Superdiversity from a historical perspective

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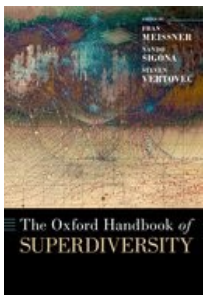

The Oxford Handbook of Superdiversity

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CHAPTER

6 Superdiversity from a Historical Perspective

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Abstract

In general, historians are skeptical when new terms are introduced, asking whether the term and what it seeks to describe are really new. Over time, researchers have introduced new terms to describe the diversities and complexities they observe. And they have often observed that what they experienced was new, and of unprecedented and ever-increasing speed, scale, and scope. That observation is in some measure true, but it does not mean there are no similarities in how migrants relate to their migrations; how societies, countries of origin, transit, and destination) respond to their departures and arrivals; and how change shapes or influences an experience. There is merit in pointing out newness. But there is also merit in pointing out and explaining continuities. There is continuity in the introduction of new terms. Authors have introduced a multitude of terms, and the differences between them are often not as large as those who coin them suggest. Past differences and changes are easily smoothed over. This chapter shows that problematizing migration today works by deproblematizing that of the past, by homogenizing groups, mostly in retrospect, and by denying the complexities of the past.

Keywords: intersectionality, history, migration, ethnic pluralism, social change

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Introduction

WHEN, in 2007, Steven Vertovec introduced the term *superdiversity*, historians were fast to point out that the word was new, but the phenomenon was not (for an overview, see Foner 2017). This response was not unexpected: As a rule, sociologists emphasize newness, and historians seek to explain continuity and discontinuity. In general, historians are always skeptical when new terms are introduced, asking whether the term or what it describes is really new. For instance, in 1920, 40 percent of the population of New York City was foreign born, as it is now. Currently, 40 percent of the people in London are foreign-born, which is considerably more than the 3.3 percent who were foreign-born in 1920 (Martin 1955). London now looks more like New York. That is interesting, but the question is whether it merits the coinage of a new concept. Do historians need the term *superdiversity* to be aware of reconfigurations? Does a new concept help historians to ask different questions? How does superdiversity relate to older concepts seeking to explain diversity? This chapter attempts to answer these questions.

Superdiversity

Vertovec (2007) defined *superdiversity* as the "diversification of diversity." He used it to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the United Kingdom had experienced before (Vertovec 2019). The concept was meant to highlight three aspects (Meissner and Vertovec 2015): (1) changing configurations of people, whereby new immigrants from a broad range of national, ethnic, linguistic, and religious backgrounds arrived in societies with diverse older populations; (2) diversification of migration channels; and (3) diversification of legal statuses, gender and age composition, and human capital. In particular, the "regulatory complexity" (Hall 2017) and the increasing "social complexities related to migration" (Vertovec 2007) were seen as new.

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Superdiversity could be used (1) descriptively, to describe the three points mentioned above); (2) methodologically, to address complex social formations); and (3) practically, to enable policymakers to deal with complex realities. This last point implied that superdiversity could lead policymakers and implementers to move away from "ethno-focal" (or "community"-based) policies and services. Policies and practices that had worked in the past were no longer seen as useful or relevant in the new superdiverse setting (Berg and Sigona 2013). "Superdiversity … emerged at a juncture where old concepts such as integration or assimilation as quasi-linear processes of migrant incorporation had lost their explanatory power" (Meissner 2015). For Kirwan (2021), superdiversity is a theory that "offers researchers a research lens … which overrides simplistic explanatory models that assume a one-size-fits-all approach …. The breakthrough which superdiversity theory offered … was its capacity to excavate the multi-factorial nature of societal change flowing from migration phenomena" (p.2).

