ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the political consequences of international migration It considers that such migration is influenced by the behaviour of states and has various implications for relations between them. It is particularly concerned to analyse the role of immigrant communities or diasporas in international relations, and does this through a case study of the British Sikh Community.

In the first part, the existing literature on migration and immigrant communities is reviewed, providing an understanding of both the process and the experience, while seeking out its political aspects. Next, a more explicitly political analysis of international migration is carried out. This explores how states use international migration as an instrument of policy and how they are influenced by the phenomena in the conduct of their external relations. The focus of this analysis is brought to a consideration of the political role and impact of diasporas on their home country, their host country and on relations between the two.

In the second part, the case study tries to analyse the experience of the British Sikh community in the context outlined above. It starts with a historical overview of the Sikhs, before focussing on their migrant experiences in the UK, elucidating on how they have evolved as a community with strong internal organization and networks. An analysis of the Punjab problem is carried out, before returning to examine the impact of Punjabi events on the British Sikh community and vice-versa. This describes and analyses the political configurations within, and ambitions of, British Sikh political activity, and the ways in which they have been able to play a role in Punjabi politics. Finally an examination of the impact of British Sikh political activity on the relationship between their host and home countries, Britain and India, is carried out.

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INTRODUCTION

In November 1989, young East Germans began to make their way to West Germany via the newly-opened border between East and West, where Hungary meets Austria. The trickle became a stream, which developed into a river in full spate, powerful enough to take the more direct route from East to West - through the Berlin Wall. That infamous wall, and the divided Europe it symbolized were no more.

For a student of International Relations and international migration, it was a gratifying moment. The political impact of the movement of people across national boundaries was never more dramatically demonstrated. Of course, this was part of a process begun in the Soviet Union by Gorbachev, with Moscow relinquishing its forty five year old grip on the East, but it was the political act of thousands of East German citizens 'voting with their feet' that constituted the final straw that broke the back of Soviet domination.

This study, while recognizing that international migration affects International Relations in myriad ways, is based on the premise that "for many research and most policy purposes, the question of national sovereignty makes international migration distinct from migration in general."[1] This is because the migration

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[1]Kritz, M.M. & Keely, C.B., 'Introduction', in Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. & Tomasci, S.M. [eds.], Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements, The Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1981, p xvi.

removes them from the jurisdiction of one political authority, and places them at the mercy of another. Such movements are therefore of concern to students of International Relations on whose discipline they make an impact. Further, "we live in a world where the flow of international migrants is increasing, and the numbers of affected countries is growing."[2] There is thus some urgency in our need to explore and understand the implications of international migration.

This study is particularly concerned with the behaviour and activities of immigrant communities or diasporas in relation to politics in their home and host countries. It thus seeks to understand the process by which such communities are formed, and how they organize themselves to function as political actors, and what sorts of implications this has for the host and home countries.

In the first part of the study, through a general survey of the theoretical literature in the field of migration, an attempt is made to understand the process of migration, the development of immigrant communities, and the conditions under which they are likely to become politically active. Chapter One provides an introduction to the various issues traditionally raised by migration, by drawing on the historically established literature in the field. Chapter Two similarly surveys the existing literature on the experiences of migrants in their new environment, while Chapter Three brings the focus clearly to the political aspects of migration and explores its

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[2]Weiner, M., The Political Aspects of International Migration, paper presented at the International Studies Association and British International Studies Association Joint Conference, London, March 1989, p 81.

relevance to International Relations, bringing us to a consideration of the role of diasporas in international relations. This is done without ignoring other aspects of migration that are of relevance to International Relations, and all the while incorporating political aspects to a literature stemming from a variety of approaches. This process leaves us with a better understanding of the relationship between international migration and international relations, while focussing on the political activities of diasporas.

In part II, through the medium of the case study, an attempt is made to do in specific terms, what Chapters One, Two and Three try to do generally and theoretically. The British Sikh community was chosen as the case study for the usual mixture of intellectual and pragmatic reasons. Intellectually, there was reason to suppose that they would prove a fruitful source of study, not least because of the better publicized activities of their brethren in similar situations in Canada and the United States. Further, the events in Punjab over the recent past had been dramatic and violent, and likely to have caused some reaction amongst British Sikhs. Confining the study to British Sikhs would also provide an opportunity to examine closely the effect of their activities on the relationship between host and home countries, Britain and India. Lastly, I had a strong desire to understand the 'Punjab problem', without overwhelming restrictions from the heavily State-orientated Indian establishment, and taking account of the role of all parties to the conflict not just the ones considered 'legal' by that establishment. On a pragmatic level, my fieldwork would be confined to this country, and my own

background meant that no new cultural bridges would have to be built before I could come to grips with the issues.

Part II then, starts with a brief history of the Sikhs tracing the origins of their religion and their experiences. Chapter Five brings the focus to England, telling the story of the development of the British Sikh community, while drawing on the generalizations made in Chapter Two. The following chapter analyses the sequence of agitation and violence, that is now subsumed under the heading of 'The Punjab Problem'. In Chapter Seven, the diasporic politics of British Sikhs and their impact in British and more significantly Indian politics is analysed. Chapter Eight overviews Anglo-Indian relations before and after the activities of the Sikhs began to make themselves felt, to assess what implications there have been for the relationship between them.

Before we proceed any further, a couple of points need to be made. First, any discussion of Punjab politics today is peppered with a range of judgemental or value-laden terms to describe the various participants. There are in Punjab, depending on one's point of view, terrorists, militants, extremists, moderates, freedom-fighters, heroes and martyrs. Not wishing to get involved in either controversy or cliche, I have only used the terms moderate, extremist and militant. The first refers to those Sikhs who see the Punjab's problems as solvable within the framework of the Indian Union, and the second to those who have moved away from that position and believe that the only solution to Punjab's problems lies in taking it out of India. Militant has been used as the dictionary intends it should be, and is

thus often synonymous with extremist. Any other term is used only in direct quotation from other sources. This caveat takes on somewhat greater significance than first perceived when it is remembered that Punjabi newspaper editors have suffered acrimony, outrage and violence for using the 'wrong' term.

Secondly, Fredrick Dunn, writing in 1948, in the first issue of the journal 'World Politics', on the scope of International Relations was at pains to point out that academic disciplines' boundaries are not marked indelibly and permanently, like those drawn up by surveyors. He argued that these boundaries, as well as the methods used within the disciplines would change over time and according to the questions that needed to be answered. About International Relations specifically he wrote,

> ". . . [the] subject-matter of International Relations consists of whatever knowledge, from any sources, that may be of assistance in meeting new international problems or understanding old ones."[3]

It is very much with this view of International Relations, and in the spirit of inquiry which lies behind it, that this study has been carried out.

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[3]Dunn, F., 'The Scope of International Relations', World Politics I, October 1948, cited in Dougherty, J.E. & Pfaltzgraff, R.L., Contending Theories of International Relations, 3rd edition, Harper & Row, New York, 1990, pp 12-15.

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

Introduction

"Migration has characterized the behaviour of populations for millenia",[1] and it has been an intrinsic element of "economic development, social change and political organization"[2] in the world. While the phenomenon itself has been a constant occurrence throughout human history, its causes, characteristics, patterns and directions have changed over time reflecting changing economic, social, political and ideological conditions which both influence, and are influenced by, it.

It was by the process of migration that prehistoric man originally spread over the world, but very little is known about these migrations.[3] The general causes of primitive migrations fall into two main categories

> ". . . the physical causes - such as mass expulsion, defeat in war by invading migrants . . . the desire to exploit new economic opportunities or conquer new lands . . . and most frequent perhaps the pressure of inadequate food supplies due to increase in population."[4]

Primitive migrations, however caused were "largely controlled and

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[1]Kritz, M.M. & Keely, C.B., 'Introduction', in Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. & Tomasci, S.M. [eds.], Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements, The Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1981, pxiii.

[2]Ibid, p xiii.

[3]For further references see Seligman, E.R.A. [ed.], Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. IX & X, Macmillan, New York, 1933, pp 440-441.

[4]Dixon, R., 'Migrations: Primitive', in ibid, p 420.

guided by factors of the environment, both social and physical."[5] A migrating group often moved to lands similar to those from which they had come, and topographic factors and ocean currents had a large role in governing the direction of migration and the ultimate destination.

Migrations of the ancient and medieval period were mainly those of the nomadic tribes spreading themselves over the world's land masses and those of maritime people moving to new lands. It was during this period that the tribes of Central Asia spread over Mongolia, China, European Russia and on towards Europe. Ancient maritime movements included those of the Germanic tribes into Britain and those of the Scandinavians. The great migrations of the medieval period include those of the Arabs spreading through Asia, North Africa, Spain, India and into China. In this period of shifting peoples, racial mixing and the cultural influence of peoples over other peoples took place again and again making the problem of ethnicity and race an extremely complex one.[6]

Modern migrations by contrast to these group or tribal movements of the past have been largely by individuals. They are also distinguished from previous migrations by the fact that they were and still are largely controlled by government policy. Also, the modern period, especially since the rise of industrialism, has

> ". . . witnessed the development on an unprecedented scale of international movements of workers principally from rural to urban centres and, from one economic

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[5]Ibid, p 421.
[6]Halpen, L., 'Migrations: Ancient and Medieval', in ibid, pp 425-429.

centre or region to another within the same country."[7]

Major modern migrations include the transcontinental migrations that led to the population of the New World by settlers from Europe. It was in this period that Spain and Portugal colonized and settled in various parts of Latin America and only a little later that North America and Canada, followed by Australia and New Zealand were populated with European settlers. In the same period Europeans colonized large parts of Asia, but no migrations on a mass scale could take place because not only were these lands fairly well populated but "native populations possessed a high degree of culture and the conquerors had to confine their activities to supervision of the ruling classes."[8] This period also saw the forced migrations of Africans because of slavery, and Indians and Chinese as 'coolie' labour. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the trend of migration of unskilled workers to advanced European countries started - a trend that persists to this day - with the migrations from Russia and Poland to France and Germany, to mention but one such stream.

In the post Second World War period, there have been various trends in the migration process. International mobility has increased. More people move from the country of their birth to another for the purposes of work, education and business. However permanent settler migration of the kind that populated North America is on the decline. Increasingly it is temporary, refugee or illegal migration that makes up the largest portion of international migrants. International migration can be viewed as one more

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[7]Ferenczi, I., 'Migrations: Modern', in ibid, p 429.
[8]Ibid, p 430.

element in an increasingly complex set of exchanges (trade, technology, capital and culture) between countries that possess differential power (economic, military and political).

The trends of international migration have changed from the permanent settler transcontinental migrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Today most international migration is intra-regional, and generally takes place between countries that have sharp differentials in economic, political and maybe demographic conditions. While earlier migrations normally flowed from richer or more developed countries to poorer or less developed ones, current flows are in the opposite direction.

Thus migration has been a major factor in shaping the world's demography and the world itself. In spite of the far-reaching consequences of the process it is not an area that has been well researched and theorized about - particularly at the general or predictive level. There appears to be a distinct lack of theory, hypothesizing, or any kind of generalizing study in the field of migration. In the course of this chapter, an attempt will be made to provide an explanation for this major lacunae in migration study. It will be followed by an examination of the theoretical writing that does exist. This exercise, while not leading to the formulation of a 'General Theory Of Migration', does at least provide a framework within which issues essential to an understanding of the migratory process can be identified and discussed.

Why Migration Theory Is Underdeveloped

The first point to be made when discussing this paucity of

theoretical work in the field is that this does not imply that migration is insufficiently studied. In fact quite the converse is true - there is an abundance of work being done in the area. Studies of particular migrant groups, their motivations for undertaking their migration, their experiences, their adjustment, assimilation, possible integration into their new environments, the difficulties and obstacles they encountered, are a multitude. The existence of several journals devoted exclusively to the study of migration is ample proof of this,[9] and makes the lack of a more general level of study all the more interesting.

It would appear that it is the very nature of the phenomenon that has led to the scarcity of theoretical work. Migration is a complex process, and one that has suffered insufficient understanding because of the often artificial divisions of the various branches of the social sciences. Migration studies form a part of various disciplines, politics, economics, sociology, psychology, demography - but are central to none. Also, the problem present in all social sciences about generalizing and theorizing on the basis of individual behaviour aggravates the problem of students of migration. Any theoretical work done in the area tends to reflect the particular concerns of the discipline from which it emanates, which makes the development of a broader or 'general theory' all the harder. It has been pointed out that there are various misconceptions in the "abstraction of the phenomenon"[10] and that these have contributed to the lack of a general theory. The first of these is that migration is a

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[9]See, for example, International Migration Review.

[10]Mangalam, J.J. & Schwarzweller, H.K., 'General Theory in the Study of Migration: Current Needs and Difficulties.', International Migration Review, Vol. 3, No. 1, fall 1968, p 10.

"random phenomenon and that the decision to migrate is a unique individual response to a social interactional or situational accident."[11] This belief implies that any attempt to generalize about migration would be doomed to failure as 'scientific' theorizing is only possible where discernible patterns exist. The second is the view of migration as individual behaviour. This approach "tends to omit the human interactional element from migration and consequently to concentrate on individual characteristics in a more or less atomistic manner."[12] Such an approach has been described as much too narrow and truncated.[13] These two conceptualizations lead to each migration being viewed as a unique case. That there are essential differences between each migration cannot be denied, but

> ". . . to emphasize superficial differences at the expense of detaching from the pursuit of basic structural similarities . . . tends to circumvent an essential priority in the development of more useful general theory."[14]

A large part of migration study is concerned with looking at the experiences of the migrant once he/she has migrated, i.e., it looks at the migrant as a member of a minority community in his/her new environment. Problems of settlement in the host country, of assimilation, acculturation and integration are all examined in detail and at length. This emphasis has "served to divert attention from the process of migration itself."[15]

The study of migration on a general level has been

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[11] Ibid, p 11.
[12] Ibid, p 13.
[13] Ibid, p 13.
[14] Ibid, p 15.
[15] Jackson, J.A., 'Editorial Introduction', in Jackson, J.A. [ed.], Migration, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, p 5.

handicapped by its reliance on statistical data. Studies have had to suit the available data rather than the other way around. Thus variables important to statisticians (those that present no quantification problems) like age, sex, ethnic origin, occupation, etc. have assumed importance in the study of migration at the cost of others that are at least just as important but do not lend themselves well to numerical forms of analysis like attitudes, motivations, values and ambitions to name but a few. "Migration theory will remain underdeveloped as long as data from secondary sources dominates the wellsprings for empirical conclusions about the nature of this phenomenon."[16]

Defining Migration

Migration is a phenomenon whose essence is intuitively grasped but one that is extremely difficult to define technically. Barclay, in 1958, defined the migrant as "one who travels" saying that this is the only unambiguous element in the entire subject.[17] K.G.Willis, writing sixteen years later, says that there is no unanimity over the meaning of the term migration. The dictionary defines 'to migrate' as to move from one place (country, town, house) to another. The most widely used technical definition is not much different - "Migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence."[18] Every such move involves dissociation from a familiar physical and social environment and involvement in a new

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[16]Mangalam, J.J. et. al., op. cit., p 15.

[17]Barclay, G.W., Techniques in Population Analysis, Wiley, New York, 1958, cited in Willis, K.G., Problems In Migration Analysis, Saxon House, London, 1974, p 3.

[18]White, P. & Woods, R., 'The Foundations of Migration Study', in White, P. & Woods, R. [eds.], The Geographical Impact of Migration, Longman, London, 1980, p 3.

(familiar or strange) one.[19] A sociological definition of migration "restricts the term migration to a change in residence coupled with a break in community ties",[20] where the essence of community is what McIver described as

> ". . . any circle of people who live together, who belong together, so that they share not this or that particular interest, but a whole series of interests wide enough and complete enough to include their lives is a community. Thus we designate as community a tribe, a village, a pioneer settlement, a city, or a nation. The mark of a community is that one's life may be lived wholly within it."[21]

However, we must note that migrations (or changes of residence) form only a small part of all the movements of man on this planet, and a "distinction can usefully be made between migration and mobility or circulation".[22] Such a distinction has the advantage of providing a useful conceptual tool for clarifying migration. Most mobility patterns (daily and other short-term movements) of an individual centre around his place of residence, thus Hagerstrand has defined migration as "a change in the centre of gravity of an individual's mobility pattern."[23]

While this does clarify the issue to some extent, there are still certain problems. For instance, what label is to be given to the

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[19] Ibid, p 4.
[20] Willis, K.G., op. cit., p 4.
[21] MacIver, Society, it's Structure, and Changes, New York, 1932, cited in Willis, K.G., op. cit., p 4.
[22] White, P.& Woods, R., op. cit., p 3.
[23] Hagerstrand, T., 'Migration and Area', in Hannerberg, D., et. al. [eds.], Migration in Sweden, Lund Studies in Geography, Lund, 1957, p 27-28, cited in ibid, p 4.

movements of nomads, Gypsies or vagrants, who have no fixed address? In any definition of migration, "concepts of time and scale are of vital significance",[24] and the above attempts are not totally satisfying in either respect.

Typology of Migration

> As the
> ". . . operational definition of migration varies from study to study according to the type of data available, it might be argued that there is little utility to be derived from any attempt at providing a typology of migration. Nevertheless, a consideration of methods of classifying migration provides a useful reminder that migration is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and that each dimension may be of importance."[25]

Two of the best known attempts at providing a typology of migration are those by Fairchild and Petersen. Fairchild concentrated on the various types of international migration[26] and Petersen, while drawing on some of Fairchild's work, made additions that would include internal migration, "as a step toward a general theory of migration."[27]

Fairchild makes the distinction between two sorts of migratory movement, on the basis of whether they were "war-like" or

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[24] Ibid, p 5.
[25] Ibid, p 18.
[26] Fairchild, H.P., Immigration: A World Movement and its American Significance, Macmillan, New York, 1925 cited in Petersen, W., 'A General Typology of Migration', American Sociological Review, Vol. 23, 1958, pp 256-265.
[27] Ibid, pp 256-257.

"peaceful". He then looks to the group making the move and classifies them as either "high culture" or "low culture". His four main types of migration then are the various permutations of these two categories, as has been represented schematically below.[28]

Migration from	Migration to	Peaceful Movement	Warlike Movement
Low Culture	High Culture		Invasion
High Culture	Low Culture	Colonization	Conquest
Cultures on a level			Immigration

Fairchild's typology must be seen in the light of when it was drawn up and the fact that it was amongst the first attempts at such a complex task. Today, it is totally unsatisfactory, both in terms of the usefulness of the categories, as well as the basis he has used for arriving at his classification. It is an invitation to ethnocentricism, and tells us little about the very things that make one set of migrations different form another - like the motivation behind the migration and the process.

Petersen attempted an improved and much wider typology of migration. He first classified the act of migration into two main types: innovating and conservative. Innovative migration is that undertaken to improve the situation of the migrant, whereas conservative migration is that which takes place when people "move geographically in order to remain where they are in all other respects."[29] He then classifies migrations in accordance with the

[28]Fairchild, H.P., op. cit., cited in ibid, p 258.
[29]Petersen, W., ibid, p 259.

relationship that caused them - an attempt to put what would today be called a structural element into the analysis. The categories he enumerates are: the relations between man and nature; man and the state(or its equivalent); man and society; and collective behaviour. The force behind the migration is then classified according to where it gets its impetus: from nature, in the form of an ecological push; from the state (or equivalent), in the form of migration policy; from within himself, in the form of higher aspirations; or from within the community, in the form of social momentum. There is a further categorisation of the amount of choice an individual had in the decision to migrate: forced migration is where he has no choice at all; impelled migration is where he had to migrate to survive, but there was at least some element or choice; free migration and mass migration.[30] A schematic representation makes the whole picture much clearer:

Relation	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type of Migration	
			Conservative	Innovating
Nature and Man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering / Ranging	Flight from the land
State (or equivalent) and man	Migration Policy	Forced	Displacement	Slave trade
		Impelled	Flight	Coolie trade
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective	Social Momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urbani-zation.

