

# Impact of Diaspora Communities on National and Global Politics

## Report on Survey of the Literature

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## Executive Summary

The Strategic Assessments Group (SAG) tasked us to survey the literature for information dealing with various aspects of Diasporas and their behavior as part of the *Impact of Diaspora Communities on National and Global Politics* Project. Our research identified a robust and growing body of literature on these topics. Diasporic Studies has become a distinct area of scholarship in the last few years and has attracted scholars from several behavioral science disciplines.

Over a four-month period, we performed Web-based searches using various search engines and portals of the University of Maryland's library system. The annotated bibliography accompanying this report contains 471 citations dealing with diasporic characteristics and demographics, organization, mobilizing structures, motivations, political agendas and influence.

Besides identifying sources on specific aspects of diasporic behavior, the report includes several general findings. The prevailing definition of Diaspora seems to be a group that recognizes its separateness based on common ethnicity/nationality, lives in a host country, and maintains some kind of attachment to its home country or homeland. We refined this definition to include the presence of latent or overt tendencies toward political action. Since members of a Diaspora are self-identified, Diasporas can exhibit very dynamic behavior. This increases the difficulty of any effort to catalog them based on their potential for posing a threat to security. Cataloging is further complicated by the fact that Diasporas can overlap, and individuals can belong to more than one Diaspora at a time. Furthermore, "Diaspora" is a term that applies to groups with very different origins (e.g., migrants, exiles, refugees, expatriates). Sometimes the differences in meaning among these terms is important; at other times, scholars use them interchangeably. New forms of media, including communications technologies and alternative financial tools, have provided a transformational means to accelerate mobilization of Diasporas. While their actual mobilization characteristics vary extensively, some Diasporas have demonstrated the ability to exert focused, organized, and powerful influence. Many Diasporas use networks to coordinate activities. Therefore, understanding networks is essential for understanding Diasporas. The literature lists several principal paths of influence for diasporic politics. In particular, Diasporic associations are becoming increasingly important actors. They primarily take the form of civic organizations without ties to government, and sometimes seek to further their own agendas rather than those of Diaspora members *per se*.

Given the diverse characteristics and the dynamism of Diasporas, we recommend that the SAG adopt a very broad definition of Diaspora for their project, devising subcategories as necessary to distinguish among different types of Diasporas. Otherwise, they might fail to identify and track currently quiescent Diasporas that become politically active and pose a security threat in the future. The literature provides a wealth of information to support this effort.

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Many thanks to Karri Plotkin, my principal research assistant for this project and graduate student at the School of Public Policy, for her creativity and many hours of hard work on this project. Thanks also to Mike Reeves and Scott Morrissey, also graduate students at MSPP, for their assistance in researching sources and compiling the annotated bibliography associated with this report.

## I. Background.

The Strategic Assessments Group (SAG) tasked us to survey the literature for information dealing with various aspects of Diasporas and their behavior as part of the *Impact of Diaspora Communities on National and Global Politics* Project. The purpose of the survey was to assist the SAG in formulating baseline analyses of Diasporic communities around the world.

Our research identified a robust and growing body of literature to support the Diaspora Project. Diasporic Studies have become a distinct area of scholarship in the last few years and has attracted scholars from several behavioral science disciplines. Journals dedicated to Diasporic Studies are emerging, most notably *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*.

International relations and security are only two of the many dimensions examined by Diasporic Studies, but most of its fields of study should prove useful to the project. Our research has discovered references dealing with the following aspects of Diasporas:

- the identities of various Diasporas , including their size and distribution around the world;
- theories, models, and other conceptual vehicles for assessing and understanding the behavioral dynamics of Diasporas;
- diasporic methods of communication and the relative importance of different types of media in influencing diasporic behavior;
- the types of behavior exhibited by different Diaspora communities and the goals and agendas motivating these behaviors;
- the tools used by diasporic communities – and by governments and other actors seeking to affect diasporic behavior – to bring about desired outcomes;
- actual and potential effects of these behaviors on local, state, regional, and global politics and security; and
- future trends in the behavior of Diasporas.

A significant portion of Diaspora research involves the study of diasporic communities in the United States. Much of this work is directly applicable to the SAG's areas of interest despite its domestic focus.

## II. Methodology

Over a four-month period, we performed Web-based searches using various search engines and portals of the University of Maryland's library system. Using a description of the project and discussions with our client, we compiled a list of key words and phrases and used these to structure our search. These terms are listed in Table 1. Our findings are contained in the annotated bibliography that accompanies this report. The bibliography contains 471 entries.

**TABLE 1. Search Terms Used in Web Search**

<b>Keywords</b>
African American, African Diaspora, African Indians, Asian Americans, Asian Migrants, Assimilation, Africa, Anti-Globalization, Arab Countries, Basque, Brain Drain, Business, Central Asia, China, Chinese, Chinese Americans, Chinese Diaspora, Cold War, Culture, Diaspora, Digital Age, Economic Conditions, Emigration, Ethnic, Ethnicity, Europe, Globalization, Great Britain, Hindu Diaspora, Hometown Associations, Hong Kong, Hispanics, Identity, India, Indian Diaspora, Information Age, Internet, Investments, Islam, Israel, Jews, Judaism, Latino, Labor, Malaysia, Media, Memory, Middle East, Minorities, Multiculturalism, Muslims, Muslim Diaspora, Nationalism, Non-Resident Indians, Overseas, Pakistanis, Palestine, Political Aspects, Post-Cold War, Race, Race Relations, Racial, Religion, Russian Diaspora, Sikhs, Silicon Valley, Social Identity, Spanish, Sri Lanka, South Asian Diaspora, Tamil, Trans-Nationals, United States, Zionism

While the vast majority of our searches targeted academic sources, we also searched the archives of a number of major news media. The Economist, Christian Science Monitor, and several south Asian publications provided the greatest amount of relevant information.