The observations regarding the linear and simplistic process are a bit surprising. In 1945, there were still some authors who adhered to the straight-line theory, but in the 1990s, that theory was abandoned based on critiques from, among others, Gans (1992), Rumbaut (1997), and Waldinger and Perlmann (1997). In response, Portes and Zhou (1993) coined the concept *segmented assimilation*, the idea that the offspring of some immigrants showed not upward mobility but downward mobility. They had assimilated into the lower class and were not—across generations—able to move out of it. For some migrants, integration eventually meant upward mobility, but for many others, it was a bumpy ride (Gans 1992) or a downward slide (Alba and Nee 2003). The bumpy ride and segmented assimilation theories replaced the idea of straight-line assimilation.

Older Concepts

Over time, researchers began introducing new terms to describe the new diversities and complexities they observed and to explain how they were created, perpetuated, responded to, and experienced. In 1924, the term *cultural pluralism* was introduced to describe how groups in (US) society maintained cultural identities. The number of publications on this issue peaked in the 1920s, after a period of increased migration to the United States between 1880 and 1910 and various attempts to justify immigration restrictions. Kellor (1920) wrote a thick book about the persistence of ethnicity and the enormous diversity within US society. People in the 1920s were, according to Kellor, surprised by diversity. They saw a world in which the great-grandchildren of immigrants still did not speak English; the descendants of immigrants held on to "old world customs and manners of living"; immigrants formed isolated communities, which sat as islands in the cities; and descendants of immigrants often favored the land of their forefathers ↳ over America.
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Countries in Europe, according to Kellor, in contrast to the United States, all had dominant nationalities, but also strong minorities who were "averse to being assimilated." Kellor regarded cultural pluralism as a complex subject to which authorities were responding by encouraging (in the European case) or restricting (in the US case) migration, opening and closing migration channels while trying to do so.

Many authors were writing about the same issues. Kansas (1928), for instance, published a book on the subject, as did Davie (1936), who wrote: "All important immigrant-receiving countries have already been profoundly affected by immigration" (p. vii). Davie made a prediction about future migrations. Like most predictions about migration and its consequences, his was wrong. "So far as the Western world is concerned, mass migration is now probably a thing of the past," (p. vii) he wrote. He did acknowledge the dramatic worldwide changes taking place in the past decades, noting, "Immigration is not only the life history of the countries of the New World, it is a world-wide problem, with practically every nation involved. To such an extent has the world become unified that human migration today sets up reactions of international scope" (p. 1). The transport revolution, with its fast trains and steamships (which had reduced the length of a transatlantic crossing from twenty-one to five days) and the revolution in communication (cheap newspapers and the telegraph, telephone, and radio) had made it easier than ever before to travel and stay in touch, thus profoundly changing how people experienced migrations. Davie labeled the changes in scale and scope as unprecedented, as did many authors before and after him.

Most authors acknowledged the "plurality" of this period and its consequences. In the nineteenth century, Chicago was the fastest growing city in the world, increasing from 299,000 people in 1870 to nearly 1.7 million thirty years later. In this setting, almost everybody was a migrant. Large numbers of migrants came from Germany, China, France, Canada, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Switzerland, Italy, Poland, Russia, the Netherlands, Ireland, and Turkey. In addition, there were migrants from numerous other countries. These groups showed so much internal diversity (of language, religion, nationality, legal status, and class) that they should not be considered (and were not considered or considered themselves) as one group. Even within groups that shared the same religion, there was diversity in orthodoxy: there were, for instance, large differences between secular and orthodox Jews. Park and Burgess (1924) were an exception to the awareness shown by others: because they did not understand most of the immigrants' languages, they homogenized groups, seeking to simplify reality.