Thus the classifications are not independent of each other but

[30] Ibid, p 260.

to be used in conjunction. This typology is an improvement over Fairchild's, but is still extremely limited in its usefulness. Part of the problem is that while it does tell us a fair amount about a particular migration, once it has been classified, it may not be the type of information that students of migration today are particularly concerned with. Another problem is the rigidity of the relationships in the scheme. For instance, do people not 'vote with their feet' without being forced or impelled to do so?

Perhaps the best known and most widely used way of categorisation of migration is the 'push-pull' model.[31] This distinguishes between those migrations that take place because migrants are for some reason 'pushed' out of their home environment; and those where the attractions of the new environment serve to 'pull' migrants to it. This is not just another way of saying involuntary and voluntary as this model tries to account for those that do not slot into either category. For instance, it would be fallacious to describe the migration of Ethiopians from the sub-Sahara region as voluntary, yet wrong to label it involuntary - they are not being forcibly ejected - yet it could be aptly called 'push' migration.

However, it is perhaps this very laxity of meaning, as well as the implicit assumption of man's sedentary nature that have led to elements of doubt being cast on the utility of this model and to a search for other models and categories to explain migration.

Other classifications widely used in the study of migration come from the demographers' interest in the area. They include

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[31] See, for example, Petersen, W., ibid, and footnotes 18 and 49.

classifications based on environment at origin and destination like rural-urban, inter-urban, and frontier ward. But this too has only limited usefulness as a simple example shows. A migratory move from Bombay to London is inter-urban, but because of its international dimension, different from a move between Bombay and Delhi. Migration is also classified on the basis of internal and international, and this classification has been seen as an important one. Internal migration is associated with industrialization and the development of the economy, and has hence been an important tool used in the analysis of developing societies. But,

> ". . . this distinction can be somewhat artificial, and appears to be significant only because it is made in every country of the globe. The internal migrant within India may cross more cultural and social frontiers than the international migrant between northern Belgium and the southern part of the Netherlands."[32]

Migration is also classified according to the distance travelled, which has the advantage of eliminating some of the problems caused by the previous method above, but there are some doubts about just how significant the question of geographical distance alone is. "In terms of the impact of migration, the social or cultural distance moved are of arguably greater importance."[33]

Another method for the classification of migration is on the basis of the time-period involved. There are short-term seasonal migrations, and there are migrations from which the migrants never return. In between these two ends of the continuum are various

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[32]White, P. & Woods, R., op. cit., p 18.
[33]Ibid, p 19.

kinds of temporary migrations, lasting from a period of a few months to a few years. The time period of migration is a vital factor in its study for it influences the attitudes of migrants in their approach to the new environment, and can also have an impact on the community of origin of the migrant. Migrations have also been classified according to their purpose - economic migration, retirement migration, educational migration etc. are all self-evident categories that have found a place in the literature.[34]

It is obvious from the variety of typologies described above, each of which is dependent on a particular facet of the migration phenomenon, that there is no general or universal typology. Migratory behaviour does not lend itself to neat labelling and slotting away. The most suitable typology for any study then, is the one that is based around that aspect of migration that is of concern to the student or an amalgamation of typologies.

These typologies, applied in conjunction to a particular case do bring out its various features. Take the example of my migration to England. It is an educational migration, a medium term migration, an inter-urban international migration, a long-distance, cross-cultural migration, and to use Petersen's categories - an innovating, free migration caused by my higher aspirations.

Theories of Migration

Let us now move to a consideration of the existing generalizations about migration. Over one hundred years ago, E.G.Ravenstein - himself a German migrant to this country, where

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[34]Ibid, p 20.

he worked as a cartographer for the War Office - wrote three articles that were published in the Geographical Magazine and the Statistical Journal, in 1876, 1885 and 1889.[35] These articles were concerned with identifying and expounding the 'laws of migration', and they form the basis for a substantial amount of modern research on migration. The following list of Ravenstein's laws, is a restatement of them by Grigg,[36] and is a synthesis of the rules and laws put forward in all three of the above mentioned papers.

1. The majority of migrants go only a short distance.

2. Migration proceeds step by step.

3. Migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry.

4. Each current of migration produces a compensating counter current.

5. The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural areas.

6. Females are more migratory than males within the Kingdom of their birth but males more frequently venture abroad.

7. Most migrants are adults; families rarely migrate out of the county of their birth.

8. Large towns grow more by migration than by natural

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[35]Ravenstein, E.G., 'Census of the British Isles, 1871; Birthplaces and Migration', Geographical Magazine, 3, 1876, pp 173-177; 'The Laws of Migration', Journal of the Statistical Society, 48, 1885, pp 167-227, and 'The Laws of Migration', Journal of the Statistical Society, 52, 1889, pp 214-301.

[36]Grigg, D.B., 'E.G. Ravenstein and the Laws of Migration', in Journal of Historical Geography, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1977, pp 41-54.

increase.

9. Migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves.

10. The major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centres of commerce and industry.

11. The major causes of migration are economic.

Subsequent studies have proved most of Ravenstein's 'laws' right, and up to the present day the work of proving or disproving them goes on. Since then, "while there have been literally thousands of migration studies in the meantime, few additional generalizations have been advanced".[37] Ravenstein's work provides us with a useful set of hypothesis to work on, but it does not provide a framework within which the analysis of all types of migration can be carried out.

E.S.Lee attempts to create just such a framework in a seminal paper, somewhat optimistically titled 'A Theory of Migration'. He does this by identifying four factors that are essential features of every migration. The features are:

1. Factors associated with the area of origin.

2. Factors associated with the area of destination.

3. Intervening obstacles.

4. Personal factors.

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[37]Lee, E.S., 'A Theory of Migration', Demography, Vol. 3, 1966, p 48.

In every area, whether of origin or destination there are various factors that attract people, or are seen as positive factors by them. Similarly, there are factors which repel them, or are seen as negative factors, and there is a third set of factors to which they are indifferent. This set of positive, negative and neutral factors is different for all potential migrants, but it is possible to identify a few of importance to certain groups of people.

> "Needless to say, factors that attract and hold or repel people are precisely understood neither by the social scientists nor by the persons directly affected. Like Bentham's calculus of pleasure and pain the calculus of negative and positive at origin and destination is always inexact."[38]

Lee points out that there are differences between positive and negative factors at origin and destination. As far as the evaluation of the origin is concerned, people arrive at a conclusion through first-hand knowledge and experience of the conditions. Also for many migrants the origin is the place where they grew up, and any evaluation is influenced by the memories and associations of their formative years. On the other hand, any evaluation of the destination is made with lesser and more imperfect knowledge, and little if any experience of the place. "There is always an element of ignorance or even mystery about the area of destination and there must always be some uncertainty with regard to the reception of a migrant in a new area."[39]

The decision to migrate is taken only when the positive factors

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[38]Ibid, p 50.
[39]Ibid, p 51.

at the destination heavily outweigh the evaluation of the origin, as they have to be strong enough to overcome both natural inertia and the intervening obstacles. These intervening obstacles may be as varied as the cost of moving, to immigration restrictions, to the "impedimenta with which the migrant is encumbered . . . among which we must include children and other dependents."[40]

Finally the decision to migrate is affected by personal factors. These are closely associated with the first three features as it is personal perceptions, governed by personal awareness and sensitivities, of what constitutes a positive or negative factor or an obstacle that ultimately leads to the calculus. What might seem to be overwhelming obstacles to one individual, might appear as a challenge worth taking on to others. The personality of the potential migrant thus has a pivotal role in the process of decision-making as well as that of migration, and its aftermath. Lee adds:

> ". . . the decision to migrate therefore is never completely rational, and for some persons the rational component is much less than the irrational. We must expect therefore to find many exceptions to our generalizations."[41]

On the basis of this conception of the migration process, as involving four sets of inter-linked factors, Lee then proposes a series of hypothesis on aspects of migration, some of which will be discussed later in the paper.

A more recent but less clear attempt at formulating a general

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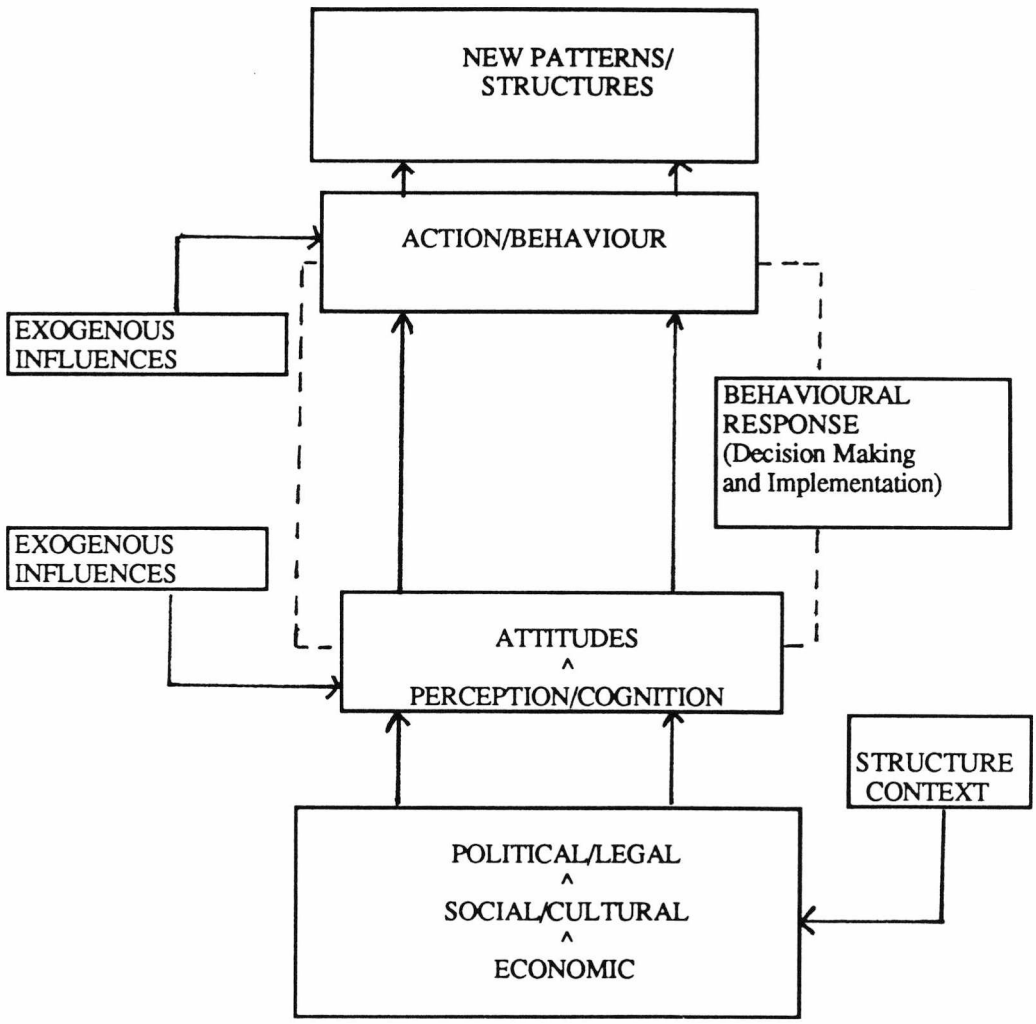
[40]Ibid, p 57.
[41]Ibid, p 57.

theory of migration comes from Robert Woods[42] and also concentrates on the decision to migrate. According to him, any theory of migration contains two essential elements. He labels these elements the structural context and the behavioural response. The first is concerned with economic and other external circumstances of the population, and the second with actions and reactions of individuals and family groups. A graphic representation of the framework he proposes:



The bottom layer of the figure represents the structural

[42]Woods, R., 'Towards a General Theory of Migration?', in White, P. & Van der Knaap, B. [eds.], Contemporary Studies in Migration, International Symposia Series, Netherlands 1983, p 3.

framework of society - the prevailing economic, political, social, cultural and legal norms. The second layer which is 'conditioned but not determined' by the first is the individual's decision-making process. He stresses the role that perception and cognition play in the formation of attitudes. These then lead to decisions and their outcomes of action and behaviour which are represented in the topmost tier, the patterns of which constitute the most studied parts of migration theory.

Wood himself points to a problem with his framework, and that is that it assumes rationality of the potential migrant in taking the decisions that he does. In fact, there is only a limited element of rationality in such decisions, as there is an imperfect understanding of the structural context they find themselves in, or of the appropriate measures to deal with these. In fact, Wood believes that the basis of the decisions is closer to Leibenstein's concept of selective rationality which he quotes as "personality and context select the degree of rationality that will control an individual's decision-making and performing behaviour."[43] Wood also cites the view that

> ". . . behaviour cannot be predicted from an understanding of individual ideals and objectives, since they may be unrealizable as such, and nor can it be predicted from an appreciation of the structural context in which potential migrants exist, since they may react to it in non-rational ways. However, it is the case that selectively or boundedly rational will in aggregate

[43]Leibenstein, R., 'Comment' in Easterlin, R.A. [ed.], Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries, Chicago University Press, Chicago, 1980, cited in ibid, p 3.

respond in ways that create readily identifiable patterns and relation-ships."[44]

The contribution of this approach lies in its attempt to put individual decisions by potential migrants in the context of the structural situation that they find themselves in. It means that a wide variety of conditions can be recognized as conducive to migration, that patterns linking structural context and migration can be identified, bringing the theory into a predictive mode.

Let us now move from a consideration of general theory to more specific hypothesis on three important aspects of migration: chain migration, the characteristics of migrants, and the economic aspects of migration.

Chain Migration

Petersen, in his typology of migration, mentions the links between the free migration of individuals who blaze a trail that others follow, leading to the establishment of a stream of migrants:

> "Migration then becomes a style, an established pattern, an example of collective behaviour. Once it is well begun the growth of such a movement is semi-automatic; so long as there are people to emigrate, the principle cause of emigration is prior emigration."[45]

It is his contention that for certain societies migration becomes a way of life, facilitated by the flow of information from the migrant community and by the existence of that community at the point of

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[44]Woods, R., op. cit., p 4.
[45]Petersen, W., op. cit., p 263.

destination to ease the way for newer migrants. Both Fitzpatrick and C.J. Jansen support the view that the existence of a community 'beach head' at the destination makes immigration easier, and is therefore conducive to the setting up of migratory chains or streams.[46]

Lee, while putting forward his outline for a general theory also put forward a set of hypothesis regarding the volume of migration and the establishment of streams and counter-streams. He explains chain migrations by making the point that opportunities tend to be highly localized, and by further reinforcing the importance of the flow of information from the destination to the point of origin, as well as the recruitment of migrants at the that point. The overcoming of the intervening obstacles by the early migrants lessens the difficulty of the passage for later migrants, and "in effect pathways are created which pass over intervening obstacles as elevated highways pass over the countryside."[47] In many instances these streams are highly specific, regarding both origin and destination, like the emigrations of the Sicilians to a few northern cities of the United States, while their compatriots from Lombardy and Tuscany migrated to South America, and Buenos Aires in particular.

Like Ravenstein, Lee also hypothesizes that every major migration stream produces a counter-stream. This counter-stream or return migration takes place for one or more of a variety of reasons. There may be a revaluation of the calculus that led to

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[46]Fitzpatrick, J.P., 'The Importance of 'Community' in the Process of Immigrant assimilation', International Migration Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, Fall 1966, pp 5-16, and Jansen, C.J., 'Some Sociological Aspects of Migration', in Jackson, J.A., op. cit., p 62.

[47]Lee, E.S., op. cit., p 55.

migration, the positive factors at the destination could disappear due to changed circumstances as is the case during a depression, new skills learned may create previously non-existent opportunities at the origin and wealth acquired may make it possible to return to the origin on much more advantageous terms.

Characteristics of migrants OR Who migrates?

Within the framework of his theory Lee also hypothesizes about who is likely to migrate, or to turn the question on its head, what are the characteristics of those who migrate. The answer to this, for Lee, is dependent upon the reason for migration. He first states that migration itself is a selective process, because different people respond differently to the positive and negative factors at origin and destination, and they differ in their ability to deal with the intervening obstacles. Those people who are migrating because of positive factors at the destination are 'positively selected' i.e., they are of higher quality because they are able to perceive and take advantage of opportunities, and are often highly skilled, educated professionals.

People who migrate because of negative factors at the origin tend to be of lesser quality, and sometimes as in the case of mass migrations due to unfavourable natural or climactic conditions, are hardly selected at all. He also points out that a negative evaluation of factors at the origin is normally indicative of lack of success there, leading to the desire to move. Related to these two propositions, he adds that as obstacles increase, persons who do migrate tend to be 'superior', and that as the distance between origin and destination

increases, the migrants tend to be of higher quality.[48]

It would appear that this is the most doubtful part of Lee's effort, for it does seem problematic to classify people as being of generally higher or lower quality. Also, the distinction between positive and negative selection is surely not as clear as he believes - for people move for a multitude of reasons including both positive factors at destination and negative factors at origin, and it is often difficult to judge which of the reasons takes priority over others.

Beijer and Taylor independently suggest that migrants are likely to have characteristics that fall somewhere between those of the population at origin and those of the population at destination.[49] They seem to take on some of the characteristics of the population at the destination, while retaining some of those of the origin. It has been contended that it is this very similarity with the population at the origin that makes these people into migrants. Studies seem to support this view; a recent study of fertility rates amongst potential migrants and others found that they had fertility rates lower than those found at the origin, but higher than those at the destination.[50] Taylor, in his study of West Durham miners also found, that propensity to migrate was higher amongst those whose families had already migrated before, and that those who had already moved once were more ready to do it again. He also found that in comparison to non-migrants, migrants were more open, more aware, less satisfied with traditional community roles and possessed of higher

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[48]Ibid, p 56-57.

[49]Beijer, G., 'Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movements', in Jackson, J.A. [ed.], op. cit., pp 11-59; and Taylor, R.C., 'Migration and Motivation: A Study of Determinants and Types', in Jackson, J.A. [ed.], op. cit., pp 99-133.

[50]Lee, E.S., op. cit., p 57.

aspirations.[51] But further research is required before such a close correspondence or characteristics to propensity to migrate can be made with authority.

The Economic Aspects of Migration

A large part of the literature in the field of migration concentrates on its economic aspects. In the 1970s a number of events served to refocus the attention of migration scholars on this area - like the rise of the Middle East as a labour market and its effects on South Asian countries from where most of their immigrant labour is drawn; the world recession which led to a tightening of immigration policy in Western industrialized countries, and the role of South Africa and its role as an employer of huge groups of migrant workers.[52]

The various scholars in this field like Brinley Thomas, W.R.Bohning,[53] etc. all seem to stress that the phenomenon of labour migration occurs as a response to demand, which is itself a result of a hierarchical system of production, unified by an international division of labour. Migration of labour is seen as part of the demands made by the existence of a 'world capitalist system'. Some writers like Petras, suggest the existence of a "world labour market which has been integral to and a consequence of the modern

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[51]Taylor, R.C., op.cit., pp 116-121.

[52]Lucas, R.E.B., 'International Migration: Economic Causes, Consequences and Evaluation.' in Kritz, M.M. et. al., op. cit., p 84.

[53]Thomas, B. [ed.], Economics of International Migration, Macmillan, London, 1958, and Bohning, W.R., 'Elements of a Theory of International Economic Migration to Industrial Nation States', in Kritz, M.M., et. al., op. cit., pp 28-43.

world economy",[54] and thus see migration as a natural outcome of such a system.

