
UNIT 16 JEWISH DIASPORA

Structure

- 16.1 Learning Objectives
- 16.2 Introduction
- 16.3 The Jewish as a prototypic Diaspora
- 16.4 The Jewish Diaspora as a victim Diaspora
- 16.5 The Jews, the Christianity, and the Islam
- 16.6 Demographic distribution of Jewish Diaspora across the globe
- 16.7 The Rise of Anti-Semitism and Zionism
- 16.8 The Homecoming: The creation of Israel
- 16.9 The Post-Israel, Post-Zionism and New Jewish Diaspora
- 16.10 Let's Us Sum Up
- 16.11 Key Words
- 16.12 References and Select Readings
- 16.13 Check Your Progress- Possible Answers

16.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the history and characteristics of Jewish Diaspora
- Distinguish between different phases of Jewish Diaspora and the growth of anti-Semitism and Zionism
- Understand the contexts of Jewish migration to different parts of the geographical locations
- Familiarize yourself with the conditions under which Israel, the Jewish homeland, was created and the pattern of global distribution of the Jewish diaspora.

16.2 INTRODUCTION

In the earlier units, the basic concept of migration and the formation of diaspora was discussed. We also discussed how the concept of diaspora is intricately linked to national politics, citizenship and policy making, both in the home and host countries. In this unit, we will focus on the formation of individual diasporas. To begin with, we will take up Jewish Diaspora, which is the earliest and the oldest of all the ethnic diasporas. Jewish Diaspora is considered a prototype or archetype, on which other diasporas are defined and often comparisons are drawn. However, recent scholars differ and feel that each diaspora has its own distinct features and should be treated separately for its uniqueness.

The history of Jewish diaspora can be divided into three distinctive phases;

the biblical or the ancient, the medieval and the modern. The Biblical phase is characterized with the birth of Judaism and Christianity and the resulting friction between these prominent religions. With the coming of Islam, the scenario gets more complicated because of the internecine struggle between these religions, which vied with each other for the control of Jerusalem, the Holy land for all three religions.

In the medieval phase, from the fall of Roman Empire to the rise of Ottoman Empire, religion continued to dominate the public space with political powers trying to capture Jerusalem. Crusade and religious conversion forms the main theme of the period. The modern phase, on the other hand, coincides with the development of anti-Semitism in the late 19th century and early 20th century and the counter Jewish movement of Zionism. The phase culminates with the mass prosecution of Jews during the Nazi regime in Germany during the Second World War and subsequent formation of Israel in 1948. The New Jewish Diaspora is a recent phenomenon and entails migration of youth for professional reasons in the post-globalised world with de-territorialization as its key concept.

A common theme that is discernible during all these phases is the continuous mass migration of Jews from one part of the world to another and their state of homelessness and statelessness. They are often leveled as victim Diaspora because they were prosecuted and discriminated by other religious and political powers during their long journey of mass migration. In fact, the history of Jewish Diaspora is one of “captivity, exile, alienation and isolation.” Some scholars feel that the constant migration, struggle and strife have given the Jewish Diaspora a distinct shade of resilience, enterprise and entrepreneurship.

16.3 THE JEWS AS A PROTOTYPIC DIASPORA

The earliest reference to Jewish dispersal dates back to the Biblical period. The Old Testament warns Jews that those who deviate from religious laws will be dispersed in various parts of the world and will lead a life of suffering and deprivation. We come across the word 'diaspora', in its present meaning, in the Greek translation of the Bible with reference to Jews, which forms a constant theme. Hebrew, the ancient language of Jews, has equivalent words to 'Diaspora' like 'gola' and 'galut' meaning 'banishment' and 'exile', thus referring to Jews' expulsion from their chosen land, which was promised to their Prophet Moses by the God.

In the ancient time, Jerusalem and Palestine were the thriving centers where Judaism and Christianity prospered. Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Christ and the role of the Jews in helping Romans in Christ's crucifixion has become a leitmotif in Christian theology. It was for these reasons that the Jews were looked upon with suspicion in the Christian world, who could 'neither repent nor be reprieved'. As a result, 'the stigma of sin, scattering and repentance' got attached to them and were stereotyped. The Jews were left as wandering people who were both feared and despised and carried a 'death taint stigma'. With this, began Christians' hostility towards the Jews.

The first record of Jews' dispersal dates back to 586 BCE when Mesopotamian Empire invaded Jerusalem and destroyed the famous Solomon's Temple, the holy site of the Jews. As a result, Jews community and its leader Zedekiah declared

a rebellion against the Mesopotamian Empire in 597 BCE with purported help from the Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar, the Babylonian king, suppressed the revolt brutally. He killed Zedekiah's sons before his eyes, blinded him and took him a prisoner to Babylon. A good number of religious, administrative and military Jewish officials also accompanied their leader to Babylon while some remained in Judea, working as peasants. It was the first major wave of Jewish dispersal from their homeland and finds repetitive mention in folklore and religious books. The traumatic event is tragically called Babylonian exile of the Jews as they found themselves in an alien country. It was marked by alienation and isolation of the Jewish community.

Although a traumatic experience, Babylonian exile of the Jews is also considered as a creative and energetic phase. The Jews found a fertile ground in Babylon as the kingdom needed skilled and trained labour, which Jews were able to supply. Many Jews assimilated into rich and diverse culture of the land and adopted Babylonian names, customs, and the Aramaic language. Over the course of time, Babylonian regimes became more tolerant to Jews and other ethnic groups. The period also marked a paradigm shift with the return of some Jews to their ancestral homeland from Egypt and the Persian-controlled territory in 520 BCE. Cyrus, the Persian king who had conquered Babylon by then, even encouraged Jews to return to Judea as a form of 'enlightenment colonialism'.

It was in Babylon that Jews religious leaders like Jeremiah and Ezekiel created religious and intellectual fervour. Isaiah, another Jewish leader exhorted Jews to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the Jewish Temple, which was, as a consequence, restored in 515 BCE. Ezra, a prominent Babylonian priest, codified Jewish laws, the Torah, which was implemented and followed by Jewish people in Palestine, Babylon and other parts of the world. The new religious laws were stringent and made exogenous marriage prohibitive and asked its followers to follow strict purification and dietary regulations. In fact, many of the Jewish puritanical practices that we see today, date back to this era.

The fate of Jews and the city of Jerusalem alike depended on the dynasties ruling it. For example, when Alexander the Great conquered Asia Minor in 330 BCE, there was an attempt to 'hellenise' Judea. The period was marked with the translation of Torah called Septuagint between 3rd and 1st BCE. To mark the rise of Hellenistic culture in Jerusalem a pig was sacrificed to Greek God Zeus in 167 BCE at the Jewish temple. With the fall of Greece and the rise of Roman Empire, there was another attempt to control the Holy city by the Romans. It was the period when Jews faced another dispersal at the beginning of Christian era when they revolted against the Romans in 70 CE. To quell the rebellion, Roman general, Titus, invaded Jerusalem and destroyed the Second Temple of Jews. A new law was forced upon Judea whereby Jews were barred from entering Jerusalem. This led to exodus and dispersal of Jews to various parts of the world including the Middle East, Central Asia, North Africa and Europe.

During the period, when Jerusalem was going through a tumultuous phase, Babylon was slowly emerging as an epicenter of Jewish thoughts, theological learning and intellectual life. Jewish communities in Damascus, Asia Minor, Alexandria and Antioch were thriving in foreign lands. It was during this time that the Exilarch, the head of Babylonian Jews, became a respected figure both amongst the Jews and other religious communities.

The Sassanian Persia, which had become a melting pot of culture, religion and artistic expression, received Jews with open arms and helped them thrive with other ethnic communities through what has been called “engagement, encounter, emulation, competition.” The Jews under Egyptian Ptolemaic rose to occupy high offices as administrators and military officials. The Greek translation of Jewish Scriptures had already been completed in Alexandria, which for the first time mentioned the word Diaspora. Since then, the concept got embedded in Jewish folklore. By the end of 4 BCE, there were more Jews living outside the land of Israel than within it.

16.4 THE JEWS AS A ‘VICTIM DIASPORA’

A ‘victim diaspora’ is often characterized by dispersal following a traumatic event in the homeland as in the case of Jews. We have already discussed the Biblical history of Jewish dispersal and its mention in Old Testament. In the ancient period, the hostility between Judaism and Christianity was confined to limited geographical area. But with the arrival of Crusaders in the Medieval Period, the confrontation and hostility engulfed larger parts of the Middle East and Europe. It was characterized with greater brutality and mass killing of Jews. It all began in 1095 CE when Pope Urbanus exhorted Christians to launch crusade to reclaim the ‘Holy Land’ of Jerusalem. By 1096, anti-Jewish sentiment had already spread to the larger part of Germany and other European countries. The Crusaders ran over larger parts of Europe.

They either converted Jews to Christianity or killed them whenever they encountered them on their march towards Jerusalem. At Mainz in Rhine Valley, some 1,000 Jews were put to death. On their arrival in Jerusalem in 1099, Crusaders collected the Jews in a synagogue and burnt them alive. In the Kingdom of Naples, the entire Jewish population was wiped out between 1290 and 1293. As the fire of hatred spread to other parts of Europe, Jews were expelled from England in 1290, from France in 1306 and subsequently from Spain, Portugal, Italy and Poland. Those who remained behind had to face hardship and were discriminated against. They were asked to wear a ‘Jews hat’ as a mark of their segregation from the common Christian population.

A terrible fate was waiting for Sephardic Jews in Spain and Portugal in the meantime as they fell easy victim of Inquisition and Reconquista in the late fifteenth century. The Spanish Inquisition was targeted against Jews and Muslims alike. To avoid persecution, many of them pretended to be Christians and were identified as Marranos. Some 100,000 to 150,000 Jews had to flee Spain because of brutality launched by Inquisitor-general Torquemada, who himself was of Jewish descent. A large number of them took shelter in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and other Mediterranean countries. Some of them went and settled down in Poland and Lithuania and later migrated to Russia in the 16th century. However, amidst the violence, killing and massacre, there was some relief for the Jews in Protestant Europe, where they took shelter and prospered. Amsterdam, which was building its budding mercantile empire, welcomed Marranos who were known for their trading skills and transnational mercantile connection. In England, despite some political opposition, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated and became popular as the King James Bible.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.
b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Write a short note on the expulsion of Jews from Jerusalem and their dispersal from Babylon during ancient times.

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2. Why are Jews called a victim diaspora?

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16.5 THE JEWS, CHRISTIANITY, AND THE ISLAM

To understand Jewish Diaspora , it is important to understand its relation and interaction with both Christianity and Islam. As we learnt earlier, to escape Spanish Inquisition, a good number of Jews had fled to the Middle East in the 15th century. In fact, Jews and Muslims both faced the prosecution under Christian crusade so much so that 'not a single Muslim was left alive within the city wall'.

With the arrival of Muhammad and Islam in Madina in 622 CE, there was a mass exodus of Jews from the Middle East and those who were left behind had to accept inferior status vis-à-vis the newly converted Muslim populace. It is commonly presumed that the relationship between Jews and Muslims was not hostile, if not cordial, till the Jews settlement in Palestine in early part of 20th century. But there are ample examples of the violence and power play between the two communities before the 20th century.

With the formation of Caliphate in Byzantium, the two religious groups had settled down for a peaceful co-existence. But Jews and Christians were accorded an inferior status as compared to Muslims and were called dhimmi. As a mark of discrimination, they were segregated from the general Muslim population and were asked to fix wooden images of devils on their houses and wear yellow garb. However, the Pact of Omar in 800 CE gave them the rights to follow their religion and they were accorded security of life and property. However, to mark their secondary status, they were barred from riding horses, bearing arms and were not allowed to build new synagogue and churches. In a legal dispute, the words of Muslims were given precedence over that of Jews and Christians. The relative peaceful period nonetheless helped the Jews consolidate their position and many of them emerged as prominent religious leaders, moneychangers and bankers in Syria and neighbouring countries. Moses of Maimonides was one of

them who rose to the post of a court physician in the 12th century.

The Jews and Christians under Ottoman Empire, from fourteen to early part of twentieth century, continued to enjoy amicable relationship with fellow Muslims. They were called scriptuaries, as they traditionally believed in God, the Prophet and the Judgment Day – common features of the three religions. Jews rose to occupy high public posts as finance ministers and advisers to governors in the provinces of Baghdad, Aleppo, Basra and Damascus. Because of their knowledge of European languages, local and trans-regional business practices and their own networks, they became key players in trade in Alexandria, Marseilles and Livorno, which were thriving centers of trade.

The early part of twentieth century witnessed a renewed trend with Jews from Central and Eastern Europe coming to Palestine and settling down under the new Jewish National Fund dispensation. They had established network and were determined to resolve the 'Jewish Problem' of having a homeland. As a result, the population of Jews in Palestine rose to 85,000 by 1914, which was 12 per cent of the local population, despite strong opposition from the ruling Muslim locals and elites.

16.6 DEMOGRAPHICS DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH DIASPORA

We learnt that Jews migrated to various parts of the world over the course of centuries. Depending on the place of their migration, they are broadly classified into three groups - the Sephardim of Iberian Peninsula, the Jews of Middle East and the Ashkenazim of northern Europe. We have already explained about the former two groups of Jewish Diaspora. Now let us know more about the Ashkenazim. The history of Ashkenazim dates back to Roman Emperor Charlemagne who united much of the Central and Western Europe in the 8th century. He was instrumental in encouraging Jews to settle down in his territory. He thought that Jews, who were known for their business and entrepreneurial skills, would help his empire in increasing the trade between the Mediterranean and the Middle East and thus bring prosperity to his kingdom.