After World War II, the unemployment of the 1930s, which had led to severe restrictions on immigration and left refugees with almost no possibility of escape, was seen a scenario that should be avoided in the future at all costs. Fears that the scenario might be repeated, in combination with the severe housing shortages, made many European countries introduce unprecedented schemes of assisted emigration. These schemes differentiated migrants according to gender, class, religion, ethnicity, skills, and education. Australia, for instance, had a White policy that barred the migration of people of color, severely restricted the immigration of Jews, preferred Catholics over Protestants, families over singles, and skilled workers over

p. 92 unskilled workers (Schrover ↳ and Van Faassen 2010). The people who wanted to leave had political motives (they had been Nazi collaborators, or feared a third world war), economic motives (to escape the destruction and poverty in Europe), family reasons (starting a family was difficult because of the housing shortage) or they were refugees (who fled during or after the war). All migrations were mixed. In order to regulate these migrations, Australia entered into migration agreements with Italy, the Netherlands, Austria, Belgium, Greece, Spain, West Germany, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States, and also brought people to Australia from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, and Yugoslavia (Mence, Gangell, and Tebb 2015). The agreements concluded between the countries of origin and of destination were meant to deal with the complex structures that stood at the beginning and the end of the migratory trajectories. They became the blueprint for the regulation of the guest-worker migration, which started soon afterward.

Between 1958 and 1972, about eight million work permits were issued to guest workers from Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Morocco to work in Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. Many more arrived without permits. East Germany had a similar labor migration regime and recruited workers from Vietnam, Poland, Hungary, Cuba, Mozambique, Algeria, Angola, China, and North Korea (Ireland 1997; Rabenschlag 2014). The Bracero Program brought four to five million workers into the United States from 1942 to 1960s, mainly from Mexico, but also from the British West Indies, and Jamaica. Canada also recruited workers from the same regions (Massey and Pren 2012; Plascencia 2016). Non-Western countries also recruited workers during this period of economic growth. In the 1960s, Mauritania, Ghana, and Côte d'Ivoire, for instance, attracted workers from Senegal, Mali, Guinea, and Gambia. Workers from Mali, Niger, and Chad also migrated to construction sites and oil fields in Algeria and Libya (Bakewell and De Haas 2007). Migrations from Chad, Ghana, Mali, and Nigeria, countries with the world's largest internal language diversity, resulted in migrations that were diverse in many respects (Pavlenko 2019). All these guest-worker migration programs were highly regulated and could only function because of a highly complex interplay between state authorities, employers, and NGOs.

Among the guest workers who came to countries in northwest Europe were those who had not only had economic but also political reasons for leaving: Some of the Portuguese migrants were fleeing the repressive Salazar regime and the draft for wars in Mozambique and Angola. Spanish guest workers who opposed the Franco regime left for political reasons as much as economic ones. Guest workers from Morocco left during the so-called Years of Lead, the repressive regime of King Hassan II, escaping both poverty and repression. Turkish guest workers sought to escape the political coups of the 1970s and ethnic and religious tensions in Eastern Turkey, and Greek guest workers fled the Greek Colonels' regime. The guest-worker migrations were categorized as labor migrations but the movement is best described as mixed.

At the time of this guest-worker migration, many authors thought that what was happening was new, complex, and unprecedented. Rist (1978), for instance, wrote:

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> It is apparent to even the most casual of observers. Whether one meets the Algerian waiter in Paris, the Italian streetcar conductor in Zurich, the Turkish bellhop in Berlin, or the Yugoslav laborer in Stockholm, they are but individual confirmations of the fact that Western Europe has become a vast area of immigration. These new immigrants have come by the millions.... The most immediate consequence of this immense infusion of people from so many varying ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds into the Northern countries is that these countries have now become mosaics. Where they were once relatively homogeneous and their citizens easily identifiable, they have now become heterogeneous and pluralistic. It is but one example of the magnitude of this transformation, both in absolute numerical terms as well as in its cultural manifestations" (p. 81).

