New diasporas
Global diasporas

Series Editor: Robin Cohen

The assumption that minorities and migrants will demonstrate an exclusive loyalty to the nation-state is now questionable. Scholars of nationalism, international migration and ethnic relations need new conceptual maps and fresh case studies to understand the growth of complex transnational identities. The old idea of “diaspora” may provide this framework. Though often conceived in terms of a catastrophic dispersion, widening the notion of diaspora to include trade, imperial, labour and cultural diaporas can provide a more nuanced understanding of the often positive relationships between migrants’ homelands and their places of work and settlement.

This book forms part of an ambitious and interlinked series of volumes trying to capture the new relationships between home and abroad. Historians, political scientists, sociologists and anthropologists from a number of countries have collaborated on this forward-looking project. This is one of two books providing the defining, comparative and synoptic aspects of diasporas, while over fifteen further titles are planned. These will look both at traditionally recognized diasporas and those newer claimants who define their collective experiences and aspirations in terms of a diasporic identity.

This series is associated with the Transnational Communities Programme at the University of Oxford funded by the UK’s Economic and Social Research Council.

Already published:
*Global diasporas: an introduction*. Robin Cohen

Forthcoming books include:
The Sikh diaspora: the search for statehood. Darshan Singh Tatla
The Italian labour diaspora. Donna Gabaccia
The Greek diaspora: from Odyssey to EU. George Stubos
The Japanese diaspora. Michael Weiner, Roger Daniels, Hiroshi Komai
New diasporas

The mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities

Nicholas Van Hear
*University of Oxford*
Far between sundown's finish and midnight's broken toll
We ducked inside the doorway, thunder crashing
As majestic bells of bolt struck shadows in the sounds
Seeming to be the chimes of freedom flashing
Flashing for the warriors whose strength is not to fight
Flashing for the refugees on the unarmed road of flight
And for each and every underdog soldier in the night
And we gazed upon the chimes of freedom flashing.


* * *

Mr. Venkatesan threw himself into the planning. He didn't trust the man with the cauliflower ears. Routes, circuitous enough to fool border guards, had to be figured out. He could fly to Frankfurt via Malta, for instance, then hole up in a ship's cargo hold for the long, bouncy passage on Canadian seas. Or he could take the more predictable (and therefore, cheaper but with more surveillance) detours through the Gulf Emirates.

The go-between or travel agent took his time. Fake travel documents and work permits had to be printed up. Costs, commissions, bribes had to be calculated. On each visit, the man helped himself to a double peg of Mr. Venkatesan's whiskey.

In early September, three weeks after Mr. Venkatesan had paid in full for a roundabout one way ticket to Hamburg and for a passport impressive with fake visas, the travel agent stowed him in the damp smelly bottom of a fisherman's dinghy and had him ferried across the Palk Strait to Tuticorin in the palm-green tip of mainland India.

Tuticorin was the town Mr. Venkatesan's ancestors had left to find their fortunes in Ceylon's tea-covered northern hills. The irony struck him with such force that he rocked and tipped the dinghy, and had to be fished out of the sea.

## Contents

List of tables ................................. x
Preface ...................................... xi
Map: Ten migration crises .................. xv

1 Introduction .............................. 1

2 Migration crises and the making of diasporas ............................... 13
   Explaining migration crises ............................ 14
      Understanding migration orders ...................... 14
      Cumulative and acute changes in migration orders 21
      Recent transitions in four migration orders ........ 24
      Refining the notions of migration order, transition 37
         and crisis
   Force, choice and agency in migration orders .......................... 40
      Moving out, coming in, going back, moving on, 40
      staying put
      Diasporas in the making and diasporas unmade 47
      Once, twice, many times migrants: accumulating 50
         migratory cultural capital
      Force, choice and the host and home communities 54
      Agency in the transformation of migration orders 57
   Conclusion .................................. 61

3 Migration crises in Africa, the Middle East and Asia ............... 63
   Africa: expulsion of long-settled and recent migrants ........... 63
      The expulsion of Asians from Uganda ................ 63
NEW DIASPORAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Migration crises in Europe, Central America and the Caribbean</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Europe: two Balkans episodes</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expulsion of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albania, Greece and Italy: mass emigration, mass forced repatriation</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America and the Caribbean: migrant worker expulsions in the 1950s and 1990s</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Wetback: the expulsion of Mexican migrants from the US</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The expulsion of Haitians from the Dominican Republic</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion: comparing the character of migration crises</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Force, choice and the migration order</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The moment of upheaval: precipitating migration crises</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consequences of migration crises</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The effects of migration crises on migrant communities</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Kuwait Palestinians in Jordan: mixed fortunes</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yemeni returnees from Saudi Arabia: the rootless and the rooted</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The effects of mass arrivals on recipient territories</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana: from mass return to economic turnaround</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returns to Jordan: burden or benefit?</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Returns to Yemen: opportunities missed</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ugandan Asians and Bulgarian ethnic Turks: co-ethnics and subsidies</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Rohingyas and the ethnic Nepalis: camp life</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The effects of mass departures on the territories left</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion: assessing the effects of mass exodus – the problem of “interference”</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CONTENTS