Normally two structural factors behind economic migration are identified. The first of these is the existence of different 'wage zones' or 'wage differentials'. To explain these in terms of Wallerstein's world systems approach[55] - as has often been done - the uneven development of the world's economy (which is related to the existence of excess labour to demand) leads to a hierarchy of wage levels, or "disparate thresholds for the remuneration of labour."[56] These reflect not just pure wages, but social benefits as well, and lead to hierarchical disparities in the standard of living, which distinguish core, periphery and semi-periphery. This leads to workers from the periphery and semi-periphery migrating to the core in search of a higher standard of living.

The second reason generally cited for this migration is the excess of labour at the origin and thus the high levels of unemployment there. This combination of differential wage zones and unemployment make those with aspirations to improve their situation candidates for migration. They are however subject to other factors as well like the cost of moving, as well as immigration restrictions and of course personal factors, hence the numbers that do migrate are considerably less than those who would like to migrate.

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[54]Petras, E.M., 'The Global Labour Market in the Modern World Economy', in Kritz, M.M. et. al., op. cit., p 45.

[55]See Wallerstein, I., The Capitalist World Economy, Cambridge University Press, Cambrigde & New York , 1979; and The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, Academic Press, London & New York, 1974, reissued 1981.

[56]Petras, E.M., op. cit., p 46.

The consequences of such migrations are normally considered from three viewpoints: the effect on the sending country, the effect on the receiving country, and the effect on the individual migrant. As far as the host or receiving country is concerned, in economic terms the migrants contribute to an improvement in conditions and an increase in productivity.

> "Determined as it is by demand for human resources, the intake of migrant labour directly contributes to the satisfaction of wants in the migrant receiving nations . . . Migrant labour helps to provide real tangible goods wherever it is engaged . . . [and] . . . even the income received by migrants remains to a large extent in the countries of employment, although a small portion of it is sometimes remitted to the countries of origin."[57]

It has been argued that migrant labour can have undesirable effects on the economies of the host countries through displacing local labour. To the extent that immigrant labour is prepared to take on unpleasant jobs that local workers refuse to take on because of the low wage, the locals are displaced and the wage rate is kept low.[58] More important reasons that lead to the opinion that migrant labour is undesirable stem from worries about race-relations, societal consensus and cultural coexistence, and will be examined in the next chapter.

As far as the sending or home countries of the migrants are concerned, the effects are economically varied. While migration does not benefit the home country directly it can act indirectly by

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[57]Bohning, W.R., in Kritz, M.M. et. al., op. cit., pp 38-39.
[58]Lucas, R.E.B., op. cit., p 88.

reducing the pressure on facilities and consumption. More migration means less demand on schools, hospitals, transport and communication facilities. Through the sending of remittances and through return migration the home country can benefit. A thinning out of the labour force as a result of migration can lead to a more efficient utilization of resources.

The remittances that come in, while increasing the individual benefits of the recipients may be spent on non-essential 'luxury' goods, and leading to demand-pull inflation. Furthermore, "remittances signify dependence",[59] and, while return migrations can be a positive factor for the home country, when the "smooth reintegration of return migrants enriched by skills or experience and possibly savings"[60] takes place they can also harm the home economy. This happens when migrants are forced home due to unfavourable economic circumstances in their host countries, which leads to recessions being felt more intensely, and hardship running deeper. The influx of unemployed and the dwindling of remittances worsens the problems. There is also the particular problem of the emigration of highly educated or skilled members of the population - looking for higher remuneration and/or better working conditions and facilities - the so-called 'brain drain' which is of particular interest to developing countries.

Thus, emigration is a bit of a mixed bag economically, but it is true to say that whether as a result of the inherent nature of the phenomenon or due to its bad management, "empirical observation of the contemporary world would be hard put to identify countries

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[59]Bohning, W.R., op. cit., p 42.
[60]Ibid, p 42.

whose productive capacity has developed as a consequence of emigration."[61]

As far as the individual migrant is concerned, the effects of emigration are varied, and of course each migrant decides for himself whether the process was worthwhile or not. The process does include certain costs for all migrants. In money terms these are the cost of moving and survival until re-established as a wage-earner, as well as opportunity cost - the earnings foregone while travelling, searching for and learning a new job.[62] The migrant also pays a 'psychic' cost for moving. This involves the effects of leaving familiar surroundings and an established life-style and learning to live in and by the mores of a new perhaps strange and culturally different community. The returns for the migrants are many in terms of material benefits - better pay and working conditions, and a generally higher standard of living. There is a large element of luck, and of course the personality of the migrant in the making of a 'successful' migration.

In general it appears that migration plays an important role in the functioning of the world economy, as it is the mobility of the factors of production, amongst other things, that leads to efficient allocation and utilization of resources. However it does tend to lead to extension of existing inequalities and the generation of new ones, as well as having various social effects.

The theories of migration described in the preceding sections are generally categorized into two major blocs: the micro economic

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[61] Ibid, p 47.
[62] Sjaastd, L.A., 'The Costs and Returns of Human Migration', Journal of Political Economy, 70, 1962, p 84.

models of migration and the historical-structural view.[63] To summarize the two views, the micro economic approach holds that migration is caused by the uneven distribution of the factors of production which influences the direction and magnitude of migration. Through this process of migration, whether internal and largely from rural to urban areas, or international and largely from less industrialized to more industrialized countries, a "gradual convergence in the levels of economic growth and social well-being"[64] is achieved. For this more efficient allocation of resources to occur it is assumed that workers seek out those employment opportunities that are most rewarding, and thus migration decisions are seen as the individual acts of rational persons, who have carried out a cost-benefit analysis in arriving at their decision to migrate. The focus of this approach is thus on individuals.

The historical-structural school has its origins in the historical materialism of Marx and in dependency theory, and analyses migration from this perspective. It believes that the explanation for labour mobility lies in the "pressures and counter-pressures, both internal and external to the national economy, that lead to changes in the organization of production."[65] Thus migration is seen as a macro economic and social process rather than an individual one. The focus of this approach has thus been on factors such as the emergence and expansion of capitalism, the development strategy of a country, unequal development within and between states and their

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[63]For a full discussion see: Wood, C., 'Equilibrium and Historical-Structural Perspectives on Migration', International Migration Review, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1982, pp 298-319; also Bach, R.L. & Schraml, L.A., 'Migration, Crisis and Theoretical Conflict', International Migration Review, Vol. 16, No. 2, Summer 1982, pp 320-341.

[64] Wood, C., ibid, p 301.

[65]Ibid, p 302.

place in the international division of labour as relevant to an understanding of migration.[66]

Both models are criticized for their inadequacies by adherents of the other on various grounds (which have been discussed in preceding sections) but from the perspectives of this thesis both schools of thought have been aptly criticised by Zolberg, as the next section shows.

Political Aspects of International Migration

Zolberg criticizes the two sorts of attempts to theorize about migration. The Ravenstein based school of thought characterized by Lee is castigated for "providing little more than a formal model of voluntary individual movement in response to unevenly distributed opportunities"[67] and because they fail to sufficiently distinguish between internal and international migration and treat the "very real barriers against exit and entry as mere error factors that mar otherwise elegant and value free equations."[68] The second approach, which is more contemporary and views migration as a process "generated by structural unevenness attributable to capitalism organized on a world scale"[69] also reduces migration to a "unidimensional exchange and all appears to have been said when migration has been identified as only another form of exploitation."[70]

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[66]Ibid, p 303.
[67]Zolberg, A., 'International Migrations in Political Perspective', in Kritz, M.M. et. al., op. cit., p 4.
[68]Ibid, p 4.
[69]Ibid, p 5.
[70]Ibid, p 5.

The emphasis on a political consideration of international migration is due to the fact that it is quite distinct from internal migration because of the existence of political boundaries that have to be crossed. This political perspective takes as its starting point the fact that the world is divided into nation states that "may be termed as statist societies whose social boundaries coincide by and large with the frontiers delineated by international law as those of the state."[71] These states are not closed systems (international migration is proof of that) and have to interact together as part of a larger global system. The emphasis here is on the transfer of the individual from within the boundaries of one state to another. From the point of view of the individuals concerned, "the transfer is coupled with a concomitant process, whereby they cease being members of one society and become members of another"[72] and there is therefore some validity to considering the "transfer of jurisdiction"[73] as an essential element of the move.

This perspective emphasizes that international migration is a deviation from the norm of social organization in the world. This norm is evident (to Zolberg) in the popularity and strength of the concept of the state, and of the way the social sciences are "predicated on a model of society as a territorially based, self-reproducing cultural and social system."[74] The deviant character of migration can be explained if we conceive of the world as consisting on the one hand of individuals who wish to maximize their welfare through exercising a list of options of which international migration

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[71] Ibid, p 7.
[72] Ibid, p 8.
[73] Ibid, p 8.
[74] Ibid, p 6.

is one; and on the other of

> ". . . mutually exclusive societies, acting as organized states to maximize collective goals by controlling the entry or exit of individuals. The deviant character of international migration is thus seen to be related to the fundamental tension between the interests of society and the interests of the individual."[75]

Myron Weiner identifies four 'clusters' of variables that are responsible for influencing international migration. The first group are differential variables - differences in wage rates, land prices etc. between states. The second group are spatial variables, such as distance between the country of origin and the country of destination, cost of travel, etc. The third group are affinity variables like religion, culture, kinship networks etc. These three clusters are of interest to economists, geographers, sociologists and anthropologists. The fourth cluster, of interest to political scientists and students of international relations, are the access variables - the rules of states that govern exit and entry.[76] Most of the theoretical literature, as this examination has shown, tends to concentrate on the first three clusters almost entirely ignoring the rules of exit and entry and how they affect migration flows. Much research remains to be done before a clear understanding can emerge of how states formulate their rules, how they are influenced by the other clusters of variables in doing so and how these rules affect migration and international relations.[77] Some of these questions will be taken up

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[75] Ibid, pp 7-8.
[76] Weiner, M., 'On International Migration and International Relations', Population Development and Review, Vol. 11, No. 3, September 1985, p 446.
[77] Ibid, p 446. Weiner is only able to cite three recent articles in this area.

again in a subsequent chapter.

The political view of migration is for this study the most important and relevant one. This is because it is largely the process of politics - both domestic and international - that creates the need for migration, and it is in the political arena that the impact of international migration is often felt. The relevant categorisation of migration for the purposes of this thesis must relate to whether the migration is internal to the state or crosses international boundaries. This is not to say that internal migration has no impact and relevance for international relations, but only to note that the primacy given to the notion of sovereignty in international relations means that any impact of internal migration on the international stage must be seen as an indirect one.

The principle of sovereignty, with its inherent emphasis on the primacy of the state as the controller of its own destiny is well established in International Relations. While there may be a debate on what exactly constitutes a sovereign state and when intervention in such a state is permissible or justifiable, there is little doubt that sovereignty entitles a state to decide who shall live within its borders, who can leave, who can enter and who can become a citizen. Thus it is individual states that decide on their own rules of exit and entry.

In theory, in accordance with Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everyone has the right to leave any country including their own, and to return to their own country. Clearly these rules are not universally applied by states. While the right to exit is well established in most democratic countries, it did not exist until recently in those countries that comprised the Soviet

bloc, and still does not exist in China and several other third world states. It must be noted that even where this right of exit is available to all citizens, it is meaningless without a corresponding right to entry somewhere else.

On the issue of right of entry, there is clear acceptance in the international community of the principle that each state has the right to control entry into its own territory. Even the most ardent economic liberals who advocate free trade and free movement of capital so as to achieve the most efficient allocation of resources, do not advocate the free movement of labour or peoples. It is widely recognized, that in this case considerations other than optimum use of resources come into play, considerations of public welfare, interest in maintaining the nature and integrity of society and its particular culture and way of life. A world where free movement of peoples existed would be a world in which major population movement took place, and it would no longer be a world of sovereign states.[78]

There is thus acceptance of clearly contradictory principles in the international regime on population movement. While each individual has the right to exit, all states equally, have the right to control entry. The implications of this position, as well as the ways in which states formulate their entry and exit rules and the impact of these in International Relations will be taken up in a later chapter.

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[78]Ibid, p 443.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES

Introduction

The study of the immigrant community in its new environment has largely been a study of the level and pace of its assimilation with the host society. It has long been assumed that whenever people or groups move from one society to another, it is imperative for them to fit in with their new environment, and all the relevant literature reflects this view. One of the most contentious issues in the literature, as in many areas of social sciences, is the terminology used to describe the assimilation process and the various forms, stages and levels thereof.

A closer look at some of this terminology and the varied nuances of meaning attached to the terms will not only serve to make this chapter clearer, but will also explain what I am using each term to mean. A list of the terms commonly used is as follows:

1. assimilation

2. absorption

3. integration

4. acculturation

5. accommodation

6. adaptation

7. adjustment

8. amalgamation

The most widely used of these, assimilation, has been in use since the 1870s, and is traced by the editors of the Oxford English Dictionary as far back as 1677. That no agreement exists on a clear concept of assimilation led Gordon to express the view that "with regard to the term assimilation particularly there is a certain amount of confusion, and there is further, a compelling need for a rigourous and systematic analysis of the concept."[1] An early and much quoted definition of assimilation was provided by Robert E Park and Ernest W Burgess:

> "Assimilation is a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments and attitudes of other persons or groups, and by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common cultural life."[2]

This definition is an example amongst the many that see the process of assimilation as resulting in a completely homogenized society, within which immigrant groups cease to be distinguishable from the indigenous population. It would also appear obvious that this is better seen as some sort of 'ideal type' or model, than a realistic definition.

Taft provides a simpler and more open-ended definition of assimilation when he describes it as "the process by which

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[1]Gordon, M., Assimilation in American Life, Oxford University Press, New York, 1964, p 61.

[2]Park, R.E. & Burgess, E.W., Introduction to the Science of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1921, p 735.

immigrants and the native population become more alike as a result of interaction."[3] This definition has a slightly different focus because it seems to allow for the influence that immigrants can have on the local population, but Taft qualifies his definition with the remark that in practice it is the immigrant who does most of the changing. A recognition that assimilation tends to refer to an ideal or perfect model type, has led to the creation by scholars of various other terms, to discuss situations closer to reality. Park later wrote about social assimilation which he defined as

> ". . . the name given to the process by which people of diverse social origins and different cultural heritage, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence."[4]

Gordon, attempts to reach the heart of the matter of the whole question of assimilation by putting forward the concept of structural assimilation which means "entry of immigrants into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society at a primary level."[5] This sort of 'structural assimilation' would lead to marital assimilation, and he believed that once this had occurred, all other types of assimilation, and therefore assimilation in its totality would follow. The price of such assimilation is the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values.

Eisenstadt, in his seminal work 'The Absorption of

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[3]Taft, R., From Stranger to Citizen, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, 1965, p 4.

[4]Park, R.E., 'Assimilation', in Seligman, E.R.A. [ed.], Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. II, Macmillan, New York, 1933, cited in Gordon, M., op. cit., p 63.

[5]Gordon, M., op. cit., p 71.

Immigrants' has used the term 'absorption' synonymously with the perfect model type definition of assimilation. And, he too, defines a more realistic phenomenon, corresponding to Park's social assimilation, which he labels acculturation - "the extent to which the immigrant learns the various roles, norms and customs of the absorbing society."[6] The term acculturation, is slightly differently defined by the sub-committee on acculturation appointed by the Social Science Research Council, which consisted largely of anthropologists:

> ". . . acculturation comprehends those phenomena, which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."[7]

There is thus a very different sense of meaning between Eisenstadt's 'acculturation' which was essentially learning the social skills necessary for life in a new environment and the much deeper anthropological view of changes in cultural patterns and behaviour.

Integration too, has been used as an alternative to assimilation and absorption, but it carried a slightly different connotation - which seems not to see the complete disappearance of ethnic groups, but allows for the maintenance of a separate ethnic identity. This view is shared by many, and they see integration as a concept which means that

> ". . . each element has been changed by association with

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[6]Eisenstadt, S.N., The Absorption of Immigrants, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1954, p 12.

[7]Redfield, R., Linton, R. & Hershkovitz, M.J., 'Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation', American Anthropologist, Vol. 38, No. 1, 1936, p 149.

> the other, without complete loss of its own cultural amalgam, or civilization if you will, that is vital, vigorous and an advance beyond its previous level . . . It will be apparent that this concept of integration rests upon the belief in the importance of cultural differentiation within a framework of social unity. It recognizes the rights of groups and individuals to be different so long as the differences do not lead to domination or disunity."[8]

Accommodation, adaptation and adjustment are terms close in meaning and are most useful to describe the initial learning and change that an immigrant goes through. They imply a level of status quo in the relationship between host and immigrant groups but based on minimum and secondary level contacts. They are also often seen as the first stages toward eventual full assimilation.

Finally, the word amalgamation is one on which there appears to be agreement in the literature - it is used to describe "a biological process, the fusion of races by interbreeding and intermarriage."[9] Amalgamation, though limited to the blending of racial traits through intermarriage, is both a result of assimilation at the most difficult - the primary - level and plays a role in promoting assimilation through the "cross fertilization of social heritage."[10]

This brief survey of the terminology in the literature brings out the lack of a general agreement within the literature but also the

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[8]Bernard, W.S., The Integration of Immigrants in the United States, UNESCO mimeogragph, Paris, 1956, cited in Borrie, W.D., The Cultural Integration of Immigrants, UNESCO, Paris, 1959, pp 93-94.
[9]Gordon, M., op. cit., p 63.
[10]Ibid, p 64.

nuances attached to various terms. For the purposes of this paper, assimilation will be used to mean the ideal type model, for the lesser but more realistic assimilation, we shall use social assimilation. For the central learning process we shall use acculturation after Eisenstadt's use of the word.

Factors Influencing Assimilation:

> "An individual immigrant's adjustment depends partly on personal and social background, on motives for emigration and expectations of the new land, on customs and values carried when migrating."[11]

This process depends upon various factors, but must be preceded by "the development of group values and aspirations compatible with the values and roles of the absorbing society, and capable of being realized within it."[12] Alongside this process, there must also occur the creation of new channels of communication, between the immigrant and his primary group and the wider social establishment. Eisenstadt feels that this widening social contact would include the development of immigrant groups' identification with the new society, with its ultimate values, and create a feeling of belonging to and participating in the new society. It would also include the level of participation by immigrants and their primary and associational groups with the established institutions and associations of the new society. The immigrant's behaviour has also to become directed to wider 'reference groups' of the new society - such as class and professional groups, and must be accepted by them. Finally, stable

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[11]Price, C., 'The Study of Assimilation' in Jackson, J.A. [ed.], Migration, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, p185.
[12]Eisenstadt, S.N., op. cit., p 7.

social relations must be formed with the members of the existing social structure and some common primary groups established. It is only through such a process that ultimate assimilation can be achieved.[13]

A factor which influences the rate of the process of assimilation is the numbers of immigrants involved. Various points have to be considered in this regard. It was originally assumed that the larger the number of immigrants the slower would be the process - and thus policies of immigrant dispersal were popular. However, if the number of immigrants is too small, it is insufficient for them to form the necessary social groups to fulfil the needs of persons alone in a new and strange environment and to sustain a comfortable immigrant life. The 'ideal' size of the immigrant community would be difficult to establish and has rarely been investigated. Different groups, and the degree of difference between immigrant group and host society would have to be considered. For example, Italians coming to England could use the Roman Catholic churches and schools, and thus smaller numbers could sustain the immigrant colony. This would not be the case for a group of Moslem Pakistanis. Also, it has been argued that numbers are less important than attitudes towards assimilation, but increased numbers could create tensions regardless of positive attitudes on both the part of immigrant as well as the host country.