In the 1960s, several countries, including the United Kingdom, Sweden, Germany, Australia, the Netherlands, the United States, and Canada, introduced (partly in response to guest-worker migration)

multiculturalism as an ideology and a policy for managing the complex cultural diversity that resulted from migration (Runblom 1994; Jopke 2007). Their multiculturalist policies "allowed" immigrants to be different from the rest of the population, and encouraged them to hold on to their languages and cultures (McGoldrick 2005; McKerl 2007; Schrover 2010). Initially, the idea of multiculturalism was appealing because acknowledging the rights of groups was seen as a way to reduce social conflict (Schrover 2010, 2013b). Multiculturalism as a policy led to formalized relationships between and within groups based on a conception of them as internally homogenous and having unique inherent characteristics (Uitermark, Rossi, and Van Houtum 2005; Salaff and Chan 2007; Verkuyten and Brug 2004). Multiculturalism pressed people to organize into groups based on perceived cultural similarity (Kurien 2004). Differences between groups were overemphasized, and diversity within groups was denied. Multiculturalism was a policy, not a reality. Over time, however, it came to be seen as a reality.

In the 1990s, it was declared that multicultural policies had failed, though this assessment sprang from a redefinition of the goals of multiculturalism, from "living apart together" to "integration." The so-called failure of the multicultural model left a void, especially for policymakers and practitioners. It led to the introduction of new terms. In the 1990s, authors showed they were sensitive to the consequences of increased diversity and social (in)equality, using concepts such as *social carrying capacity* (Light, Bhachu, and Karageorgis [1993] 2017), *cultural complexity* (Eriksen 2007) or *heterogeneity*, which would lead to a disintegration of communities (Lea and Young 1981).

In response, there were attempts to move away from an ethnic lens to policies that would enforce social cohesion (Schrover 2010). The concept of "mainstreaming" was introduced to make immigrant and minority integration interventions part of policies targeting "disadvantaged" groups in general. Mainstreaming shifted policies from specific to generic (Scholten, Collett, and Petrovic 2017). Policy mainstreaming led practitioners, who work with diverse populations, to understand that the previous approaches focused on ethnicity and migrant identity were insufficient, but they were unsure of how to proceed independently of such approaches (Poppelaars and Scholten 2008; Vacchelli and Mesarič 2020; Schiller 2015).

p. 94 In the meantime, the concept of intersectionality became increasingly popular. Feminist scholars had introduced this concept in the 1980s to draw attention to the intersection between categories of identity and power. Changes in power, equality/inequality, and identity can only be explained when all the categories of exclusion and inclusion are studied simultaneously, authors emphasized (Frager 1999; Crenshaw 1989; McCall 2005; Boris 2005; Davis 2008). The early literature focused on gender, class, race/ethnicity, and religion as categories for the analysis of power and equality/inequality and defining elements of identity (personal, social, legal), social location, opportunity, and experience. Later literature also included age, (dis)ability, sexuality, education/skill/occupation, skin color, life cycle, legal status and residence rights, and nationality/citizenship (Schrover and Moloney 2013; Schrover 2014).

The concept intersectionality has been used in hundreds of thousands of publications, paying testimony to its usefulness in explaining the complexities of diversities. According to some authors, intersectionality is more suitable for studying diversity within diversity than superdiversity is, because intersectionality pays attention to more categories of identity and power, and more systematically analyzes the ways they intersect (Anthias 2013; Khazaei 2018). According to Berg and Sigona (2013, 348) "diversity" can do for migration studies, what intersectionality has done for feminist studies, marking a change from a focus on entities to a focus on relations, and enabling "scholars to be alert to the spatial dimensions of the politics of difference" (p.348). However, this overlooks the broad use of intersectionality in migration research (Bastia 2014). According to Aptekar (2019), some authors writing about superdiversity unjustly dismissed intersectionality as an outdated concept because they believed it was too focused on race, class and gender. Meissner and Vertovec (2015) write:

> Some feminist scholars have been critical of the super-diversity concept because they feel it overlooks earlier theoretical notions of intersectionality. Intersectionality indeed emphasizes multi-variable effects, but by far most of the intersectionality literature focuses exclusively on the combined workings of race, gender and class. The concept of super-diversity does not challenge anything about theories of intersectionality in this sense; rather, the former is concerned with different categories altogether, most importantly nationality/country of origin/ethnicity, migration channel/legal status and age as well as gender." (p. 545)

This observation overlooks that the literature on intersectionality has moved well beyond looking at gender, class and ethnicity only.

