinations such as Brussels, Paris or Milan, in which immigrants make up a far larger share of the population than the national average, have experienced a significant enhancement of their ethnic diversity. In parallel, the steady influx of new immigrants has exacerbated long-standing social problems (e.g., social inequality or crime), or augmented more general challenges (e.g., pollution, traffic congestion). In this respect, the housing sector represents one of the most sensitive fields. In metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions alike, migrants are much more likely to live in overcrowded dwellings than the native-born population.

However, the concentration of immigrants in the major receiving cities should not obscure the fact that many smaller cities in Europe also experience similar challenges¹⁷. For localities along key transit routes and those situated in the new centers of the third industrial revolution, the recent influx of asylum-seekers and other migrants has strained infrastructure and services. Recently, these problems achieved

15 St. Immerfall / G. Therborn, *Handbook of European Societies. Social Transformations in the 21st Century*, New York 2010.

16 P. Veneri, *The Integration of Migrants in OECD Regions*, in: <https://www.oecd.org/migration/forum-migration-statistics/1.Paolo-Veneri.pdf>.

17 *European Cities on the Front Line*, in: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/MPIE-LocalGovernance-FINAL.pdf>.

great notoriety in places on Europe's southern borders, such as Thessaloniki, Malaga, or Palermo, where large numbers of newcomers struggled to find their footing in tight housing markets and struggling local economies. But similar processes unfolded also in places and regions which had only minimal experience with the integration of substantial migrant flows. Thus, central and eastern European cities such as Warsaw and Gdansk in Poland have witnessed growth in their cultural and religious diversity. In comparison, other Eastern European capital cities, such as Bucharest and Sofia, have only recently begun to be acquainted with more sustained and diversified immigration numbers.

3 Research themes and challenges

As our short survey demonstrates, migration into European cities represents a longstanding and now ubiquitous phenomenon of human geographical mobility. Given the social problems we have just alluded to, it cannot come as a surprise that the public reactions of both native inhabitants and the broader national audience tend to be dominated by concern and critique. On the other hand, skilled artisans, specialized workers or socially more elevated citizens have often been welcomed by receiving communities because of their contribution to the local economy. This observation applies particularly in times of labor shortages, but positive attitudes towards immigrants can also be linked to anticipation of increased demands for goods and greater choice of marriage partners for members of the local population¹⁸.

The overall picture is thus complex and ambivalent. In many contexts, national, confessional, or even social stereotypes played a decisive role, meaning that countless Polish immigrants in Germany, Irish in England or Algerians in France (to mention only a few examples) faced a rather hostile climate, if not outright moral panics¹⁹. While the 'ethnification' of European urban life has attracted much attention in recent decades, we should not overlook longer-term tensions predating the ethnic cleansings of the twentieth century. The exact circumstances and focal points of all these processes varied in time and space, but the demographic, social and cultural flashpoints of European cities often have a long history.

Several factors can explain the enduring relationship between internal or international migration on the one hand and urban cultures on the other. In the first place, cities often represented centres of manufacturing and industrial production where migrants hoped to find a place of work. Moreover, they acted as hubs for

¹⁸ L.P. Moch, *Internal Migration*.

¹⁹ J. Lucassen / L. Lucassen / P. Manning, *Migration History. Multidisciplinary Approaches*, in J. Lucassen / L. Lucassen (eds.), *Migration History in World History. Multidisciplinary Approaches*, Leiden 2010, pp. 3–35, here p. 4. See also L. Lucassen, *The Immigration Threat. The Integration of Old and New Migrants in Western Europe since 1850*, Urbana / Chicago 2005; M. Borutta / J.C. Jansen (eds.), *Vertriebene and Pieds-Noirs in Postwar Germany and France. Comparative Perspectives*, London 2016.

trade and other commercial activities (especially the finance sector) as well as communication services and a wide array of cultural attractions. Impresarios in the latter field regularly transformed the city into a stage for all kinds of festivities and pastimes. Immigration helped to enrich their diversity, albeit exacerbating tensions along the way: perceptions of London's Notting Hill Carnival, for example, evolved from fears of disorder towards an appreciation of multicultural encounters²⁰. Even so, we should not lose sight of frictions or even violence in the relations between natives and immigrants. In cities, the successes and failures of assimilation or integration processes are starkly apparent. It is hardly a coincidence that, since the 1990s, the term "parallel society" has achieved some notoriety in public discussion on migration into the city.