Table 1: Population of Jews in various countries

Rank	Country	Number
1	USA	6,470,600
2	Israel	6,057,700
3	France	456,000
4	Canada	390,000
5	Britain	289,500
6	Argentina	180,500
7	Russia	176,000
8	Germany	116,500
9	Brazil	93,800
10	South Africa	69,300
11	Ukraine	53,000
12	Hungary	47,500
Total		14,049,400

(Source: World Jewish Population, 2017, American Jewish year Book)

The Jewish merchants, who came to settle down in Charlemagne's empire, also helped in nurturing a rich tradition of Jewish religion, culture and in developing a common Yiddish language. The newly emerged Khazar Empire and its ruling class converted to Judaism, thus giving Jews a shot in the arm. When Russians invaded Khazar Empire in 985 CE, a large number of them migrated to Europe, America and South Africa and formed the main stock of Ashkenazim population, as they are known in the world today.

The Turkic Khazars were fundamentally different from the Semitic Sephardim because of their distinct culture, language and rituals. Between 1881 and 1914, a large number of Khazar Turks migrated to France where anti-Semitic and Zionism was to take roots in the future. With the partition of Poland in 18th century a large number of them found themselves under the dominion of Russia. The Russian rulers were hostile to Jews as the latter were considered unreliable and a threat. As a result, some 100 Jewish communities had to face the brunt of 1881 Spring Pogroms instigated by anti-Jewish sentiments. Restrictions were imposed on their educational and economic growth. The Jews were mandated to enroll in the military service and heavy penalty was imposed on those who evaded it. By 1897, half of the Russian Jews emigrated to Europe, America and to the Palestine on the call of Zionist movement where they formed a dominant political class. Those who remained in Russia were continuously haunted by the Tsars and later by the Bolsheviks.

Unlike in other parts of Europe, the Jews of France were well-placed because they, over the period, had accumulated wealth and became socially and politically powerful and had contributed significantly to literally, intellectual life of France. The 'Damascus Affair' of 1940s in which Sharif Pasha of Syria had arrested a Jew for the alleged murder of his servant and the subsequent targeting of Jewish population brought the Jews of France, Britain and Australia together who were able to secure the release of the accused. Though France was supporting Pasha's charges, the French Jews went ahead and got its people released. The incident led to a popular misconception among the French that 'Jews' love for their brethren is always higher than their love for France.'

As Jews were dominant players in commerce and banking in France, they were accused of monopoly. There emerged a misconception that Jews were part of a global conspiracy to jeopardize France's national interest. It was this perception that led to anti-semitism in the late 19th and early 20th century in Europe. In 1884, the Dreyfus Affair further consolidated France's prejudice against the Jews when a Jewish army officer was falsely implicated for spying for Germany. Teodor Herzl, a Jewish Viennese journalist, who was covering the incident realized the politics behind the incident, and later became a leading proponent of Zionism. The recurring anti-Semitism incidents in Russia, France, Britain and other parts of Europe convinced Herzl, that all attempt of Jews to assimilate with local people were doomed to fail.

The impact of 1920s US economic depression was felt all across Europe and the scarcity of economic resources further increased the ethnic tension, leading to anti-semitic feelings against the Jews who were by and large a prospering community. Nazi Germany and Communist Russia began using the opportunity

to persecute Jews on the pretext of an impending threat. They began portraying the Jews as double-horn devils with the rumour that “Jewish Capital” and “Jewish Bolsheviks” would take over the Christian Germany.

16.7 THE RISE OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND ZIONISM

Anti-Semitism as an exclusionist, racial phenomenon first appeared in 1870s as part of European nationalism when the so-called 'purity' of races based on pseudoscience became new buzzwords. With it also began the persecution of Jewish people, who were considered of inferior race vis-à-vis the Aryan race. It was Prussian nationalistic historian Heinrich von Treitschke who coined the term “the Jews are our misfortune” thereby cementing the prejudicial and racial feeling against them. Subsequently, the concept of White supremacist came into vogue after Johann Blumenback introduced the term “Caucasian” as a different racial stock belonging to Aryan race in 1781. According to the misconceived ideology, the “Aryans” were considered to be racially superior to those belonging to Semitic Jews or Romanian “Gypsy” who were of African, Asian, Native American and of Jewish descent.

As we learnt earlier, the early part of 20th century was a period of massive displacement of Jews all over the Europe. They were fleeing 1917 Russia's Bolshevik Revolution and the totalitarian regimes of Italy, Germany and Spain in 1930s. The Jewish persecution in Nazi Germany and Nazi-occupied regions of Eastern and Western Europe had unleashed a new wave of Jewish emigration. However, a large number of Jews, numbering about 6 million were trapped in Nazi-dominated territories and fell victim to history's most heinous holocaust, the ‘Shoah’. They were systematically targeted and sent to concentration and death camps in Auschwitz, Belsen, Sobibor, Chelmno and Lublin-Majdanek and were put to death. Few countries came forward to accord political asylum to fleeing Jews for the fear of Hitler and the marching German forces.

The prosecution of Jews during the World War II and anti-Semitism led to a counter Jewish Zionist movement. But before Zionism established itself, it was the proto-Zionists who provided much of the material and moral support to Zionist movement. The proto-Zionists were a group of Jews who either emigrated or were able to escape the Nazi pogrom and thrived in other parts of the world. They played a key role in providing initial thrust and generous donations to the growth of Zionism.

While these developments were taking place, there emerged another group of Jews who were religious zealots and wanted the supremacy of Talmud (a compendium of Jewish civil laws, customs and legends) over the mundane. They despised the secular Zionists and their liberal ideologies. With the influx of fresh Jews recruits from America, the power of politics took another turn when the concept of Greater Israel was invented and was pursued with vigour and force. The Greater Israel rested its premise on territorial claim to the West Bank as mentioned in the biblical reference.

Despite these hardcore ideological underpinnings, the Jewish Diaspora was also witnessing liberal and reformative tendencies as the demand for the homeland for the Jews was gaining ground. As early as 1942 Elmer Berger,

founding member of American Council of Judaism, put forth his anti-Zionist ideology when he said that the very idea of Zionism was anti-national. He said that the survival of Jews across the globe was proof of its universal appeal and accused Zionism for perpetuating fascist and racist tendencies by segregating the Jews from the rest of the world. He expounded a moderate form of Judaism, whereby Jews could easily assimilate and live in 'normalized' relationship with other races and ethnic groups. He said that the most creative and intellectually stimulating phase of the Jews was in diasporic living, far removed from their homelands.

The Zionists, on the other hand, emphasized the consolidation of Jewish diaspora and took pride in the creation of Israel. Prominent political leaders like Ben-Gurion, who later rose to become the first Prime Minister of Israel, supported it. They supported the Jewish hierarchical order and the claim of Zionists as the sole representative of the Jewish people. It was vigorously contested by the liberal groups who believed that the politics of Jewish homeland had become the 'politics of Cheque book', which helped the Jewish National Fund in building Israel. Nonetheless, neither the Zionists nor the political elite of Israel wanted to lose the support of its diaspora, as they were the main source of material and political support.

16.8 THE HOMECOMING : THE CREATION OF ISRAEL

The discrimination, atrocities and racial feelings against Jews had their own consequences and led to a Zionist movement amongst the Jews claiming their homeland in Palestine. Theodor Herzl had urged for the creation of Jewish homeland when he published his much publicised 'Der Judenstadt' (The Jewish State). As a corollary, he formed in 1897, the Zionist Organisation to fulfill the dreams of Jewish people. With the collapse of Ottoman Empire and the end of First World War, the ground was ready, as the Zionism had already gathered steam among the dispersed Jewish communities in Europe, Central Asia, Russia and North Africa.

Earlier, because of racial and political discrimination, Jews were barred from political participation in various countries. So much so that despite living for decades and in some cases for centuries, they were granted citizenship rights much later. The US granted them citizenship rights in 1789, the France in 1791, and other European countries in the late 18th century. Russia granted them citizenship rights much later in 1917.

The turning point for the creation of 'National Homeland' for Jews came much later with the Balfour Declaration by Lord Balfour on November 2, 1917. When the British withdrew from Palestine on May 14, 1948, the Israel Army occupied the land and proclaimed the state of Israel. The Western imperial powers in the meantime had failed to take into consideration the wide dissatisfaction amongst the Arab world in general and Palestinians in particular which resulted in mass displacement of Palestinians and the decades of violence that followed. As a result, some 3.9 million Palestinians had to leave their home, seeking refuge in the neighboring countries of the Middle East namely Jordan, Syria, Lebanon

16.9 THE POST-ISRAEL, POST-ZIONISM AND NEW JEWISH DIASPORA

The Jews dispersal is associated with a traumatic event in their homeland. But it is not always that the diaspora needs a homeland in the strictest sense. The desire to return to roots and emotional attachment to the place of origin is not always a necessary attribute for the diaspora to exist. In the case of Jews, we find a group of post-Zionists who do not favor territorialization of Jewish identity, but such groups are in minority. There are also ultra-orthodox Jews who frown at the secular nature of the Israeli state, as the nation's founding fathers were secular Jews..

A large number of Jews and Zionist however feel that the creation and return to homeland by re-territorializing Jewish identity is the only solution to their safety and protection from anti-Semitism. The re-creation of Jewish identity and the state of Israel have created its own contradictions. While Jews were victims of traumatic events at home, they themselves became the reason of the displacement of 3.9 million Palestinians when the state of Israel was carved out. They followed the same principle in granting citizenship to its people under the 'Law of Return' as the Nazis, which was based on descent - or *jus sanguine*, the law of blood.

The state of Israel was formed with the financial help from Germany as per the "Luxembourg Agreement." Germany paid some 3 billion Marks as war reparations to Israel and as repentance for the holocaust. The US and the Jewish Diaspora also helped by providing finances and by lobbying with economic powers. The creation of Israel however, is still contested, especially by the Middle East countries. They consider Israel as a destabilizing force in the region. When Israel was created, even the Vatican refused to recognize it. As early as early 20th century, Pope Pius X had warned Teodor Herzl that if Jews do not convert to Christianity, the Church would neither recognize the Jews nor would sanction their return to their homeland. However, with the US giving a formal recognition to Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and by establishing an embassy there in May 2018, has given formal legitimacy to Israel as a sovereign nation.

The creation of Israel however, has posed a peculiar problem to Jewish Diaspora in other parts of the world as it forced them to choose between the host country or the place of their birth and Israel, the reinvented homeland. They were torn between two loyalties and are often looked down upon with suspicion. This led to a division on ideological ground between those who supported Zionism and responded to the call of return to Israel and the assimilationists, who thought their interests are served better while retaining their diasporic identity.

The Zionists were the harbinger of Jewish nationalism and exhorted Jewish diasporic youth to give up their comfortable life in the host countries and extend their skills in building Israel. They felt that 'aliyah', the voluntary migration of Jewish youth could be a good asset in building a powerful Israeli state. But not all youth responded with the same vigour as many of them found liberal ideologies in the West more appealing and preferred to stay in their adopted country.

The liberal and progressive lives of diasporic Jews are very much visible in many parts of the world, especially in the UK, the US and France, which have been home to half of the Jewish population outside Israel. They actively participate in the social lives of the host country and are exogamous. Many of them have abandoned their Jewish religion and ritualistic practices and feel that their ethnicity and religion act more as a barrier than a liberating force. Many of these Jews participated in the progressive social movement in France, in the Russian Revolution, labour union movements in the US and anti-apartheid in South Africa. Such diverse traditions find special appeal amongst the youth.

The post-Zionist movement lays greater emphasis on Jewish identity outside their homeland. They emphasize that the Jewish identity, culture and language were nurtured outside their original homeland, and the diasporic experience was responsible for their rich culture. They believe that in order to be productive and creative, territorial confinement and restriction are barriers to liberating and progressive forces. Supporting their claim from their Holy Book, Talmud, they argue that even the first Jew, Abraham, had to leave his homeland in search of the Promised Land. Israel was not the birthplace of the Jews, they argue. The post-Zionist believes in progressive, multicultural society.

With the creation of Israel, there have been voluntary one-way movement of Jews to their reinvented homeland. At the same time, there are also incidences of outward migration of Jews from Israel to other parts of the world. They were the people who went to aliya and now have returned to the golah. These people have been disparagingly leveled as yordim (meaning those who go down) by the Zionists and often looked down upon. But among the yordim are also people, who unmindful of their ethnic status left Israel for professional, personal and business growth. The sabras, those who were born in Israel but have now left their homeland, are the new Jewish diaspora who is redefining the concept of Jewish Diaspora in post-modern world.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.
b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

3. Why were Jews called a classical or a prototype Diaspora?

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4. What is the relationship between Jewish Diaspora and homeland?

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5. Briefly describe the circumstances that led to the formation of Israel.

16.10 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we discussed how the Jewish Diaspora was formed from ancient, medieval to modern times and the creation of Israel as Jewish homeland. There are three phases that stand out during the formation of Jewish Diaspora. First, their dispersal because of 'traumatic event' in the homeland; second their continuous victimization during the course of their journey and third, their desire for creation of homeland and their relationship with it. With the onset of globalization and transnationalism, Jews continue to migrate to other parts of the world for better opportunity. Towards the end of the unit, we also learnt various popular Jewish terms, which re-establishes their diasporic nature and their continuous quest for reestablishing their identity with homeland.

16.11 KEY WORDS

Gola and Galut: These are popular terms in Jewish folklore tradition meaning 'banishment' and 'exile' respectively and find continuous mention in artifacts and literature. It highlights their exodus from their homeland because of social, political and religious persecution.