Initially, the survey intended to search a number of library catalogs and other sources in foreign languages. In practice, this turned out to be beyond the scope of our capabilities. However, we were able to identify a small number of works in foreign languages using English language websites and have included them in the annotated bibliography. Titles in foreign languages that do not use the Roman alphabet are represented phonetically using Roman text with asterisks to separate syllables.

With respect to coding references, my graduate assistants were necessarily the persons who decided whether to include a given source in the draft bibliography. While these decisions were quite subjective given the nature of the topic, we sought to arrive at commonly accepted standards for inclusion through careful

reading and discussion of the project's goals and other amplifying documents provided by the SAG. In addition, we met with our client and discussed her view of the project and topic approximately midway through our research. In the course of this process, we decided to omit references published prior to the early 1990s unless they were compellingly relevant. Since the field of Diasporic Studies has only emerged in the past 5-8 years, this restriction didn't limit our search in a meaningful way.

Based on my review of the annotated bibliography, I believe that we included all sources that appeared to have any relevance to the topic. During my reviews, I only rejected approximately 10 of the sources in the draft bibliography, leading me to believe that my assistants and I possessed the same understanding of our tasking and erred on the side of inclusion. In general, I decided to omit volumes of poetry by members of a Diaspora, works dealing exclusively with historical aspects of a given Diaspora, and biographies about notable members of Diasporas. Otherwise, if a source appeared to have some potential relevance to current or future political developments, I included it. I apologize in advance if some of the references do not prove useful, but their inclusion should give reviewers a degree of confidence that we included all of the works we found that pertained to their particular areas of interest.

### III. General Findings

Table 2 lists the Diasporas mentioned in the annotated bibliography. While it is not an inclusive list of Diasporas, it gives some indication of the scope of scholarship on this topic.

**TABLE 2. List of Diasporas Noted in Annotated Bibliography**

African	Albanian	Algerian
Arab	Armenian	Asian
Assyrian	Basque	Bosnian
Cambodian	Caribbean	Chechen
Chinese	Circassian	Croatian
Cypriot (Greek)	Cypriot (Turkish)	Dominican
Filipino	German	Greek
Guyanese	Haitian	Hindu
Hong Kong	Hungarian	Indian
Irish	Israeli	Italian
Japanese	Jewish	Kashmiri
Korean	Kurdish	Latin American/Latino
Lebanese	Macedonian	Muslim
Mexican	Nigerian	Palestinian
Polish	Romanian	Russian
Serbian	Sikh	Slovenian
Somali	Tamil	Taiwanese
Thai	Tibetan	Turkish
Ukrainian	Vietnamese	Zoroastrian

Table 3 indicates the Diasporas that are most studied in the literature. It also lists the key words and terms associated with these Diasporas. Table 3 categorizes Diasporas according to Robin Cohen's taxonomy of "Victim", "Imperial", "Labor", and "Trade". (Cohen's fifth category of "Cultural" Diaspora was not used.)

**TABLE 3. Quantitative Content Analysis of Findings**

Category	References	Keywords
<b>A. Victim</b>		
African	35	African American, African Diaspora, Emigration, Hometown Association, Immigration, Social Identity
Jews/Jewish	32	Israel, Jews, Judaism, Multiculturalism, Nationalism, Palestine, Middle East, Zionism
Irish	17	Emigration, Great Britain, Immigrants, Immigration, Racial, Race Relations, United States
Armenians	12	Armenian Diaspora, Muslim Diaspora
Palestinian	10	Islam, Israel, Middle East, Muslims, Nationalism, Palestine, Religion
<b>B. Imperial</b>		
Russian/Russia	34	Central Asia, Nationalism, Post-Cold War, Russia, Russian Diaspora
Britain	23	Hindu Diaspora, Indians, Pakistanis, Sikhs, Sri Lanka, South Asian Diaspora, Tamil
Spanish	2	Basques, Ethnic, Spanish Diaspora
<b>C. Labor</b>		
Indian/India	73	African Indians, Brain Drain, Digital Age, Economic Conditions, Ethnic, Ethnicity, Globalization, Indian, Indian Diaspora, Information Age, Labor, Media, Migration, Non-Resident Indians, Overseas, Silicon Valley
Chinese/China	67	Asian Migrants, Asian Americans, Brain Drain, Business, China, Chinese, Chinese Americans, Digital Age, Emigration, Globalization, Hong Kong, Immigration, Investments, Malaysia, Media, Overseas, Political Aspects, Trans-Nationality
Japanese/Japan	12	Asian Migrants, Asian Americans, Cold War, Minorities
Turks/Turkey	9	Europe, Islam, Mass Media, Minorities, Political Islam
<b>D. Trade</b>		
Indians/India	73	African Indians, Brain Drain, Digital Age, Economic Conditions, Ethnic, Ethnicity, Globalization, Indian, Indian Diaspora, Labor, Media, Migration, Non-Resident Indians, Overseas, Silicon Valley
Chinese/China	67	Asian Migrants, Asian Americans, Brain Drain, Business, China, Chinese, Chinese Americans, Digital Age, Emigration, Globalization, Hong Kong, Immigration, Investments, Malaysia, Media, Overseas, Political Aspects, Trans-Nationals
Latinos/Latin America/Hispanics	20	Home-Town Associations, Culture, Economic, Hispanics, Labor, Latino, United States
Japanese/Japan	12	Asian Migrants, Asian Americans, Cold War, Minorities
Lebanese	11	Ethnic Relations, Minorities, Nationalism, Middle East