While it cannot be denied that these concepts provide valuable insights into "immigration reality", they need to be treated flexibly and with due awareness of similar structures within the receiving population²¹. Two sets of problems should be kept in mind in any analysis of the long-term and interactive assimilation process in the wake of substantial immigration into cities. First, we need to distance ourselves from the assumption of a linear and unconditional adaptation of immigrants to monolithic receiving societies. Second, the common emphasis on shared cultural and ethnic characteristics of given groups of immigrants seems at least questionable if not wholly misleading.

Historical research has often limited itself to the initial settlement phases, thus disregarding that successful assimilation in most regions of Europe was the outcome of long-term social processes. Over time, initial disadvantages in the labor markets, housing, and education slowly lost their importance. This development led to a "normalization" between migrants and natives in different competitive markets, which then produced significant other effects: the primary identification of the former with the original immigrant group began to erode after one or more generations. The way in which the so-called 'guest workers' from southern Europe adapted their lifestyles and family norms to the prevalent regimes of the societies north of the Alps is a classic example.

Against this background, recent discourses on integration, inclusion, and social cohesion offer more nuanced perspectives than more traditional approaches in the field of migration history. Generally, they have paved the way for a new assimilation paradigm that can be summarized as follows: most immigrants (into cities) tend to integrate themselves by using a broad range of ethnic institutions and networks without limiting their social activities to these circles. Furthermore, the new sociological and historical approaches highlight the agency of immigrants, many of whom actively influence their settlement process, impacting both their own self-image and how they are perceived by the indigenous population. Although newcomers

²⁰ E. Buettner, *Europe after Empire. Decolonization, Society, and Culture*, Cambridge 2016, pp. 359–361.

²¹ D. Hoerder / J. Lucassen / L. Lucassen, *Terminologies and Concepts*, p. 35.

often emphasize their own ethnic identity, we need to differentiate between “ethnicity” and “symbolic ethnicity”. Whereas the former defines a situation in which members of a specific group – mainly first-generation and quite a few second-generation immigrants – confine their social activities (marriage, housing, pastimes, and economic circuits) to their “imagined communities”, “symbolic ethnicity” points to a process of negotiating (respect for) diversity among subsequent generations that is activated only in specific situations. Otherwise, the actual social behavior (in terms of marriage, use of language or attending a place of worship) often shows signs of assimilation. This is why the new conceptual approach does not only focus on “accommodation” or “acculturation”; it also leaves room for nonlinear developments, lapses and unexpected outcomes. The latter are often the result of institutional factors such as discrimination and stigmatization. Still, in many cases, they result from a deliberate choice to retain ethnicity, often for religious and cultural reasons.

Further trends in recent research include growing interest in the ‘mechanics’ of mobility on the ground, i.e. the routes taken, transition points passed and obstructions encountered as well as the infrastructures of arrival/settlement and contrasting regulatory regimes in host communities²². Contemporary urban sociologists are considering social processes of constructing and making home as a critical source of insight into human mobility, a window to look at how migrants negotiate their belonging, membership and inclusion across urban societies²³. Ever more prominent, as we have also seen, are considerations of the experiences and perspectives of the visitors and migrants themselves. Compared to early modernists, where written sources remain the principal (albeit by no means sole) source of information²⁴, scholars of the present have additional methodological tools at their disposal, ranging from the analysis of social media posts via the conduct of in-depth participant interviews to the investigation of stories and objects linked to everyday life²⁵.