Yet another factor that has a vital role in assimilation is the receiving/host society. The attitude of its members towards the immigrants, the existence of economic opportunity at various points

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[13] Ibid, pp 6-8.

on the economic ladder, the openness of its political and social institutions, will all effect the assimilation of the immigrant. A self-contained society, that sees immigrants as a threat to their social system and thus severely restricts their contacts will not serve to foster assimilation. A country that provides aided entry to immigrants (as Australia and Israel, for example, have done), helps them resettle, should make the assimilation process easier.

At this point, mention must be made of prejudice as a factor that will influence the way the host society will aid or prevent smooth immigrant assimilation. Prejudice, as defined by Price is "the irrational, usually hostile state of mind affecting behaviour towards certain sections of population",[14] as distinct from discrimination which is "behaviour often associated with prejudice, but not necessarily springing from it."[15] An example will make the point clearer. If a landlady refuses to board an immigrant because she is personally opposed to him because he is 'different' - that is prejudice. However, she would be practising discrimination if she refuses to board such an immigrant not because she, personally, is against it, but because she knows all her other boarders will leave if she does. Obviously the first poses a more intractable problem than the second.

There is an extremely large literature on prejudice and discrimination and various explanations exist. Historical explanations show how different attitudes to different groups of immigrants evolved and hardened into prejudice. Socio-economic theories exist, as do theories of conflict, and theories of social

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[14]Price, C., op. cit., p 189.
[15]Ibid, p 189.

function which see groups needing an outside scapegoat to maintain their own cohesion, and psychological theories look at personal characteristics and background. As Allport says,

> ". . . each approach has something to teach us, none possesses a monopoly of insight, nor is any one safe as a solitary guide. We may lay it down as a general law applying to all social phenomena that multiple causation is invariably at work, and nowhere is the law more clearly applicable than to prejudice."[16]

Thus the existence of prejudice, more particularly on the part of the receiving society, but also on the part of the immigrant group, will be a great barrier towards assimilation.

The Three Paradigms

A survey of the literature on assimilations brings out the existence of three different orientations to its study. Most of this literature is a result of a study of the world's 'greatest' immigrant nation, the United States of America, and this is reflected within them. The varying goals set by each paradigm and the value systems upon which they rest reflect changing thinking on the American experience. These three models have been differently labelled by various scholars, but for the purposes of this paper they shall be designated:

(1) The conformity model.

(2) The Melting Pot model.

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[16]Allport, G., The Nature of Prejudice, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, cited in Price, C., op. cit., p 190.

(3) The Cultural Pluralism model.

The conformity model

This model has its origins in the 'Anglo-conformity' approach popular in the earliest studies of assimilation, particularly in America. This approach demands "the complete renunciation of the immigrant's ancestral culture in favour of the behaviour and values of the . . . core group."[17] This core group culture was the Anglo-Saxon culture. It rests on a desire to maintain and propagate essentially English or English-origin (but somewhat modified in the case of the US) institutions, the English language, and English oriented cultural patterns. The spectrum of views covered by this school of thought ranges from a belief in the above due to "discredited notions about race and Nordic and Aryan superiority",[18] to no particular animosity towards any race or migration source, as long as they conformed to Anglo Saxon ways. This paradigm, in its more moderate version has been the guiding light of America's policy on assimilation through most of its history, and its pursuit led to the curtailment for a short period of Southern European immigration and the almost complete ban on Asian immigration, as people from these places were perceived as too different to ever conform with Anglo-Saxon ways. Such policies have also been applied in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and its present day manifestation is the restricted entry policies of these countries. This issue has only become a relevant one for the U.K. in the last twenty years or so.

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[17]Gordon, M., op. cit., p 85.
[18]Ibid, p 85.

In his analysis of this paradigm, Gordon asserts that the emphasis was on acculturation, which was believed to lead to full perfect assimilation through structural assimilation and amalgamation. The policy was most successful, as might be expected, not on the immigrants themselves, but on their American-born children;

> ". . . by and large, the massive forces of the acculturation process (chiefly school and mass media) transformed the seed of Iceland, Germany, Italy, the Russian Pale and other areas into aspiring Americans."[19]

This success did not however include those with "entropy-resistant"[20] characteristics like the Blacks, Latin Americans, American Indians or Orientals.

The Melting Pot Model

This model too has its roots in the attempts of the American people to deal with the massive levels of immigration that occurred in the latter half of the 19th and first half of this century. The melting model envisages a "biological merger of the Anglo Saxon peoples, with other immigrant groups, and the blending of their respective cultures into a new and indigenous American type."[21] A major contribution to this school of thought came in the form of Turner's essay on the frontier in American history, where he put

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[19]Ibid, p 108.

[20]This is the term Gellner coined for traits such as colour. Entropy-resistance is "an attribute which has the marked tendency not to become, even with the passage of time, . . . evenly dispersed throughout the entire society." See Tidwell, A., 'Black Nationalism and the Anti-apartheid Movement in the USA', Paradigms, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1987, p 130.

[21]Gordon, M., op. cit., p 85.

forward the view that the frontier promoted the formation of a composite American type. "In the crucible of the frontier, immigrants were Americanized, liberated and fused into a mixed race."[22] Despite the fairly rhetorical nature of much of the work on the idea of a melting pot approach, and its lack of a systematic delineation of concepts, it is possible to infer that the keystone of the concept lies in the process of amalgamation. However studies[23] conducted at the time show that where cross-nationality marriages were taking place, they were largely along religious lines. This was leading to the emergence of not one big American melting pot, but three religiously differentiated Catholic, Protestant and Jewish melting pots. Another problem with the melting pot idea was that while it was agreed that the resultant culture would be different from all ingredient cultures it was not clear how much influence each group would have on the resultant culture, and what the source of each group's level of influence would be - numerical strength, first established, etc.

A modified version of the melting pot model appears to conform more to the reality of the American (and to some extent other similar situations too) situation for which it was intended as a model. This version - a sort of combination of the conformity model and the melting pot approach held that society was still by and large Anglo Saxon in its constitution and culture, and most of its immigrants have been absorbed into that life, contributing some elements of their culture. George Stewart described the American

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[22]Turner, F.J., The Frontier in American History, Henry Holt & Co., New York, 1920, cited in Gordon, M., op. cit., p 118.

[23]Kennedy, R.J.R., 'Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven, 1870-1940', American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 58, No. 1, July 1958, pp 56-66. This is the most often quoted study.

experience as more of a "transmuting pot"[24] in which foreign elements, a little at a time, were added to the pot, they were not merely melted but transmuted, and so did not affect the original as strikingly as might be expected. It does appear thus, that both structurally and culturally, the melting pot ideal has very limited applicability.

Cultural Pluralism Model

This third model of assimilation argues "that each ethnic group, so desiring should be allowed to create its own communal life, and while taking part in the general life of the nation, should preserve its own culture heritage indefinitely."[25] Kallen, in his argument for the case of cultural pluralism stated

> ". . . the United States are in the process of becoming a federal state not merely as a union of geographical and administrative unities, but also as a cooperation of cultural diversities, as a federation or commonwealth of national cultures",[26]

and he claimed that this was the inevitable consequence of democratic ideals, "since individuals are implicated in groups and democracy for the individual must by extension also mean democracy for his group."[27]

The problem with the notion of cultural pluralism is that in a society with mass education and exposure to the mass

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[24]Stewart, R.G., American Ways of Life, Doubleday & Co., New York, 1954, cited in Gordon, M., op. cit., p 128.
[25]Price, C., op. cit., p 183.
[26]Kallen, H.M., Culture and Democracy in the United States, Boni & Liveright, New York, 1924, cited in Gordon, M., op. cit., p 142.
[27]Kallen, H.M., op. cit., cited in Gordon, M., op. cit., p 142.

communications media the ethnic group would find survival fairly difficult, and that the only way of avoiding absorption would be to limit individuals' primary group relations to the confines of the ethnic group - not a very desirable situation.

> "The ideal model encourages enough sub-societal separation to guarantee the continuance of the ethnic cultural tradition and group existence, without at the same time interfering with the carrying out of standard responsibilities to general American civic life"[28]

- a rather fine balance to achieve.

There are some less established variations on the cultural pluralism model that deserve mention. One such is a structurally oriented approach that involves allowing the immigrant access to the established institutions of society through a process of dispersal and an emphasis on social assimilation. Another related approach is a 'power-participation position' - which emphasizes the political aspect of immigrant's lives, and their need to have some level of decision making power, within the society. Both of these positions are particularly applicable to black or racially different people from those of the host society - but are not well established within the literature as yet.

The importance of these three models, born largely of the American experience, is that depending upon which one is adopted by a receiving society, policies are formulated accordingly, and if successful, the end results achieved are rather different, and have varied implications for the immigrants and therefore the whole

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[28]Gordon, M., op. cit., p 158.

process and speed of assimilation.

The Process of Assimilation

The study of assimilation focuses on one aspect of migration - the fact that it is a process by which an individual ceases to be a member of one society, and has to become a member of another. Eisenstadt defines migration as "the physical transition of an individual/group from one society to another. The transition usually involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one."[29]

It is also important to note that the motivations of the migrant in undertaking this move will govern his expectations of his new society, and thus his behaviour within it. For example, if the migrant's chief dissatisfaction with the society he has just left was the lack of economic opportunity - his expectations in the new society will centre on that aspect, and he may not be quite as adaptable to the change in custom, manner and habit that total assimilation would demand, and this would effect his attitude towards and his assimilation with the new society in spheres other than the economic. Thus, to put the argument in Eisenstadt's words,

> ". . . the analysis of the immigrant's motives for migration, and his consequent image of the new country is not of historical interest alone, but is also of crucial importance for understanding his initial attitudes and behaviour in his new setting."[30]

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[29]Eisenstadt, S.N., op. cit. , p 1.
[30]Ibid, p 4.

The process of migration itself also affects immigrants' behaviour. Through the physical transition either alone or with a small group, the immigrant goes through a 'de-socialization process'. His contacts are severely limited to the group he moved with, his identification with various groups of the old society, its leaders, elites, formal and informal associations he was part of are severed. The process of migration restricts the number of 'roles' of the individual, and the group within which he is active. Thus the migrant lives through the process of migration in an "unstructured, incompletely defined field, and cannot be sure how far his various aspirations and expectations can be realized"[31] - the resulting insecurity is usually extremely important in determining the immigrant's attitudes and behaviour in his new country. Thus, the process of assimilation largely involves "a resocialisation of the individual and the reforming of his entire status-image and set of values."[32]

The immigrant has to learn various skills including language, and the orientations of his new society. He has to learn to perform various new roles and he has to rebuild his idea of himself in accordance with those roles. Thus he has to go through a resocialisation not dissimilar to the initial socialization that every individual goes through in any society. This will entail the development of values and aspirations conducive to the new society, and capable of being realized within it, as well as the extension of communication channels with various groups of the new society. Also, this process, taking place as it does within the social structure

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[31] Ibid, p 6.
[32] Ibid, p 6.

of the new society - is to some extent determined by it. It is not only the roles and values the immigrants choose to take upon themselves, but also those that are thrust upon them by their new society and its ideas about their roles and its expectations of them that will influence the process of absorption. Eisenstadt assumes that the more an immigrant is absorbed into and merges with his new society, the less he stands out as having a separate identity - and provides these criteria to judge when absorption has taken place.

(1) acculturation

(2) satisfactory and integral personal adjustment of the immigrants and

(3) complete dispersion of immigrants as a group within the main institutional spheres of the absorbing society [33]

The first criteria of acculturation is concerned with the immigrant's knowledge and familiarity with the customs, habits, traditions, dress, religious belief and day-to-day behaviour, and upon his internalization of these facets. The second index concerns the immigrant's ability to come to terms satisfactorily with all the changes that have been required of him. The third criteria is concerned with the migrant group's place within the social structure of the absorbing society, if they are concentrated in particular economic spheres, form different political and social groupings instead of mingling into existing ones, then this criteria is not fulfilled. This criteria would also take into account the levels and magnitude of contacts amongst migrants and host society, and upon

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[33] Ibid, p 11.

the development of what Gordon called structural assimilation - the intermingling of migrant and host community at the primary group level.

Various scholars have outlined a sequential progress of the assimilation process. Obviously a phenomenon as varied as migration added to the complexities of assimilation - wherein the role of the specific immigrant or group and that of the specific receiving society is vital in deciding the route to and the degree of assimilation - cannot be explained with reference to one particular sequential progress. Various sequences have been proposed to explain processes of assimilation in various environments over different time-periods. Gordon (see figure 2, page 77) in his analysis of the concept of assimilation outlines seven aspects, as necessary before one can describe the immigrant/group as assimilated. These seven aspects could probably also be seen as stages in the assimilation process - leading to total assimilation - but there is no factor/force that ensures that one stage must of necessity follow the other - a group could stay at a particular level, or encompass some of these aspects of assimilation - but not others for extended periods.

The first of these stages is acculturation or cultural/behavioural assimilation whereby the immigrant has learnt the customs, traditions, language and cultural patterns of his host society and is capable of conforming to these. In the second, and most vital stage of structural assimilation, immigrants and hosts have large scale contacts at primary group level. In the third stage, of marital assimilation or amalgamation intermarriage between hosts and immigrants is common. Fourthly, immigrants must develop a

sense of people-hood with, and based on, their host society - they must have identificational assimilation. Fifthly, immigrants are no longer subject to prejudice, and, sixthly, nor to discrimination. Lastly, there is no conflict of value or power between host and immigrant groups. These aspects in their society would result in assimilation as prescribed in the Anglo conforming model. On the other hand, long periods can pass when the only assimilation that takes place is acculturation - as in the case of the American Black. Taft outlines a seven stage process,[34] (see figure 1, page 76), that is interesting because it allows for the differences between the way the immigrant perceives his assimilation/resocialisation and the way the host society perceives it.

Comparing Taft with Gordon shows that there does appear to be a general agreement on various important aspects of assimilation. Acculturation is normally the first step. If this acculturation is accompanied by positive and receptive attitudes it will lead to primary group contact, absence of prejudice and discrimination, amalgamation and finally to identification and normative and value consensus between immigrant and host.

A simpler example of this sort of sequential progression through which immigrants pass is given by Benyei. He outlines the stages as (l) resettlement - find a job and accommodation to (2) reestablishment which involves the finding of a more satisfying job, family reunion, the acquisition of more permanent accommodation, more familiarity with language and other skills needed to have a satisfying social life, and finally, (3) integration - when the

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[34]Taft, R., op. cit., p 189.

immigrant begins to identify with his new society.[35]

Yet another explanation is based on economic sequence. It is an assimilation sequence based on migration which is dependent on an economic cycle. Brinley Thomas puts forward the following cycle. In the first stage industrial demand for labour brings in large numbers of immigrants who enter the lower economic classes of society - and creates some prejudice and xenophobia. In the second stage, social unrest and a downswing in the economy lead to a decline in immigration. In the third stage, the economy takes an upswing but xenophobia declines as immigrants get better integrated to society. Finally in the fourth stage - there may occur a renewal of xenophobia, particularly if accompanied by an economic downswing, but in a less violent form as the core culture is now more pluralist and more self confident.[36] This type of economic cycle is most applicable to free market economies, and is not intended as a general theory. Also, clearly, its formulation is not necessarily aiming for assimilation of the ideal type, but has more pluralist views - suitable to situations where migrants and hosts come from not merely different ethnic nation stock, but also different races. This system is limited in its usefulness because it says little about socio-cultural and linguistic difficulties, but it deserves recognition and mention, because it emphasizes a point that other more socio-psychological approaches to the study of assimilation often omit - that economic situations and cycles have profound implications for the process of assimilation.

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[35]Benyei, L., 'Greek and Southern Slav Immigrants in Melbourne', in Price, C. [ed.], The Study of Assimilaion in Australia, Canberra, 1960, cited in Price, C., op. cit., p 200.

[36]Thomas, B., 'Migration and International Investment', in Thomas B. [ed.], Economics of International Migration, Macmillan, London, 1958, pp 3-17.

Yet another type of assimilation sequence is that of 'ecological succession' and it derives largely from the United States, or other urban experiences. Rex and Moore's sequence when discussing Irish, West Indian and Pakistani immigrants in Birmingham also falls into this category. They outline tentatively the stages as follows:

Stage 1: When a newly arrived immigrant is more or less cut off from contact with his old society and has not yet made contacts within his new one - resulting in anomie.

Stage 2: In the second stage the immigrant has built up a 'primary community' through contacts with other immigrants but is still largely alien to his new society - he is living in an enclave, colony or ghetto.

Stage 3: In this stage the immigrant, while still living in his colony, begins the process of incorporation into the society as a whole, fulfilling its obligations, and claiming his rights from it.

Stage 4: In the fourth stage, he makes the transition from integration in the host society into very limited spheres to larger social areas.

Stage 5: In the fifth stage, he is confident and accultured sufficiently to abandon his ghetto/colony except for reasons of retrospect.[37]

Yet another progression looks at the question generationally. In the first generation of immigrants, most immigrants adopt a few social and economic customs of the hosts, but mix and intermarry rarely. They create ethnic institutions, and keep much of their old way of life alive. The second generation or the bridge generation is

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[37]Rex, J. & Moore, R., Race, Community and Conflict, London, 1967, pp 14-18.

exposed to old-world culture and values at home, but to host society culture at school, work and in their social relationships. They acquire dual characteristics and mixed values, and intermix and intermarry more than the older generation. The third generation more or less drops the old culture, which is often too remote for them to identify with and assimilates completely.

This sequence has been challenged, particularly by Hansen[38] who argued that often third generations do not assimilate but fiercely revive the old culture, reacting to pressure from host society and parents - and create an ethnic revival. But this too is not always the case - revivals have been known to take place in the fourth or fifth generation. This generational assimilation sequence is also challenged by the results of the intermarriage study quote earlier which showed that assimilation takes place, but within larger religious groups or religious and colour groups - not totally.

Most of these assimilation sequences, like a lot of the empirical and theoretical work in the field of migration, are based on the experiences of the great immigrant countries - chiefly the U.S.A. - also Australia and most recently and a somewhat unique case - Israel. Therefore, it would be wrong not to put in a caveat about generalizing from the experiences of a few countries about world-wide patterns of migration and all that goes before and after it.

Also, the timing and number of the waves of immigrants is different in different parts of the world.

"The assimilation sequences propounded in the U.S.A.

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[38]Hansen, M., The Immigrant in American History, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, pp 162-4.

all related to a massive intake of Western Europeans in the mid-nineteenth century, an even greater intake of Southern and Eastern Europeans from the eighties onwards, and the quota laws of the early 1920s, which cut immigration from sometimes more than a million arrivals a year to a little over 150,000 quota arrivals a year."[39]

This allowed assimilation to proceed uninterrupted by masses of new arrivals. The U.K. position is similar - though much more recent - with very few immigrants except the Irish before the war, and the arrivals of large numbers of displaced persons, Africans, West Indians and Asians, and then a sudden decrease in immigration due to restrictions. "It may well be that the U.K. now, like the U.S.A. nearly 50 years ago will be able to work out its assimilation problems and sequences, undisturbed by new arrivals."[40]

Kinship and Chain Migration

It was expected that industrialization and the geographic mobility and urbanisation that it brought about would lead to the end of the extended family. While this has to some extent occurred, there has also been a transformation and therefore a survival of the extended kinship network. Pioneering research in the area was done by Young & Wilmot, Herbert Gans, Adams, Coult & Habenstein[41] to name but a few. Harvey Choldin has summarized the main part of

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[39]Price, C., op. cit., p 209.
[40]Ibid, p 209.
[41]See Young, M. & Wilmot, P., Family and Kinship in East London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1957; Gans, H., The Urban Villigers, The Free Press, New York, 1962; Adams, B., Kinship in an Urban Setting, Markham, Chicago, 1968 and, Coult, A.D. & Habenstein, R., 'The Study of Extended Kinship in Urban Society', The Sociological Quarterly, 3, 1962, pp 141-145.

that body of research. He writes;

> "In spite of the 'spatial dispersion' of households:
>
> 1. The extended family persists in industrial settings in terms of continued interaction among kinfolk of different generations;
>
> 2. Strong effective ties exist among its members, and
>
> 3. Members perform various services for another.
>
> Many of the services performed within extended kin networks are done in the context of migration."[42]

This factor has been chronicled in various studies of migration like Filrey's study of Italians in Boston; Wirth's and Jitodai's work on migrants in Detroit.[43] Litwak offers an explanation as to why the extended family network is a particularly suitable social mechanism for providing assistance to migrants - both within the sending community and within the receiving community. He says that in times of hardship, the extended family help their members to leave the community. They do this by pooling their resources and saving to provide the necessary funds for travel and resettlement. Obviously, the group can do this easier than a nuclear family or individual members. The immigrant then saves to send the money home to allow other members of the community to join him. The kinship network also acts as an information network, providing the information so necessary for the migration process. Thirdly, the kinship network facilitates the resettlement and adjustment of

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[42]Choldin, H.M., 'Kinship Networks in the Migration Process', International Migration Review, Vol. VII, 1973, pp 163-4.