Table 4 lists several terms used in the Studies of Diaspora that might not be widely known outside the field. These terms are not meant to be an exhaustive list (for example, “transnationalism” and “brain drain” are omitted). They are intended to identify a number of interesting concepts developed in the work of individual authors in the field.

**TABLE 4. Some Terms and Concepts Used in the Study of Diasporas  
(citations in parentheses)**

Autonomous Diasporic government (Toticaguena)
“Beached” Diasporas (Laitin)
Brain circulation (Saxenian)
Chaordic organizational model (Werbner)
Deterritorialized ethnicity (Anthias)
Hybridity (Ang)
Intersectionality (Anthias)
Microsites in global civil society (Sassen)
Middleman Minorities (Bonacich)
Role of crises (Van Hear)
Role of geography (Tseng)
Shadow state (Mitchell)
Social remittances (Levitt)
Societal security (Herd)
Transnational imaginaries (Gow)

My survey of the annotated bibliography produced nine general findings. While some of these might seem obvious, they are worth mentioning because they demonstrate that the literature largely confirms the SAG’s preliminary analyses.

Finding #1: The concept of “Diaspora” is quite broad in that different disciplines tend to use it to mean different things. For example, sociologists and anthropologists sometimes use it to describe communities that possess certain ethnic characteristics regardless of whether these groups maintain any kind of relationship with their former homelands. The “African-American Diaspora” and the “Irish Diaspora” might be the best examples of this type of usage. In the former case, my impression is that the term “Diaspora” could be omitted without any loss of meaning. The authors concerned were usually referring to the African-American community without any reference to its connection with its former African roots (which at any rate are quite diverse). In the latter case, persons of Irish descent have spread throughout the globe. They have sometimes formed communities with political ties to their former homeland, but often have blended into host country cultures and now exhibit diverse cultural

and behavioral traits. The result is that two authors writing about the “Irish Diaspora” are usually referring to different things.

The prevailing definition of Diaspora seems to be a group that recognizes its separateness based on common ethnicity/nationality, lives in a host country, and maintains some kind of attachment to the home country (or “homeland,” a broader term that denotes an entity that can span state boundaries, e.g., the Hungarian or Serbian homelands). This attachment need only be cultural, but, for purposes of this study, we searched for the presence of latent or overt tendencies toward political action with regard to the home country/homeland. These tendencies might be as general as a desire to return to the home country when possible. However, they can include active measures such as sending remittances home, funding civic projects in the home country, voting in home country elections, forming groups to lobby home and/or host governments, participating in transnational criminal activity, supporting transnational terrorism, or funding insurgencies in the home or host countries.

Finding #2: Diasporas can be dynamic. Like Nationalities, members of a Diaspora are self-identified. This means that events affecting their countries of origin can cause persons of a given ethnic descent living in another country to self-identify themselves as members of their home country’s Diaspora when they hadn’t formerly considered themselves as such. They might then become politically active in support of some cause affecting the home country or homeland. Similarly, events might lead active members of a Diaspora to stop supporting initiatives and causes affecting their home country.

Finding #3: Diasporas can overlap, and individuals can belong to more than one Diaspora. This fact increases the difficulty of cataloging them. For example, the African-American Diaspora held significant meaning when it helped wage the campaign against apartheid in South Africa. However, it would be more useful to disaggregate it – into the Senegalese-American Diaspora, Nigerian-American Diaspora, and the Somali-American Diaspora, for example – to describe more accurately politically active groups among today’s African Americans. A similar situation applies to Arab- Americans. The Iraq War might have given the various Arab Diasporas living in the United States – Lebanese-Americans, Iraqi-Americans, Syrian-Americans, and so forth – a feeling of greater community, giving the term Arab Diaspora more meaning than in the past. Complicating matters further, the Arab-American Diaspora might overlap with the political aims of Muslim Americans – which scholars sometimes refer to as the Muslim Diaspora. Thus, a Somali-American might consider himself to be part of three Diasporas, all of which might have political objectives.

In addition to overlapping, Diasporas sometimes coordinate their activities with other Diasporas to pursue common goals.