Torah: It is a sacred book of the Jews and consists of 24 books of which first five are related to teaching or instruction to Jewish people. Ezra, a prominent Babylonian priest, codified Jewish laws, which was followed by Jews in Palestine, Babylon and other parts of the world. The Jews religious laws are stringent and made exogenous marriage prohibitive and asked its followers to follow strict purification and dietary regulations. In fact, much of the Jewish puritanical practices owe its origin to Torah.

Inquisition and Reconquista: There were the popular terms in the Medieval Europe and relates to the persecution of Jews and Muslims alike by the Christian crusaders. To avoid persecution, many Jews and Muslims pretended to be Christians and were identified as Marranos. Some 100,000 to 150,000 Jews had to flee Spain because of brutality launched by Inquisitor-general Torquemada in the fifteenth century.

Scriptuaries: The Jews and Christians under Ottoman Empire, from fourteen to early part of twentieth century, enjoyed amicable relationship with fellow Muslims. They were called scriptuaries, as they traditionally believed in God, the Prophet and the Judgment Day – common features of the three religions, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

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16.12 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check Your Progress 1

1. There is a Biblical reference to Jews' dispersal from their homeland. The first record dates back to 586 BCE when Mesopotamian Empire invaded Jerusalem and the subsequent revolt by the Jews. As a result, the Jewish leader Zedekiah was taken a prisoner to Babylon. A good number of religious, administrative and military Jews officials also accompanied him to Babylon. It was the first major dispersal from their homeland and finds mention in Jewish folklore and religious books. The traumatic event is tragically called Babylonian exile of the Jews as they found themselves in an alien country. It was marked by alienation and isolation. While a good number of Jews adopted the culture of Babylon, others migrated to different parts of the world over the next centuries.
2. A victim diaspora is often characterized by dispersal following a traumatic event in the homeland because of social, political or religious upheaval. Jews are called victim diaspora because they were prosecuted and discriminated by other religious and political powers during their long journey and had to leave their homeland, seeking refuge in other countries. In fact, the history of Jewish Diaspora is one of "captivity, exile, alienation and isolation." From Babylonian exile to their mass persecution and genocide during Nazis Germany they were victims of racial extremism in various parts of the world.

Check Your Progress 2

3. The word 'Diaspora' owes its origin to Jews as it finds first reference in the Biblical text. But it was the Greek translation of Bible where the word got firmly rooted with relation to Jews. It is the earliest and the oldest of all the Diasporas. It is considered a prototype or archetype, on which other Diasporas are defined and often comparisons are drawn. However, recent scholars differ and feel that each Diaspora has its own distinct features and should be treated separately for its uniqueness.

4. From the ancient times when Jews were forced to leave their homeland, their desire to return and have their homeland has been very strong. It finds mention in their folklore, religious books and modern literature. A section of Jews believe that they had to migrate from one country to another, as they had no place to call their own. They also believe that had they had their own homeland, they would have saved themselves from the pangs and sufferings of discrimination, suffering and mass killing. The reinvented or imagined homeland, which was initially propounded by Zionist leaders, became a reality with the creation of Israel in 1948 as the homeland of Jewish people..

5. The prosecution of Jews during the World War II and anti-Semitism led to a counter Jewish Zionism movement. The discrimination, atrocities and racial feelings against Jews were responsible for the growth of Zionism who claimed their homeland in Palestine. Theodor Herzl, a prominent Jew, urged for the first time, for the creation of Jewish homeland when he published his Der Judenstadt (The Jewish State). He formed the Zionist Organisation in 1897 to fulfill the dreams of Jewish people. The turning point for the creation of 'National Homeland' for Jews came in 1917 with the Balfour Declaration. When the British withdrew from Palestine on May 14, 1948, the Israel Army occupied the land and proclaimed the creation of Israel.

UNIT 17 THE BLACK DIASPORA

Structure

- 17.1 Learning Objectives
- 17.2 Introduction
- 17.3 Definition and Concept of Black Diaspora
- 17.4 Slave Trade and Origins of African Diaspora
- 17.5 Abolition of Slave Trade
- 17.6 Diaspora Linkages: Pan-Africanism
- 17.7 Economic Contributions: Remittances
- 17.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 17.9 Key Words
- 17.10 References and Select Readings
- 17.11 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

17.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the definition and concept of Black Diaspora.
- Comprehend the Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the context of the Origin of Black Diaspora
- Appreciate Pan-Africa Movement and Diaspora Linkages

17.2 INTRODUCTION

It was as long as 100,000 years ago that the first African diaspora took shape from a great movement within and outside the African continent. Though considered controversial, it is this movement that is necessarily considered the beginning in the study of the dispersal and settlement of the people of Africa. Following this diasporic movement was the one that began around 3000 B.C. when the Bantu-speaking peoples from the region that is today's Nigeria and Cameroon migrated to other parts of the African continent and to the Indian Ocean. The third major movement, referred to as the trading diaspora, and beginning around the fifth century B.C., involved the movement of traders, merchants, slaves, soldiers and others to parts of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Thereafter came the fourth and most widely studied diasporic movement which involved the Atlantic trade in African slaves. The fifth major diasporic movement began during the 19th century, notably after the abolition of slavery in the Americas, and continues even today.

This wide-ranging historical conception of diaspora may not be easy to comprehend. However, today's scholars predominantly view it with reference to the Atlantic experience of forced migration and as "black" diaspora. And so,

‘African Diaspora’ or ‘Black Diaspora’ was terms used in the 1950s and 1960s in the English-speaking world, especially the United States. Nevertheless, both these terms ignore the African dispersals to and diasporas in Asia and Europe – in fact, some of them took place much before dispersal of the Atlantic diasporas. These diasporas took roots from both forced and free migrations. Thus scholars such as Zeleza argue that there is a need to “...de-Atlanticise and de-Americanise the histories of African diasporas.”(Zaleza, 2010).

17.3 DEFINITION AND CONCEPT OF BLACK DIASPORA

Who/what is the African Diaspora?

The noted historian Joseph Harris has defined the African Diaspora “...as the voluntary and involuntary dispersion of Africans globally throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity based on origin and social condition; and the psychological and physical return of those in the Diaspora to Africa”(Harris, 1998).

According to another historian, Alusine Jalloh, “The African diaspora was born out of the voluntary and involuntary movement of Africans to various areas of the world since ancient times, but involuntary migration through the trans-Saharan, trans-Atlantic, and Indian Ocean slave trades accounts for most of the black presence outside of Africa today”(Jalloh, 1996). Today, conceptually, the African diaspora is considered to be both the psychological and physical return of people of African descent to their homeland. The historical relationship between Africans and their descendants abroad is a major subject of study both in history and other disciplines.

Scholars today refer to both "historic" and "contemporary" or "new" African diasporas, corresponding to the period before and during the twentieth century. Then there are some studies that have analysed the various linkages maintained by the diasporas with Africa. These include Pan Africanism and Afrocentrism, popularised by black intellectuals, poets, and politicians.

aul Zeleza, in an introductory overview essay titled "Diaspora Dialogues: Engagements between Africa and Its Diasporas," defines the new African Diaspora as "a process, a condition, a space and a discourse: the continuous process by which a diaspora is made, unmade, remade, the changing conditions in which it lives, expresses itself, the places where it is moulded and imagined, and the contentious ways in which it is studied and discussed"(Zaleza, 2010). This definition is an attempt to be all-being both discursive and practical.

Collin Palmer, on the other hand, defines diaspora in a more complex way. “The modern African diaspora, at its core, consists of the millions of peoples of African descent living in various societies who are united by a past, based significantly but not exclusively upon "racial" oppression and the struggles against it and who, despite the cultural variations and political and other divisions among them, share an emotional bond with one another and with their ancestral continent and who also, regardless of their location, face broadly similar problems in constructing and realizing themselves” (Palmer, 2000, pp. 27-32).

The African Union (AU) defines the African Diaspora as "peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union." (<http://www.audafamericas.org/>). Based on this definition and on the estimated numbers of people of African descent in Europe (3.51 million), North America (39.16 million), Latin America (112.65 million), and the Caribbean (13.56 million), the AU categorized the African Diaspora as constituting the "sixth region" of Africa. (Auma, 2009). Indeed the AU frames the definition who is Diaspora African very much in terms of contribution from them for African development.

The above definition gives space to the "new African Diaspora" in diaspora discourses, with the aim to include the skill and expertise of a new generation of continental Africans and their children living in Europe, North America and other locations around the world. Ali Mazrui once distinguished between African Americans who are the products of the older African diaspora and this new group of "American Africans".

The new African diaspora refers to Africans who have moved voluntarily to the United States in large numbers since the latter half of the 20th century. Some scholars categorise them into three different New African Diasporas - Africans who have moved to America, to Europe and to Asia during this period. Throughout history, there has been voluntary movement in large numbers from Africa to the United States. The numbers are significant enough to be repeatedly noted that more Africans have migrated voluntarily to the United States since the 1990s than were brought to North America as part of the transatlantic slave trade. This New African Diaspora in the United States is a result of several factors - civil wars in various African countries, military coups and assassinations, economic hardships, political instability and educational opportunities at US universities. Among them, the earliest immigrants were refugees fleeing the Nigerian Civil War, and many of them still identify as Biafrans. There are also thousands of immigrants from Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda, Sudan, Liberia, DR Congo, etc. who were offered asylum in the United States. This new generation African diaspora has no memories of transatlantic slavery and subsequent Jim Crow Law of Racial Segregation.

People belonging to the New African Diaspora in the United States are a diverse group with different geographical, economic, social, educational, ethnic and religious backgrounds. They are visible professionally over the last several decades as doctors, lawyers, and faculty members at leading universities. In fact, their prominent academic presence has led to debates about their over-representation among faculty members and students at Ivy League institutions (Raphael-Hernandez, 2016). The high number of professionals who received university degrees in their countries of origin and then left for United States has also led to a debate on the 'brain drain' from African countries. Nevertheless, this diaspora is making significant contributions to the development of their home countries in Africa. In fact, among all diasporas, the African diaspora is the most prominent in supporting local livelihoods and supporting national development in Africa, where about 40% of the population still lives in poverty. We will discuss this point later.

17.4 SLAVE TRADE AND ORIGINS OF AFRICAN DIASPORA

i) Atlantic Slave Trade

The Atlantic slave trade or trans-Atlantic slave trade refers to the transportation of enslaved African people by slave traders, mainly to Europe and America, Asia and Middle East. The Portuguese (from 1441) were the first to engage in trans-Atlantic slave trade, followed by other major European maritime empires, including Spain (from 1479); Great Britain (from 1562), North America (from 1619); Holland (from 1625); France (from 1642); Sweden (from 1647); and Denmark (from 1697). Several of these empires set up outposts on the African coast to facilitate purchase of slaves from local African leaders. The slaves were kept in a factory while awaiting shipment. It is estimated that about 12 million Africans from West and Central African countries were shipped across various parts of Europe and Americas as part of Atlantic and trans-Atlantic slave trade. Typically, the slave trade used the triangular route and the middle passage. In the triangular route, the slave ships sailed from the home country with a cargo of manufactured goods, which was exchanged for Negroes at a profit on the coast of Africa. The Negroes were then traded on the plantations for another round of profit, in exchange for a cargo of colonial produce, which was taken back to the home country. This triangular trade greatly boosted the British industry to the extent that the profits were the source of capital in Britain that went on to finance the Industrial Revolution (Tinker, 1974).

On the other hand, the Atlantic passage (or middle passage) was known for its brutality and for the overcrowded, unsanitary conditions on slave ships. Hundreds of Africans were packed tightly into tiers below decks for a voyage of about 5,000 miles (8,000 km). They were typically chained together, and usually the low ceilings did not permit them to sit upright. The heat was intolerable, and the oxygen levels became so low that candles would not burn. Collin Palmer states, “The Middle Passage was more than just a shared physical experience for those who survived it. It was and is a metaphor for the suffering of African peoples born of their enslavement, of several ties, of longing for a lost homeland, of a forced exile.” He continues to say, “It is a living and wrenching aspect of the history of the peoples of African diaspora, and inescapable part of their past, it is simultaneously a signifier of a people’s capacity to survive and to refuse to be vanquished” (Collin Palmer, 1998).

Most historians believe that the slave trade had devastating effects on Africa. Economic incentives for warlords and tribes to engage in the slave trade promoted an atmosphere of lawlessness and violence. Depopulation and a continuing fear of captivity made economic and agricultural development almost impossible throughout much of western Africa. A large percentage of the people taken captive were women in their childbearing years and young men who normally would have been starting families. The European slavers usually left behind persons who were elderly, disabled, or otherwise dependent—groups who were least able to contribute to the economic health of their societies (Segal, 1995).

While the emerging Trans-Atlantic slave trade is a complex phenomenon, its economic roots lay in the need for labour within expanding European empires

in the New World. Many native workers had died due to diseases brought over with the European conquest and most Europeans were unsuited to the labour in tropical climates. Since Africans were more accustomed to hard work in tropical conditions, they were resistant to tropical diseases and had experience in herding and agriculture. They proved to be excellent workers on plantations and mines in the New World. The South Atlantic and Caribbean economies especially were dependent on the supply of secure labour for the production of commodity crops, making goods and clothing to sell in Europe. This was crucial to those western European countries which, in the late 17th and 18th centuries, were vying with each other to create overseas empires (Lovejoy, 1989).