6 Diasporas made and diasporas unmade 195
Diaspora enhanced 197
   The Ugandan Asians: diaspora reinvigorated 198
   The Kuwait Palestinians: a kind of homecoming 199
   The Rohingya diaspora: Asia’s new Palestinians? 202
   The Chanaians: delayed diasporization 204
Diaspora diminished 212
   The exodus of southern Bhutanese: “greater Nepal” deflated? 212
   The Yemenis: diaspora undone 214
   Bulgaria’s ethnic Turks: post-Ottoman in-gathering 215
   The Albanians: diasporization thwarted? 216
Transnationalism reaffirmed 218
   The return of ethnic Turks to Bulgaria 218
   Mexicans in the US: migration unabated 220
   Uganda’s Asians: tentative return 222
   Haitian expellees: out of the frying pan and into the fire 224
   The repatriation of the Rohingyas 226
Conclusion 229

7 Migrants and hosts, transnationals and stayers 233
Giving content to transnationalism 241
Transnationals, globalization, cosmopolitans and parochials 251
Between departure and arrival: migrant networks revisited 256
The significance and insignificance of migration 260

Bibliography 265
Index 285
## Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>Force and choice in outward and return migration</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>Force and choice in five components of migration</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>Diasporas made and unmade</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Status of migrant communities prior to exodus</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Size and proportion of migrant communities prior to exodus</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Socio-economic composition of migrant communities prior to exodus</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Nature of the challenge to migrant communities</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Some demographic effects of mass arrivals on receiving countries</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Diasporas enhanced, diminished and reaffirmed</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Countries deporting Ghanaians, 1993</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>Immigration by Ghanaians to the European Union, 1985–93</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Ghanaian asylum applications in Europe, 1985–94</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Preface

My interest in the subject of this book – forced mass exodus of migrants and the making and unmaking of migrant communities – developed in a roundabout way. It was sparked by the expulsion of Ghanaians and other West African migrants from Nigeria in 1983, shortly after I completed my doctoral research in Ghana. I reported on the expulsion as a journalist. My interest grew when I worked in the mid-1980s for the Geneva-based Independent Commission on International Humanitarian Issues, when it became increasingly clear that there was a category of forced migrants not covered by the “refugee regime”, nor subject to much attention by researchers. My interest was rekindled when, during a visit to Ghana in 1987, I interviewed a small number of Ghanaian returnees who had experienced expulsion in the early 1980s.

Later, shortly after I took up a research position at the Refugee Studies Programme at the University of Oxford, the Gulf crisis erupted, generating large scale upheavals among migrant communities in the Middle East. I began research on the consequences of these upheavals, making a number of short research visits to Jordan and Yemen in 1990-92. Organizing a conference in Oxford in 1992 to mark 20 years since the expulsion of the Ugandan Asians provided the opportunity to look at a long-established community of migrant origin that had experienced forced exodus and dispersal. I then began to think about how such crises fit in the broader, global migration order,
and in particular the part they play in making and unmaking transnational communities. These are the main themes pursued in this volume.

The bulk of the research on which this book is based was funded by two consecutive awards from the Economic and Social Research Council, whose support is gratefully acknowledged. Earlier research in the Middle East was supported by a fellowship funded by HRH Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal of Jordan. I am also grateful to the University of Oxford and my department, Queen Elizabeth House, for providing supplementary support. The first ESRC award (R000 23 3831) funded much of the fieldwork and primary research I undertook in Yemen and Jordan, two of the countries experiencing large scale migration upheavals in the wake of the Gulf crisis. I interviewed a sample of about 100 returnees in each country in 1993 and consulted a range of government bodies, international agencies and non-governmental organizations. The second award (R000 23 5074) supported the extension of the research on migration crises worldwide, and involved research visits to New York, Washington, Boston, Brussels, Luxembourg, Geneva, Strasbourg, Bangkok, Singapore and Kuala Lumpur.

I incurred many debts to helpful people during my work in Yemen and Jordan, but I should single out Fahd Eryani in Yemen and Ahmad Noubeh in Jordan for their patience and skill in interpretation and translation. Patricia Salti and Yahya el Oteibi in Jordan and David Warburton and Abdul Malik al Maqramy in Yemen also provided invaluable help. Ben Sunkari assisted me with earlier research work in Ghana.