[43]See Filrey, W., Land Use in Central Boston, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1947; Wirth, L., The Ghetto, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928 and Jitodai, T., 'Migration and Kinship Contacts', Pacific Sociological Review, 6, 1963, pp 49-55.

migrants in their new societies, by providing a 'beachhead' for the new immigrants.[44]

Tilly and Brown, in their study of the role of kinship amongst migrants in Wilmington, Delaware, offer some generalizations. They label kinship as one of the auspices of migration, by which they mean,

> ". . . the social structures which establish relationships between the migrant and the receiving community before he moves. We may say that an individual migrates under the auspices of kinship when his principal connections with the city of destination are through kinsmen . . ."[45]

They claim that migration under the auspices of kinfolk is most common amongst those groups which have the least experience in dealing with urban life and modern and bureaucratic institutions like the market, labour exchanges, etc. - and that the support provided by kinfolk compensates for their weakness in this area.

The aid that kinfolk give each other during the process of migration varies in degree and form for different groups of migrants. The most common forms of assistance to kin are those concerned with matters internal to the household. Kin groups most regularly offer domestic forms of aid - lodging, personal care, food, emotional support, short term cash. They also assist kinfolk with information and in dealing with urban institutions, getting a job and resettling. This aid by kinfolk works to mitigate the disruptions

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[44]Litwak, E., 'Geographical Mobility and Extended Family Cohesion', American Sociological Review, Vol. 25, June 1960, pp 386-390.

[45]Tilly, C. & Brown, H.C., 'On Uprooting Kinship and the Auspices of Migration', International Journal of Comparative Sociology, Vol. 8, 1967, p 142.

caused by migration.

Tilly and Brown make the argument that "[M]igration under the auspices of kinship promotes continuing intense involvement in kin group, and thereby slows down assimilation."[46] This would appear at first to directly contradict the findings of Choldin, Litwak and others who have argued that kinship networks within the receiving community help to facilitate assimilation. While a part of this disagreement may well be due to actual empirical findings - it has been exacerbated by the confusion in terminology described at the beginning of this chapter. There would appear to be little doubt, that kinship networks would help in the re-socialization or 'acculturation' aspects of assimilation. It appears equally obvious that the existence of continued strong kinship networks, which would lead to the individual's primary group contacts being largely with kinfolk or others from the home community would retard the process of 'structural assimilation', and thus the long term ideal type assimilation. The numbers of migrants from the same community relocating to a particular new one would naturally affect this process as well.

Tilly and Brown find that chain migration is the "most extreme expression"[47] of kinship networks assisting in the process of migration. J. & L Macdonald define chain migration as :

> ". . . that movement in which prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous

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[46]Ibid, p 146.
[47]Ibid, p 142.

migrants."[48]

In their study of Southern Italian emigrants to specific destinations in the northern cities of the United States, they identify three types of chain migration. In the first type, some pioneering established emigrants encourage migration by males from their home community, in order to profit from them by setting up a 'padrone' (boss) system, whereby padrone supply labour to American employers for a commission. This system kept the newcomers isolated from American society and was exploitative but not self-perpetuating.

Gradually, as immigrants got accultured, the padrone's influence decreased, and the second type of immigration - 'serial migration' by males, encouraged by their fellow-villagers, kinsmen or friends began. This was, thirdly, followed by the migration of wives and families, who relocated in specific areas in the United States where their men had settled into a community.

Macdonald and Macdonald stress the role that the feedback of information and assistance migration played in the formation of these migration chains. Their research also showed that chain migration also produces 'chain occupations' to which new migrants were directed by older ones on the basis of their experience, leading to the creation of 'occupational niches' - participation in certain limited sections of the American employment structure.[49]

Price has set out a stage-wise sequence of the process of chain

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[48]Macdonald, J.S. & Macdonald, L.D., 'Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighbourhood Formation and Social Networks', Millbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1969, p 82.

[49]Ibid, p 84.

migration and subsequent assimilation. In the first stage, a group of pioneers arrives, with the intention of staying temporarily and returning home eventually. They find jobs and decide to stay. In the second stage, these pioneers, lonely for the company of those familiar either write or visit home and persuade other men to join them. Providing conditions are sufficiently attractive, a chain of migration is set into motion. Because the most attractive areas for immigrants are few, immigrants become concentrated in those (normally urban) areas. This chain spreads to include not just people from the pioneers specific home community, but the district or region and all these migrants become part of the network in the new community. At this point there is normally an excess of male migrants and this leads to some level of inter-marriage with the indigenous population.

In the third stage, the immigrants who are by now established in small businesses - shopkeeping, caterering, market-gardenering, etc., send for wives and fiances who work alongside their men, strengthen the traditions of community of origin, and discourage intermarriage. By this time the process of migration could have reached proportions that meant whole villages left practically empty in the original community, and created distinct groups (based on villages and regions in original country) within the immigrant group. The consolidation of the emigrant community through the founding of ethnic organisations like schools, churches, and newspapers also takes place.

In the fourth stage, the younger generation (first generation immigrant children) reach maturity, start to climb the occupational ladder, display characteristics of the native population - influenced

greatly by their schooling and the mass media. The marriage behaviour and dominant culture of the immigrants is influenced by a variety of factors including the volume and sex composition of the migration, the intragroup assimilation, the socio-economic structure and location of the settlement, the strength of family religious and political forces, and the extent and nature of the prejudice they encounter from the local population.

In the fifth stage, the third generation attain maturity. If chain migration has continued and the immigrant country and its institutions are strong, then it can be assumed that while climbing the occupations ladder still further, being closer to the local population in behaviour and belief patterns, most members of this generation will live and marry within their ethnic group, with others like themselves.[50] This sequence is most applicable to free peasant movements and while created during the study of Southern Europeans in Australia, has a wider applicability - and has been shown to be relevant to studies of Greeks in Toronto, Dalmations in Santa Cruz, Chinese and Sikh settlements in Australia and America.

Politics and the Immigrant

The question of politics and the immigrant is one that is fraught with difficulties. While human rights are universal and applicable across the board - only citizens have the right to participate in the political process, to vote and stand for public office. One's legal status as a citizen and one's rights of political participation are dependent on being the citizen of a state.

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[50]Price, C., op. cit., p 211.

Immigrants, who for the most part are, for at least a limited period, citizens of one country, but reside in another, established norms work in such a way as to ensure that they are neither full political participants in the society to which they technically belong, nor in the society in which they live and work.

> "The precarious legal status of migrants as formal members of a country whose legal regime cannot be applied in the migrant's country of residence, leave migrant workers without basic human rights."[51]

This has led to situations where large groups have no say in the political process that has a hand in deciding their fate, and

> ". . . democratic countries are challenged to consider if the permanent integration of immigrant manpower to their economy without human rights and basic political freedoms is compatible with ideals of justice, equality and fraternity they profess."[52]

No human being is directly the subject of international laws and standards laid down by bodies like the International Labour Organization and the United Nations; all these are, in practice, rights that are enjoyed within the framework of nationality. By 1974 the U.N. had passed 20 instruments pertaining to rights of and duties toward immigrant workers, and these have concentrated in three areas.

(1) The need for complete equality between native and immigrant

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[51] Tomasci, S.M., 'Sociopolitical Participation of Migrants in the Receiving Countries', in Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. & Tomasci, S.M. [eds.], Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements, The Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1981, p 322.

[52] Ibid, p 323.

workers except for political rights,

(2) the removal of exploitation of immigrants, and

(3) the principle of non-discrimination.

None of these, while being part of a reflection of a growing trend in understanding and attempting to solve the problems of immigrants, are necessarily enforceable, and often bilateral arrangements between country of origin and host country are the most effective ways of securing rights for immigrants. It is recognised that political rights are the most important because it is recognized that the existence of larger groups of underprivileged minorities is inconsistent with the aims of a modern welfare state.

> "As the more recent history of ethnic minorities and their incorporation into the host country indicates, that in our open and liberal context, these groups can attain greater equality when they organize and exercise political pressure."[53]

Even on the political participation front, with the permanent settlement of immigrants, trends are changing. The notable exception was Britain, with regard to her commonwealth immigrants who had full political rights, including the right to vote in national elections once they were working here.

Thus, by and large, immigrants' involvement in the politics of the host country is extremely limited and we have to look at the associations formed by immigrants, and any political activity carried on therein. The lack of effective involvement of immigrants in

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[53]Ibid, p 327.

politics is both cause and effect of the system that keeps them more active in their associations and through them in the politics of their countries of origin. Barbara Schmitter has outlined four types of associations that immigrants enter into: [54]

1. Host country organizations: These are the formal organizations, already existing before the immigrant arrives, and who are bound by their very nature to take an interest in the welfare of migrants. These would normally include the bodies like the church and trade unions.

2. Informal Host Country Organizations: These are organizations that come into existence because of the presence of the immigrants and more often than not consist of 'ad hoc groups of citizens' concerned with immigrant welfare.

3. Formal Organizations of the Country of Origin: These include the official representatives, diplomatic missions, and the representatives of political parties, trade unions and other organizations of the home country.

4. Ethnic Associations formed by Migrants: These may be religious or cultural groups and may be involved in providing a service like a newspaper or special classes in language or religion for the immigrant community.

It is through these ethnic associations and through affiliations with political parties, and union representatives from the home country that the immigrant community finds participation and

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[54]Schmitter, B.Q., 'Immigrants and Associations', International Migration Review, Vol. 14, 1980, p 184.

expression, and only to a lesser extent through the institutions of the state of their host country. This is particularly true for the first immigrants and during their first few years in their new environment. Later on, through assimilation and the effect of the second generation, it is believed that the role of ethnic associations (except as relating to cultural or religious affairs) declines.

Thus the political participation of immigrants in their new society is fairly small and increases with the influences of assimilation, and more so with the coming of age of its second and subsequent generations. The influence of the second generation also makes itself felt with regard to perceptions of the home country within the immigrant community. As discussed earlier - as assimilation increases old customs and traditions matter less - but in later generations ethnic revivals do occur, and these are sometimes very strong movements. It appears that further research needs to be done before it can be authoritatively specified what conditions cause such revivals and whether greater importance in such an analysis should be given to factors within the environment of the host country, such as level of assimilation, acceptance of or attitudes towards immigrants by the receiving society, level of prosperity attained by the immigrant community, etc., or to factors and events in the home country and the level of contact between immigrant community and their country of origin.

CONCLUSIONS

After a review of the theoretical literature in the area of migration, a number of points should be made. Firstly, while each migration is not a unique phenomenon - as all migrants go through

similar processes of displacement, adjustment and resettlement - the fact that those conditions and causes of migration vary greatly as do the nature of the immigrants' host and home country as well as personal factors do make each immigrant or immigrant group's experiences distinct. Thus only a limited degree of generalization on the phenomena is possible.

Secondly, the conceptual tools and analytical framework needed for further and stronger generalizations do not appear to exist - the problems with terminology being just one indicator of this problem. The varying approaches to the study of migration and its inter-disciplinary nature account for this situation to some extent.

Thirdly, the accepted virtues of assimilation, and the bias of studies of it toward furthering it have excluded sufficient attention being paid to the whole question of the revival of interest of later generations of the immigrant's in their country of origin and its culture. Theorizing about such questions is made all the more difficult by the variety of conditions and countries in which it occurs.

Also, the process of immigration, involving as it does de-socialization from one society and resocialization into another (often accompanied by lowering in class status) has great psychological impact on the individual. It can lead to reactions that range from a rejection of all but a few aspects of the new society to a casting away of the old and a free acceptance of the new society's ways and values, and the variables that go into the making of such decisions are numerous and different in different cases - making both study and policy decision-making a very difficult affair. None of this is

intended to detract from any theoretical work in the area of migration, but merely to make the point, that while there is often a gap between theory and empirical facts or reality in the social sciences, in migration studies the particular facts of each case often overshadow the importance of theorizing about them.

FIGURE 1

ANALYSIS OF ASSIMILATION PROCESS

(Taft)

Stage	A. Internal to S[1]	B. External to S[2]
1. Knowledge of host group culture "Cultural learning"	Assumed knowledge	Actual knowledge
2. Attitude to host group	Favourable attitude to (i) the members (ii) the norms (iii) own membership of host group	Active seeking by S of (i) Interaction with host group members (ii) Participation in its activities (iii) membership
3. Attitude to ethnic group	Unfavourable attitude to (i) the members (ii) the norms (iii) own membership of ethnic group	Withdrawal from (i) interaction with ethnic group members (ii) participation in its activities (iii) membership
4. Role assumption "Accommodation"	Conformity to perceived role requirements of host	Conformity to actual role requirements
5. Social Acceptance host group into social	Perceived acceptance by host group intimacy	Actual acceptance by
6. Group membership "Identification"	Self-identification with host group (iii) Society at large	Identification of S with host group by (i) ethnic group (ii) host group members
7. Convergence of norms "Congruence"	Perceived congruence between own norms and those of host group	Actual Congruence between own and host group norms

1. The term S is used as a convention for SUBJECT, in this case the immigrant being studied. INTERNAL refers to the S's attitude which cannot be directly observed.

2. EXTERNAL refers to data which can be observed directly by the research worker.

FIGURE 2

Assimilation in American Life

(Gordon)

Subprocess or Condition	Type or Stage of Assimilation	Special Term
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of host society, on group level.	Structural assimilation	None
Large-scale intermarriage	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
Development of sense of people-hood based exclusively on host society	Identificational assimilation	None
Absence of prejudice	Attitude receptional assimilation	None
Absence of discrimination	Behavior receptional assimilation	None
Absence of value and power conflict.	Civic assimilation	None

CHAPTER THREE

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Introduction

International migration, at its simplest is the movement of people across state boundaries. In recent years such migration has gained prominence on the international agenda because of its increasing scale and the consequences such movements have for international affairs. The increase in international migration can be attributed to several factors. Firstly, there is the now universal existence and primary importance of the state and its boundaries, which should make any international movement a matter of concern to at least two and sometimes more states. Secondly, there is the rapid increase in the world's population, which is still growing. Thirdly, the revolution that has taken place in communications and transportation has made people aware of conditions and opportunities in other parts of the world, as well as making travel to those areas easier. Finally, and less certainly, the world is a turbulent and unstable place, and turmoil and uncertainty play a role in motivating people to move, to escape and/or search for a better life.[1]

The phenomenon of migration is as old as humanity itself, and has played a crucial role in shaping the world as we know it. By and large, until the nineteenth century, and "throughout much of history,

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[1]Teitelbaum, M.S., 'Right Vs. Right: Immigration and Refugee Policy in the United States', Foreign Affairs, Vol. 59, No. 1, Fall 1980, pp 21-22.

countries competed with each other for population and labour, frequently resorting to military means to obtain additional workers."[2] Large-scale transcontinental migration was a feature of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but that trend has been severely restricted now, with only a small number of countries taking in immigrants in relatively large numbers. Today more and more migration is intra-regional. There has also been a reversal in the flow of migration, which used to be from more developed countries to less developed ones, today, while most migration takes place within the third world, there are also larger flows from the third and second worlds to the first than vice-versa. Also, it must be pointed out that despite the increased magnitude and importance of international migration, "the mass of the world's population does not move across borders."[3] It is only in rare cases that the movement involves ten per cent of the population of a state.

International migrations can be divided into two categories, voluntary or free and involuntary or forced, on the basis of the motivation behind the migration. The involuntary or forced migration refers essentially to refugee flows, where for reasons of natural disaster, war, civil war, ethnic, religious or political persecution people are forced to flee their homes. The flight of thousands of Afghans to Pakistan and Iran or the desperate journeys

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[2]Kritz, M.M. & Keely, C.B., 'Introduction', in Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. & Tomasci, S.M. [eds.], Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements, The Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1981, p ix.

[3]Teitelbaum, M.S., 'Immigration, Refugees and Foreign Policy', International Organization, Vol. 38, No. 3, Summer 1984, p 431.

of starving Ethiopians to Somalia would fall into this category. Voluntary migrations can be further subdivided into three main categories. The first is legal permanent settler migration of the kind that populated the United States or created the Asian and Afro-Caribbean minorities in Britain. This kind of migration has decreased most sharply in recent years. The second kind is legal temporary migration, and includes the bulk of the voluntary migrations. This category would include the movement of persons for educational, business and touristic reasons, as well as those granted admission to a country to work in a specific job there, such as the temporary workers admitted to the Gulf States to service the oil powered economic boom in construction and other sectors. The third kind of voluntary migration is the illegal migration of people from one country to another, which may be temporary or permanent. This would include the movements of Mexicans and others across the long U.S. - Mexican border, without the necessary documents and procedures and is unwanted by the American government. The relevance of this categorisation is based on the existence of an international regime and norms to deal with involuntary or forced migrations, and the complete absence of the same with respect to voluntary or free migration, and will be explored in detail in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Remarkably little attention has been paid to the international and political implications of international migration. A clearer understanding of international migration which would include consideration of its political aspects, has to some degree been a

casualty of the traditional separation of academic disciplines. Most studies of the subject concentrate on economic, social and cultural aspects of international migration, as previous chapters have shown. Part of the reason for this omission lies in the nature of International Relations itself. With its traditional and dominant focus on the state as the most important component of the international system, International Relations has tended to evolve around issues of importance to the state - diplomacy, power, balance of power, and war, as reference to the most basic undergraduate text will show. While this state-centric emphasis of International Relations has of course been challenged in the post-behavioural era, and the importance of non-state actors ranging from multinational companies to terrorist groups been widely acknowledged, the attention of most scholars in the field has not yet focussed on international migration, long seen as a concern of sociologists anthropologists and to some extent, economists. Equally importantly perhaps, the political impact of international migration takes some time to become noticeable and relevant to International Relations. For instance, the political impact of the movement of indentured labour from India to Fiji in the nineteenth and early twentieth century was not a matter of interest to anyone except perhaps those who lived in Fiji, until an Indian dominated Government was elected in 1987, provoking a Fijian backlash in the form of the army coup led by Col. Rambuka, which in turn led to Fiji's expulsion from the Commonwealth. The impact of migrations of the colonial as well as post-colonial eras is still working itself out, and it is likely that more will be heard and said on this topic in time.

The issues raised by the phenomenon of international migration are wide-ranging;

> ". . . from matters of war and peace, through the complexities of international economics and finance, right across the the divisive fissures of 'North-South' and race/ethnicity, and as far as competing philosophies on the rights of the individual against the rights of the state."[4]

Many of these merit the consideration of scholars of politics and International Relations because "to move from one country to another is a political act."[5] Such a move challenges basic political concepts like sovereignty and citizenship involving, as it does the "uncertainty of nationality and identity that comes from moving from one's homeland to another country".[6] Further such a move cannot take place without certain existing political structures - the rules of exit and entry that exist in every state. These rules have a profound influence on migration flows, and are in turn affected by them.