More and Different?

Meissner and Vertovec (2015) point out that since 1970 the number of countries experiencing migration has increased. This observation needs to be critically examined. In the first place, the number of countries in the
p. 95 world is not the same. After 1989, ↳ Czechoslovakia fell apart into two successor states; the former Yugoslavia was divided into seven states; and the Soviet Union was broken up into fifteen successor states. Where before 1989, there were three recognized countries, there are now twenty-four. There are 195 countries in the world today, compared to 143 in 1969. The absolute number of people living outside their country of birth increased from 93 million in 1960 to 244 million in 2016. This increase is in line with the growth of the global population, from 3.0 billion in 1960 to 7.5 billion in 2016. The global share of people living outside their country of birth is now 3 percent, as it has been for the last six decades. More important than changes in the number of countries or percentages, is the problem that the further away from the Western world, and the further back in time, the more difficult it becomes to estimate the number of people who migrated, or to know how this affected diversities and complexities (Schrover 2013a). Migrations from, to, or within the Western world have been described more often and in greater detail than other migrations (McKeown 2010; Bade et al. 2011; Ness et al. 2013). Underregistration also had to do with the definitions of who is a migrant, and which borders are relevant (Urry 2004; Cresswell 2010; De Bruijn 2014). It has to do with authorities caring less about certain categories of migrants. In the period from 1946 to 1970, for instance, 617,000 White people migrated to South Africa. They were carefully registered. The Black workers who came between 1913 and 1986 from Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Malawi, however, were not registered in a similar manner, or were not registered at all. In addition, migrant women worldwide were as a rule registered less often than men (Schrover 2013a).

There had been large-scale migrations in the past, and there were diverse societies. In 1498, for instance, Vasco da Gama described the highly diverse societies in Mozambique, Mombasa, and Malindi (Dussubieux and Robertshaw 2012; Oonk 2013). Over time, we see continuous change in the demographics of the migrants, their routes, and the responses. Between 1547 and 1860, 11 to 14 million enslaved Africans were shipped across the Atlantic (Lofkrantz and Ojo 2012; Matlou 2013), 12 million enslaved people were transported across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean between 600 and 1900, and 7.4 million enslaved people moved north across the Sahara between 800 and 1900 (Austen 1992). There were large differences within the enslaved populations. For instance, 5 million enslaved people were brought to the Caribbean who came from what is now Ghana, Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Angola, Congo, and Gabon. Upon arrival, groups were purposely split up and mixed so that—without a common language and any other ties—the risk of revolt was reduced. References to "slaves" or "enslaved people" homogenize groups and deny the differences.

The Caribbean islands changed hands frequently: islands were alternately ruled by the Dutch, the French, the British, the Spanish, the Portuguese, and, to a lesser extent, the Danes and the Swedes. Travel between

the Caribbean islands was frequent, cheap, and easy, and for many travelers, state barriers and state control had little relevance (Van Rossem and Van der Voort 1996). This resulted in mixed societies in which a great variety of languages was spoken, and in which people lived with blurred ties and identities. Authorities in
p. 96 the seventeenth century did seek to differentiate between, for instance, ↳ Iberian Whites and Northwestern European Whites (Beriss 1991), and according to class, whereby White paupers (*petits blancs*) were seen as problematic and likely to get involved in a racially mixed relationship. The wish to categorize and control far surpassed their ability to do so.