I am grateful to all those who spared the time to talk to me in the course of my travels in the Middle East, Africa, Europe, North America and Asia. Staff of many government, intergovernmental, international, non-governmental and academic bodies generously provided material, gave interviews or helped in other ways.

International and intergovernmental organizations consulted included the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), the UN Economic and Social Commission for
Western Asia (UNESCA), the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), the UN Department for Humanitarian Affairs (UNDHA), the UN Compensation Commission, the UN Secretariat, Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, the World Bank, the International Migration for Employment branch of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS), the European Commission, and the Council of Europe.

A wide range of non-governmental and human rights organizations assisted in various countries. They included Oxfam, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, the Centre for Migration Studies, the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, the Open Society Institute's Forced Migration Project, the US Committee for Refugees, the Refugee Policy Group, Human Rights Watch, the European Council on Refugees and Exiles, the Jesuit Refugee Service, and the Churches Commission for Migrants in Europe.

Nearer home I have benefited from the help, advice and support of many people, not least the steady stream of lively and stimulating individuals who passed through the Refugee Studies Programme in Oxford. Some need particular thanks, and although it is difficult to single them out, they include Robin Cohen, a long time mentor and general editor of the series of which this book is part; Jeff Crisp, for the mutual exchange of ideas and jokes; and Andrew Shacknove for intellectual and much-needed moral support. Among the many others I wish to thank are Manolo Abella, Belinda Allan, Diana Cammack, John Chernoff, Thana Chrissanthisi, Dereck Cooper, Patrice Curtis, Tom Forrest, Bill Frelick, Dennis Grace, Sarah Graham-Brown, Barbara Harrell-Bond, Jerry Huguet, Charles Keely, Gil Loescher, Reinhardt Lohrmann, Chris McDowell, JoAnn McGregor, Kawa Mohammed, Alhaji Mohammed E. Abukari, Shirley Nuss, Bob Paiva, Rosemary Preston, Anthony Richmond, Sharon Stanton Russell, Abbas Shiblak, Frances Stewart, David Turton, Shuraz Vira, Myrun Weiner, Piyasiri...
NEW DIASPORAS

Wickramsekera, and Roger Zetter. As well as stimulating ideas, many of these and others helped sustain me in sometimes adverse circumstances. I would also like to thank for their invaluable help Sarah Rhodes, the librarian at Refugee Studies Programme, Peter Hayward, who drew the map, Julia Knight, the administrative staff at QEH and RSP, and not least Caroline Wintersgill at UCL Press for patiently seeing this project through.

Drafts of various parts of the book have benefited from the comment of colleagues at various seminar presentations and lectures I gave in Britain and abroad. As well as presentations in Oxford, at King’s College London, the School of Oriental and African Studies and elsewhere in the UK, I gave a paper at the Inter-University Seminar on International Migration at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; this became the basis of Chapter 2. The opportunity to speak at a conference on refugees in South Asia at the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies in Colombo gave me a South Asian perspective on the issue. I am grateful for comments at these and other presentations. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for the contents of this book.

Some passages of the material on Yemen and Jordan appeared earlier in the Journal of Refugee Studies as “The socio-economic impact of the involuntary mass return to Yemen in 1990”, 7(1), 1994, 18-38, and in the International Migration Review as “The impact of involuntary mass ‘return’ to Jordan in the wake of the Gulf crisis”, 29(2), 1995, 352–374; they are used by kind permission of Oxford University Press and the Center for Migration Studies. Other parts were initially developed in discussion papers for the UN Research Institute for Social Development, published as Consequences of the forced mass repatriation of migrant communities: recent cases from West Africa and the Middle East, Geneva: UNRISD, 1992 and Migration, displacement and social integration, Geneva: UNRISD, 1994.

This book is dedicated with thanks to my partner Lucy, who kept my spirits up when flagging, to my son Jim, who kept me awake at night, and to my daughter Cathy, who kept the adrenaline flowing.

xiv
Ten migration crises
Recent profound changes in the world political and economic order have generated large movements of people in almost every region. Contrary to expectations, rather than bringing to an end many of the world’s long-standing conflicts, the end of the Cold War has spawned new pressures driving people to move. Resurgent ethnic, religious and nationalist forces have emerged from the often violent disintegration of nation-states and their reconstitution. These new forces and other new features, like the revolution in global communications, have combined with prior social, economic and political pressures to generate new patterns of migration in the post-Cold War era.

As a result, from being a relatively peripheral concern until recently, migration has since the late 1980s moved swiftly up the international agenda to become an issue of heated public debate. International conferences on migration issues have proliferated, and newspapers and magazines carry lengthy features on migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers almost daily. Xenophobia and racism have become prominent once again in countries migrants aspire to reach. The costs and benefits of migration have become matters of lengthy discussion in both the countries of migrants’ origin and their countries of destination.