The study of the relationship between International Relations and international migrations has spawned a small body of literature in the last decade. This has come about due to increasing recognition of the social reality that "international migration is affected with an

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[4]Teitelbaum, M.S., ibid, p 429.
[5]Weiner, M., The Political Aspects of International Migration, paper presented at the International Studies Association and British International Studies Association Joint Conference, London, March 1989, p 1.
[6]Weiner, M., ibid, 1989, p 1.

international political interest",[7] and is the work of a few scholars. This literature can be usefully divided into three main types. First, there is the work that has its roots in an economic analysis of migration and its role in the world capitalist economy. This draws on existing analysis by Wallerstein[8] and others on the international division of labour that separates the world economy into core, periphery and semi-periphery, and sees migration as contributory to as well as resulting from the working of the world capitalist economy. The work of Bach, Castles & Kosack, and Petras would fall into this category.[9] The second category tries to make explicit the role of states in creating, receiving and to some extent governing international migration for their own political purposes. It moves decisively away from previous conceptualizations of migration as being unrelated to state activity, and attempts to frame generalizations concerning state behaviour regarding migration. Pioneering work in this area has been done by Zolberg and Weiner, as well as by Gordenker, Dowty, and Goodwin-Gill with reference to refugee flows.[10] The third category of literature begins to

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[7]Mitchell, C., 'International Migration, International Relations and Foreign Policy', International Migration Review, Vol. 23, No. 3, Fall 1989, p 682.

[8]See Wallerstein, I., The Capitalist World Economy, Cambridge University Press, Cambrigde & New York, 1979; and The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century, Academic Press, London & New York, 1974, reissued 1981.

[9]See Bach, R., 'Political Frameworks For International Migrations' in Sanderson, S. [ed.], The Americas in the New International Division of Labour, Holmes and Meier, New York, 1985; Castles, S. & Kosack, G., Immigrant Workers and the Class Structure in Western Europe, (2nd edition), Oxford University Press, London, 1985; Petras, E.M., 'The Global Labour Market in the Modern World Economy', in Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. & Tomasci, S.M. [eds.], Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Population Movements, The Center for Migration Studies, New York, 1981; also see Chapter 1.

[10]See footnotes 5, 12, 13, 27, 29, 32 & 34.

examine the relationship between migration and foreign policy. Most of the studies in this area originated with the study of American foreign policy, and how it is affected by migration issues, particularly illegal immigration. The work of Teitelbaum, Miller and Papademetriou, Kritz, Mitchell and Pastor can be included here.[11]

In this chapter we shall examine this literature, as we consider the relationship between international migration and International Relations. This will be done by first analysing involuntary or forced international migration, the rules established by the international community to deal with it, its causes, the responses of states to refugee flows and its political significance. We shall then examine voluntary international migration, the absence of any international rules to deal with it, and the perspectives of sending and receiving countries and the political issues it raises. Finally, this chapter will analyse the role of diasporas as trans-national actors and their international political impact.

Involuntary Migration

A refugee, according to Leon Gordenker, is someone who has been the victim of human rights abuse. They have been denied some basic human rights, and have therefore taken the extraordinary step

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[11] See footnotes 1, 2, 3, 7, also Miller, M.J. & Papademetriou, D. [eds.], The Unavoidable Issue: US Immigration Policy in the 1980s, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1983; Kritz, M.M. [ed.], US Immigration and Refugee Policy: Global and Domestic Issues, Lexington, Massachussets, 1983; and Pastor, R.A. [ed.], Migration and Development in the Caribbean: the Unexplored Connection, Westview Press, Boulder, 1985.

of leaving their homeland.[12] A refugee has fled from some intolerable conditions or personal circumstances, and "implicit in the meaning of refugee lies an assumption that the person concerned is worthy of being and ought to be assisted, and if necessary protected from the cause of flight."[13] A fugitive from justice, trying to escape a criminal prosecution does not fall into this category.

International practice on the treatment of refugees is based on the principle of non-refoulement. This French word broadly means that "no refugee should be returned to any country where he or she is likely to face danger to life or freedom."[14] This is a relatively recent concept in International Law, and it first appears in an international treaty in 1933 in documents of the League of Nations. In the past it was common for kings or sovereigns to have reciprocal arrangements with each other for apprehending those who were dissenters. The concept gained currency in the mid-nineteenth century, a period of political turmoil and mass movement in Europe, and was seen as a reflection of the popular sentiment that those fleeing political persecution should be protected.[15] Initial international efforts to deal with the problem of refugees began with the League of Nations. The organization took a group approach and defined refugees as those who were "(1) outside their country of origin and (2) without the protection of the government of that

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[12]Gordenker, L., Refugees in International Politics, Columbia University Press, New York, 1987, p 7.
[13]Goodwin-Gill, G., The Refugee in International Law, Oxford University Press, Clarendon, 1983, p 1.
[14]Ibid, p 69.
[15]Ibid, pp 69-70.

state."[16] These were the criteria used to identify and assist Russians fleeing the Soviets and later those fleeing Nazi persecution in Germany.

Today, the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the primary United Nations agency concerned with refugees, and the norms it follows are based on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), as well as on customs and practices used in practical situations on the ground. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights gives every person the right to exit from any country including their own, and the right to return to their own country. It also states in Article 14 that everyone has the right to "seek and enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."[17] The 1951 Convention was designed to deal with large numbers of displaced persons in Europe at the end of the Second World War. It gave recognition to refugees as

> "Any person who is outside the country of his nationality, or if he does not have a nationality, the country of his former habitual residence because he has a well-founded fear of persecution by reason of his race, religion, nationality or political opinion and is unable or because of such fear unwilling to avail himself of the protection of the Government of the country of his

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[16] Ibid, p 2.
[17] Ibid, p 5.

nationality, or if he has no nationality to return to the country of his former habitual residence."[18]

This definition has been widened through the work of the UNHCR to include refugee groups and not just individuals, as well as those fleeing various kinds of upheaval not just persecution. For instance, UNHCR was involved in assisting Chinese refugees fleeing to Hong-Kong in 1957, as well as the Greek-Cypriots in the sixties and the Indo-Chinese in 1975, none of whom, strictly speaking, came under the definition set out above. A further extension of the definition of refugee came with the Organization of African Unity Convention on Refugee Problems in Africa (1969), which included as refugees those who seek refuge outside their country "owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order."[19] This convention thus adds war and intervention to the factors that force people to seek refuge.

It must be noted that none of these Declarations, Conventions, norms or practices actually guarantees anyone the right to asylum, only the right to seek it. This is because in practice there is total acceptance in the international community of the fact that it is the right of every sovereign state to decide for itself who should be allowed entry to its territory. This acceptance of state rights is part of the importance accorded to sovereignty by all the states in the international system. Thus, the question of whether someone is a

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[18]Ibid, pp 5-6.

[19]Gurtov, M., Open Borders: A Global-Humanist Approach to the Refugee Crisis, paper presented at the International Studies Association and British International Studies Association Joint Conference, London, March 1989, p 11. For text of the Convention see Goodwin-Gill, G., ibid, p 281.

refugee and should be treated as such by a state becomes an issue to be decided by the government and the courts of the country in which refuge was sought. Nevertheless, these Declarations and Conventions form an important part of the international consensus on the treatment of refugees, and they lay down an important universal principle that most countries have come to endorse, that "people who have a well-founded fear of persecution have a right to leave their country, have international status, and cannot be forcibly returned to their country of origin."[20]

Causes of Involuntary Migration

The causes of involuntary migration are numerous, and can be divided into four categories for the purposes of this study. The categories are based around the relationship between government policies and the creation of refugee flows.

(1)Emigration that results from government's domestic policies:

Governments often follow policies or take actions that will create refugee flows, to achieve certain domestic policy objectives or goals.

Many refugee flows are linked to the rise of nationalism, and the desire to create a homogeneous state, by ejecting those from minority religious or ethnic communities within the state. This process is not new to the twentieth century, but has been used by the Spanish crown in the fifteenth century to rid Spain of the Jews, as

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[20]Gurtov, M., ibid, p 10.

well as by the French in the sixteenth century to expel the Huguenots, to name two examples. In more recent times, the period directly after the Second World War, when decolonization was taking place, saw several large refugee flows caused by similar factors. The partition of India and the creation of Pakistan led to eight million Sikhs and Hindus fleeing Pakistan to come to India, and about six million Moslems moving from India to Pakistan. The creation of the state of Israel in 1948 led to a large movement of Arabs from that territory.

Minority communities have also been expelled from several third world countries. It is a politically popular action for governments faced with a rising tide of economic and social problems, to make scapegoats of a prosperous or well placed minority. This sort of treatment has been meted out to the Bahais in Iran, the Ahmediyas in Pakistan and Indians in East Africa, causing members of these communities to seek refuge elsewhere. In this case governments use emigration to satisfy their domestic ambitions.

Governments use emigration to deal with political opposition, and dissidents may be expelled or compelled to leave because of their political opinions. Authoritarian governments find this a particularly useful way of getting rid of internal opposition, and the government of the Soviet Union for instance, has used it in the past, as in the case of Solzhenitzyn. The numbers involved in such emigration are not always limited to a small perhaps high-profile group of people, but can include whole sections of the population. "The exodus of more than half a million members of the Cuban

middle class was regarded by the Castro government as a way of disposing of a social class hostile to socialism."[21] Sometimes it is not easy to distinguish between the effects of a deliberate policy intended to make dissidents leave, and the situation in which conflict, uncertainty and harassment have the unintended, yet convenient consequence of doing just that. Clearly government policy and action designed for internal motives, towards dissident individuals and groups can play a large role in forcing these people to leave, or in creating conditions which lead to them moving.

(2)Emigration that results from government's foreign policies:

Weiner terms this sort of emigration as "strategic emigration".[22] In this instance governments create refugee flows as part of the process of achieving foreign policy objectives.

In the past, colonial powers forced populations to move, to fulfil expansionist ambitions. For instance, the deportation of British convicts to Australia brought that land-mass under the control of the British Crown, and the expansion of the Russian Empire into Central Asia was carried out, at least partly by emigration of ethnic Russians. The policy of indentured labour movements from British India to other parts of the Empire, was also designed to expand, establish and strengthen the Empire. Israeli resettlement of new immigrants and others in the Occupied territories can also be interpreted in this light.

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[21]Weiner, M., op. cit., p 7.
[22]Weiner, M., op. cit., pp 8-11.

Refugee flows are also a way of putting pressure on neighbouring states. They can be forced to yield to a demand of the sending country in return for a commitment to stem the refugee flow. The Duvalier regime in Haiti encouraged movement of their people to the United States, in order to get that country to increase development assistance and aid. In the early seventies, the government of Pakistan forced huge refugee movement into India from East Pakistan, to use this flow as a means of getting India to stop providing assistance to the Mukti Bahini (the Bangladeshi freedom fighters).

Thus, as Weiner summarizes:

> "Induced emigration can be an instrument by which one state seeks to destabilize another, to force recognition, to stop a neighbouring state from interfering in its internal affairs, to induce a neighbouring state to provide aid or credit in return for stopping the flow, or as a way of extending its own political and economic interests through colonization."[23]

(3)Emigration as an unintended outcome of government policy:

Government policies do not always achieve the desired results, and can also have various unforeseen side-effects. Such distortions of government intent can also create refugee flows.

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[23]Weiner, M., op. cit., p 11.

For instances the policies of the governments of Ethiopia and Sudan to contain insurgencies, brought retaliatory action by the rebels, and the unintended result of these actions was to create a stream of refugees from both countries, comprised of people trying to escape the violence. Iraq's recent invasion of Kuwait was a policy designed by its leaders to enhance the economic and territorial power of their country, but the various consequences of this action produced huge refugee flows into Turkey, Iran, and to a lesser extent Saudi Arabia.

Policies aimed at development and industrialization can also have the unintended effect of inducing emigration. While these flows often remain internal to the country itself, they do sometimes spill over international borders too. Overgrazing combined with drought has created refugee flows in the African Sahel, and deforestation in rural Latin America has had the same effect. This has led to some aid and development agencies being more stringent in the criteria they use to decide the suitability of funding such projects.

(4)Emigration as a result of natural causes:

The last category of emigration is one that is not connected to government policy or action, but is rather best described as an 'act of God', or the result of natural causes or accidents. However, often government incompetence or inability to alleviate the effects of such an 'act of God' contributes to the resulting exodus. The drought

induced famine in Ethiopia, and the inability of the government there to deal with its effects has led to an outflow of Ethiopians.

It must be noted that the majority of refugees created by natural disasters like famine, floods, earthquakes, cyclones stay within the boundaries of their own countries. Man-made disasters like Chernobyl or Bhopal have similar effects.

Responses to Involuntary Migration

The response to involuntary international migration is also largely decided by the foreign and domestic concerns of receiving governments. For a refugee to be accepted as such is a political decision, and does depend to some extent on the relationship between the sending and receiving countries. For instance, the U.S. government would not grant refugee status to Salvadoreans fleeing civil war because to do so would be to accept that a friendly government was indulging in human rights abuse. Nicaraguans on the other hand were easily accepted as refugees because of U.S. opposition to the Sandanistas. Further it is worth noting that in the period 1952-1980 a refugee was defined in the U.S. by the McCarran-Walter Act (1952) as a person fleeing Communist persecution.[24]

The laws of asylum being what they are, states have considerable leeway in deciding whether people qualify for refugee status or not. The advanced industrial nations have come to stricter

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[24]Teitelbaum, M.S., op. cit., 1980, p 24.

and stricter interpretations of these laws to enable them to minimize the number of people (mostly from third world countries) to whom they will grant refugee status. In fact some, like the British government, have enacted laws like the Carriers Liability Act, (which imposes a fine of £2000 per person who arrives in the UK without proper documents on the airlines that carry them here) which would seem to be in defiance of the internationally established principle that 'everyone has the right to seek and enjoy asylum'. These sorts of measures, which have led to thousands of Vietnamese boat-people being incarcerated in Hong-Kong while governments try to decide whether they are genuine refugees or economic migrants, are the result of ever-increasing numbers of asylum applications to Western, particularly European countries. Further more and more countries are making it a

> ". . . matter of policy . . . (that) . . . refugees ought to remain in the country into which they first migrated . . . The United States and Western European countries regard India as the appropriate place for Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka, . . . and Thailand and Malaysia as the appropriate place for at least a share of the Vietnamese refugees, views not always shared by the locally affected countries."[25]

If the government of the receiving country is happy to accept the refugees into its territory, as for instance, the Indian and Pakistani Governments were during the population transfer that

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[25]Weiner, M., op. cit., p 56.

accompanied partition and Independence, such movements are not likely to become a source of conflict. When a government becomes unwilling host to a large refugee population, it is likely to take steps to ensure that the stay of the refugees is temporary, and there is every potential for conflict between sending and receiving countries in this case. The flow of East Pakistanis into India in the early seventies and the movement of Afghans from their country to Pakistan in the eighties are examples of the latter situation. The receiving state will try to bring about a change in the policies of the sending country government that led to the exodus, or failing that, try to bring about a change of government there.

One of the most widely used ways of doing this is by threatening to arm or actually arming the refugees. Such a course of action has been taken up by various Arab governments towards the Palestinians, by the Pakistanis towards the Afghans, the Indians with regard to the Sri Lankan Tamils, the Americans with respect to the Nicaraguan contras, and with the most far-reaching consequences by the Indians towards the East Pakistanis which resulted in the formation of Bangla Desh. This strategy is not without risk. By strengthening a refugee group, the receiving country takes the chance that it will lose its ability to deal independently with the sending country, and that "refugees will dictate the host country's policies toward the sending country."[26] This has happened to the Arab governments who have supported the Palestinians, the

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[26]Weiner, M., op. cit., p 59.

Pakistanis who supported the Afghan Mujahidin, and to the Indians who supported the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The internal impact of refugee flows on the receiving country can also be significant. In economic terms, refugees can be an immense burden to already troubled states, and in the short term they can cause quite serious distortions in the markets of the receiving countries, particularly with regard to escalating the prices of essential commodities. This is what happened in Iran in the aftermath of the Gulf War, when Kurdish and Shia refugees flocked into that country. In the long term, a third world country generally has to rely on the international community, usually through the office of UNHCR to alleviate the burden on the economy, but is susceptible to the internal political tensions that difficult economic situations bring. Long term refugees can bring about changes in the society of the host country. Pakistan's recent problems with increased drug addiction amongst its population, as well as the threats to law and order posed by the flourishing arms bazaars in Peshawar and elsewhere (what has been described as the 'Kalashnikov culture'), are laid at the door of their Afghan guests. Large numbers of refugees can also be a driving force for change within the receiving country, particularly if they are ethnically similar to their hosts, or speak a common language. It was the fear that the Palestinians would have exactly this effect in the Gulf sheikdoms that has led these countries to import their labour needs from more distant countries with dissimilar people rather than allow large influxes of Palestinian refugees. The large Palestinian presence

in Lebanon certainly contributed towards the destabilization of that country.

Restrictions on Emigration

While the Universal Declaration on Human Rights grants everyone the right to exit from any country including their own, in fact this right is denied by many states. This right is blocked not only by the restrictions on entry enforced in all states, but also by restrictions on the right to exit imposed by many states. Very often the states that create forced emigration of some section of the population are the same states that impose restrictions on the right of others to leave. For instance, while whole Afghan villages were being forced to flee to Pakistan, Afghani doctors were unable to exercise their right to exit.[27] The Soviet policy of expelling dissidents while not allowing the bulk of the population the right to exit is another example.

"Closing off free emigration is probably an essential policy for any regime that relies heavily on coercion."[28] They seek to compel the opposition to come to terms with political conditions by cutting off the option of escape. These regimes will often allow exit to those they cannot or do not want to assimilate, as previous examples show. A survey of countries that have total or limited restrictions on the right to exit shows that they include all the erstwhile Communist States across the globe (though this has of course changed in Eastern

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[27]Dowty, A., Closed Borders, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, p 6.
[28] Ibid, p 60.

Europe); Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Laos, Mongolia, North Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, and China as well as other coercive regimes like Iraq, Cameroun, Togo, Somalia, South Africa, Tanzania, Iran, Burma, Libya, Sudan and Syria.

The right to stay or leave is sometimes seen as a debate between the interests of the state and those of the individual. States reserve the right to restrict the exit of those who owe it any debts or obligations like military service, on grounds of public health, safety and welfare, as well as 'national security'. Further some states claim that they have made investments in individuals (such as education) and have a right to return on that investment, or compensation. For example, for sometime the government of Romania permitted Jewish emigration only on repayment by the individual of the cost of his/her education. In recent years many governments have cited the brain drain as a reason for restricting exit. The effect of such arguments, and the policies they are used to justify is to allow a serious infringement of the right of individual liberty. The result of these policies is to create internal refugees, or refuseniks, who are persecuted, denied basic freedoms, and cannot be protected or assisted by any prevailing international norms or agencies that act to assist those who manage to escape.

Voluntary Migration

Migration to improve ones way of life has long been a facet of human existence. Ever since the establishment of sovereign nation states, these have held the right to deny or grant entry and exit to

people, and thus control the composition and size of their populations. One of the primary objectives of this control has been to ensure the preservation of ethnic and cultural stability, i.e., preservation of a particular way of life. However economic conditions and the demand for labour to sustain economic growth and prosperity have also long influenced state's decisions in this area. Voluntary migration is very closely associated with economic factors in the country of origin as well as in the receiving country, and it is on this aspect, and its political implications, that this analysis will focus.