In all colonial settings, (legal) differences were established for the colonized and the colonizers. Colonizers moved people within their empires, and as colonial subjects, they were not registered as foreigners, even if they had crossed half the globe to get to there. Neither the colonizers nor the colonized ever came from only one country. People in the Malay Strait settlements, which later became the independent countries of Singapore and Malaysia, for instance, have origins in almost all European countries, including Russia, as well as in British India, Burma, Japan, China, French Indochina, and the Dutch East Indies. The people in the colony perceived the population as superdiverse and saw the Malay Strait settlements as a "plural society" with a "widely diverse population" that was "multiethnic" (Hirschman 1986; Braga-Blake and Ebert-Oehlers 1992). There were, for instance, differences between colonizers and colonized and within groups among the Eurasian group in Hong Kong. Eurasians were people with European (fore)fathers and so-called native mothers; "native" was a legal category in the colonial setting, along with "European" and "foreign Oriental." Within the Eurasian group in Hong Kong, there were tensions between the Portuguese group, which had Catholic ties and Portuguese names; the Chinese Eurasians, who had Chinese names, dressed Chinese and observed Chinese customs; and the British Eurasians, who were Protestant and had a British lifestyle. Over the years, the boundaries between these groups became so blurred that the authorities were unable to categorize them, although they kept trying. In the Dutch East Indies these attempts led to very broad estimates of the numbers: The number of Eurasians was assumed to be between 220,000 and 9 million (Rosen Jacobson 2018).

The blurring of boundaries also occurred in other colonial settings. On Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) there were, from 1815 onward, descendants of Dutch settlers, who formed a rather diverse community with the descendants of the Portuguese and the British on the island. The Portuguese had come before the Dutch, and the British arrived after the Dutch rulers had left. Those with Portuguese ancestry were generally of the lower-class and darker skinned than those with Dutch and British forefathers. The latter group confirmed this hierarchy by jealously guarding racial boundaries and distinguishing themselves from the Portuguese Catholics (Rosen Jacobson 2018). Historians studying colonialism have paid ample attention to how class, gender, and ethnicity intersected in the colonial setting; how these complexities bolstered or undermined colonial authority; and how mechanisms of passing and masquerading influence how lines were drawn and blurred over time (Bhabha 1984; Stoler 1989, 2010; Clancy-Smith and Gouda 1998; Pattynama 2000).

In the 1950s, and after the Dutch East Indies had become the independent Republic of the United States of Indonesia, 400,000 people migrated to the Netherlands. They do not show up in as foreigners in any records or statistics because they had Dutch citizenship. That does not mean that they were not perceived or self-
p. 97 identified as different. ↳ There were also large within-group differences depending on skin color, education, age, and family composition. The Dutch authorities responded to these differences and treated those believed to be oriented toward the East (by which they meant low-skilled and dark-skinned) very differently from those believed to oriented to the West (Rosen Jacobson 2018). The same applies to, for instance, the 400,000 migrants who came in the 1970s from the former Dutch colony Surinam; the 800,000 *Pieds Noirs*, who migrated to France when Algeria became independent in 1962; the Anglo Indians who went to Britain after India became independent; and *retornados* who came to Portugal. The end of colonialism led to endless debates and multiple changes in the laws barring former subjects from citizenship or taking away their citizenship (Sutherland 2005; Small and Solomos 2006; Pawley 2008).

Ideas about the right to return (and the laws and regulations that sprang from debates) built on ideas grounding the 1923 Population Exchange between Turkey and Greece, whereby more than two million people were "returned" to either Greece or Turkey (Ross 2015). More than a century earlier, the Back to Africa movement had encouraged the "return" of enslaved people from the Americas to Africa, although "returnees" did not go to the countries their ancestors came from. Attempts to organize these returns continued well into the twentieth century (Lombardo 2002).