A court case in France reported in 1995 highlighted some of the grimmer features of the changing global migratory order. After trial in Rouen, the Ukrainian captain, chief officer and
three crew members of the Bahamas-registered MC Ruby were
jailed for between 20 years and life for the murder of eight West
African stowaways as the vessel steamed from the west coast
of Africa towards Europe. The stowaways, Ghanaians and a
Cameroonian, were thrown overboard to avoid fines arising
from European carrier liability laws, which penalized airlines
and shipping companies carrying illegal immigrants. For the
captain and crew the penalties would have meant heavy loss of
earnings or possibly their jobs. The story only came to light
because one of the stowaways, a Ghanaian casual dock worker
seeking a better life in Europe, had managed to hide from the
crew until the vessel arrived in Le Havre, where he jumped ship
(Davies 1995).

This harrowing episode showed the risks which would-be
migrants from the developing world were prepared to take in
the quest for a better life in the more affluent world. It showed
the consequences of measures erected by a key part of that more
affluent world – what has become known as “Fortress Europe” –
to keep such would-be migrants out. And it showed the
desperate lengths to which citizens of the former Soviet Union
would go to keep their jobs against the background of social and
economic disintegration at home – they were as constrained in
their way as the stowaways they killed.

Despite the recent attention it has attracted, migration within
and between countries has of course long been a feature
of the world stage, a manifestation of wide disparities in socio-
economic circumstances, perceived life-chances and human
security. But in the post-Cold War period migration has taken on
new dimensions and a new character. As various commentators
have suggested, four novel features of the current era are
adding to pressures generating migration, shaping patterns of
movement and increasing anxiety about the issue.

First, technological change has generated a revolution in
global communications. One consequence of this is that images
of life in the developed world – often heavily distorted images –
have spread wider and wider, so that information or mis-
information about new opportunities, real or imagined, has
become much more accessible to large parts of the world’s
population. At the same time, long distance travel has become
easier and cheaper. These changes have had a particularly
INTRODUCTION

significant impact on migration from the “south” or the developing world. Second, loosening of constraints on movement in the countries of the former eastern bloc mean that a huge population - perhaps 450 million people – has been brought into the global pool of potential migrants; this pool is set to enlarge even more if and when the People’s Republic of China relaxes its emigration controls. This development is shaping new patterns of east-west migration. Third, the resurgence of ethnic, religious and nationalist aspirations and tensions, in part a consequence of the collapse of the communist bloc, has generated great instability within the current dispensation of nation-states, resulting in the disintegration and reconstitution of many of them and further forced migration. Fourth, there has occurred what has been described as the “rights revolution”, seen in the spread of individual rights and entitlements particularly in the more affluent nations; in the migration arena this has been manifested in the growth of ethnic, migrant and refugee lobby groups located mainly in countries receiving migrants and often facilitating their movement (Castles and Miller 1993; Martin and Taylor 1996; Weiner 1995; Zolberg 1989).

These features generating or facilitating migration – which are dimensions of what is summed up by the nebulous term “globalization” – are combining with longer established pressures to change world patterns of migration. But while the cumulative effect of long standing pressures and the new features generating migrants is substantial, there are countervailing pressures constraining migration, particularly as many of the countries and regions that have accommodated migrants in the past are now proving unable or unwilling to admit more newcomers, as the distressing story of the stowaways shows. Among the main reasons for this is the fact that economies are less absorptive of labour because of technological and other change. Negative perceptions of the political, social and security impacts of immigration also increasingly hold sway. A potent cocktail of increased pressure to migrate set against hardening barriers to immigration is thus developing; more and more potential migrants are emerging but there appear to be fewer places for them to go.

Another far-reaching consequence of the growth of migration
NEW DIASPORAS

in the last quarter of this century has been the formation of new diasporas - people with multiple allegiances to place. The emergence of these new transnational populations has attracted increasing interest and commentary in recent years. Glick Schiller et al (1992) consider the emergence or consolidation of what they and others call “transnationalism” - the formation of social, political and economic relationships among migrants that span several societies. They note “a new kind of migrating population is emerging, composed of those whose networks, activities and patterns of life encompass both their host and home societies” (1992: 1). Weiner (1986) writes of “incipient diaspora” among the guest workers of western Europe and the Middle East, and explores what he calls the “illusion of impermanence” surrounding such populations:

Despite the intention of governments and the expectations of nationals, a large proportion of foreign workers remains indefinitely in the host country, living in a state of legal and political ambiguity, economic insecurity and as social outsiders, if not outcasts. The children who have come with them, or have been born within the host country, are in an even more ambiguous position; though more at home in their host country than in the land of their parents, they too are expected to return “home” (Weiner 1986: 47).