²² P. Nelles / R. Salzberg (eds.), *The Mechanics of Mobility in the Early Modern World*, Amsterdam 2022; L. Scholz, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire*, Oxford 2020; P. Gonzalez Martin / R. Salzberg / L. Zenobi, *Cities in Motion*; B. De Munck / A. Winter (eds.), *Gated Communities? Regulating Migration in Early Modern Cities*, Aldershot 2012.

²³ P. Boccagni, *Migration and the Search for Home. Mapping Domestic Space in Migrants' Everyday Lives*, London 2017. See also the ERC funded research project HOMInG: <https://homing.soc.unitn.it>.

²⁴ F. Bardati / F. Nevola / E. Renzulli (eds.), *Tales of the City. Outsiders' Descriptions of Cities in the Early Modern Period*, special issue of “Città e Storia”, 7, 2012, 1.

²⁵ The latter exemplified by A. Kraus / A. Nedelkovski (eds.), *Mitgebracht. Eine Zuwanderungsgeschichte Wolfsburgs*, Hannover 2020, focusing on 85 objects from a town dominated by the motor car industry; the online exhibition *Re/Making Home* featuring artwork by Syrian refugees offered sanctuary in and around the city of Coventry in the English Midlands; or the keynote address on the complexities of culinary practices in migrant communities by Chantal Crenn at the Sixth International Food Studies Convention hosted by the European Institute for the History and Cultures of Food at Tours, France, on 4 June 2021.

Overall, it is not inappropriate to speak of a certain institutionalization in the field. Leo Lucassen holds the “Global Labour and Migration History” chair at the Dutch university of Leiden; while Andrew Geddes, author of *Governing Migration beyond the State* (Oxford 2021), is the Director of the Robert Schuman Migration Policy Centre based at the European University Institute. De Gruyter, publisher of the present collection, has announced a dedicated series, “Migrations in History”, to address the long-term roots of global patterns of migration, identify differences between different periods and highlight the wide range of available approaches. As for scholarly exchange, hardly a month passes without a relevant occasion. Even in 2021, a year marked by restrictions imposed by the Covid 19 pandemic, calls for participation were issued for “Arrival Neighbourhoods in European Cities from the Late Nineteenth to the Early Twenty-first Century” (organized from Berlin/Germany, February), “Imagining Migration, Knowing Migration” (Würzburg/Germany, February), “Liminal Existences and Migrant Resistances” (Milwaukee/US, March), “Geschichten in Bewegung [Stories in Movement]” (Berlin/Germany, March), “Migration, Adaptation and Memory” (Gdańsk/Poland, June), “Histories of Migration: Transatlantic and Global Perspectives” (Berkeley/US, October) and “Mobilities in Transition” (Lisbon/Portugal, November), to name but a few.

4 The contributions of this volume

We hope that the following chapters will help to advance the long-term, comparative study of (early) modern urbanism and civic relations. Generally, the various kinds of migration studies outlined above provide scholars with a methodological grid for studying socio-spatial differentiation, environmental dimensions, the role of citizenship and individual/collective agency, but also the cultural aspects of migration into cities. At the same time, authors pay attention to the role of bureaucracies in categorizing migrants and the role of various organizations in defending particular urban identities.

This volume is divided into four sections. The first, “Overviews”, presents general reflections on the link between migration and the city from two complementary disciplinary perspectives: sociology and spatial history. Claus Leggewie offers a sociological portrait of the long-term relationship between cities and human mobility, concentrating on the interpretation of the notion of ‘strangeness’ (or foreignness) and on the connection between urbanization and migration. Combining spatial theory with digital humanities approaches, Susanne Rau explores new ways in which scholars can conceptualize and visualize migration movements within urban environments.