The Triangular Slave Trade



Source :<https://in.pinterest.com/pin/432486370438894716/?lp=true>

Undoubtedly trans-Atlantic slave trade was defining migration that shaped the African diaspora. It did so through the people it forced to migrate and especially the women who were to give birth to the children who formed the new African-American population with particular cultural manifestations, attitudes and expressions.

ii) Indian Ocean Slave Trade

Although much has been written about the African Diaspora in the Atlantic Ocean, the Diaspora in the Indian Ocean is virtually unrecognised. According to Alper, “Conceptualization of the modern African diaspora remains Atlantic-centered, since it overlooks the very important extensions of the Atlantic world –that is, the evolving Euro-American capitalist world system, in short, the modern world -into the Indian Ocean world”(Alper, 1997). Between 1500 and 1850, European traders shipped hundreds of thousands of African, Indian, Malagasy, and Southeast Asian slaves to ports throughout the Indian Ocean world. The activities of the British, Dutch, French, and Portuguese traders who operated in the Indian Ocean demonstrate that European slave trade was not confined mainly to the Atlantic but must now be viewed as a truly global phenomenon. The Indian Ocean was once the route through which slaves from East Africa were taken to the Middle East, North Africa and India.

These slaves were also taken to the various islands in the Indian Ocean to work in the huge plantations run by French colonial government, during the end of the 18th century. For example, the development of sugar plantation economies from the mid-eighteenth century on the Mascarene Islands intimately connected the

southwest Indian Ocean to the Caribbean through the medium of French capital and the slave trade. The need for manpower for the growth of sugarcane, cotton, indigo and food crops in Ile de France and Bourbon encouraged France to bring in slaves from India, Senegal, Brazil, Malaysia, Madagascar and Mozambique. Initially, supplies came solely from the south of Cape Delgado, a Portuguese slaving station in the Indian Ocean, which played a major role in the clandestine slave trade (Williams, 1944).

It is important to note here that the subsequent victory of England over the Netherlands was a turning point in the history of the 18th Century, as it brought the British face-to-face with France. The Anglo-French rivalry, colonial and commercial, became a dominant theme in the years to come. It was a conflict of rival mercantilism, which was fought in India, West Indies, Africa and Canada - either for looting India or for gaining control over strategic commodities like 'Negroes', tobacco, sugar, fish and fur. Of these items, 'Negroes' and sugar were considered to be the most valuable items (Williams, 1944).

Although the Atlantic world is our general point of reference, there are a few crucial aspects that differentiate African diaspora in the Indian Ocean world from that of the Atlantic. Africans and their descendants Africanized the Indian Ocean world, contributing their cultures, talents, skills and labour, and helping shape the societies they entered and made their own. They had greater social mobility, and were regarded as exceptional warriors. Called Kaffir, Siddi, Habshi, or Zanzi, these men, women and children from Sudan in the north to Mozambique in the south Africanized the Indian Ocean world and helped shape the societies they entered and made their own (Jayasuriya and Pankhurst, 2003).

Check Your Progress 1

- Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.
 b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Define African Diaspora

.....

2. Explain briefly Trans- Atlantic Slave Trade

.....

17.5 ABOLITION OF SLAVE TRADE

The abolition of slavery occurred at different times in different countries. There are a number of factors that led to abolition of slave trade. These include religious revival and rise of humanitarianism in Europe, with Catholic popes condemning slave trade as being opposed to laws of God and humanity. The

French Revolution of 1789 and the American Revolution of 1776 emphasized liberty, equality and fraternity (brotherhood) of all human beings. As a result, public opinion was created against slave trade. Coupled with it, the Industrial revolution in Britain and introduction and use of machines in industries and farms removed the need for slaves. All these factors manifested in the abolition of Slave trade in America in 1836, Britain in 1833, France in 1794, Portugal, 1869, Netherlands, 1863(Lovejoy, 2000)

However, slave trade continued in the guise of indentured labour in areas where slavery had been abolished. Former slave owners, supported by colonial authorities, searched for a substitute labour force and a labour recruitment and control system which would mollify critics of the slave trade and slavery. In this quest they went in search around the world, tapping populations in China, India, Indonesia, the Pacific Islands, Mexico, Europe, the Azores, and Africa itself. According to Monica Schullar, “The new indentured migrants were first recruited as successors to the slaves freed in the British colonies in the 1830s. When French, Dutch and Spanish colonies ended the slavery, they too turned to indentured labour, as did the owners of plantations and mines in places that had never had slavery” (Schular, Monica, 1986). This indentured system had worked over labour contract. However, after the contract was over, while many of them returned to their home country, many others stayed back and were absorbed as part of the diaspora.

17.6 DIASPORA LINKAGES: PAN-AFRICANISM

Pan-Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent. It helps us to understand two important questions. First, how do the different African diasporas remember, imagine, and engage Africa, and which Africa - in temporal and spatial terms? Second, how does Africa, or rather the different Africas - in their temporal and spatial framings - remember, imagine, and engage their diasporas? Given the complex ebbs and flows of history for Africa itself and for the various regional host lands of the African diasporas, it stands to reason that the engagements between Africa and its diasporas have been built with and shaped by continuities, changes, and ruptures.

The true father of modern Pan-Africanism was the influential thinker W.E.B. Du Bois. Throughout his long career, Du Bois was a consistent advocate for the study of African history and culture. At its core, Pan-Africanism is "a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny" (Minkah, 2011). Modern Pan-African history is principally connected with the dispersal of peoples of African origin brought about by the trans-Atlantic trade taking enslaved Africans to the Americas, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the subsequent emergence of global capitalism, European colonial rule and imperialism. Pan-African history therefore includes chronicling a variety of ideas, activities and movements that celebrated African-ness, resisted the exploitation and oppression of those of African descent, and opposed the ideologies of racism (Geiss, 1969).

From the 1920s through the 1940s, C.L.R. James and George Padmore are the most prominent black intellectuals who advocated Pan-Africanist ideas.

Both of them came from Trinidad. Despite their origins outside the United States, such Pan-Africanist thinkers drew many of their ideas from African-American culture. Furthermore, James and Padmore resided in the United States for significant periods of time. An exchange of ideas about Africa and peoples of African descent took place between those intellectuals and African-Americans, with the latter taking the lead.

Other leading theorists of Pan-African ideas were Leopold Senghor and Aime Cesaire, who are natives of Senegal and Mauritania respectively. Jomo Kenyatta, the first President of Kenya and disciple of Padmore, was also an important figure in Pan-Africanist thought. It was, in many ways, a black Atlantic intellectual community. Senghor and Césaire, in particular, were greatly influenced by Du Bois and by several Harlem Renaissance writers, especially Claude McKay, Zora Neale Hurston, James Weldon Johnson and Alain Locke. The *Harlem Renaissance* was considered to be a rebirth of African-American arts during the years after World War I in the Harlem section of New York City. It is also called the "Black Literary Renaissance", "The New Negro Movement" and "The flowering of Negro literature" (Hutchinson, 2018). The movement began to challenge white American writings, art and music. They wanted to celebrate the fact that their African culture had survived through the terrible years of slavery and was being "reborn". In course of time, the movement laid the groundwork for all later African-American literature and had an enormous impact on subsequent black literature and consciousness worldwide (Allen, 1925).

In the 1930s and '40s, the African-American actor and singer, Paul Robeson, was also a significant contributor to the continuing exchange of ideas. Early in his life, Robeson was one of the most influential participants in the Harlem Renaissance. His achievements in sport and culture were all the more incredible given the barriers of racism he had to surmount. Robeson brought Negro spirituals into the American mainstream.

By the late 1940s, the African-American intellectual leadership of the movement had receded, with Africans now taking the lead. The most-important figure of this period was Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who believed that European colonial rule of Africa could be extinguished if Africans could unite politically and economically. Nkrumah went on to lead the movement for independence in Ghana, which came to fruition in 1957. Many African Americans cheered those developments in Africa (Nkrumah, 1963).

Pan-Africanist cultural thinking re-emerged with renewed force in the United States in the late 1960s and '70s as one of the manifestations of the Black Power movement. By the early 1970s, it had become relatively common for African-Americans to investigate their African cultural roots and adopt African forms of cultural practice, especially African styles of dress.

In subsequent decades, perhaps the most prominent current of ideas that can be called Pan-Africanist has been the Afrocentric movement. Afrocentrism gained significant legitimacy in the United States from the 1960s as a result of the civil rights movement, the multicultural movement, and the immigration of large numbers of non-whites. It is a scholarly movement that seeks to conduct research and education on global history subjects, from the perspective of

historical African peoples and polities. It takes a critical stance on Euro-centric assumptions and myths about world history, in order to pursue methodological studies of the latter. The movement emphasizes African modes of thought and culture as a corrective to the long tradition of European cultural and intellectual domination.

Most prominent figures of this movement were African American scholar Maulana Karenga, the creator of the famous book on Afro- American holiday (Karenga, 1997). The Senegalese scientist Cheikh Anta Diop, who wrote about the cultural unity of Africa(Diop, 2000), the study of Negro's writer, American historian Carter G. Woodson (Woodson. 1936) and others.

Pan-African Congress Movement

During the 20th century, advocates of Pan-Africanism made many efforts to institutionalize their ideas and to create formal organizations to complement the work of Pan-Africanist intellectuals. The first meeting designed to bring together peoples of African descent for the purpose of discussing Pan-Africanist ideas took place in London in 1900. The organizer was Henry Sylvester Williams, a native of Trinidad. The meeting was attended by several prominent blacks from Africa, Great Britain, the West Indies, and the United States. Du Bois was perhaps the most-prominent member of U.S. delegation.

The first formal Pan-African Congress (the first to bear that name) took place in 1919 in Paris and was called by Du Bois. That meeting was followed by a second Pan-African Congress two years later, which convened in three sessions in London, Brussels and Paris. The most

important result of the second Pan-African Congress was the issuance of a declaration that criticized European colonial domination in Africa and lamented the unequal state of relations between white and black races, calling for a fairer distribution of the world's resources. The declaration also challenged the rest of the world to either create conditions of equality in the places where people of African descent lived or recognize the "rise of a great African state founded in Peace and Goodwill"(Minkah (2011).

After a third Pan-African Congress in 1923 and then a fourth in 1927, the movement faded from the world picture until 1945, when a fifth Pan-African Congress was held in Manchester, England. Given that Pan-Africanist leadership had largely transferred from African-Americans to Africans by the mid-1940s, Nkrumah, Kenyatta, and Padmore played the most-prominent roles at that congress. The only African-American present was Du Bois.

With the advent of independence of many African countries in the decades following World War II, the cause of African unity was largely confined to the concerns of the African continent. The formation of the Organization for African Unity (OAU) in 1963 solidified African leadership, although a sixth Pan-African Congress was held in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania, in 1974. A successor organization to the OAU, African Union (AU), was launched in 2002 to further promote the social, political, and economic integration of Africa.

17.7 ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS: REMITTANCES

Remittances are often said to be the most tangible and least controversial link between migration and development (Russell 1992, Ratha 2007). There are many studies which highlight the positive contribution of migrants and diaspora for achieving sustainable development in Africa. Cross-country analysis and evidence from household surveys show that remittance receipts are associated with reduction in poverty, increased household resources devoted to investment, and improved health and education outcomes.

Official migrant remittances to Sub-Saharan Africa are estimated at \$40 billion in 2015, and the remittance flows have increased about six-fold since 2000 (The World Bank 2015). What is accurate is the important role remittance plays, not only as a key foreign exchange earner, but also as a support to the livelihood of countless families.

It is often argued in development - diaspora discourse that diaspora remittance funds constitute a better alternative to ODA funds for the development of Africa for a number of reasons. Not only have diaspora remittance funds outpaced ODA funds, they are more efficiently deployed for the development of the African continent in three main ways. The funds are less likely to be misspent as compared to the misappropriations and legendary inefficiencies in the foreign aid industry. Diaspora remittance funds, as gifts of love, are better focused on building the family and hence the nation. The distribution of these diaspora remittance funds is far more efficient than ODA funds since these monies go directly to paying school fees, building houses, and growing businesses (Bodomo, 2013). According to the African Development Bank's latest report, Egypt and Nigeria are among the top recipients of migrant remittances followed by Togo. According to the World Bank Report, 2018, Nigerians contribute a total of US \$11 billion annually, while collectively, the African diaspora sends more than US\$40 billion. The Report reveals that remittances from Togolese diaspora to their relatives and friends at home were at 8.7% of the country's gross domestic product by the end of 2017. Proportionally to GDP, Togo was the seventh country to have received the most funds from its diaspora in the sub-Saharan African region. Indeed, based on GDP, eight countries of the region are found in the top 10 of countries that received most funds from their diaspora in sub-Saharan Africa. These are Liberia, The Gambia, Senegal, Cape Verde, Togo, Guinea Bissau, Mali and Nigeria.

East African economies received more than \$3.5 billion in diaspora remittances in 2015, with the largest amounts being sent to Kenya and Uganda. Uganda posted the highest growth at 21 per cent, receiving over \$1.1 billion, followed by Kenya with an 8.6 per cent increase, pushing its remittances to \$1.54 billion.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words.
b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit
- How do you define Pan-Africanism? Who are main proponents of Afro-centric movement?

4. Do Diaspora Remittances help African Countries?

17.8 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have discussed the meaning and concept of African Diaspora. We have explained "historic" and "contemporary" or "new" African diasporas, referring respectively to diaspora formation before and during the twentieth century. Subsequently, we have tried to elucidate the origin of Black Diaspora in Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean Slave Trade discourse. Afterwards, we briefly explained abolition of slave trade. In discussing diaspora linkages, we explained Pan-African concept and identified the main proponents of Pan-Africanism. The Harlem Renaissance and its significance in Afro-American literature, arts and culture has also been discussed. Later, we discussed Diaspora Remittances which help the development programmes of some of the African countries.

17.9 KEY WORDS

African Diaspora: According to African Union, ‘the African Diaspora consists of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union’.