Exploring differences among “classical”, “new” and “incipient” diaspora, Sheffer (1993) similarly remarks on the enduring character of what were thought temporary sojourners. Wolfrum (1993) points to the emergence of “new minorities” as a result of migration, and the consequences of this for international law on the protection of minorities and aliens. In the West European context, Hammar (1990: 13) has drawn attention to “a new status group ... not regular and plain foreign citizens any more, but also not naturalized citizens of the receiving country”. He styled such alien residents “denizens”, using the term to describe the substantial foreign populations of western Europe - often former guest workers and their descendants - who have stayed on for considerable lengths of time and who have
INTRODUCTION

developed substantive or partial membership in their host societies, but who do not possess formal citizenship (Hammar 1990). The emergence of such populations holds profound implications for the state. Baubock (1991: 41) sees multiple membership in different societies deriving from migration as a decisive contribution to what he calls the "slow emergence of interstate societies". In a development of Hammar's argument, Cohen (1989: 162) conceives of denizens as "a group . . . that can be seen as transcending the limits of the nation-state".

Although the phenomena of transnationalism and diaspora have been the subject of considerable interest, definition or characterization have been less common. Of those commentators that have addressed this, some favour an inclusive and extensive catch-all, while others prefer a more prescriptive definition. Thus Khachig Töloöyan, the editor of Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies, sees his journal as embracing the "semantic domain" that includes the terms immigrant, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community and ethnic community - "the vocabulary of transnationalism" (Töloöyan 1991: 4-5). For William Safran, writing in the same issue of the same journal, the term diaspora should be limited to populations who satisfy more precise criteria. He suggests these should include dispersal from an original centre to two or more peripheral regions; retention of collective memory of the homeland; partial alienation from the host society; aspiration to return to an ancestral homeland; commitment to the maintenance or restoration of that homeland; and derivation of collective consciousness and solidarity from a relationship with the homeland (Safran 1991: 83). Others, like Chaliand and Rageau (1995), suggest that catastrophic origins involving forced migration are a prime feature of diaspora: "A diaspora is defined as the collective forced dispersion of a religious and/or ethnic group [their emphasis], precipitated by a disaster, often of a political nature" (xiv). Cohen (1995: 6) notes that the catastrophic connotations of diaspora deriving from the Jewish experience obscure the less malign or at least neutral Greek origins of the term, which derives from words for "dispersion" and "to sow or scatter". Used to describe Greek colonization of Asia Minor and the
NEW DIASPORAS

Mediterranean, the Greek diaspora was established through trade, conquest, free migration and settlement. To the features of diasporas suggested by other commentators, Cohen adds the flowering of the community in exile, often eclipsing the achievements of those who stayed in the homeland (Cohen 1995). For Marienstras (1989) durability is a necessary condition of a diaspora: “its reality is proved in time and tested by time” (1989: 125).

In this book a fairly loose perspective is taken, so that diaspora are populations which satisfy three minimal criteria drawn from the above characterizations. First, the population is dispersed from a homeland to two or more other territories. Second, the presence abroad is enduring, although exile is not necessarily permanent, but may include movement between homeland and new host. And third, there is some kind of exchange – social, economic, political or cultural – between or among the spatially separated populations comprising the diaspora. I use another, broader term in the text – transnational community. This is a more inclusive notion, which embraces diaspora, but also populations that are contiguous rather than scattered and may straddle just one border.

But is the formation of transnational communities and diaspora now the inevitable concomitant of migration? As I show later on, this is not necessarily the case, for if diaspora formation has accelerated in recent times, so too has the unmaking of diasporas, seen in the regrouping or in-gathering of migrant communities or dispersed ethnic groups. Like the formation of diaspora, these regroupings may involve voluntary or involuntary movements of people back to their place of origin – however notional or putative this place of origin may be.

In this book I consider populations that are dispersed or regrouped both through force and choice, examining both what are conventionally known as “economic migrants” as well as those forced to move. I attempt to chart the place of migration by force and choice in the formation and unmaking of transnational communities and diasporas. The study takes forced mass exodus of migrant communities as the point of entry for its investigation. By mass exodus I mean large scale movement of people out of a given territory, almost always
under duress. I use the term *migrant community* to refer to both populations of recent migrants and longer settled populations of migrant origin. The latter may be sufficiently well established to be described in other contexts as ethnic or minority communities, but because it is the migratory dimension of their identity that is of interest in this book, I retain the term migrant community to characterize them.

Some of the most notable forced population movements of recent times have been of such migrant communities – recent migrants or people with migratory backgrounds. Those who have already moved to better their lives or to escape persecution or conflict are prominent in the much noticed growth of forced migration worldwide; so are the descendants of such migrants. Since they often straddle the blurred division between “economic” and “forced” migrants that informs scholarly and policy debate, investigation of such population movements obliges consideration of both the economic and forced migration discourses, which have hitherto, with a few exceptions, made just polite acknowledgement of each other. Investigation of such population movements therefore challenges synthesis of approaches to migration, an attempt at which I make in this book.