"Returnees" had in common that most had never been to the "mother country." This also applies to the 4.5 million so-called *Aussiedler* and *Spätaussiedler*, who came from the Soviet Union/Russia to (West) Germany: they initially received citizenship upon arrival and do not show up in the statistics as foreigners, although they perceived themselves, and were perceived by others as different. This is not to say that none of these groups of "returnees" were counted (they were, of course; Dietz 2006). The point is that the "returnees" were less visible in certain categorizations, and this reduced the idea of past diversities. It created a false idea about the increase of diversity in later periods.

After 2007, the new countries of the European Union increasingly started to make use of these laws of return, building on this very long history of thinking about belonging (DeTinguy 2003). In recent decades the laws of return enabled large numbers of co-ethnic "returnees" to enter the European Union. Poland accepted co-ethnic returnees from Kazakhstan. Greece resettled 155,000 co-ethnic returnees from the (former) Soviet Union between 1977 and 2002 (Voutira 2004). The Czech Republic currently gives rights to Czechs who decades ago were deported to the Ukraine. Spain and Portugal give preferential rights to people whose ancestors migrated from Spain, including people who were driven out by the Spanish Inquisition in 1492. The right has been used by migrants from Central and South American countries and Turkey. Finland encouraged the return of Ingrian Ethnic Finns (Lutheran labor migrants who had moved to the Russian province Ingria in the seventeenth century and who were reallocated to other parts of the Soviet Union during World War II). There are many other countries that follow this principle: The Republic of Armenia, and the Republic of Belarus, for instance, give preferential rights, as does China to ethnic or overseas Chinese, and Japan to Japanese from, for instance, Brazil. Whether "returnees" got citizenship upon arrival
p. 98 differed by country and time period. Overall, the returns are not new; they constitute a very large ↳ degree of complexity because of the constantly changing rules and continuous debates, based on a long tradition of thinking about difference and belonging.

More or less the same complexity, continuity, and continuous change is found in debates on statelessness. Statelessness, over time, has led to extensive debate and interference from states, intergovernmental bodies such as the League of Nations, and numerous NGOs (Schrover, Vosters, and Glynn 2019). Debates about statelessness peaked after a Soviet decree in 1921 deprived one to two million people of their Russian nationality (Cabanes 2014). Debates flared up when 32,000 to 35,000 men from a large number of countries were deprived of their citizenship after fighting against the fascists during the Spanish Civil War. In the same period, Nazi Germany deprived German Jews of their citizenship. Those who survived the Holocaust later fought against renationalizations, and for the right to remain stateless (Fraser and Caestecker 2013). Decolonization created new groups of stateless people. In 1962, for instance, Algerians in France could become French citizens if they made a "declaration of acceptance" of the French Republic. Many declined and became stateless.

When Yugoslavia fell apart in the 1990s, Yugoslav citizenship disappeared. In Slovenia, this led to the creation of a group of some 18,000 people who were called the "Erased." They were considered to be nationals of another Yugoslav successor state, who lived in Slovenia. They were asked to register as "foreigners" and when they refused or failed to do so, they were removed from the registry of Permanent Residence, losing social, civil, and political rights. The end of the Soviet Union also created new groups of stateless people. Estonia and Latvia had been part of the Soviet Union since 1940. When their independence was restored in 1991, people who had been Latvian or Estonian citizens prior to June 1940 and their

descendants were automatically granted citizenship. However, people who arrived after 1940 did not automatically receive citizenship. They had to apply for naturalization as immigrants, a process that included a knowledge test and a language test in Estonian or Latvian. These criteria discriminated against ethnic Russians. Some decided not to apply for Estonian or Latvian citizenship and became stateless. In other Soviet Union successor states (Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Kirgizia) similar processes occurred.

Overall, many more examples could be given of changes in numbers and in the diversification of migration channels and legal statuses in the past. There is continuity in these changes.

Where Are the Historians?