Zolberg has argued that states' "migration policies generally reflect the characteristics of the international economy and of epochal population dynamics."[29] In the mercantilist era most states had slow population growth, which led to a scarcity of labour, and hence a policy of restricted exit and easy entry. Emigration to colonies was encouraged for political reasons, and labour was moved about to where it could be most productive to the European economies, first in the form of slaves, and then as indentured labour. When mass scale emigration to America became possible, several European states responded by denying exit to their people. But, as Europe began to experience rapid population growth and industrialization, these restrictions were eased, and the huge flows that populated the United States became possible. At the same time European countries expanded their own reserves of labour, with

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[29]Zolberg, A., Migration and International Economic Regimes: Bretton Woods and Beyond, Paper presented at the International Studies Assiciation and British International Studies Assiciation Joint Conference, London, March 1989, p 5.

Britain drawing on Ireland, France on Italy and Belgium, and Germany on Poland. This period constituted the nearest the world has ever come to having a liberal regime of population movement. But it was short-lived, and early in the twentieth century, England, Germany and the United States began to restrict immigration of some people. While the reasons given for these restrictions were arguments about cultural integrity and homogeneity, economic factors also played their part. Restrictions on immigration became universal in the first decades of this century, along with a growing commitment to the notion of free exit laying the foundation of a contradictory set of principles governing migration.

In todays capitalist world economy, distinguished by the liberal Bretton Woods regime there is free movement of capital, goods and services. However with regard to the free movement of labour there is a shift away from liberal principles - there is universal agreement that free flows of people, however good for the world economy, should not be permitted. Every country has immigration restrictions, "making immigration the most compelling exception to liberalism in the operation of the world economy."[30]

The greatest barrier to a potentially massive movement of people are the restrictions almost all states place on entry. It has been suggested that it is remarkable that the architects of Bretton Woods did not pay due attention to the creation of a liberal regime regarding free movement of labour. Zolberg argues that the main

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[30]Ibid, p 1.

reason why no such regime was instituted was that the great powers who set-up the system were all in a position to satisfy their requirements of "cheap and disposable alien labour"[31] individually, because of the availability of a virtually unlimited supply of such labour. The labour supplying countries faced a prisoner's dilemma. They could improve the terms and conditions for their labour by cooperating, but in the absence of such cooperation (partly due to the size of the potential labour migration, partly due to the diversity of countries involved, and the fact that many of them were still controlled from Europe), each was better off sending its labour abroad under any terms and conditions than not at all. Thus the ILO too had little success in creating any regime for labour migration.

In the absence of any universally agreed norms and conventions regarding immigration, all countries have set up their own restrictions on entry. Weiner has classified rules of entry into five categories.[32]

1. Unrestricted Entry. While no country allows completely unrestricted entry, some do permit free entry for certain ethnic groups or peoples. West German entry rules regarding East Germans before reunification or Indian rules regarding entry for Hindus and Sikhs from Pakistan are examples, as is Israel's policy on free entry for Jewish people.

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[31] Ibid, p 3.
[32] Weiner, M., 'On International Migration and International Relations', Population and Development Review, Vol. 11, No. 3, September 1985, p 444.

2. Promotional Entry. States may actively encourage immigration to satisfy a demand for labour or settlers. The Gulf states all encourage the temporary migration of workers from south and south-east Asia to fill vacancies in their oil-rich but sparsely populated states. The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand all encouraged permanent settler migration to populate their lands in the nineteenth century, and Israel encourages Jewish immigration to this day. All the states of Western Europe encouraged labour immigration (whether temporary as in the case of Germany or permanent as in the case of Britain), in the post-war boom years of the fifties.

3. Selective Entry. Most governments today operate a policy of selective entry. Restricted and usually small numbers of immigrants are allowed entry for specific reasons like family unification, particular skill shortages, or as a safe haven for refugees. These are the rules of most Western European countries today.

4. Unwanted Entry. This category refers to the situation where immigration is legally restricted or prohibited, but governments are unable to impose their policies and prevent illegal immigration. This sort of situation usually leads to the creation of an illegal immigrant population within the state, as the United States has from Mexico and the rest of Latin America, or as exists in Assam, India, with the influx from Bangla Desh.

5. Prohibited Entry. This is the situation where virtually all immigration is banned and where it is impossible or very difficult for immigrants to acquire citizenship. The best example of this sort of policy today is Japan.

In spite of what look like tough entry rules, significant voluntary migration has taken place in the post-war era. Western Europe has imported about twelve million workers in this period, substantial migration to the United States has also taken place, and more recently the oil-rich Gulf states have imported labour to the extent of about three million people. We shall now examine these migrations from the perspectives of the sending and receiving countries.

Sending Country's Perspective

For the sending country, labour migration can have the effect of partially relieving the problem of unemployment. Naturally this would depend on the percentage of the labour force that is able to emigrate. The huge flows from Europe to America in the last century had a considerable beneficial effect on European employment rates. In countries like Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and Mexico, where over ten percent of the labour force have emigrated, this impact may be noticeable.

However, given the large and rapidly expanding populations of most sending countries, labour migration would have to be dramatically larger (an inconceivable eventuality given current economic and political realities) for the impact to be widespread.

Today, in most cases, migrant labour forms a low percentage of the sending country's work force, even though it may form a large portion of the work-force in the receiving country, as is the case for South Asian labour in the Gulf. The beneficial effect of labour migration while being negligible overall can still be visible in particular regions of the sending country, from where a disproportionately large section of the work force has emigrated, as in Kerala, South India.

Labour migration can also have the effect of relieving the tax-payer in the sending country of the costs of social welfare. The export of British prisoners to Australia from 1788 to 1868 certainly accomplished this, as did the migrations from Ireland during the famine years. Once again the percentages are important and contemporary labour migration has a much more limited effect in this context.

The governments of sending countries normally prefer their unskilled or semi-skilled labour to migrate because they are worried about the impact of the departure of trained, educated and skilled workers on the domestic economy. The emigration of third world professionals like doctors and engineers is seen as a 'brain drain' by many. However, many sending countries have a large educated unemployed population, and many governments promote emigration for their educated middle classes, for instance "the Egyptian government has sought opportunities for exporting teachers to other

Arab countries".[33] Other sending country governments like those of Nepal, Korea, Phillipines and India have also encouraged such emigration.

Several of these countries have come to regard the emigration of educated personnel as "brain overflow"[34] rather than brain drain, as they recognize that the domestic economy does not have the ability to absorb all the graduates and professionals their education systems create. They have instead begun to focus on other potential benefits, that some of these migrants do return, with capital, skills and most importantly technologies needed at home. Some governments like the Indian and Chinese have set up incentive schemes to lure their expatriates' money and skill back. Sometimes the role of migrants in technology transfer can be significant, as in the case of the Pakistani nuclear scientist who worked in the Netherlands and acquired the technology his country needed for their own nuclear programme. Further, exporting labour can also lead to improved exports and overseas contracts, as the two Indian public sector construction companies operating in the Gulf found to their advantage.

Increasingly, governments of sending countries are coming to appreciate the net gain to themselves and their fellow countrymen of having their nationals employed abroad, earning good salaries, learning skills and technologies, accumulating capital and sometimes influence in various spheres in the economies of the industrialized

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[33]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1989, p 12.
[34]Weiner, M., 'International Migration and Development: Indians in the Persian Gulf', Population and Development Review, Vol. 8, No. 1, March 1982, p 5.

and more prosperous countries. This perception is reflected in the concern, if not actions, of sending country governments for the well-being of their nationals abroad, even when they have legally become citizens of another state. Emigration is also believed to lead to a boost in exports for the sending country, as emigrants settled abroad tend to purchase goods from the home country. A visit to Southall high street with its plethora of shops selling every conceivable variety of Indian goods, clearly makes this point.

By far the most important effect of labour migration is that of the remittances they send home. These constituted $40 billion in 1982, and for several developing countries are equal to a third or more of earnings from exports, as well as making up the deficit in the balance of payments.[35] The importance of these to a third world economy (as most of the sending countries are) cannot be overestimated. Remittances also improve the standard of living of the receiving families, and can also lead to productive investment, and better social facilities like education and health-care. Instances of these effects can clearly be seen in Kerala and Punjab, two Indian states with high emigration rates.

The importance of all these effects on sending countries leads their governments to do everything in their power to encourage emigration. They use every diplomatic means available to them to ensure continued emigration for those of their nationals who wish to seek their fortunes abroad. A hint of curtailing immigration from

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[35]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1989, p 14.

the Gulf States has the Indian government despatching a delegation to those States to persuade them to change their minds.[36]

Receiving Country's Perspective

The first important criteria that determines the receiving country's attitude to immigrants is whether these immigrants have arrived legally or not. Illegal immigration violates a state's control of its own borders, and takes place regardless of the state's current policies, practices and laws concerning immigration. Illegal immigration on a large scale (such as that which takes place on the Mexican-United States border, and is estimated to involve half to three-quarters of a million people every year) can have a detrimental effect on the relations between the states involved, as well as having a profound influence on the treatment of the immigrants in their new society.

The most important reason behind the large scale migration flows that have taken place in the post-war era to Western Europe and the Gulf states has been their need for labour. Weiner points out that the shortage of labour by itself is not a sufficient condition for immigration, it is very much a question of government policy. Some governments deal with labour shortages by not doing anything, because they are reluctant to admit large numbers of foreigners due to concerns about cultural homogeneity. This means industries have to find other ways than importing labour to deal with their problem. They do so by adopting more capital-intensive and less labour-

[36]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1982, p 7.

intensive technology, by incorporating new participants into the labour market, like women, and finally by moving outside the country to areas where labour is cheaper. A case in point is Japan, where the labour shortages of the fifties and sixties did not persuade the government to allow immigration.[37]

In several of the industrialized countries of Europe, where governments allowed the import of labour to make up for their shortfall, this labour makes up approximately 9% of the work force, whereas in the Gulf states the percentages are much higher: 71% in Kuwait, 81% in Qatar, 85% in the United Arab Emirates.[38] This imported labour force contributes to the economic growth and prosperity of its host nation, which may have otherwise been impeded due to a lack of human capital. Often immigrant labour takes on jobs that the indigenous population do not wish to do due to their unpleasant or low-paid nature. Immigrant labour also contributes to the economy of the receiving country by taxation and spending at least part of their income within their new home economy.

Admitting immigrant labour has a long-lasting social effect on the receiving countries. It turns these more or less homogeneous societies into multi-cultural ones by the presence of substantial numbers of ethnically different people. The various receiving societies have evolved different ways of dealing with this effect,

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[37]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1989, p 25.
[38]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1989, pp 24-25.

which is the most significant from the point of view of long-term stability within the country.

Most states in Western Europe as well as in the Gulf have opted for a policy of admitting workers as temporary residents rather than immigrants. Among the European states Britain is the exception in that she admitted people from her former colonies to cover her labour shortage, and they had the right to settle in Britain if they wished and many did. Sweden and to a lesser extent Holland also admitted immigrants. The countries which admitted workers temporarily did so because they hoped to avoid turning their societies into multi-ethnic multi-cultural ones. The European countries extended full rights and benefits to these guest-workers, with the sole exception of political rights. Thus guest-workers in Europe were free to change jobs, had access to the same health care and other social facilities available to the citizens, and did not have to leave the country when they became unemployed. Later they were granted limited political participation, and also have the right to form political associations as well as all civil liberties. Restrictions on family entry were also eased and today many of those admitted as guest-workers have become citizens, as have their children.

The Gulf states had the same aim as the European nations but have followed a different, less liberal set of policies, and have thus been more successful in controlling immigrants and ensuring that they do not become permanent settlers. Immigrant workers in the Gulf have to seek the permission of the government before taking up a job, cannot change jobs without further approval, cannot form

trades unions or hold public meetings, cannot usually own land, houses or businesses, are not granted the same social service facilities as the citizens, cannot bring their families into the country unless their salaries are above a level specified by the state (which is high enough to exclude unskilled and semi-skilled workers), and cannot become citizens of the state. Thus the governments of the Gulf states have been able to minimize the impact of the huge imported labour force in their countries.

The presence of a large ethnically different work-force in a country can create tensions and rivalries between the indigenous population and the newcomers. It must be noted that most large-scale immigrations bring on a backlash in the form of a nativist movement sooner or later, particularly during periods of economic recession. But such fears are not purely economic, they are also fears of " 'cultural pollution' or 'overforeignization'. Implied . . . is the fear that foreigners may change the cultural or social order or play a role in the political system."[39] The numbers of immigrants involved will have an effect on the birth of such movements, but it is difficult to pinpoint when the 'acceptable threshold of immigration' is crossed because of the different experiences of different countries as well as the varied experiences of the same country at different times. It would appear to depend on the particular circumstances in any country at any one time. Thus for the receiving country the benefits of importing labour are generally economic, and they have

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[39]Weiner, M., op. cit., 1989, p 45.

to be balanced against the 'cost' of creating a multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society.

The import of labour also adds a special dimension to relations between the governments of the states which export labour and those which import it. The sending country is concerned to keep the immigration channels open and for the welfare of its nationals in their new environment. The receiving country is normally eager to ensure that any immigration that does take place is within the parameters set out by them, and it is usually in a position to do so. The influence of the sending country is generally limited to its persuasive ability. This aspect is examined in greater detail in the case study.

Finally, migration creates communities of people from one country living and working in another and it is to these and their role in International Relations that we turn next.

Diasporas in International Relations

A diaspora comes into existence due to migration (both, voluntary as in the case of the Sikh or Gujerati diaspora and, involuntary as in the case of the Jewish diaspora), and is thus within the scope of this study. It is distinct from transnational ethnic groups that come into existence for other reasons such as the drawing up of boundaries of modern states that effectively leave an ethnic group on two sides of an international frontier, as in the case of the ethnic Germans in Poland, or Albanians in Yugoslavia, and whose transnational political activity tends to be irredentist in nature.

In recent years the focus of analysis in International Relations has moved decisively away from its exclusively statecentric concerns and begun to examine the role and importance of non state actors such as international organizations, multinational companies, non-governmental international pressure groups and the Roman Catholic Church. Some analysts and theorists have extended the notion of non-state actor beyond organized or institutional entities like those mentioned above, and sought to include the role of more nebulous groups like ethnic or religious groups and classes.[40] Within a domestic context the role of such groups has long been recognized as relevant and their activities studied, but the transnational activities of these groups, particularly ethnic groups has not yet been subjected to similar analysis. Thus the role of diasporas as transnational actors has not received the attention it deserves.

The term diaspora has been historically associated with the dispersal of the Jews from Palestine, after their defeat at the hands of the Romans in 70 A.D.[41] Milton Esman defines a diaspora as "a minority ethnic group of migrant origin which maintains sentimental or material links with its land of origin".[42] Today, the term is widely used to refer to any group that lives away from its homeland,

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[40]See Burton, J.W., World Society, Cambridge University Press, London and New York, 1972; Global Conflict: The Domestic Sources of International Conflict, Wheatsheaf and College Park, MD, Center for International Development, University of Maryland, Brighton, 1984. Also see Frank, A.G., Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969, and Penguin, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1971; Emmanuel, A., Unequal Exchange: A Study in the Imperialism of Trade, New Left Books and Monthly Review Press, London and New York, 1972; also see footnote 8.

[41]Esman, M.J., 'Diasporas in International Relations', in Sheffer, G. [ed.], Modern Diasporas in International Politics, Croom Helm, London,1986, p 333.

[42]Ibid, p 333.

yet maintains strong ties with it. A diaspora is a migrant community, well established in their new country of residence, yet maintaining its distinctive cultural identity as well as its link with its country of origin or homeland. Modern diasporas are often spread over several host countries, as the examples of the Jews, Palestinians or the Sikhs illustrates.

There is a tendency in the literature on migration, to focus on the conditions necessary for immigrants to be speedily absorbed into the host society's way of life. Different terminology is used by different scholars, and various stages in this process are identified,[43] but there is a underlying unity of approach emphasizing the desirability of such a homogenizing process. This coincides with the prevalence of earlier theories of nation-building best exemplified by Connor when he wrote

> ". . . if Scottish Welsh and English can become British, if Flemish and Walloon can become Belgian, then why can't Sindhi, Punjabi, Baluchi, and Pathan become Pakistani and Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba become Nigerian?"[44]

This is an essentially liberal view of the nation-state consisting of a homogeneous peoples, coming about by the gradual erosion of narrow ethnic identification, popularized by 'nation-building theories' in the era of decolonization. Marxist theory also stresses the temporary nature of these ethnic and national loyalties in the face

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[43]See Chapter 2 of this study for a fuller analysis of this subject.
[44]Connor, W., 'A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group', Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1978, pp 337-400.

of class-based ones. It is now clear that these theories have not stood the test of time, and that instead of a gradual erosion of ethnicity as a focus for loyalty and identity, we are witnessing a reassertion of ethnic identities which were deemed to have disappeared. In other words rather than Sindhi, Baluchi and Punjabi becoming Pakistani, we see Scottish, Welsh and English identities reemerging at the expense of the British. This is just as true for diaspora communities as it is for states. In recent years communities that seemed to have integrated completely with their host societies, have begun reactivating old homeland connections and reasserting their distinct identity. The Polish Community in the United States spurred by the formation of Solidarity, the role of the Roman Catholic church and the visit of the Pope has taken this path, as have substantial sections of the Irish-American community. It would thus seem that it would no longer be appropriate (if it ever was) to think of diasporas as temporary phenomenon, we must rather see them as a growing force.

Diasporas have long been a feature of human existence, with perhaps the oldest being those of the Jews, the overseas Chinese and Indians. Later, communities like the Irish and Germans in the United States became established. Diaspora communities have increased in number in the post war world, due to the migrations of workers to the countries of Western Europe, North America and the Persian Gulf. The Turks in Germany, West Indians in Britain, Hispanics in the United States, Pakistanis and Indians in the Gulf States are all examples of such communities.

Diasporas are always perceived as outsiders living in some one else's homeland. They may have lived there for generations, contributed extensively to the local economy and society and had harmonious relations with the groups whose lands they have come to share, but changed circumstances can make them outsiders and vulnerable to persecution, as the Indians in East Africa expelled by Idi Amin's regime, or the Chinese in Southeast Asia found to their cost. The precise nature of the circumstances that could lead to the outbreak of explosive nativism is hard to pinpoint. It has occurred where the diaspora was not fully accultured or integrated with the native population as in East Africa, but also where the diaspora was well integrated with the local population as in Nazi Germany; it can occur at almost any point in the business cycle, not only during downswings; and it can take place when the diaspora is perceived as having a controlling influence within the local economy as in the case of the Indians in East Africa or the Chinese in Southeast Asia, or when they are in low status positions at the bottom-end of the labour market, like the guest-workers in Germany or Switzerland. Walker Connor believes that all the factors mentioned above are only triggers to nativist movements, whose underlying explanation lies in the "primal title to a homeland claimed by the indigenous ethno-national group"[45] which implies the power of eviction if desired. Thus diasporas can only ever reside in other homelands on sufferance.

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[45]Connor, W., 'The Impact of Homeland upon Diasporas', in Sheffer, G. [ed.], Modern Diasporas in International Politics, Croom Helm, London, 1986, p 20.

This factor goes some way to explaining the continuing links between diaspora and homeland. If there will always be a difference between the status and security enjoyed by a 'native' and an 'outsider', it is understandable that the outsider should seek to preserve his ties with his own native land, the source of his identity and security. Further, the emotional appeal of the notion of one's homeland does not dissipate when one is no longer resident on its sacred soil. The links between diaspora and homeland are also based on the fact that the homeland is the source of their history, language, culture, customs, entertainment (in the form of books, magazines, films, music etc.), as well as in some instances the fount of their religion. In fact in some cases the links between diasporas and homeland is so strong and well-organized that Connor's definition of diasporas as "that segment of a people living outside their homeland"[46] seems particularly apt. The desire of diasporas to continue their links with the homeland is thus the product of their inability to integrate completely into the host society on the one hand[47] and their desire to maintain a sense of identity and belonging which the homeland connection provides, on the other.