I investigate 10 episodes of mass exodus of migrant communities drawn from six regions. Among the better known episodes examined is the mass expulsion of some two million Ghanaians and other West African migrants from Nigeria in the early 1980s. This was just the largest among numerous similar forced migrations in Africa in recent decades, including the earlier mass expulsion of Asians from Uganda in 1972, which is also considered. Turning to the Middle East and more recent history, the Gulf crisis and its aftermath in 1990-92 saw the involuntary mass exodus of two million migrant workers and longer established communities of migrant origin; I examine here the exodus of Palestinians from Kuwait and of Yemenis from Saudi Arabia. Mass exoduses that are perhaps less well-known are drawn from four other regions of the world. Muslims obliged to leave Burma (now known as Myanmar) for Bangladesh and ethnic Nepalis forced to leave Bhutan for Nepal, both in 1991-92, are among the populations of migrant
origin or background in south and southeast Asia to have experienced mass expulsion recently. Upheavals since 1989–90 in eastern and southern Europe have spawned similar episodes, including the exodus of ethnic Turks from Bulgaria in 1989 and of Albanians from Greece in 1990–94, which are examined below. The expulsion of Mexican migrants from the southern US in 1954 and of people of Haitian origin from the Dominican Republic in 1991 are the examples I draw from Central America and the Caribbean.

The criteria for the selection of these cases are broadly as follows. The episodes considered involve large movements of people, both absolutely and relative to the populations accommodating or receiving them. They are for the most part sudden, unanticipated and disorderly movements involving considerable degrees of force and which profoundly upset the prior migration order. I have not dealt with deportations of individuals, except where in aggregate they amount to significant episodes of population movement. The migrant communities involved range from short-term, temporary migrants to long established communities of migrant origin, and often include mixtures of both. Most of these cases have taken place in the last quarter of this century; and most have occurred since the end of the Cold War, which is already coming to be seen as a turning point in the world’s migratory order. This quarter century has seen globalization gather momentum as the communications, information and rights revolutions referred to above have taken off. It has also been the period when the disintegration and reconstitution of nation-states associated with the legacy of decolonization and the dissolution of the communist bloc have reached a new intensity. Most of the episodes are drawn from developing countries, reflecting the fact that most migration is among such territories; but cases are also drawn from industrialized states and from the former communist bloc to show that forced mass exodus is not a monopoly of the developing world. The global span of the episodes selected illustrates the ubiquity of these forms of forced migration. That most are drawn from the last quarter of this century also demonstrates the recent volatility of the world migration order. The 10 episodes are thus intended to provide a
fairly representative sample of the kinds of migration crises that have occurred in recent times – in terms of the character of the migrant communities involved, in terms of the nature of the migration upheaval, and in terms of the global spread of such crises. Some cases draw on field and other primary research by the author, while others rely principally on a range of published and unpublished secondary sources.

I attempt to place these mass exoduses of migrant communities into historical and comparative perspective. How then do these episodes of migrant mass exodus figure in the wider, unfolding migratory dispensation: are they merely ephemeral events, of no lasting significance, or do they signal significant changes in migration patterns? What is the impact of such episodes on the migrant communities involved? These questions are addressed by exploring what I term migration orders, and in particular the way such orders change. The book focuses on acute manifestations of such change, which I call migration crises; the episodes mentioned above are examples. I attempt to uncover the dynamics of migration and of migrant communities by looking at such moments of crisis. Since the focus is on change in established migration orders, the forms of migration investigated are on the whole secondary or tertiary movements. I look less at the establishment of migration orders than at upheavals in such orders already in being; equally, the focus is less the establishment of migrant communities than the dynamics of changes in migration orders as they are manifested in the making, remaking or unmaking of transnational communities and diasporas.

Before outlining the plan of this book, it might be useful to recapitulate the concepts that have been introduced in this chapter and to indicate where in the text they are explored further. The terms diaspora and transnational community, defined above, are explored further in Chapters 2, 6 and 7. The terms migration order and migration crisis are explored more fully in Chapter 2. As I indicated above, the term migrant community embraces established populations of migrant origin as well as recent migrants, and its use becomes clear as the book progresses through the episodes of migration crisis reviewed. At the outset though, it has to be acknowledged that community is a
NEW DIASPORAS