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is unique within the universal history of slavery. It involved several regions and continents: Africa, America, the Caribbean, Europe and the Indian Ocean. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, often known as the triangular trade, connected the economies of three continents. It is estimated that between 25 to 30 million people - men, women and children - were deported from their homes and sold as slaves in the different slave trading systems. In the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade alone, the estimate of those deported is believed to be approximately 17 million. These figures exclude those who died aboard the ships and in the course of wars and raids connected to the trade.

Diaspora Linkage/ Pan-Africanism: Pan-Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent. ... At its core, Pan-Africanism is "a belief that African peoples, both on the continent and in the diaspora, share not merely a common history, but a common destiny". The main goal of the Pan-African movement was to get Africans all over the world to unite and to work together for independence of Africa.

Diaspora Remittances: In the current era of intensifying global human and

capital flows, diaspora contribution to the development of their home countries is crucial. Nowhere is the role of diaspora in sustaining local livelihoods and supporting national development as evident as in Africa, where about 40% of the population still lives in poverty. Innovative development financing that includes novel engagement from the diaspora remains at the forefront of policy debates.

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17.11 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS- POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check your progress 1

1. African Diaspora is a term commonly used to describe the mass dispersion of peoples from Africa during the Trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade from the 1500s to the 1800s. The African Diaspora has been defined by the noted historian Joseph Harris as "the voluntary and involuntary dispersion of Africans globally throughout history; the emergence of a cultural identity based on origin and social condition; and the psychological and physical return of those in the Diaspora to Africa."
2. Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade existed between 16th to 19th century. While the emerging Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade is a complex phenomenon, its economic roots lay in the need for labour within expanding European empires in the New World. Enslaved Africans proved to be excellent workers on plantations and mines in the New World.

Check your Progress 2

3. Pan-Africanism is a worldwide intellectual movement that aims to encourage

and strengthen bonds of solidarity between all people of African descent. It is a philosophy and movement to unify all native Africans and people of African heritage. Pan-Africanism contains a diverse range of political movements, but these movements share a common goal of promoting equal rights, self-government and a recognition of shared experiences.

4. There are many studies which highlight the positive contribution of migrants and diaspora for achieving sustainable development in Africa. It is often argued in development - diaspora discourse that diaspora remittance funds constitute a better alternative to ODA funds for the development of Africa. Diaspora remittance funds, as gifts of love, are better focused on building the family and hence the nation.



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UNIT 18 ASIAN DIASPORA

Structure

- 18.1 Learning Objectives
- 18.2 Introduction
- 18.3 South Asian Diaspora
- 18.4 The Chinese Diaspora
- 18.5 Potential Contributions of Diaspora
- 18.6 Engaging Diaspora
- 18.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 18.8 Key Words
- 18.9 References and Select Readings
- 18.10 Check Your Progress – Possible Answers

18.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this Unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the history of major diasporic groups of Asia
- Familiarise yourself with ‘old’ and ‘new’ diaspora
- Understand the potential contributions of the diaspora and how various governments are engaging with them.

18.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will learn some of the major Asian diasporas.

The earliest known Asian diaspora of note is the Jewish Diaspora, which refers to the dispersion of Israelites or Jews out of their ancestral homeland (the Land of Israel) and their subsequent settlement in other parts of the globe. In its classical usage, “diaspora” is historically specific to the forcible expulsion of the Jewish people from Babylon, and as such it carries a tragic connotation associated with an enduring sense of loss and a longing to return to an ancestral homeland.

The South Asian diaspora is estimated to be over 50 million, or about 2% of the South Asian population, with 32 million Indians (MEA, 2018) comprising the lion’s share. The largest Asian diaspora outside of Southeast Asia is the [Indian diaspora](#). The overseas Indian community, estimated at over 32 million, is spread across many regions in the world, on every continent. It constitutes a diverse, heterogeneous and eclectic global community representing different regions, languages, cultures, and faiths. The history of South Asian diaspora is usually told in two distinct phases—the nineteenth-century colonial phase and the twentieth-century post-independence phase. There are sharp contrasts between these two phases, but there is also continuity in the history, especially for the

descendants of nineteenth-century migrants who migrated to new lands in the twentieth century, such as Indian Caribbean to Canada, or Indians who migrated from Uganda to Britain and from there, to USA. Their widespread, divergent, yet inter-connected histories capture the full range of diasporic experiences, but also reveal the inadequacy of the term diaspora in describing this population.

Overseas Chinese are people of Chinese birth or descent who live outside the Greater China region, which includes territories administered by the rival governments of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Republic of China (ROC). Today there are over 40 million overseas Chinese, mostly living in South East Asia where they make up a majority of the population of Singapore and significant minority populations in Indonesia, Malaysia Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam. The overseas populations in those areas arrived between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, mostly from the maritime provinces of Hainan, Fujian and Guangdong. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Chinese also emigrated to Central and South America, and to the United States, Canada, and the nations of Western Europe. In 1984, the announcement that Britain would transfer the sovereignty of Hong Kong to the PRC triggered another wave of migration.

There are a number of causes for Asian migration. A **root cause** is both push and pull factors with *push factors* being reasons why people would want to leave their home country and *pull factors* being reasons why people would want to come to a new country. There are many economic, social and physical reasons why Asian people migrated. However, economic and political factors are the main reasons in all Asian countries.

Asian Diaspora is a huge subject. This Unit focuses on how international movement of South Asian and Chinese people constitutes an important framework for an understanding of Asian diaspora discourse. Accordingly, this Unit will focus on exploring distinction between 'old' and 'new diaspora' in the context of Asian diaspora movement, and also explain potential contributions of Asian diaspora, and various mechanisms that governments of Asian countries have adopted, to engage their diasporic people.

18.3 SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORA

When we talk about South Asian Diaspora, we mean people of South Asian descent who are not living in their original homeland. They may be Indians in Durban, Pakistanis in New York, Sri Lankans in Oslo, and so on. Some people of the South Asian diaspora may never have set foot in their original 'homeland'. There is no doubt that the South Asian diaspora community is huge in numbers and widely dispersed all over the world.

However, there is no reliable estimate for the total size of the South Asian diaspora. This is probably due to the nature, scope, and time period of emigration from South Asia, which makes it administratively challenging to monitor the net migration (Tan and Rahman, 2013; Jayaram, 2011; Nayyar, 1994). In emigration statistics, we also need to consider annual outflow of emigrants from South Asia and children of emigrants born overseas. It is roughly estimated that there are over 31 million Indian diaspora, 7 to 9 million Bangladeshi diaspora, 5 to 7 million Pakistani diaspora, 2 to 3 million Sri Lankan diaspora, 4 to 5 million

Afghan diasporas, and around 2 million Nepali diasporas living around the world. In total, the global South Asian diaspora thus might be over 50 million strong and continues to grow (Tan and Rahman, 2013). It is, moreover, one which of late has seen phenomenal growth, both due to natural increase and the result of a continued movement of professionals and labourers in the late 20th and early 21st century from the subcontinent to countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and Singapore.

It can also be added here that South Asians - for example, Indians abroad - have facilitated and galvanized building the Indian and subcontinental image in a far greater way than they could have done in their original country. Repatriation of foreign earnings of the diaspora also helped the development of their homeland. Lord Meghnad Desai observes: 'South Asians abroad has shown that they can make a success in any country they go to. In most countries in the West, the South Asian groups which have settled there have succeeded in most adverse circumstances.' (Desai, page 290).

The 2,500-year history of South Asian migration can be traced back to travels by pilgrims and missionaries who spread the word of Buddha in East and Central Asia (Jayaram 2004; Rangaswamy 2004). Maritime voyages from the sixth to the eleventh century also left a legacy of Buddhist and Hindu cultural influence, which can still be seen in contemporary Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and Cambodia. The long-distance trading networks and financial practices of the Indian trade diaspora have also attracted scholarly attention (Dale 1994; Markovits 2000; White 1994; Rudner 1994). For example, by the seventeenth century, commercial networks of Gujarati merchants spanned the Indian Ocean from the Philippines and Indonesia in the east, to East Africa in the west, and Russia to the north (Jha 2009). But larger and more permanent trading communities of South Asians were not established until the nineteenth century (Oonk 2007).

The largest South Asian diasporic community was based in South East Asia, South and East Africa, the Caribbean, Mauritius and Fiji. While they remain a significant community, in these parts, the period after the Second World War has seen a rapid escalation in the number of South Asian settled in the West. Demographically, Asian Indians are the fastest growing ethnic group of the United States, growing at the rate of 69.37 per cent, according to the 2010 United States Census. Similar increase has also been recorded in places like United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Coupled with this, there are around 5 million South Asian transient workers in Gulf countries.

The phenomenal growth of South Asian diaspora and their contribution in the host countries encourages scholarly work on diaspora. These works have given significant insights on diaspora's experiences. The picture that emerged from this scholarly work is that of two distinct diasporas. The 'old' diaspora was born out of the age of colonial capital and the 'new' diaspora was formed during the age of globalisation. These diasporas reflect the very different historical conditions that produced them. While the 'old' diaspora signifies a break from the homeland, the more recent migration has given a degree of connectivity between the diasporas and the homelands, which did not exist in earlier times. There is one consistent theme to these two categories. They were, and continue to be, created by a labour migration – unskilled labour starting two centuries

ago, and highly skilled labour after the mid-1960s.

In the 19th Century, the demand for Indian indentured labour increased dramatically after abolition of slavery in 1834. In rubber, tea and sugar plantations all over the world, in places like Burma, Malaya, Kenya, Tanzania, Zanzibar, Caribbean Islands, Fiji and Mauritius, nearly 1.5 million labourers from the Indian subcontinent were hired as girmityas or indentured labourers. (Lal 2007). There were around 240,000 people from the Indian sub-continent sent to British Guiana (Guyana); nearly 150,000 were sent to Trinidad; and over 38,000 to Jamaica to replace the slave workers in the plantations (Northrup 1995). Indians also replaced slaves in South African mines and railroad construction projects in East Africa. When the French and Dutch colonies experienced labour shortages after the emancipation of slave labour, over 100,000 South Asians were similarly imported to work on their plantations (ibid.). Mostly labourers were hired from North India, especially from the poor and backward region of Chota Nagpur plateau before 1860s, and the eastern districts of the present Uttar Pradesh from the 1870s onwards. Most of them were from lower social and economic strata of rural North Indian society. Indian labourers were also recruited from Bengal as well as the southern India. Their indenture contracts started at five years and were sometimes extended to a decade. Less coercive migration took the form of petty merchant traders, and Indians serving abroad in colonial governments as administrative clerks and teachers (Oonk 2007).

Despite the generally involuntary mode of labour migration during the nineteenth and the twentieth century, revisionist studies have also described indentured emigration as a 'rational and deliberate choice on the part of migrants, prompted by hopes of bettering their future' (Emmer 1997 cited in Satyanarayana 2001). After the expiry of their contracts, these girmityas mostly decided to stay back - purchasing land and property. However, their condition varied as per the local government policies regarding citizenship and stay in foreign land which changed constantly. In the case of South Asians working in the Caribbean Islands, they were given ready citizenship by the imperialist British government. Susan Koshy terms South Asian diaspora as "one of the oldest, largest and most geographically diverse." (Koshy 2). Similarly, in Mauritius, formerly indentured Indians became landowners, traders and small manufacturers. They were able to send remittances to India and arrange for the migration of their kin. Records of remittances sent by postal money orders have also been recorded from British Guiana and Trinidad (Northrup 1995).

With the Partition of India in 1947 and the formation of Pakistan, there started an influx of a second group of immigrants from South Asia to Britain. The South Asian diasporic group or travellers from the Indian sub-continent increased largely with the change in configuration of the sub-continent. The independence of India caused such upheavals that many were forced to flee and several migrated willingly, because independence had opened avenues for migration. Later, the expulsion of Indian communities from East Africa also contributed to the strong presence of the South Asian population in the UK.

The mid-20th century witnessed the beginning of a change of the pattern of Indian migration. For the first time, people went not to the colonial periphery but to the metropolitan centres at the heart of the Empire Commonwealth. (Lal et al, 2006:66) (Encyclopaedia of Indian Diaspora, 2006). According to UK 2011

Census, Asians make up 3.5% of total UK population. Of this, 1.8% are Indian, 1.5% Pakistanis and just under 0.5% Bangladeshis. Liberalization of the US and Canadian immigration laws in the 1960s also drew large-scale migration of engineers, doctors and scientists from the sub-continent. Increasingly, over the past few decades, it became a steady flow of Indian professionals to countries like USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As of 2016, South Asians constituted 5.4% of the Canadian population; in the US, they numbered 2.83 million by 2010 and represented the fastest-growing segment portion of Asian-Americans. Also, since the 1990s, Australia and New Zealand have become important destination countries for Indian professionals. Both countries look to employ English-speaking, highly-qualified professionals for their IT industries. By 2011-12, Indians became the largest source of permanent migration to Australia, forming 15.7% of the total migration programme.

The migrants who came in the late 20th century constitute the Non-Resident Indians (NRI). These NRIs have become even more prominent after the explosive growth of the Information Technology (IT), with the US turning into the hub of professionals and engineers. These NRIs have changed the nature of the diaspora and brought high levels of skills and entrepreneurial 'flair' to the new hostlands.

Another very important component is the 'Gulf Diaspora'. Both skilled and unskilled Indians migrated to oil-rich states in the Middle East after the discovery of oil reserves in the late 1960s, and especially after the spike in oil prices in 1973-74. These Gulf countries have a common policy of refusing to naturalize non-Arabs, even if they are born in the Gulf Countries. Thus members of the diaspora in these countries are relegated to a kind of "second class" status. At one time, the fastest growing segment of our diaspora, the Gulf Diaspora, has now stabilized at around 5 million.