Diasporas are minority communities in their host countries, having a distinct culture, religion and/or language from that of the majority. For a variety of reasons, ranging from exclusion from the host society, to a pride in their own cultural identity, and the fact that, at least in the early stages the myth of return may be prevalent

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[46]Ibid, p 16.

[47]This point is supported by Goulbourne, H., Ethnicity and Nationalism in Post-Imperial Britain, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1991, p 152.

as well as the social and financial benefits, diasporas maintain their ethno-religious identity in the new environment. The process of maintaining both a distinctive minority culture in the host society and strong links with the homeland are also interrelated. This process is strengthened if there are great disparities of culture, language and religion between migrants and their hosts, and is almost a necessity where there are differences of race between the diaspora and the host community, as that factor alone will clearly distinguish the two communities permanently.[48] The presence in the diasporas of women and families, not simply working men, is important in nourishing old ways of life and links with the original base. Further the size of the diaspora community must be sufficiently large to support the institutions and organizations that serve its needs. For the preservation of cultural identity in a host state to continue over succeeding generations, younger members of the community must be educated into the cultural norms and behaviour patterns of the community. Often this is best established when the younger generation can see the benefits that conformity to group norms will bring.[49]

The ability of diaspora communities to engage in political activities is governed largely by three factors:

(1)their desire and ability to maintain group solidarity

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[48]Traits such as colour are defined as being entropy-resistant, i.e. they do not spread evenly across society even after the passage of time. See Tidwell, A., 'Black Nationalism and the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the USA', Paradigms, Vol. 1, No. 2, December 1987, p 130.

[49]See Chapter 5 of this study, quoting work of Banton, M. and Peggie, A.W., regarding young Sikhs in England.

(2)the opportunities available to do so through the structures of their host society and,
(3)their own skills and resources.[50]

(1) Their desire and ability to maintain group solidarity

Besides the reasons of loyalty to one's homeland, and the lack of acceptance in the new society the desire of diasporas to maintain their distinctive identity is also influenced by the culture of the host society. In cases where cultural differences between hosts and diasporas are small, where no discrimination is felt, and where the host society is ready to accept members of the diaspora into all levels of society, as well as amalgamate with them through marriage, the diaspora is unlikely to have any need to maintain group solidarity and will not do so. This has been the experience of North European Protestant migrants to the United States, and that of Ashkenazi Jews from different European countries to Israel, as well as that of the Javanese in Malaysia.

However, where distinct differences of culture and/or religion exist, accompanied by social marginalisation in the host society, the diaspora has reason to and will maintain its distinct identity and group solidarity. This has been the case for many of the existing diaspora communities like the Sikhs in Britain, the Turks in Germany or the Greeks, Irish or Jews in the United States. Further there are instances where the diaspora feels that its culture is superior to that of the host society, and will therefore resist any

[50]Esman, M.J., op. cit., pp 336-340.

offer of assimilation that might come from the host society. This is the case with the Chinese all over Southeast Asia, and the Asians in East Africa, and to a greater extent than is realized, with Asians in Britain.

The diaspora must then have a real interest and perceive a real benefit to its members in maintaining its distinct identity and group solidarity If this does not happen, and diasporas assimilate and amalgamate with their new society, they also automatically lose any interest in their erstwhile home society, and cannot any more be called diasporas. It is only on the basis of the existence of this distinct group identity that the diaspora can want or hope to play any particular political role, in the host country, the home country or in international relations in general.

(2) The opportunities available to do so through the structures of their host society

The role that a diaspora can play in politics and in international relations is greatly influenced by the sort of political system and culture that prevails in its host country.

If the host country has a relatively open and democratic political culture, where minority groups can freely organize for their own interests they can acquire a substantial political voice, at least on those issues that are most important to them, and sometimes on a wider scale. For instance, the liberal democratic systems of the Western European countries have permitted a considerable degree of organization and activity from their diasporas like the Turks in

Germany, the Algerians and Arabs in France and the Sikhs in Britain. These groups may not be very influential on the wider national political stage (though even there, they have their pockets of influence, and are courted as a bloc by political parties), but they have been able to make a substantial impact in areas like education policy and anti-discriminatory policies. The American system with its susceptibility to strong lobbying has allowed some diasporas to gain considerable influence in the making of foreign policy. The Jewish lobby working on behalf of Israel, and the Black American lobby's work in getting the United States government to impose comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime in South Africa are obvious examples.

The experience of these diasporas is contrasted by that of those in the Gulf States. Here the large numbers of immigrant workers from the subcontinent and other parts of Asia are clearly and strongly discouraged from organizing in any way, and prevented from any sort of political activity by the monarchies who rule those oil-rich countries, and who would punish any such activity with deportation. This leaves the diasporas of those states with almost no ability as actors in International Relations.

(3) Their own skills and resources

Armstrong[51] describes two sorts of diaspora, according to their ability to organize effectively for political activity. A

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[51]Armstrong, J.A., 'Mobilized and Proletarian Diasporas', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 70, No. 2, June 1976, pp 393-408.

proletarian diaspora is one whose members occupy the lowest rung of the occupational and social ladder in their host country. They consist largely of unskilled labourers, having poor communication skills, and no organizational experience. They have very little interaction with the host population, and extremely limited ability to organize and express their interests, suffering as they do from "enormous cultural and psychic impoverishment."[52] This is often the position of newly arrived migrants who have come from the underdeveloped to the developed world, like the Algerians in France some years ago. Proletarian diasporas have thus virtually no political activity. However, as they establish themselves, become proficient in the language and ways of their host country, and climb the rungs of the occupational, social and status ladders, this situation changes. Such a change can take from one to several generations to come about, and may not always take place, with some diasporas maintaining their bottom of the ladder position over very long periods.

Mobilized diasporas, Armstrong's second type, are those which bring some sort of skill (linguistic or entrepreneurial for instance) to their host society, which that society lacks and thus has great need of. This ensures a special place for the diaspora in the polity of their host country, giving them both material reward and access to the upper echelons of their host society. This has been the position of the Jewish diaspora in several European countries like Spain and Germany through the Middle Ages, and in the Ottoman

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[52]Ibid, p 406.

Empire. These diasporas depend for their security and continued group identity on the patronage of the elite of their host society. Over time, as sections of the native population develop the skills which were once the preserve of the diaspora, their role and with it their security and patronage begins to decline.

Esman has argued that in the present day these distinctions are too sharp to be useful[53] and it is far more satisfactory to think about the distinction as two ends of a continuing scale. Certainly, examples at either extreme are difficult to find, and most diasporas fall somewhere between the two ends depending on the skills and experiences they bring with them. Also useful to the discussion is the notion of "middle-men" diasporas raised by both Esman and Armstrong.[54] These are those diasporas which fill a particular economic niche, of high or middle status that is important to the economy of the host country. Examples of these are the Asians in East Africa, and the Lebanese in West Africa, who provided economic expertise to colonial and then local regimes. The position of such diasporas is recognized as tenuous, in the face of change and development in their host countries, as the experience of the Asians in Uganda showed.

It would thus appear that the ability of a diaspora to play an effective political role in any arena is determined both by the skills and experiences they bring with them to their host country and their place within the hierarchy of that society and the resources they can

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[53]Esman, M.J., op. cit., pp 337-338.
[54]Ibid, p 337, and Armstrong, J.A., op. cit., p 398.

mobilize. Different diasporas at different times have varying abilities to indulge in political activities. They are less likely to be able to do so when they first arrive in a new host country, when all their energies have to be concentrated on resettlement, and their ability tends to increase as they establish themselves in their new society, as long as that society has an open enough political system to allow it. Crucial to their effectiveness is the maintenance of their distinctive identity and group solidarity which provides both the basis and the reason for their political actions. Their capability to play a political role may be enhanced if they bring some special skills to or fill particular niches in their host society, but this privileged status also brings concomitant dangers of reprisal and expulsion. Having analysed the conditions under which diaspora political activity takes place, let us now turn to an examination of that activity itself.

The Political Activities of Diasporas

It is useful to conceive of the political activities of diasporas as being aimed at three specific targets. These three targets arise precisely because a diaspora is a diaspora. By this I mean, that the very factors that define and shape a diaspora are the same ones that govern the direction of its political activities. A diaspora is defined by the fact that it is a minority community of migrant origin, residing in a host country with an ethnically different population, which maintains both its own group identity as well as its links with the homeland. From this it can clearly be seen that the diaspora would have to direct its political activities towards:

(1) The diaspora itself

(2) The homeland

(3) The host country

The first target of political activity for the diaspora are its own members. In a sense the membership of the diaspora represents its 'constituency'. It is only through organizing and mobilization of these members can the diaspora play any other political role. The primary purpose of such internally targeted diaspora political activity is to enhance group solidarity by shaping an agenda that reflects the concerns of the group and expresses their desires. The existence of such diasporic political activity means that members do not have to go to institutions and organizations external to the group for their primary or grass-root political needs. The politicisation of the diaspora also throws up community leaders who play a critical role, both within the diaspora and on a wider stage. In some instances these leaders will be largely self-selected, or will be the best known or wealthier elements of the diaspora, but they may also be elected to office in some diaspora organization.

The exact nature of this diasporic political life will vary from diaspora to diaspora, and is likely to reflect the cultural practices of the community. If, for instance, the community is one where there have always been strong links between political identity and religion, this factor will be reflected through religious organizations playing political roles, as in the case of the Sikh or Jewish diaspora. Other cultural and political traditions will throw up other organizations

ranging from workers clubs and trades union type organizations to overseas branches of political movements of the homeland, and purely religious or religious/cultural organizations. In some cases the organizations will be those spawned by the migrant experience and need to build bridges with the host society, like the Indian Workers Association (IWA) in Britain or various 'Friendship' societies. Most diasporas will tend to have more than one type of organization, and the spheres of interest of the various organizations are likely to overlap.

A further focus of diasporic political activity is to create and maintain links between themselves and other parts of their diaspora which may be resident in other host countries. Thus the Chinese in Malaysia have strong cultural, political and business links with other Chinese in Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam, and the Jewish diaspora links Jews in all the countries with large Jewish settlement - U.S., France, U.K., Former Soviet Union, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, South Africa.[55] Such links can then be used to mobilise funds and opinion as the need arises, and may also enhance the economic position of members of the diaspora through trade.

The second target of diaspora political activity is their homeland, or that part of the world that they perceive as such. This may not always refer to an area with which they have a direct connection, but one which, for historical reasons, they perceive as

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55 Numbers of Jewish residents of these countries can be found in Sheffer, G., 'Political Aspects of Jewish Fundraising for Israel', in Sheffer, G. [ed.], op. cit., p 261.

such. For instances most of the Jews in America are descendants of European Jews, but they nevertheless treat Israel as their homeland. Similarly the Afro-Americans who are unable to link their ancestry back to a specific part of Africa look to all of Black Africa in this light. Further, diasporas whose homelands lie in multinational states may limit their homeland involvement to their particular portion alone, inasmuch as that is possible.

Diasporas may or may not be united in their aims and ambitions for their homeland. Often different diaspora organizations will have different notions about the desirability of events in the homeland, and will be in favour of different future courses of action. This is clearly shown by the activities of the various elements of the Iranian opposition in exile since the 1979 Iranian Revolution, whose prefered outcomes range from restoration of the monarchy, through Islamic Marxism (the Mujahidin), to republicanism. In some instances diaspora politics as directed to the homeland will simply be an extension of the politics of the homeland played out in a new setting, with the political configurations of the diaspora being a reflection of that in the home society, as is the case for the Turks in Germany and the Sikhs in Britain.

It cannot be assumed then that diasporas will always support the government of their homeland. In situations where the homeland is in the grip of some internal conflict or under an authoritarian regime, the diaspora, being away from the restrictions imposed by emergency or censorship measures can become the focus for opposition. This was the case for opposition to the Apartheid regime

in South Africa, and for the Afghan mujahidin to the Najibullah government. It becomes clear that in situations of conflict and strife particularly, but even otherwise a diaspora can and sometimes does play a large role in the affairs of its homeland. Further the strength of its commitment to and involvement in the politics of its homeland may have an effect on its activities in the third target area.

The third target area of diaspora activity is the host polity. In this arena the primary aim of diaspora politics is to safeguard their position and interests in the host society. The most typical activity involves issues like ensuring that the language of the diaspora is taught to their younger generation in schools, bringing about anti-discriminatory policies to ensure access of diaspora members to jobs and housing, and generally trying to preserve the ethnic, religious and cultural integrity of their way of life. This is done through representation to the relevant authorities in the host society, most often by the organizations and leaders created by the primary level political activity described above.

There may also be more direct involvement in the wider political life of the host society, through for instance links between its political parties and and some of the diaspora organizations, such as exist between the Indian Workers Association and the Labour Party in Britain. But here again it must be noted that just as the diaspora is not often united in its political aims for its home country, so too, its members are likely to have varying political affinities in the host society, particularly as the length of their stay in that society increases.

It is also generally the case, that if the diaspora has a very strong interest and involvement in the political affairs of its home country, it is likely to have a correspondingly decreased involvement in politics in the host country. In such a situation, the interest in host country politics extends only to safeguarding their position within it, with all passion being reserved for the affairs and events in the home society. Exclusion and discrimination from the host society towards the diaspora is likely to have played some contributory role in this. Examples are the Sikhs in Britain, the Turks in Germany, and the Palestinian diaspora in its various host countries. It is also true of the Chinese in Southeast Asia, where continuing cultural solidarity and links with China have led to distrust and suspicion about the diaspora on the part of the local population.

Having established the tri-lateral nature of diasporic political activity, let us turn now to an examination of the various forms of that activity, and thus move towards a clearer understanding of the role that diasporas can play in international relations.

The most high-profile form of diasporic political activity involves the diaspora trying to directly influence events in the home country. This may involve the use of economic, political or military means,[56] and may be in support of or against the homeland government. Investment in and technology transfer to India and China by members of those diasporas has often been in accordance with the development plans of the governments of those countries.

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[56]Esman, M.J., op. cit., p 340.

Diasporas often provide financial and military assistance to sections of their homeland population that is engaged either in conflict or rebellion. Croats in Germany smuggle weapons into Yugoslavia for use against other nationalities, Irish Americans provide financial assistance to the IRA, overseas Chinese financed and supplied the Sun Yat-sen Revolution in 1911 and Sikhs in the U.K., U.S., and Canada supply financial assistance to aid their brethren in Punjab in their fight against the Indian Government. These sorts of actions can lead to conflict between the diasporas home and host countries which will be discussed later.

Diasporas can also try to influence events in the home country by marshalling international public opinion for their chosen cause. They can do this through publicity campaigns aimed generally at the international community and specifically at particular international organizations. The activities of the Palestinian diaspora, and their success in influencing the United Nations member countries to embarrass Israel in that forum and elsewhere is a good example. Diaspora campaigns to highlight issues like human rights abuse by the government of their home country, such as the kind carried out by the Sikh and Kashmiri diaspora are another.

Diaspora communities also try to use their host government to influence events in the home country. They can do this with different degrees of success depending on their strength and the susceptibility of the host political system and government. Jewish lobbying in the United States has long been recognized as an important factor in maintaining America's pro-Israel stance. The

Greek diaspora in the U.S. was a factor in getting the Congress to embargo military assistance to Turkey, after the Turkish invasion of Cyprus. Efforts by British Sikhs and Kashmiris to influence the British Government to condemn the Indian Government for the abuse of human rights, have had less success.

In situations where the diaspora feels insecure or threatened in its host country, it may turn for protection to its home government. The Chinese in Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia, looked to their government in Peking to protect them from nationalist indigenous governments, in the wake of decolonization, so too did the Indians in East Africa, when they suffered persecution and expulsion under Idi Amin. In both these cases, the home governments were unable or unwilling to go to the assistance of their countrymen. The ability of home governments to react positively to this sort of appeal is limited by international laws of sovereignty and non-intervention, and also by their perceived interests. When a conflict arises between protecting one's compatriots and one's perceived national interests, the latter consideration is likely to prevail.

The diaspora can also be used by the government of the home country in the pursuit of their own goals. Realising the value of remittances sent by Indian workers in the Gulf States, the Indian government exerts itself to encourage its diaspora to follow the rules of their stay in the Gulf, and tries to ensure continued and greater flows homeward by assisting and smoothing the path for would be immigrants. Diasporas can also be encouraged to act politically in their host country on behalf of their home government. The

relationship between successive Israeli Governments and American Jews illustrates the symbiotic nature of this relationship.

Host governments too will try to use their diasporas to achieve their own goals, particularly those in relation to events in the diasporas home country. The role played by Mafia leaders, at the behest of the US government, in assisting the Allied invasion of Sicily during the Second World War is a case in point. Southeast Asian governments look to their Chinese communities to act as facilitators in setting up trade and investment arrangements with the People's Republic of China. Such activities benefit both the host government as well as diaspora members. Other more sinister examples of the host government using a diaspora to achieve its own goals would have to include Amin's expulsion of the Asians from Uganda in an attempt to provide a scapegoat for his people's woes.

Home governments and host governments are most affected by the sorts of political activity described above, and it can often become a source of conflict between the two. For instance, when a diaspora is engaging in activities harmful to the home government, that government will request the host government to restrain the diaspora's activities. But, if the diaspora has not broken any of the host country's laws in the course of their activity, there may be little the hosts can do, and this can become at the least an embarrassment to relations between friendly countries and at worst a source of conflict. Thus the Americans have been embarrassed by the activities of the Irish Americans in assisting the IRA, and the activities of the British Sikhs brought tension into generally amicable

Anglo-Indian relations. By and large until diasporic activity either breaks the law or begins to threaten the host country, the response of the host country is unlikely to be such as to satisfy the home country government. When the host and home countries lie in the same geographical region, the conflict caused by such disagreements can be more disturbing, as in the case of the Chinese demand to Southeast Asian governments that they curtail the assistance provided by a section of their Chinese diaspora to the Taiwan government.

It can be seen from the above analysis that diasporas, home governments and host governments are involved in complex triadic relationships, with each having their own particular set of interests to further. Also there may well be internal divisions within each of the three, further complicating the analysis. Added to this, all three are operating in a constantly changing environment. Thus it would seem sensible to assume that while a limited degree of generalisation is possible, and some behaviour patterns within these relationships can be traced, a detailed understanding of the role of any diaspora in international relations can come only from a specific analysis of the the particular circumstances of that diaspora.[57] The value of analysis such as the one carried out above is that they can provide a guide to a more detailed and specific study, such as that undertaken in later chapters of this work.

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[57] Ibid, p 348.

Conclusions

This chapter has sought to firmly establish that international migration has considerable and varied implications for relations between states, as well as leading to the creation of non-state actors in the international arena, and as such constitutes a much neglected field of study for the discipline of International Relations. It has also tried to draw attention to some of the issues international migration raises and problems it causes. In a world of states, where no international migration can take place without the acquiescence of those states, its impact must not be underestimated. Particularly so, in a situation where there exists only a very small area of international agreement as to what the obligations of states are towards those who migrate, or what rights these migrants can expect from states.

Whether scholars in the field have recognized it as such or not, governments have been using migration as an instrument of both foreign and domestic policy for some time now, as the examples enumerated above clearly show. They have also found themselves having to respond to its varied implications, and take account of it as a factor in foreign policy making. Furthermore, it is clear that this is a phenomena with very long term consequences, and its implications take some while to work themselves out. Given the limited nature of our understanding of the dynamics between international relations and international migration, perhaps the only thing that we can assert with any degree of certainty is that it is an

issue that will increasingly be on both, the international agenda and the minds of International Relations scholars in the future.