The second section, “Communities”, demonstrates how immigrant communities contributed to building the urban social fabric of European cities. Focusing on the German-speaking migrants that populated Trento between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, Serena Luzzi analyzes the cultural and socioeconomic factors that

shaped the formation of a recognizable cohesive community (e.g., language, religion, shared urban spaces, professional occupations). Using the example of land-locked Ulm in southern Germany, Philip Hahn examines how temporary employment in armies and East India Companies affected the experience and perception of early modern individuals in their place of origin. While Luzzi and Hahn concentrate on towns of modest size, Camille Creighton and Panikos Panayi's essays investigate the impact of migration on booming metropolitan environments such as modern Paris and contemporary London. Creighton reflects on the role played by a special category of arrivals, the many exiles who came to Paris from different parts of Europe in the 1830s and 1840s, considering both their contribution to the intellectual life of the city and their interaction with other local groups. Exploring a migration history dating back two millennia, Panayi illustrates the unique combination of factors that made London the migrant capital of the world today. Over the centuries different newcomers, ranging from the invading ancient Romans to contemporary Russian billionaires, helped to make London a magnet for a constant flux of migration.

The third section, "Policies", explores how cities and states established principles and rules that enabled people to move to and through them, but simultaneously tried to control and monitor these flows. Both Marco Schnyder's and Beate Althammer's contributions reflect general shifts from physical boundaries – such as borders, doors, walls, city-gates – towards documentary or bureaucratic systems (like passports) over the course of the early modern period. But control is not necessarily the same as restriction of movement. While Schnyder highlights the importance of identification documents for Swiss migrants to move through the Republic of Venice and the Savoyard States before 1800, Althammer focuses on the evolution of local practices of migration monitoring in nineteenth-century Prussian cities such as Cologne, Düsseldorf, and Berlin. Advocating a "local turn" in migration history, and focusing on postwar Bristol, Dortmund and Malmö, Sarah Hackett, Brian Shaev, Pål Brunnström, and Robert Nilsson Mohammadi's comparative article shows how cities and local actors played – and continue to play – crucial roles in the evolution of wider European migration and integration policies.

The final section, "Representations", focuses on senses, memory and topography. Rosa Salzberg captures the sounds of an early modern "migropolis", reconstructing the sensory-experience of strangers arriving in the city of Venice in the sixteenth century. Listening to voices and noises helps us to recover important parts of everyday urban life. David Do Paço applies the concept of super-diversity to analyze the ways in which migrants interacted and socialized in the eighteenth-century port city of Trieste, in a period of high demographic growth and social diversification. Do Paço examines the various categories (like language, religion, socio-economic status and citizenship) employed by contemporary topographers to represent the social fabric of the city, inviting historians to take all of them into account. Obviously, migrants' representations could also be influenced by their own past experience of urban poverty, decay and deprivation, as shown by Antony Taylor's essay on British settlers in Australia and New Zealand around 1900. In the Australian colonies, their

cultural memory had a strong impact on the reconciliation of the urban and the rural that characterized the expansion of suburbia.

Taken together, the volume's contributions engage with a variety of topics, disciplinary perspectives, and conceptual approaches yet also with a number of common themes. One revolves around problems of definition, both in terms of demarcating cities from their surroundings – given the limitations of conventional criteria such as physical features, legal privileges, population size, occupational differentiation and centrality functions (especially if we take suburbs and economic hinterlands into consideration)²⁶ – and of distinguishing migration in a narrower sense from other forms of short- and long-distance mobility (such as seasonal labor movements or temporary relocations). Further shared concerns include the integration of multiple analytical scales (ranging from micro encounters in streets and neighbourhoods via meso-level exchange in regional networks to macro processes affecting societies as a whole), contextual factors (political systems, socio-economic structures, religious norms, and cultural practices) and diachronic variables (such as urbanization, industrialization, and the digital revolution). Building on recent research, the essays suggest a number of ways in which the field might productively evolve: examining all forms of migration and mobility alongside each other; moving from linear and unified assumptions towards greater recognition of heterogeneous patterns in both migrant experiences and host community attitudes; and – most challenging of all – devising ways to arrive at overall assessments of social benefits and costs.

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26 C.R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City*, London 1995, esp. Part I.