The people of South Asia have carried on a tradition of internal and international migration as traders, indentured labourers, skilled workers, businessmen and professionals. Despite a shared history of uprooting, South Asia is not a homogeneous entity and inherent tensions exist within it. However, South Asia with its several independent nation states has certain commonalities and continuity because of a shared culture of 4000 years. Wherever South Asians have migrated, they have carried with them religious, social and cultural practices of the homeland. It is not surprising therefore that South Asian religious and cultural institutions, films, restaurants, music, fashion shops are common sights all over the world.

18.4 THE CHINESE DIASPORA

Overseas Chinese are spread over the globe, residing in almost every country in the world, although with heavy concentration in Asia. An overseas Chinese is defined here as a Chinese person who resides outside the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. Around 2011, there were over 40.3 million Chinese residing in 148 countries of the world. The term "Chinese overseas" is generally employed as a neutral term to refer to the approximately 46 million ethnic Chinese who reside outside of mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Macau in the early 21st century. As a result of the growing impact of theories of globalization during the 1990s, however, the term "Chinese diaspora" also

became widespread. Since then, the study of the Chinese overseas in national contexts and of Chinese migration as an account of departure, arrival, and settlement has been supplemented with an emphasis on mobility, networks and flexible identities. The topic of Chinese diaspora is interdisciplinary in nature, typified by changing approaches, and encompasses all aspects of the life of ethnic Chinese dispersed over 148 countries.

18.4.1 The major patterns of Chinese emigration

According to Wang (1991), there have been five principal patterns of emigration over the past two centuries:

1. The first is Huashang who went abroad as merchants or skilled workers. This was the dominant form of migration between the 18th and mid-19th centuries. It comprises mainly men who were settled in the hostland after one or two generations. The Huashang pattern has predominated throughout history. The first recorded Chinese emigration occurred during the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC), and was to either Japan or the Philippines, followed the Huashang pattern (Zhu, 1991).
2. The second is Huagong (Chinese coolie) pattern comprising labour migrants, usually of peasant origin, landless labourers, and the urban poor. It occurred between 1840 and 1920s. This migration involved 'coolie trade' in low-level occupations concentrated in gold mining and railway building. Pan (1990: 61) has written that the Chinese coolie migrants 'went to work in virgin territory across the world ...[and] most lived by the sweat of their brow.' Poston and Luo (2007: 328) have written about Huagong migration, noting that 'during the rapid growth period of the frontier economy in the United States between 1850 and 1880, thousands of Chinese immigrated, mainly to the western United States, under the indenture system as miners, railroad workers, and agricultural labourers. Unskilled Chinese labourer went as cooks, laundrymen, and in other jobs that American workers did not want. Later, they were instrumental in building the western part of the trans-continental railroad.'

It was the coolie trade which 'took the bulk of the Chinese to the New World, with shipload after shipload reaching Cuba, Peru and ...British Guiana in the years between the 1840s and 1870s' (Pan, 1990: 67). In the late 1870s and 1880s, many Chinese went to Hawaii and to California. Pan (1990: 94) estimates that 'by 1870, one out of every four workers in California was Chinese.'

3. The third is Huaqiao (Chinese sojourner) who are Chinese educated professionals, who live abroad with the intention of returning and whose political loyalty and cultural orientation are towards China. This pattern was dominant for several decades after the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 and was strongly tied to feelings of nationalism. This is both a migration pattern and a term still dominant today. (Hong Liu, 2004). Moreover, Huaqiaos in Malaysia comprise 29% of the population and control 61% of the economy of the country. In Philippines (1% of population), the Huaqiaos manage 67 of 100 big companies. They control 90% of private sector in Thailand and the whole economy of Singapore (90 per cent). Not only in South East Asia, there are 1.27 million Chinese emigrants in the USA, and Huaqiaos control 112,000 big commercial companies. The main duty of the Huaqiaos

in the US is to promote the interest of China (Poston Dudley and others, 1994).

4. The fourth is Huaren (ethnic Chinese or Chinese overseas) who were Chinese descendants and whose political allegiance was toward their countries of residence, but whose lifestyle and cultural values still resonated closely with those in China. This was the prominent form of migration from the 1950s through the 1980s. (Liu, 2004: 25). A good example would be the Chinese in Southeast Asia, many of whom have migrated to Western Europe in recent decades, ‘especially since the 1950s when some Southeast Asian nations made those of Chinese descent feel unwanted’ because of their dominance in the economy. (Wang, 1991: 9)
5. The fifth pattern is Huayi. They are Chinese descendants, including naturalized ethnic Chinese who have assimilated the culture of their host countries or have re-migrated from one foreign country to another. Unlike Huaqiao, they have no direct intention of migrating or returning to China. Wang has speculated that, with a few exceptions, future Chinese migrations ‘will be based on the Huashang pattern and supplemented by the new Huayi pattern, with some features of the Huaqiao pattern surviving here and there’ (Wang, 1991: 12).

The Chinese diaspora is long established in many countries, since many years. It is often very diverse, combining several generations of settlers from Hong Kong and southern China, with a large wave of new poor and illegal migrants, and a growing number of students. The mass emigration known as the Chinese diaspora, which occurred from the 19th century to 1949, was mainly caused by wars and starvation in mainland China, invasion from various foreign countries, as well as problems resulting from political corruption. Chinese people emigrated primarily to Western countries such as United States, Australia, Canada, Brazil, United Kingdom, New Zealand, Argentina and the nations of Western Europe; as well as to Peru, Panama, and to a lesser extent, Mexico. Most migrants in this era were unskilled workers, driven by the growing demand for cheap manual labour elsewhere. Since the 1980s, Chinese migrants have developed an increasingly “multi-class and multi-skilled” profile, in line with the requirements of a globalised and technologically advanced economy (Ding, 2010).

The diaspora’s overall population is estimated to be as many as 50 million people. Most of them are living in [Southeast Asia](#) where they make up a majority of the population of [Singapore](#) (75 per cent) and significant minority populations, in Thailand (14 per cent), Malaysia (23 per cent), [Indonesia](#), [Brunei](#) (10 per cent), the [Philippines](#) and [Vietnam](#). More recent Chinese presence has developed in Europe, where they number nearly a million, and in [Russia](#), where they number over 600,000, concentrated in Russia's Far East.

In Africa, there is a significant increase of Chinese diaspora due to massive Chinese investment in most of the African countries. China is now Africa’s largest trading partner, having edged out the United States in 2010. The Chinese in Africa these days ‘have rapidly penetrated every conceivable walk of life like farmers, entrepreneurs building small and medium-sized factories, and practitioners of the full range of trades, doctors, teachers, (French, 2014: 5). In 2011, there were less than 250,000 overseas Chinese in Africa, the smallest number in all continents. However, if the annual population growth rate of

Chinese in Africa of 6.1% remains unchanged, the numbers will double every 11 years, to 500,000 in 2022 and to 1,000,000 in 2033. The number of Chinese in Africa will never reach the level of Chinese in Asia, but it is in Africa where the greatest relative increases will likely occur over the next few decades.

Notwithstanding the diversity of their communities - in terms of origin and length of stay - the overseas Chinese enjoy an extremely strong sense of shared identity as well as a powerful attachment to China, feelings that tend to override regional and political differences. This affinity finds expression in many ways. The overseas Chinese have played a crucial role in China's economic growth, providing the lion's share of inward investment since the late 1970s. According to the World Bank, in 2007, China received more remittances - nearly \$26bn - than any other country except India.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Describe South Asian Diaspora

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2. Who are Overseas Chinese? What are the major patterns of Chinese emigration?

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18.5 POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIASPORA

The potential contributions of diasporas to their countries of origin or ancestry are numerous. Some of these are discussed below.

1) There has been an increasing awareness in the past several years that there are some ways in which diasporas can stimulate economic development in their homelands. In the first place, unquestionably, are the remittances that Asian diasporas send back to their homelands. Remittances to developing Asian countries stood at \$244 billion in 2016. These are important for some countries: for instance, nine countries— Armenia, Georgia, the Kyrgyz Republic, Nepal, the Philippines, Samoa, Tajikistan, Tonga, and Tuvalu - posted remittances equivalent to or over 10% of their respective gross domestic product. They are relatively stable compared with other foreign exchange inflows such as foreign direct investment and, therefore, support macroeconomic stability in these remittance-receiving countries.(ADB and World Bank, 2018)

According to World Bank records, the top three remittance receiving countries are India with \$72.2 billion; the People's Republic of China, \$63.9 billion; and the Philippines, \$29.7 billion (ibid). This is only the official estimate - a significant portion of remittances are transferred through informal channels that are not reflected in the official data. Nonetheless, for the migrant-sending countries in Asia, "remittance earnings" are a major source of income, contributing to the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as well as its foreign exchange earnings.

Unlike foreign aid, remittances directly enter the family back home, and in most cases, they go to relatively backward rural regions (Kapur, 2003). Hence, Jones (1998) notes, 'there is probably no other more bottom-up way of redistributing and enhancing welfare among populations in developing countries than the remittances'. Drawing on the case of emigration, remittances, and its development potential for Bangladesh, noted economist, Jonathon Moses, in his article argues that the most efficient way of developing Bangladesh is to encourage more emigration (Moses, 2009: 457). Even Pakistan's economic lifeline is its remittances - a staggering \$2 billion from overseas Pakistanis per month on an average is a blessing in disguise for the cash-starved economy and has widely helped in balancing payments towards imports, especially oil.

As per the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) recognition, the inflow of remittances to India is of two types namely, direct inward remittance and local withdrawal from Non-resident Indians (NRI) accounts. The inward remittances are direct transfer of funds from person abroad to person in India. Such transfers are generally meant for providing family support. However, the NRI deposit accounts are created with the aim to attract the foreign capital and foreign currency to boost the economy. (Gupta P. and Jordon, 2004).

Chinese Diaspora greatly influences the economic development of China. According to some sources, including the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, overseas Chinese have been the biggest contributors of foreign direct investment into China. Chinese economic growth since the late 1970s has largely depended on foreign direct investment, and Chinese diaspora has contributed as much as 70% of total FDI. This helps explain why the Chinese government has vigorously pursued and attracted overseas Chinese to their ancestral homeland.

- 2) The increasing use of concepts such as "brain gain," "brain bank," "brain trust" and "brain circulation" (Kapur, 2001) highlights a growing interest in diaspora members' skills and experience and how these can be tapped by countries of origin. Small and poor countries in Asia find it difficult to compete in the global market for skills, but may persuade skilled emigrants to devote some portion of their professional lives to endeavours in their home countries as teachers, mentors, research directors or simply practitioners who perform services on return visits.

The Chinese government initiated plans and programmes to attract overseas talents since 2008 in order to achieve rapid economic growth. These measures include establishing special economic zones, pass preferential laws, and use patriotic appeals. As a result, returnees have played a pivotal role in opening up and globalizing China. As a special group, returnees have

contributed to the nation's development especially in education, science, culture and health. Their work has lifted the status of China's academics in the world. Among the winners of the National Award for Science and Technology, 66.67% are returnees. They have not only made remarkable scientific achievements, but also pushed for the reform of the education and scientific research systems.

India has also made efforts to reach out to its 30 million expatriates. Pravasi Bharatiya Divas was institutionalized in 2003 and has become an annual event. India is also taking steps to grant dual citizenships for selected NRIs. It can be expected that India will continue to appeal to the many high-tech industry-based NRIs in the hope of perhaps turning India into the world's technological lab much like overseas Chinese have helped turn China into the world's workshop.

- 3) Diaspora members are excellent intermediaries, who can facilitate their home countries' integration into the global economy and influence foreign policy of their host countries. Chinese and Indian diaspora communities in the United States are staunch supporters of close Chinese-American and Indian-American relations respectively. They are powerful lobbying groups to influence US policies towards their home countries. The Chinese-American community is actively working "to promote the full participation of Chinese-Americans in all fields of American life, and to encourage constructive relations between the people of the United States and Greater China." For example, Chinese-Americans were a major force in supporting the granting of Most Favoured Nation (MFN) trade status to China during the 1990s. Many of these Chinese-Americans are well-positioned either to directly invest in China or to be sent to China by US companies in need of representatives with contacts and language skills. Similarly, in the 1980s a group of wealthy Indians who lived in America's affluent suburbs began to worry about the community's lack of political involvement. They set up such grass-roots organizations as the Indian American Forum for Political Education (IAFPE) in the late 1980s. Since then there has been a growing political lobby from Indian-American groups.

For example, during the 1999 Kargil conflict, Indian immigrants flooded congressional offices with emails urging speedy resolution. Their pressure influenced then President Clinton to take a policy decision in India's favour. According to the Washington Post, "Lawmakers complied and a few days later, in a White House meeting, Clinton cited Congressional pressure in urging (Pakistani Prime Minister) Sharif to withdraw his forces." It must be mentioned that Pakistan immigrants in the United States have also been lobbying "at a frenetic pace" in recent years, especially with focus on the Kashmir issue to win the support of the United States.

18.6 ENGAGING DIASPORA

Governments in Asia have engaged diasporas through various mechanisms. There are some countries which introduced flexible citizenship laws (such as Australia, Bangladesh, Philippines, South Korea and Tonga). Pakistan also accepts dual citizenship but only for citizens in 16 countries. While an increasing number of countries are issuing special registration and identification cards that allow members of the diaspora to enter and stay in the country visa free, there

are some countries in the region which grant political rights to their overseas citizens— that is, the right to vote. Some Asian countries have granted their diaspora citizens right to property. In India, for instance, anyone who has ever held an Indian passport or whose father or grandfather was a citizen of India can acquire unlimited residential and commercial land. A few governments are offering reduced income tax rates for returning citizens who have worked abroad for a certain number of years.