Finding #4: “Diaspora” is a term that applies to groups with very different origins, and it can be important to appreciate these differences. In some cases, however, terms are used interchangeably in the literature. For example, a Diaspora can consist primarily of:

- Migrants. Migrants can perceive their situation as permanent (Irish immigration to America in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century) or temporary (Turkish guest workers in Germany). Temporary Diasporas can be transitory (members perceive themselves as residing temporarily until moving to their ultimate destination in another host country). Temporary Diasporas also can change into permanent Diasporas (some Turkish guest workers in Germany). Migration can be voluntary or involuntary.
- Refugees: This is a subcategory of migration, but it implies that migration was sudden and involuntary. It also presumes that refugees seek to return to their home country within a reasonably short time.
- Exiles: This is a category of refugee that must remain in the host country until some political change occurs in the home country. (see Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identities, & Shain, Y.)
- Ethnic groups: Ethnic groups refer to persons who self-identify with other members of the same ethnicity living outside their home country, but do not necessarily have any political ties with the home country. They probably have no plans to return to the home country, but cherish their ethnic roots to some degree.
- Expatriates: Persons from one country living in another. It is a very general term that seems to imply voluntary exile with possible plans to return to their home country at a time of their choosing.
- Indigenous peoples: These groups do not constitute Diasporas *per se*, but exhibit many of the same characteristics, such as transnational communities, minority status in their states, and distinctive cultural characteristics that resist assimilation (e.g., the Kurds and Amerindian peoples of Central and South America) (see Mayberry-Lewis, D.).
- Minorities: Any of the above groups could – and probably do – constitute minorities in their host countries.

Finding #5: As noted by the SAG, “the emergence of 24/7 media – coupled with convenient home country cultural access, remittance flows, and new technologies of communication and travel – suggest strongly that Diaspora assimilation dynamics, identity construction and reconciliation, and the definition of concepts like ‘domestic’ and ‘foreign’ and ‘citizen’ have entered a far more blurry ambivalent phase.” New forms of media, including communications technologies and alternative financial tools, also have provided a transformational means to accelerate mobilization of Diasporas.

Finding #6: While their actual mobilization characteristics vary extensively, some Diasporas have demonstrated the ability to exert sufficiently focused, organized, and powerful influence to make them significant actors in international affairs. The Chinese and Indian Diasporas are the best examples of Diasporas with

economic power, while the Tamil Diaspora might be the best example of one that has influenced events in the home country by funding military action.

Finding #7: Many Diasporas use networks to coordinate activities. Therefore, research into how networks operate would complement this study. In this regard, the information about networks documented in our companion study, *Future Ideological Challenges: Fault Lines, Movements, and Competing Models*, should be directly applicable to Diasporas.

Finding #8: The literature lists several principal paths of influence for diasporic politics. These are:

- A Diaspora tries to affect home country government policies.
- A Diaspora tries to affect host country government policies.
- Home country government tries to tap into Diaspora resources for its own purposes, usually for economic gain or to sway host country government or popular opinion.
- Host country government tries to tap into Diaspora resources for its own purposes, which can include policies to reduce the Diaspora's influence.
- Diasporas support rebel movements.
- Rebel movements exploit Diasporas (element of extortion).
- Diasporas support criminal activity.
- Ethnically based criminal networks exploit Diasporas (element of extortion).
- Diasporic civic associations play an increasingly important role in managing agendas to bring about desired outcomes.

The survey did not focus on one particular path of influence that must be of considerable interest to the SAG, i.e., the exploitation of members of a Diaspora by transnational terrorist groups to conduct attacks in host countries. We suspect that ample information about this category of Diasporic behavior is contained in the literature on terrorism.

Finding #9: Diasporic associations are becoming increasingly important actors in Diasporic politics. They primarily take the form of civic organizations without ties to government, but they also might be government sponsored (predominantly by home government when this occurs). These associations can be based in either the home or the host country, and they might strive to influence home or host government policies. In many cases, the association promotes public works projects in the home country using contributions from members of the Diaspora; this type has a distinctly grass roots, local politics nature. It requires the existence of a Diaspora that is fairly uniform, e.g., recent immigrants to the United States from the same area of El Salvador. Some associations appear to operate as independent variables (i.e., set their own agendas rather than respond to the desires of their Diaspora).

Use of the term Diaspora also can imply generational differentiation. Some politically-active Diasporas consist almost exclusively of first and second

generation migrants, while others have proven far more durable and transcend several generations. Often, the characteristics of the host country's assimilation dynamics plays heavily in shaping a Diaspora's durability, but it is only one of the operative variables.

## IV. Detailed Findings

### **Citations helpful for compiling baseline analyses of Diaspora communities around the globe.**

- Arreola, D.D. Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America
- Arthur, J.A. Invisible Sojourners: African Immigrant Diaspora in the United States
- Baker-Cristales, B. Salvadoran Migration to Southern California
- Beine, M. “Brain Drain and LDC’s Growth: Winners and Losers”
- Byman, C. et al. Trends in Outside Support for Insurgent Movements
- Carrington, W. “How Big Is the Brain Drain?”
- Carrington, W. et al. “International Migration and the Brain Drain”
- Castles, S. et al. The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World
- Chaliand, G. et al. The Penguin Atlas of Diasporas
- Cohen, R. Global Diasporas: An Introduction
- Dymski, G. “Financial Globalization and Cross-border Comovements of Money and Population: Foreign Bank Offices in Los Angeles”
- Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Immigrant and Refugee Cultures Around the World
- Feagin, J.R. et al. Racial and Ethnic Relations [U.S. census data on minorities]
- Migration and the Labor Market in Asia: Recent Trends and Policies
- Martin, P. et al. “Best Practices to Manage Migration: The Philippines” [part of the Cooperative Efforts to Manage Emigration Project]
- Narayan, K.L. Indian Diaspora: A Demographic Perspective
- Nayyar, D. Migration, Remittances, and Capital Flows: The Indian Experience
- New African Diasporas
- OECD Trends in International Migration
- Orozco, M. “Worker Remittances: The Human Face of Globalization”
- Pawliczko, A.L. et al. Ukraine and Ukrainians Throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora
- Ramamurthy, B. “International Labor Migrants: Unsung Heroes of Globalization”
- Report of the High Level Committee on Indian Diaspora
- Saxenian, A. “Silicon Valley’s New Immigrant Entrepreneurs”
- Shain, Y. Governments-in-Exile in Contemporary World Politics
- Suro, R. et al. “Billions in Motion: Latino Immigrants, Remittances, and Banking”
- Vertovec, S. “Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism”
- Werbner, P. “Introduction: The Materiality of Diaspora – Between Aesthetic and Real Politics”