problematic term. In this book it is used to suggest a social collectivity with a significant dimension in common—here a migratory background. A migrant or transnational community is thus something more than a migrant or transnational population, a mere aggregation of migrants. The term mass exodus was introduced earlier; the related terms forced migration and mass expulsion have already been used but not yet defined. Forced migration refers to individuals or communities compelled, obliged or induced to move when otherwise they would choose to stay put; the force involved may be direct, overt and focused or indirect, covert and diffuse. Mass expulsion usually refers to a form of mass exodus or forced migration instigated by the state or its surrogates, but can also be instigated by other parties, such as opposition organizations or warlords. The definition of mass expulsion has exercised human rights lawyers in recent years (Coles 1983; Henckaerts 1995). One authority holds that

mass expulsion results from the use of coercion, including a variety of political, economic and social measures which directly, or even more so indirectly, force people to leave or flee their homelands for fear of life, liberty and security ... "expulsion" ... may be defined as an act, or a failure to act, by a State with the intended effect of forcing the departure of persons against their will from its territory for reasons of race, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion (International Law Association 1986).

This definition has the advantage of drawing attention to the often indirect nature of expulsions, evident in the episodes considered in this book. But it also assumes the state as the agent of expulsion, which is not always the case. The chilling term ethnic cleansing entered the lexicon of forced migration in the 1990s, as a result of events in the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and central Africa. A form of mass expulsion, it has been carried out not just by the state or its surrogates, but by opposition or rebel groups, warlords or others aspiring to power or to control over people or territory. Dimensions of force and choice in migration are explored more fully in the latter part of Chapter 2.
INTRODUCTION

The book is laid out as follows.

In the next chapter I elaborate the concept migration order to describe perhaps more dynamically what others have called migration systems or migration patterns. I suggest how migration orders might be characterized and then explore how they can change. Such changes may take gradual or cumulative forms, or they may be more acute or catastrophic; the latter I term migration crises. I suggest that such moments may be revealing of the dynamics of migration orders and ultimately key events in the consolidation, perpetuation, proliferation or diminution of transnational communities. By way of illustration, I examine recent transitions in four migration orders. In the second part of Chapter 2 I consider the place of force, choice and agency in the shaping of migration orders. I suggest a simple framework which combines components of migration — such as outward, onward and return movement — with degrees of choice and force. Migrants' experience of combinations of movement by choice and force results in complex migratory biographies: diasporas accumulate among the most complex migration histories. At the end of the chapter, I return to the question of how migration orders change and look at the agents of such transition.

I give accounts of the historical background and basic features of the 10 episodes introduced above in Chapters 3 and 4. In each case, the background to the presence of the migrant community is explored by outlining the history of the migration order, bringing out the place of movement by force and choice. I examine the motivations for and the circumstances of each episode of mass exodus. Comparative dimensions are drawn out by highlighting features of each migrant community that became matters of contention — their size relative to the host community; their socio-economic composition; and their membership status in the society accommodating them. Finally, I consider the moment of upheaval in each migration order, the precipitation of migration crisis.

In Chapters 5 and 6 I offer further comparative analysis of these episodes, utilizing the frameworks outlined in Chapter 2. Chapter 5 considers the consequences of migration crises. I look first at the effects of crises on the migrant communities themselves, examine demographic and socio-economic effects
NEW DIASPORAS

on the territories receiving uprooted migrant communities, and then turn to the effects of mass departures on the territories such communities leave. I indicate some problems of assessing these effects, particularly over time.

In Chapter 6 I look at how the 10 migration crises have contributed to the formation, consolidation or undoing of diasporas or transnational communities. After refining the framework introduced in Chapter 2 the better to embrace diasporas and transnational communities, the chapter shows how the 10 episodes of migration crisis could over time have three outcomes: diaspora communities might be enhanced and reinvigorated; they might be unmade or diminished; or transnational communities might be reaffirmed. As I show in this chapter, the episodes investigated featured several of these outcomes over time.

After recapitulating the arguments of the book, the final chapter reflects on the nature and content of transnationalism, drawing on some of the lessons suggested by the episodes investigated. Some comments and caveats about the debates on transnationalism and globalization are then offered. I comment on the relations between migrants and hosts, and between transnational populations and those who stay put, before returning to the place of migrant networks in shaping migration orders and transnational communities. I conclude the chapter and the book by offering some comments on the significance of migration for the coherence of society.
In the opening chapter I suggested that one of my concerns is to locate particular episodes of migrant mass exodus in the broader migratory dispensation: are such episodes merely passing events, or do they represent significant changes in migration patterns? These questions lead to a further set of issues. What is the relationship between changes in migration and other changes in the political economy? Under what circumstances are changes in the political economy accompanied by changes in migration; why do some changes in the political economy lead to changes in migration, but not others? Why do changes in migration take an acute form in some cases but not in others? Finally, and not least, how do these changes shape – and how are they shaped by – the migrant communities they embrace?