Vertovec (2019) analyzed how the word *superdiversity* was used in 325 publications across multiple disciplines. In historical research, it was seldom used: 4 times out of 325. When historians do use the concept, they deny newness, and point to, for instance, the highly diverse population of ancient Rome. De Bock (2015) writes: "Due to its claim of contemporary exceptionalism, the notion of superdiversity raises
p. 99 suspicion among ↳ historians." She adds: "However, historians would do well to not dismiss the entire superdiversity debate as more hype that does not concern them.... We might not agree with the idea that the diversity caused by the 'new migrations' ... is all that exceptional, but we could recognize the possibilities that the concept of superdiversity has to offer." De Bock concludes we could "explore diversity within past ... populations. Looking at superdiversity through a historical lens then can help assess its claim of contemporary exceptionalism, as historical examples will provide a better insight into what it is—if anything—about the current configurations of diversity ... that is different from those in the past" (De Bock 2015) (p. 593). De Bock called on historians to see what they could learn from using the concept of superdiversity, and on nonhistorians working with the superdiversity concept to see what they could learn from history. Historians could "debunk some of the homogenizing categories that tend to characterize the representation of past immigrant populations" (De Bock 2015, p. 583). Using a superdiversity perspective might show that the homogenizing label "guest worker" does not adequately describe this migrant cohort (Meissner & Vertovec 2015). This observation is surprising. That the label "guest worker" does not describe these migrants is true, but a multitude of older studies observed this well before the superdiversity concept was introduced (Martin & Miller 1980; Jones 1990; Kudat and Sabuncuoglu 1980, to name only a few).

Nonhistorians using the concept superdiversity very seldom refer to historical studies even when they on rare occasions do provide historical information (Fomina 2010). They do not do so even though there an enormous number of historical studies are available. According to Meissner and Vertovec (2015): "Much of the history of migration studies has been comprised of research focused on particular ethnic or national groups, their migration processes, community formation, trajectory of assimilation (in the American sense), and latterly their patterns of transnationalism. Super-diversity underlines the necessity to re-tool our theories and methods, not least in order to move beyond what some call the 'ethno-focal lens' " (p. 542). There are historical studies that use an ethno-focal lens, but there are also large numbers of historical studies that do not (Kowalski, Matera, and Sokolowicz 2020; Wasem 2020; Althammer 2020; Schepers 2020; Reimann 2020; Bright 2018; Lorke 2018; De Hart 2017; Puschmann et al. 2016, to name just some recent studies; see also Hoerder 2002; Bade et al. 2011; Ness et al. 2013).

Conclusion

Historians have paid attention to how diversity was created, perpetuated, responded to, and experienced. They have described how the configurations and demographics of immigrant populations and of the societies from which they came, passed through, or settled in changed over time. They have studied how migration channels closed and opened; how debates and laws about legal status and immigrant rights were influenced by state authorities, NGOs, intergovernmental bodies, and migrants themselves, and how all responded to or stimulated change. They have described how contemporaries ↳ differentiated groups, how differences were made between and within groups, how migrants were categorized (or self-categorized), and how they were othered or homogenized into groups. This chapter only scratched the surface of this extensive body of literature. At many points in time, people observed that what they experienced was new and unprecedented: speed, scale, and scope were seen as ever increasing. Of course, that observation is in some measure true, but that does not mean there are no similarities in how migrants relate to their migrations, how societies (countries of origin, transit, and destination) respond to their departure and arrival, and how change was shaped or influenced an experience. There is a merit in pointing out newness. There is, however, also a merit in pointing out and explaining continuities. As this chapter has shown there is continuity in the introduction of new terms. Authors have introduced a multitude of terms and the differences between them are not as large as those who coin the terms suggest they are. Looking back over time, differences and changes are easily smoothed over. Problematizing the migration of today works via deproblematizing that of the past, homogenizing groups, mostly in retrospect, and denying the complexities of the past. The contribution of historians to the debate about superdiversity is to counter collective amnesia and show how we can and do build on earlier debates, policies, and experiences.

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