- Zeleza, P.T. “Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic”
- Zlotnik, H. “Trends in International Migration Since 1965: What Existing Data Reveal”

**Citations that provide general theoretical insights, models, and structural descriptions of Diasporas.**

- Affigne, T., “Peoples of Asian Descent in the Americas: Theoretical Implications of Race and Politics”
- Al-Rasheed, M. Transnational Connections and the Arab Gulf
- Ambrosio, T., Ethnic Identity Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy
- Amuedo-Dorantes, C. et al. “Workers’ Remittances and the Real Exchange Rate”
- Anderson, A. “The Complexity of Ethnic Identities: A Postmodern Evaluation”
- Ang, I. “Together in Difference: Beyond Diaspora, Into Hybridity [concept of ‘hybridity’]”
- Anthias, F. “Evaluating Diaspora: Beyond Ethnicity” [discusses concepts of “deterritorialized ethnicity” and “intersectionality”]
- Axel, B.K. The Nation’s Tortured Body: Violence, Representation, and the Formation of a Sikh “Diaspora” [counterintuitive theory that the existence of Diasporas forms the “homeland”]
- Bach, R. “Global Mobility, Inequality and Security” [proposes a regime of migration]
- Beine, M. “Brain Drain and Economic Growth: Theory and Evidence” [concept of “beneficial brain drain”]
- Biale, D. et al. Insider/Outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism
- Biswas, B. “Nationalism by Proxy: A Comparison of Social Movements Among Diaspora Sikhs and Hindus”
- Biswas, S. “Globalization and the Nation Beyond: The Indian-American Diaspora and the Rethinking of Territory, Citizenship, and Democracy”
- Bonacich, E. “A Theory of Middleman Minorities”
- Borders, Exiles, Diasporas
- Boussetta, H. “Institutional Theories of Immigrant Ethnic Mobilization: Relevance and Limitations”
- Braziel, J.E. et al. Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader
- Bretell, C. et al. Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines
- Brinerhoff, B.A. “Digital Diasporas and Human Rights: Strengthening National Governments”
- Brubaker, R. “The ‘Diaspora’ Diaspora” [core elements of a Diaspora]
- Butler, K. “Defining Diaspora, Refining a Discourse”
- Castles, S. et al. Citizenship and Migration: Globalization and the Politics of Belonging [dual citizenship issues]
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- Cohen, R. Global Diasporas: An Introduction
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- Davis, D. et al. "Ethnicity Matters: Transnational Ethnic Alliances and Foreign Policy Behavior"
- Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identities
- Diaspora, Identity, and Religion
- Diasporas and Ethnic Migrants: Germany, Israel, and Post-Soviet Successor States in Comparative Perspective
- Dirlik, A. "Intimate Others: [Private] Nations and Diasporas in an Age of Globalization"
- Faist, T. "Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture"
- Fitzgerald, D. Negotiating Extra-Territorial Citizenship: Mexican Migration and the Transnational Politics of Community [proposes a model of transnational citizenship]
- Fitzgerald, D. "Beyond 'Transnationalism': Mexican Hometown Politics at an American Labor Union"
- Floating Lives: The Media and Asian Diasporas
- Fludernik, M. Diaspora and Multiculturalism: Common Traditions and New Developments
- Gatfield, T. "A Critical Examination of and Reflection on the Chinese Family Business Unit and the Chinese Business Clan"
- Goldin, L.R. Identities on the Move: Transnational Processes in North America and the Caribbean Basin
- Gow, G. "Watching Saddam Fall" [concept of "transnational imaginaries"]
- Graham, D.T. et al. Migration, Globalisation, and Human Security
- Greig, M. "The End of Geography? Globalization, Communications, and Culture in the International Systems"
- Hansen, R. et al. Dual Nationality, Social Rights, and Federal Citizenship in the U.S. and Europe: The Reinvention of Citizenship [explores issues of dual citizenship]
- Hein, J. "Refugees, Immigrants and the State" [debates differences between immigrants and refugees]
- Herd, G.P. et al. "'Societal Security', the Baltic States, and EU Integration"
- Itzigsohn, J. "Immigration and the Boundaries of Citizenship: The Institutions of Immigrants' Political Transnationalism" [proposes an intuitional structure for immigrants' transnational politics]
- Kaya, A. Sicher in Kreuzberg: Constructing Diasporas: Turkish Hip-Hop Youth in Berlin [construction of a Diaspora identity]
- Kenny, J. Mobilizing Diasporas in Nationalist Conflicts
- Kloosterman, R. et al. Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Venturing Abroad in the Age of Globalization [includes review of theoretical debates]