Five countries in the region have established ministries whose explicit purpose is to address the needs of diaspora populations. For example, India created the Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) in 2004 to address the lack of government policy coordination on migration and to implement programmes that reach out to the Indian diaspora, in particular to youth. Bangladesh's Ministry for Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment (MEWOE) and Sri Lanka's Ministry of Foreign Employment, Promotion and Welfare focus mainly on ensuring the welfare of their expatriate workers, and on increasing their ability to find suitable employment abroad. Both ministries attend to complaints from migrant workers, provide international job placement services and conduct training programmes.

China's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (SCOCAO) is uniquely positioned within the Chinese central government. It is an administrative office under the State Council, the country's highest executive body (which includes the premier and ministers, among others). A SCOCAO staff of 120 supports the premier and assists in a wide range of activities. These include maintaining databases of information categorized by city, county and province (so that overseas Chinese can find their ancestral roots, homes and properties),

China has one of the most extensive networks of diaspora offices in the world. Some Indian states have diaspora offices, the most active of which are in Kerala and Gujarat. In 1996, the Kerala government established the Department of Non-Resident Keralites' Affairs (NORKA). This organization's primary goal is to provide social security for non-resident Keralites and their families. NORKA is a one-stop shop established to fulfill a promise made by the Kerala government to its expatriate community.

The local government in Gujarat established a Non-Resident Indian (NRI) Division within its administration department, the Non-Resident Gujaratis' Foundation (NRGF). It gathers information from all districts in the state where NRIs have contributed to the development and undertaken public welfare projects.

In recent years, governments have been increasingly using their consular networks to market diaspora bonds, designed to tap into diaspora assets. For instance, India issued diaspora bonds in 1991, 1998 and 2000 to avoid balance-of-payments crises and to shore up international confidence in India's financial system during times of financial sanctions or special needs. Similarly, Sri Lanka has offered Sri Lanka Development Bonds since 2001 to a number of investor categories, including non-resident Sri Lankans.

The issuance of diaspora bonds is a form of innovative financing that can help developing countries support infrastructure projects. Issuers of diaspora bonds gain access to fixed-term funding, often at discounted interest rates due to

a “patriotic discount,” or the difference between the market interest rate for government debt and the interest rate that diasporas are willing to accept given their attachment to their country. However, India and other countries learned that this “patriotic discount” is often small in reality and sometimes does not materialize.

Check Your Progress 2

- Note: a) Write your answer in brief.
b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

3. Why do governments take care of its diasporas?

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4. What are the various schemes offer by the government of different Asian countries to engage its diaspora?

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18.7 LET US SUM UP

Asian diaspora is a wide-ranging subject. This Unit dealt with a broad and descriptive analysis on South Asian diaspora and Chinese diaspora as both India and China have large diaspora population around the world. It focuses on how international movement of South Asian and Chinese people constitutes an important framework for comprehending Asian diaspora discourse. We have tried to analyse the reasons why South Asians and Chinese people left their home and settled abroad in colonial, post-colonial and in contemporary times. Afterwards, we briefly explored the relations between the diaspora and homeland development and how this dynamic relationship contributes to economic growth and foreign relations of the homelands. Later we discussed the potential contributions of diasporas to their countries of origin and the various schemes that Asian governments offer to engage its diaspora.

18.8 KEY WORDS

South Asian Diaspora: Refers to South Asian descent who are not living in their original homelands. It is estimated that there are millions of members of the South Asian diaspora, though it is difficult finding accurate statistics for every country. The history of this diaspora is usually told in two distinct phases - the nineteenth-century colonial phase and the twentieth-century post-independence phase.

Chinese Overseas: They are people of Chinese birth or descent who live outside the People's Republic of China or Republic of China. They can be of the Han Chinese ethnic majority, or from any of the other ethnic groups in China. Today there are over 40 million overseas Chinese, mostly living in Southeast Asia, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand Philippines and Vietnam. The overseas population in these countries arrived between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Non-Resident Keralites' Affairs (NORKA): The Non Resident Keralites Affairs abbreviated as NORKA is a department of the Government of Kerala formed on 6 December 1996 to redress the grievances of Non-Resident Keralites (NRKs).

MFN trade status: Most-favored-nation (MFN) status is an economic position in which a country enjoys the best trade terms given by its trading partner. That means it receives the lowest tariffs, the fewest trade barriers, and the highest import quotas (or none at all).

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18.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – POSSIBLE

ANSWERS

Check your progress 1

1. This diaspora comprises people of South Asian descent who are not living in their original homeland – Indians in Durban, Pakistanis in New York, Sri Lankans in Oslo, and so on. Some people of the South Asian diaspora may never have set foot in their original 'homeland'. There is no doubt that the South Asian diaspora community is huge in numbers and widely dispersed all over the world.
2. Overseas Chinese are spread over the globe, residing in almost every country in the world, although with heavy concentration in Asia. An overseas Chinese person is defined here as a Chinese person who resides outside the Chinese mainland, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. There are five principal patterns over the past two centuries. They are Huashang, Huagong, Huaqiao, Huaren, Huayi.

Check your Progress 2

3. Various governments look after its diaspora interests by various means. For example some countries have established ministries whose explicit purpose is to address the needs of diaspora populations. For example, India created the Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) in 2004 to address the lack of government policy coordination on migration and to implement programmes that reach out to the Indian diaspora, in particular to youth. Bangladesh's Ministry for Expatriates' Welfare and Overseas Employment (MEWOE) and Sri Lanka's Ministry of Foreign Employment, Promotion and Welfare focus mainly on ensuring the welfare of their expatriate workers, and on increasing their ability to find suitable employment abroad. Both ministries attend to complaints from migrant workers, provide international job placement services and conduct training programmes.
4. Governments in Asia have engaged diasporas through various mechanisms. There are some countries which introduces flexible citizenship laws, right to vote, Right to Property, identification card for visa free entries. Five countries in the region have established ministries whose explicit purpose is to address the needs of diaspora populations.

UNIT 19 EUROPEAN DIASPORA

Structure

- 19.1 Learning Objectives
- 19.2 Introduction
- 19.3 The Concept of European Diaspora
- 19.4 Formation of European Diaspora
- 19.5 European Diaspora Linkages Today
- 19.6 Contributions of European Diaspora to Europe
- 19.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 19.8 Key Words
- 19.9 References and Select Readings
- 19.10 Check Your Progress –Possible Answers

19.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of European Diaspora.
- Comprehend the origin of the European Diaspora and the various waves of diaspora
- Get to know the trends in the study of European Diaspora in the 21st century and appreciate their Diasporic Linkages today.
- Familiarise yourself with possible Diaspora contributions.

19.2 INTRODUCTION

The concept of European emigration refers to successive waves of emigration from Europe to other continents. This resulted in the origins of the various European diasporas who left European nation-states or stateless ethnic communities on the European continent. Around 60 million people, mostly Europeans, emigrated from Europe to America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Siberia, between 1815 and 1932. The populations in Africa and Asia experienced significant growth in their new environment, compared to what they previously experienced. World War I (which took place around 1914) altered this ethnic makeup of the globe to a large extent. Countries like Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Italy, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, and Russia account for most European immigrants.

However, when it comes to European Diaspora, there is a distinction to be made between imperial conquest and diaspora. Governments and elites carry out imperial conquest. They do it for the sake of power, money, and strategic advantage. The rest are members of a diaspora or people who have moved from one country to another.

19.3 CONCEPT OF EUROPEAN DIASPORA

Who/What is the European Diaspora?

The origins of the various European Diasporas can be traced to the people, who left the European nation states or stateless ethnic communities on the European continent. The first significant European immigration wave, spanning the 16th to 18th centuries, consisted mostly of settlers from the British Isles attracted by economic opportunity and religious freedom. These early immigrants were a mix of well-to-do individuals, Protestants from North-West Europe and indentured servants.

Irish, German, and Scandinavian immigrants arriving during the 1840s and 1850s made up the second wave of European immigration, fleeing famine, religious persecution, and political conflicts. Unlike the first Europeans, who were mostly Protestants, the new arrivals were overwhelmingly Catholic. They came from much poorer backgrounds and were younger and less skilled. After a pause in European immigration during the U.S. Civil War, more than 20 million immigrants arrived primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe between 1880 and 1920. Most Southern European immigrants were motivated by economic opportunity in the United States, while Eastern Europeans (primarily Jews) fled religious persecution. World War I slowed European immigration, and the national-origin quotas established in 1921 and 1924 which gave priority to Western and Northern Europeans coupled with the Great Depression and the onset of World War II brought immigration from Europe to a near halt.

Even though the 1965 Immigration Act did away with country quotas, by then fewer Europeans were seeking to cross the Atlantic either because their economic fortunes had improved during post war reconstruction or because their communist governments restricted emigration. The fall of the Iron Curtain in the early 1990s ushered in the most recent wave of European immigration, dominated by people from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. This wave continues till today due to modern reasons like armed conflicts, human rights abuses, economic opportunities etc (*Bauböck & Faist, Thomas 2010*).

19.4 FORMATION OF EUROPEAN DIASPORA

There are broadly three phases of European diaspora formation.

A. The First Wave

‘Early emigration’ and the Origin of European Diaspora

The European Diaspora consists of European people and their [descendants](#) who [emigrated](#) from [Europe](#). Emigration from [Europe](#) began on a large scale especially during the [Spanish Empire](#) in the 16th to 17th centuries (expansion of the [Hispanosphere](#)), the [British Empire](#) in the 17th to 19th centuries (expansion of the [Anglosphere](#)), the [Portuguese Empire](#) and the [Russian Empire](#) in the 19th century (expansion to [Central Asia](#) and the [Russian Far East](#)). While the absolute number of European emigrants during the [early modern period](#) was very small compared to later waves of migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the relative size of these early modern migrations was nevertheless

substantial.

The European continent has been a central part of a complex [migration system](#), which included swaths of North Africa, the Middle East and [Asia Minor](#) well before the [Modern Era](#). Yet, only the population growth of the late [Middle Ages](#) allowed for larger population movements, inside and outside of the continent. The [discovery of the Americas](#) in 1492 stimulated a steady stream of voluntary migration from Europe. About 200,000 [Spaniards](#) settled in their American colonies prior to 1600, a small settlement compared to the 3 to 4 million [Amerindians](#) who lived in [Spanish territory in the Americas](#).

During the 1500s, Spain and Portugal sent a steady flow of *government* and church officials, members of the lesser *nobility*, people from the working classes and their families averaging roughly three-thousand people per year from a population of around eight million. The first wave occurred because Europe offered little economic opportunities other than the aristocracy and nobility. Average Europeans also looked for better rights in places like America as several refugees were created by occasional wars like English Civil Wars, French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.

For example, a total of around 437,000 left Spain in the 150-year period from 1500 to 1650 to *Central, South America* and the *Caribbean Islands*. Between 1500 and 1700 only 100,000 *Portuguese* crossed the Atlantic to settle in *Brazil*. However, with the discovery of numerous highly productive gold mines in the Minas Gerais region, the Portuguese emigration to Brazil increased five fold. From 1700 till 1760, over half a million Portuguese immigrants entered Brazil (Rainer & Faist 2010) With such steady flows by the end of the 16th century, the Spanish were established in St. Augustine, and by the early 17th century thriving communities dotted the landscape: the British in Virginia, the Dutch in New York and New Jersey, and the Swedish in Delaware.

During the 17th century, with the advent of ‘colonialism’ the landscape of European emigration changed. Half of the European immigrants to the [colonies](#) had been indentured servant or workers who had never been indentured, or whose indenture had expired. Free wage labour was more common for Europeans in the colonies. Christopher Tomlins estimates that 48% were indentured. About 75% were under the age of 25. The age of legal adulthood for men was 24 years; those over 24 generally came on contracts lasting about 3 years. Regarding the children who came, Gary Nash reports that, "many of the servants were actually nephews, nieces, cousins and children of friends of emigrating Englishmen, who paid their passage in return for their labour once in America (Nash 2014; Tomlins 2001).

However, the situation changed with the development of the mining economy in the 18th century. This raised wages and employment opportunities in the Portuguese colony and emigration increased. In the 18th century alone, about 600,000 Portuguese settled in Brazil, a mass emigration given that [Portugal](#) had a population of only 2 million people. In [North America](#), immigration was dominated by [British](#), [Irish](#), French and other Northern Europeans. Thus, by 1800s, almost 800,000 Spaniards emigrated to the New World, especially under the Bourbon Dynasty in the 19th century. Emigration to [New France](#) laid the origins of modern Canada, with important early immigration of colonists from Northern France.

B. THE SECOND WAVE

In the early years of the 19th century, immigration was light. By 1806, the flow of immigration was reduced to a trickle as hostilities between England and Napoleon's France disrupted Atlantic shipping lanes. With peace re-established in 1814, immigration from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany and Western Europe resumed at a record pace. Major port cities of this era were overwhelmed with newcomers, many of them sick or dying from the long journey. By the mid 1800s, immigrants poured in from around Europe especially choosing America as their destination and nearly all immigrants came in through the newly opened Ellis Island. Families often migrated together during this era, although young men frequently came first to find work. Some of these then sent for their wives, children, and siblings; others returned to their families in Europe with their saved wages. Reasons like war, famine, revolution, industrialization drove many Western Europeans away from their homelands during this phase.