The groundwork for pursuing these questions is laid out in this chapter. In the first part I sketch the character of migration orders and look at how changes in such orders come about: I distinguish between cumulative change and acute change – or migration crisis. To illustrate these ideas, I outline recent changes in the migration orders of four regions, before offering some refinement of the notions of migration order, transition and crisis. The focus of the chapter then shifts from migration orders and migration crises broadly conceived to the migrants and other people who shape these orders and crises; I explore the place of force, choice and agency in moulding them.
NEW DIASPORAS

propose a simple framework for considering diverse kinds of movement and permutations of force and choice, and how these shape the making and unmaking of diasporas. This framework provides ways of considering how migrants and their households might make decisions about migration or have movement thrust upon them. Relations between migrants, hosts and the community at home are also discussed within a framework of force and choice. The final section returns to the theme of how migration orders change, looking at the agents of such transitions.

Explaining migration crises

Understanding migration orders

While change in patterns of migration should not be seen as movement from one condition of stasis or equilibrium to another, at a given time the logic or workings of a given migration order or dispensation should be discernible, can be identified and may be delineated. What then might a migration order comprise? Moving from the particular to the general, it would include the features outlined below, which are addressed by various theories of or approaches to migration. The brief outline that follows draws on a very useful exposition of economic theories of migration by Massey et al. (1993), modified and supplemented here by other approaches to migration – notably forced migration – not included in their review.

1. Individual decision-making and motivation. Migration orders are shaped by the decisions and actions of large numbers of individuals. Some such decisions are cost-benefit judgements made in economic terms, and have been addressed in neo-classical economic perspectives on migration (for example, Harris and Todaro 1970). But other considerations may be just as potent in driving individuals to move. These include social and cultural motivations, such as enhancing status, and above all concerns about safety and security (Cordell et al. 1996; Eades 1987a; Kunz 1973; Shacknove 1985).
Household decision-making and strategies. A growing body of literature suggests that, as much or more so than individuals, the household may be the key locus of decision-making as far as migration is concerned. What has been termed the "new economics of migration" (Stark 1991b) has considered household strategies of minimizing or spreading risk in determining who moves and who stays put. Here again, a baldly economic approach may obscure other important motivations involving strategies of household safety and security, survival and coping that inform decision-making about migration (Hugo 1994; Massey 1990).

Disparities between places of origin and destination have long been seen as key determinants of migration. Economic disparities include the relative weights of economic push and pull factors, including differentials in wages, employment or income generating opportunities and inequalities in standards of living addressed by neo-classical economic theory (Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1989). Drawing on the Marxist tradition, theories of development and underdevelopment, and of labour reserves, among others, have also addressed such disparities (Amin 1974; Cordell et al. 1996; Wolpe 1972). Disparities in the political arena embrace relative human security as determined by the human rights and security environment, a focus of the human rights discourse, and of the refugee studies, political science and international relations literatures (Weiner 1993b; Zolberg et al. 1989). Combining the economic and political arenas, it might be argued that it is disparities in human security broadly conceived that provide the impetus for migration.

The state of development of migrant networks and institutions has recently been recognized as an arena profoundly shaping migration, addressed by theories of chain migration, networks, cultural capital and "cumulative causation" (Boyd 1989; Fawcett 1989; Lim 1987; Massey 1990). Networks comprise relationships that link former, current and potential migrants and those whose do not migrate, in countries of origin and destination, through kinship, friendship, neighbourhood, ethnicity and other
NEW DIASPORAS

types of community or affinity. It is perhaps here that the communications and rights revolutions referred to in the introduction are most salient. Migrant networks shade into migrant trafficking organizations and the activities of advocacy and lobbying groups agitating for and against migration both among established migrant communities and among host populations.

- The migration regime. Taking its cue from the political science and international relations literatures (Loescher 1993; Widgren 1990), what can be termed the migration regime encompasses the national and international body of law, regulations, institutions and policy dealing with movement of people. States’ rules governing the departure of citizens and the entry of newcomers, their policies for the integration or assimilation of immigrants, and the efforts of international organizations to manage and give order to migration come under the rubric of the migration regime.

- Finally, migration orders are shaped by the macro-political economy. By this is meant the distribution of power and resources globally and regionally, reflected in the structure and distribution of production and consumption; in patterns of trade and financial flows; in the development of transport and communications; in the distribution of military might; and in population, environment and other elements of global imbalance. Encompassing the forgoing components, this arena is, like them, shaped by historical ties – colonial, imperial, and of trade, for example – between places of origin and destination. This arena is also somewhat different from the others in that migration is part of the overall political economy, shaping it as well as being shaped by it. Approaches placing primacy in this arena see migration as a consequence of the incorporation of peripheral societies into global capitalism, of the penetration of the market economy worldwide, of the structure of industrial societies, and of unfolding "globalization" (Castles and Kosack 1973; Petras 1981; Piore 1979; Portes and Walton 1981; Sassen 1991).