- Levitt, P. “Social Remittances: Migration-driven Local-level Forms of Cultural Diffusion” [concept of “social remittances”]
- Levitt, P. “Transnational Migration: Taking Stock and Future Directions”
- Levy, A. “Diasporas Through Anthropological Lenses: Contexts of Postmodernity”
- Levy, Andre et al. Homelands and Diasporas: Holy Lands and Other Places
- Lucas, R.E.B. Diaspora and Development
- Martin, D. et al. Rights and Duties of Dual Nationals
- Mayberry-Lewis, D. The Politics of Ethnicity: Indigenous Peoples in Latin American States
- Meyer, J.B. “Network Approach Versus the Brain Drain: Lessons from the Diaspora”
- Mountford. “Can a Brain Drain Be Good for Growth in the Source Economy?”
- Nyberg-Sorensen, N. et al. “The Migration-Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options”
- Ostergaard-Nielsen, E. “The Democratic Deficit of Diaspora Politics: Turkish Cypriots in Britain and the Cyprus Issue” [role of Diaspora in democratization]
- Ostergaard-Nielsen, E. “The Politics of Migrants’ Transnational Political Practices”
- Ouaked, S. “Transatlantic Roundtable on High-skilled Migration and Sending Countries Issues”
- Papachristos, A. Kurdish Asylum Seekers in Greece: The Role of Networks in the Asylum Process [theorizes why some migrants move on and others stay]
- Picard, E. “Communities at the Crossroads”
- Poros, M.V. “The Role of Migrant Networks in Linking Local Labor Markets: The Case of Asian Indian Migration to New York”
- Portes, A. “Transnational Entrepreneurs and Determinants of an Alternative Form of Immigrant Economic Adaptation”
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## V. Conclusions

The literature on Diasporas is vigorous and growing as the new discipline of Diasporic Studies continues to gain acceptance and its membership grows. The literature can be an important resource for the SAG not only for developing its baseline analyses but also throughout the project on the *Impact of Diaspora Communities on National and Global Politics*. These remarks must be tempered by awareness that Table 2 only lists a fraction of the Diasporas that are known to exist. Fortunately, the survey also identified several comprehensive sources of data that should help in constructing a comprehensive list.

The survey has identified several scholars who have written extensively on Diasporas and appear to be the intellectual leaders in this new field. Their direct and ongoing participation in the project in some form might prove valuable. The terms listed in Table 4 capture several of the leading-edge research concepts dealing with Diasporas. Even though some of these authors might not be quite as prolific as the leaders of the field, it might be worthwhile to tap their views as well.

Given the diverse characteristics of communities and other groups labeled as Diasporas, and the fact that events can mobilize “inactive” or “unaware” Diasporas into politically active ones, the SAG should consider including all possible Diasporas in their cataloging project. Otherwise, they might fail to identify and track currently quiescent Diasporas that become politically active and pose a security threat in the future. This approach could include but must go beyond Cohen’s Victim, Imperial, Labor, Trade, and Cultural categories. It also should accommodate the fact that Diasporas are fluid: they sometimes overlap and sometimes combine their efforts in pursuit of specific policy agendas.

The study of the effects that information and communication technologies (ICT) have on Diasporic behavior is not as well-developed as studies about ICT’s effects on trade, economics, and politics in general. This said, advances in ICT are probably the most important facilitating factor for the increasing importance of Diasporas as actors in international politics. It appears that many scholars in this area take the role of ICT for granted and then move on to study other aspects of diasporic behavior. The references about ICT identified in our companion SAG study, *Future Ideological Challenges: Fault Lines, Movements, and Competing Models*, can provide useful information about ICT’s role in the transmission of ideas and ideologies. In addition, many citations identified in the Ideology study will be useful for understanding the ideological motivations of politically-active Diasporas.

The survey did not identify works dealing with ways that members of Diasporas might assist in acts of terrorism in their *host* countries. Identifying literature on this topic might be accomplished by searching in the literature on terrorism.

## Appendix A

### Summary of the Literature by Karri Plotkin, Principal Research Assistant

Diasporas increasingly exert political influence on their host countries and their countries of origin. In particular, Diaspora groups mobilize in several distinct ways; by sending remittances, supporting ethnic lobbying groups, and disseminating information. Diaspora groups affect the domestic and foreign policies of both host and sending country.

The study of Diaspora groups and their impact on US interests in particular and international security in general appears to be relatively new. For this report, Diaspora is defined as “a dispersion of a people from their original homeland, and the community formed by such a people outside their homeland.” Historically, few scholars investigated the specific topic of diasporic political influence, but the last decade has seen an upsurge in new research. Similarly, although ethnic groups have mobilized within the US since before World War I, Diaspora groups have become remarkably more involved in the policy process in recent years. Following the end of the Cold War and the general trend toward multiculturalism and globalization, organized Diaspora groups increased dramatically to become prominent players in the policy process.