From 1815 to 1932, 60 million people left Europe (with many returning home), primarily to 'areas of European settlement' in the Americas (especially to the United States, Canada, [Argentina](#) and [Brazil](#)), Australia, New Zealand and [Siberia](#). These populations also multiplied rapidly in their new habitat much more so than the populations of Africa and [Asia](#). As a result, on the eve of World War I, 38% of the world's total population was of European ancestry. The countries in the Americas that received a major wave of European immigrants from the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s were: the United States (32.6 million), Argentina (6.5 million), Canada (5.1 million), Brazil (4.4 million), [Cuba](#) (1.4 million), and [Uruguay](#) (713,000). Other countries that received a more modest immigration flow (accounting for less than 10% of total European emigration to [Latin America](#)) were: Mexico (270,000), [Colombia](#) (126,000), [Chile](#) (90,000), Puerto Rico (62,000), [Peru](#) (30,000), and Paraguay (21,000) (Adler & Pouwels 1994).

Thus, as noted above, because of the changing times during this period about 60 million Europeans set sail for the resource abundant and labour scarce 'New World' in the century following 1820. The overwhelming majority of these arrived as immigrants in the Americas. While the United States was the dominant destination, there were significant flows to South America later in the century, led by Argentina and Brazil, and to Canada after the turn of the century. A small but persistent stream also linked the United Kingdom to Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. European intercontinental emigration averaged about 300,000 per annum in the middle three decades (after the Irish famine), the figures more than doubled in the last two decades; and they rose to over a million per annum after the turn of the century.

During this period the countries creating European emigrants showed some definite patterns. The dominant emigration stream in the first half of the century comprised of the Irish Catholics, United Kingdom followed by Germany. A rising tide of Scandinavian and other northwest European emigrants joined these streams by mid century. All of these came to be called the "old" emigrants, but were joined by the "new" south and east Europeans in the 1880s. These new emigrants accounted for most of the rising emigrant tide in the late 19th century. First they came from Italy, Spain and Portugal, but after the 1890s the tide included Austria-Hungary, Russia and Poland. But most moved to escape European poverty and they did it using family resources, without government assistance,

restriction or, in more modern terminology, ‘guestworker’ permission. As for the Irish migrants, their emigration was a result of religious persecution under the British and Potato Famine of 1847. On the other hand, Germans left their homeland after the democratic revolution of 1848 for economic opportunities and Scandinavians after the Civil War.

As the technology of transport and communication improved, the costs and uncertainty of migration fell, and overseas migration came within reach of an increasing share of the European population for whom the move offered the most gain. European famine and revolution may have helped push the first great mass migration in the 1840s, but it was the underlying economic and demographic labour market fundamentals that made each subsequent surge bigger.

The character of immigrants from Europe changed in the latter half of the 19th century with high population growth in Southern and Eastern Europe, lack of jobs and food, scarcity of available farmland due to mechanization and religious persecution of the Russian Jews. On the other hand, freedom of rights, available land, freedom of religion, booming industries like steel and rail provided economic opportunities in other countries outside Europe. Some workers from Hungary and Poland moved to foreign locations like United States of America (USA) to work in railroads and steel mills. Other reasons that prompted accelerated emigration were: European economic collapse after the World War I, Xenophobia in reaction to the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, and Red Scare bombings in 1919. Marked demographic changes were conspicuous during this wave. For instance in a country like Brazil, the proportion of foreigners peaked in 1920, at just 7 percent or 2 million people, mostly Italians, Portuguese, Germans and Spaniards. However, the influx of 4 million European immigrants between 1880 and 1920 significantly altered the racial composition of the country.

Thus, the late 19th and 20th century which saw the second wave, developments such as, the world wars, forced migration and expulsion, Greek Turkish "population exchanges" in 1922, expulsions and refugee movements after the Russian revolution, refugees from national socialist Germany in the 1930s and the expulsion of Germans from what became western Poland after the Second World War unleashed a surge of migrations from European countries. Thus, during the 19th century there were predominantly ‘economic migrants’ from Europe, whereas during the 20th century, racial persecution, political oppression, and the ravages of revolutions, civil wars and two world wars became the predominant causes of flight transforming migrants into refugees (Alonso 2000).

C. THE THIRD WAVE

European Diaspora migration in the late 20th and 21st century

After the two World Wars, European migration grew when business had to look for new sources of labour. As farms mechanized and mills grew it increased migration. Even during the Great Depression many labourers moved out of Europe to work in the ‘boom towns’. The period of Cold War also witnessed some movement. However, the fall of the Iron Curtain led to the largest wave of migration the continent had seen since 1945-46. The sudden freedom of travel and Eastern Europe's mounting economic problems and social tension caused

by the transition to market economy had been important push factors. In many cases ethnic discrimination also played an important role.

Until 1945 Europe's migration history was predominantly marked by changing emigration patterns as seen in the section above. At the end of the colonial era and during the economic boom that followed Second World War, the situation in Europe changed rapidly. At first, European settlers and colonial officers and troops returned home in the course of decolonization. In the UK (United Kingdom), France, Belgium, and the Netherlands they were followed by migrant workers from the former overseas territories. In some cases this process created a steady inflow, in other cases the former colonial powers were confronted with large waves of immigrants. In the early 20th century the largest single wave of emigration was caused by the wars in Croatia and Bosnia Herzegovina consisting of Italian, Jewish and Slavic migrants. During this phase emigration from Western Europe reduced due to improved standards of living.

In one instance, about 17% of all European East-West migrants were from Poland. In contrast to other countries of origin, Polish emigration was ethnically heterogeneous. In the late 1960s, in reaction to the anti-Semitic campaign led by the state itself, a large proportion of Jewish Polish citizens went to Western Europe, Israel, and the USA. In 1980-81, however, the emigration of about 250,000 Poles fleeing from the imposition of martial law to the West especially to Austria and Germany was spontaneous. From 1986, when it again became possible to leave Poland and emigrate, a larger number of Poles of non-German origin tried to gain a foothold in the West. Between 1950 and 1990-91 about 2.1 million people emigrated from Poland; more than 1 million of them in the second half of the 1980s. Since then, however, about 60% of the non-ethnic German immigrants to the West have returned to Poland.

In another instance, emigration in the 1950s and early 1960 from Yugoslavia primarily involved two groups: first, Muslims of Turkish origin and Bosnian Muslims, the overwhelming majority of whom went to Turkey; and second, political opponents of the Tito regime, who headed for Western Europe and overseas. Also, the wars in Croatia (1991-92) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (199-93) and the repression of ethnic minorities in Vojvodina, Serbia and Kosovo led to the largest wave of European migration since 1945-46. Between 1991 and 1993 more than 5 million citizens of former Yugoslavia became refugees or displaced persons. Only 700,000 of them came to Western Europe, of whom 355,000 to Germany, 80,000 to Switzerland, 74,000 to Sweden, and 70,000 to Austria. Between 1950 and 1992 most of the migrants came from Romania and Bulgaria, but to a smaller extent also from former Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

At the same time, emigration after 1991 took place between the former Soviet Republics that became sovereign states (now Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) member countries and the Baltic States). In the majority of cases ethnic Russians were returning from the peripheries of the former Soviet Empire. This was made possible, after the USA and some West European countries pressed for an easing of the restrictive Soviet emigration policy (OECD Database 2017).

Today, migration is clearly a global issue. Europe as a continent has substituted the single European country as a destination for migrants. The end of the

cold war triggered a new migration and a new geographical divide. 1990 was a landmark in European migration history when international borders were redefined, and the common European Union policy approach towards asylum and border control was launched.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit

1. Trace the origin of the European Diaspora.

.....

2. Explain briefly the ‘second wave’ of European emigration.

.....

19.5 EUROPEAN DIASPORA LINKAGES TODAY

As for the trends and developments in European Diasporic linkages today, of the 61.2 million European migrants worldwide in 2017, the majority (67 percent) lives in other European countries, followed by the United States (8 percent), Kazakhstan (5 percent), and Australia and Canada (4 percent each), according to United Nations Population Division estimates (United Nations Population Division Estimates, 2017). There are four categories of emigrants from the European continent. The first category consists of European nationals with no immigrant background with a high return rate (especially from the United Kingdom, France and Denmark). The second category is European nationals with an immigrant background, extremely difficult to capture in administrative statistics both at origin and destination (e.g. highly-skilled French-Algerians to Canada). The third group of emigrants is non-European nationals. They constitute a very high percentage among emigrants from Europe. In the case of Austria it is around 70% of the outflow; Denmark, Germany – 80%; Spain, France, and the Netherlands – 65%. The fourth group is EU nationals.

Following the new trends in Diaspora policies world-wide, for countries like the UK and the Netherlands, the issue of emigration of human capital has risen higher on the political agenda in the last ten years. The UK is the top European sending country to non-European destinations and the Netherlands is also among the top ten sending European states. This has to do with the economic engagement of British and Dutch companies in many countries around the world, but is also a question of specific categories of migrants. For instance, Dutch agrarian entrepreneurs tend to emigrate to places where they

can invest in agricultural production, hence a growing Dutch community in Australia. Countries have experienced increased emigration flows following the European Union accession, like Poland and the Baltic States and after the euro-zone crisis, like Portugal and Ireland (Godzimirski 2015). Most countries' diaspora policies are concerned not only with the negative effects of emigration, but focus on opportunities and relations between the diaspora and economic development. An example is Poland and its need to improve cooperation with the Polish Diaspora in Ukraine and the East, and with new and old Polish Diasporas in the West.

19.6 CONTRIBUTIONS OF EUROPEAN DIASPORA TO EUROPE

In the current era of intensifying global human and capital flows, European diaspora's contribution to the development of their home countries is crucial. Therefore, the European Diaspora has become a vital asset leading to its recognition and contributions through remittances. As new technologies have mobilised contacts, the European Diaspora has become culturally creative, socially dynamic and politically active. Innovative development financing that includes novel engagement from the Diaspora remains at the forefront of policy debates. Here, the flow of remittances to the homeland has directly affected capacity building and development (Colin 1997; Newland 2004).

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of the United Nations highlights the positive contribution of migrants and Diaspora for achieving sustainable development. At the same time, the spirit of the Barcelona declaration, realizes that Diasporas are a resource for the European societies and that the idea of Diasporas provides solutions that are well worth promoting. According to the understanding, identities are not tied to a territory or to a source of authority to be legitimate and valuable. The idea of European Diasporas acknowledges that each one of can belong simultaneously to different places and to different groups but identities are rooted primarily in Europe.

Check your progress 2

Note: Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

- Trace the main trends in European Diaspora linkages in the 20th and 21st centuries.

.....
.....
.....
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- Explain briefly the possible contributions of the European Diaspora to Europe.

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19.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we have discussed the meaning and concept of European Diaspora. We have explained "historic" and "contemporary" European Diasporas, referring respectively to Diaspora formation. Thereafter, we have tried to elucidate the origin and subsequent trends of European Diaspora in 19th, 20th and 21st century. Afterwards, we have briefly explained the current diasporic linkages. In discussing diaspora linkages, we explained the possible contributions of the European Diaspora to their home countries.

19.8 KEY WORDS

The First Wave: The first wave refers to European emigration came for a variety of religious, economic and political reasons. They came for new economic opportunities and better life. This happened because peasants were displaced and for allied reasons like, famine and poverty. Other push factors were freedom of religion from religious persecution.

The Second wave: The 'second wave' occurred mainly in the 18th and early 19th centuries when Europeans mainly from eastern and southern parts emigrated. The main cause was technological changes due to the Industrial Revolution. Then, there was the demand for employment in the new factories which attracted people who wanted to escape bad living conditions in their homelands

The Third Wave: Migration during the 20th and 21st century marked the 'third wave'. The sudden freedom of travel and Eastern Europe's mounting economic problems and social tensions caused by the transition to market economy had been important 'push factors'. In many cases ethnic discrimination also played an important role. The end of the Cold War also triggered a new migration pattern and a new geographical divide. 1990 is seen as the most recent landmark in European migration history when international borders were redefined, and the common European Union policy approach towards asylum and border control was launched.

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19.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS –POSSIBLE ANSWERS

Check your progress 1

First Wave: The European diaspora consists of European people and their [descendants](#) who [emigrated](#) from [Europe](#). The ‘first wave’ can be traced back in time when emigration from [Europe](#) began on a large scale especially during the [Spanish Empire](#) in the 16th and 17th centuries (expansion of the [Hispanosphere](#)), the [British Empire](#) in the 17th to 19th centuries (expansion of the [Anglosphere](#)) and the [Portuguese Empire](#) and the [Russian Empire](#) in the early 19th century (expansion to [Central Asia](#) and the [Russian Far East](#)). The first significant European immigration wave, spanning centuries, the 16th to early 19th centuries consisted mostly of settlers from the British Isles attracted by economic opportunity and religious freedom.

1. Second Wave: The ‘second wave’ of European emigration entrenched itself well during the 19th century when there were predominantly “economic migrants” from Europe, whereas during the 20th century, racial persecution, political oppression, and the ravages of revolutions, civil wars and two world wars (World War I and World War II) became the predominant causes of migration.

Check your progress 2

2. Third Wave: Migration during the 20th and 21st century marked the ‘third wave’. The sudden freedom of travel and Eastern Europe's mounting economic problems and social tensions caused by the transition to market economy had been important ‘push factors’. In many cases ethnic discrimination also played an important role. The end of the Cold War also triggered a new migration pattern and a new geographical divide. 1990 is seen as the most recent landmark in European migration history when international borders were redefined, and the common European Union

policy approach towards asylum and border control was launched.

European Diaspora

3. Possible Diaspora contributions:

In the current era of intensifying global human and capital flows, Diaspora contribution to the development of their home countries is crucial. Innovative development financing that includes novel engagement from the Diaspora remains at the forefront of policy debates. The new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of the United Nations highlights the positive contribution of migrants and diaspora for achieving sustainable development. At the same time, the spirit of the Barcelona Declaration, realizes that European Diasporas are a resource for European societies and that the idea of Diasporas provides solutions that are well worth promoting.