Since ethnic groups unquestionably affect US foreign policy, the US should pay more attention to the methods, goals, and motives for mobilization. Robin Cohen sorts communities into victim, imperial, labor, trade and cultural Diasporas, noting that one Diaspora group can fit into more than one of his categories. As a result, Diasporas can include ethnic, national, religious, and racial groups, and people can belong to or identify with more than one Diaspora group.

Categorically, Diaspora groups maintain some type of technological connection with others in their group and with their home country. The advent of the Internet, which occurred as communism fell and globalization took hold, contributed immeasurably to the rise in ethnic group identification. People were suddenly able to maintain strong ties to their home countries and assert their new ethnic identities in their host countries. Technological advances have received some attention in the research on Diaspora mobilization but relative to its importance, ICT advances merit further examination.

In addition, ethnic groups often send remittances to their home countries. Some countries, like Mexico, India, and the Philippines, depend on remittances to support their economies and in some cases, remittances exceed 10% of a home country's GDP. Consequently, Diaspora communities are rewarded with disproportionate political and social influence in their countries of origin. A great deal has been written about remittances from ethnic groups to individual countries, but little has been written about remittances and their potential to fund

terrorism, insurgencies, and groups opposed to US interests. A few isolated cases, like that of Sri Lankans in Canada, exemplify the potential for terrorists to target Diaspora groups for their remittances. Tamil Tigers intimidate the Sri Lankan Diaspora in Canada, threatening to harm their families back home if the Diaspora withholds their monetary support. The Tamils' behavior resembles that of organized criminals, which is a topic that likewise has not been adequately examined in existing research.

Diaspora groups also form ethnic lobbies to affect US foreign policy or the policies of their home country. Ethnic lobbies seek to influence US policy in a number of ways. They frame their issue and bring it to the country's attention, they serve as a source of information on the issue, and they provide oversight for the policy process to ensure that their concerns are addressed.

Disseminating information is another way ethnic groups influence policymakers. Both Iraqi and Iranian exiles in the US have been instrumental in providing intelligence to the US government; ultimately, the intelligence on Iraq was convincing enough to launch a war. Relying on expatriates for intelligence information is a risky practice and should be further examined; at this time, the literature on this general topic addresses the Iraq case in particular. Therefore, more attention should be paid to the risks of intelligence culled from Diasporas deemed "emerging risks," which should be considered unsound at best.

The "brain drain" is a topic that is well covered, especially in reference to specific countries, but it is an important factor to consider when examining Diaspora groups and US foreign interests. More than half of the foreign students who pursue graduate education in the US do not return to their countries of origin, which creates shortages of skilled and educated citizens in their home countries. As a result, many of the sending countries have begun to change their policies on dual-citizenship, education, and internal affairs.

For example, India recently established a Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs and grants its Diaspora special status as Persons of Indian Origin, or PIOs, and Non-Resident Indians, or NRIs. Until recently, PIOs and NRIs maintained their connection to India through social ties; currently, India sponsors annual conferences to unite members of the Diaspora and discuss the various issues facing PIOs and NRIs in their host countries. Most notably, India recently established that PIOs and NRIs are eligible for dual-citizenship with India in order to create stronger ties with its Diaspora.

Dual-citizenship is also an issue that affects US-Mexico relations. Until recently, Mexicans living in the US could hold only American or Mexican citizenship; within the last five years, Mexico passed legislation to allow Mexicans to hold dual-citizenship with the US. Like India, Mexico recognized the importance of its Diaspora in the US, both economically and politically, as Mexico sees its Diaspora in the US as a way to influence US foreign policy. It is important to

note that both Mexican and Indian Diasporas in the US are politically active; both groups vote and offer candidates in local and national elections, and both groups back active ethnic lobbies.

Recent developments in several countries, from Ukraine to Iran, have yet to receive sufficient attention from scholars, perhaps because many of these developments are still in progress. Last year's demonstration of democratic ideals in Ukraine was apparently homegrown; although the Ukrainian Diaspora is well organized via the Internet and church networks, it had little to do with instigating the widespread protests last fall. Instead, the Ukrainian Diaspora offered its support and used its connections abroad to publicize their countrymen's allegations.

The Lebanese Diaspora behaved in a similar way following the February assassination of former Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri and the subsequent pressure on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon. Unlike the Ukrainian case, the Lebanese Diaspora is not well organized. Most Lebanese in the Diaspora have lived outside of Lebanon for decades following their dispersal as merchants and as refugees fleeing a protracted civil war. Although Syria and Lebanon both maintain government agencies to manage expatriate relations, these offices are recent additions. Most of the current emigrants from the region are students seeking higher education; consequently, they are more likely to take advantage of technology to maintain ties to each other and to their home countries than prior generations of emigrants.

Additional topics should be subject to further research, in addition to those referenced above. Attention should be paid to the legitimacy of Diaspora influence on US policy. Although ethnic lobbies have been active in US policymaking for decades, their influence on shaping actual policy appears to be anecdotal, if not unknown. Future research should explore whether ethnic lobbies are effective at all, as policymakers have become more wary of causes supported by ethnic lobbies. Perhaps ethnic lobbies are less effective than non-ethnic lobbies in some cases; attention should be paid to issues that interest both ethnic and non-ethnic lobbies to determine which group achieved a greater degree of success.

In addition, in light of recent international developments, more specific case study research is necessary. In particular, religion is emerging as a factor to unify immigrants in the US rather than nationality or ethnicity. In addition to further research on specific cases like Lebanese-Americans (who are mostly Christian) and Iranian-Americans (who are mostly secular Muslims), it is crucial to understand the political influence and mobilization of Muslim-Americans in general (whose combined numbers within the US, and their numbers abroad, make them a potentially powerful political force). In addition, the US should further investigate how to best utilize Diaspora groups to spread democracy and to promote understanding of American values in countries of origin.

## Appendix B

### Comments on Research Design by Kevin Reeves, Research Assistant

Besides using the term “Diaspora” in my searches, I also employed the terms “expatriates”, “migrants”, “transnational”, and “overseas ethnic groups”. Many times, authors never used the term “Diaspora” in their writings despite the fact that diasporas were clearly the focus of their work. After working with the literature for the past month, it is safe to say that the term Diaspora has only gained wide usage within the past 7 or 8 years. The term “Diaspora” was not effective in locating older titles of books and journal articles. For example, out of the 264 references in the database that include the term “Diaspora”, only 5% were published before 1996. With that said, the search terms “expatriates”, “migrants”, “transnational”, and “overseas ethnic groups” were still useful in locating recent titles.

My searches were conducted primarily using the Library of Congress, University of Maryland Research Port database and the Google Scholar search engine. Library of Congress was particularly useful in collecting references on books while UMD Research Port and Google Scholar searches were aimed at journal, magazine and newspaper articles. In addition, Google Scholar allowed access to a number of unpublished working papers available on the websites of various research centers, universities and of individual professors.

The vast majority of references (say 95%) are in English. Finding foreign language references usually took a longer time to collect since I would have to do some translation on my own. Compounding this problem was the fact that foreign language references from the Library of Congress did not always come with English-language abstracts and I was not always certain what language the reference was written in. With that said, not all references in English are necessarily from authors based in the United States. Many references are from authors and institutions overseas but which are written in English.

Some details:

#### **Diasporas and Demographics**

There were few results using these search terms. Most information on the size and location of the diasporas is embedded within other topics and searches. There were some notable exceptions such as references to the size and location of the Armenian Diaspora and Tamil Diaspora.

#### **Diasporas and Crime**

Searching for Diasporas and organized crime yielded a number of references. These included references on traditional transnational criminal organizations

such as mafias and networks of diasporas supporting a conflict in the home country by criminal activity.

### **Diasporas and Conflict**

This search category included the role that diasporas play in conflicts ongoing in their home country. Search terms varied from “war”, “conflict”, “ethnic conflict” and “support”. While there is a wide body of research currently available on this topic, relatively few references focused specifically on the interplay between diasporas and civil conflict. Many references included a brief mention of the role diasporas play in sustaining wars in their home countries, sometimes only a paragraph or two. I largely excluded those references from the database.

### **Diasporas and Business Activities**

For information relating to diasporas and business activities, I looked at various business journals and magazines, such as: The Economist, Business Week, Forbes, Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, and India Express. Most mainstream, Western business magazines and journals carried few articles on the business activities of diasporas. The most relevant information on this subject came from newspapers and magazines based in India and South East Asia such as India Express and Asia Times Online. These local newspapers/internet sites frequently carry articles highlighting the flow of remittances from workers, emigration and efforts by home governments to cultivate better ties with their diasporas. The largest amount of articles appeared to be about the Indian Diaspora and its business activities followed to a lesser extent by the Chinese Diaspora.

While conducting searches on the business activities of the Indian and Chinese Diasporas, I found the concept of “brain circulation”, which refers to a reversal of the “brain drain”, as talented immigrants return to their home countries. This is something the Indian government is capitalizing on by encouraging large numbers of Indian engineers and entrepreneurs to return home and work. These “returnees” bring back technology, capital, managerial and institutional expertise.

Books focusing on the business aspect of diasporas were few in number. The majority of sources came from Asian-oriented business journals, academic journals, and some unpublished papers.

### **Diasporas and Political Ties**

There is a sizable body of literature on the home country’s political influence over the Diaspora. A number of the references on this subject deal with the Latin-American Diaspora and its political allegiances. Specifically, a great deal of research has been conducted on the political relationship between Mexico and its Diaspora in the United States. Some of the main issues are whether Mexicans in the Diaspora should receive voting rights in Mexico and the effect of remittances

on Mexico's economy. There are a number of institutes, such as the Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, which conduct research on the Latin American Diaspora.

Second to the Latin-American Diaspora in this category was the Indian Diaspora. India is making a strong effort to increase state contacts with its Diaspora, much more so than other countries such as China. India desires not only to increase the flow of remittances back to India but also to induce many of its Diaspora to return home to work. For the past several years, India has held Indian Diaspora Day in order to build relationships between the government and Diaspora elites. India is also going as far as to establish a welfare fund and compulsory insurance scheme for its Diaspora.

### **Hometown Associations**

"Hometown Associations" are groups located in the home country that work with the Diaspora to funnel remittances to help fund local community development projects. I used this search term on a whim and it uncovered a surprising amount of research not found using other search criteria. Most of the research on this subject is from the development field, but it does offer insights into where Diaspora remittances are going. At the same time, many references on the subject included information on the role the home state is playing with these hometown associations as they try to exert more influence on their diasporas and the dollars they send home.