

# Malian traders in the Senegalese capital

By *Gunvor Jónsson*

In Dakar, the capital of Senegal in West Africa, there is an abandoned train station which lies not far from the harbour. If you peek through the metal wire fence that surrounds this impressive structure, you can get a glimpse of the empty arrival and departure halls, and if you walk around the back, you might notice a small group of traders lined up against the old railway tracks which are overgrown with weeds. This is the former terminus station of the Dakar–Niger railway line that stretches all the way from the Atlantic coast and eastwards into the interior of West Africa, ending at the River Niger by the capital of the landlocked neighbouring country, Mali. Since 1923 and up until the turn of the second millennium, this railway was the only means of direct transport to Dakar that was available to the majority of Malians. The terminus station in Dakar was a hub for the city's Malian population and a point of convergence for a great variety of travellers, beggars, civil servants, migrant labourers, and traders.

The Malian traders I met in Dakar during my 12 months of fieldwork in the city in 2013, generally traced the origins of their community back to the pioneering kola nut traders, who imported these precious nuts from the Ivory Coast, either by ship or on the railway via Mali, to the port of Dakar. Several Malians settled in Dakar in the late 1960s, after the fall of the socialist regime in Mali which had discouraged emigration and commerce. These Malians had previously participated in the so-called *navétanat*, one of the most important migrations in the modern history of West Africa, involving the seasonal agricultural labour migrations of men to the peanut plantations of Senegal and The Gambia (David 1980). Peanut

production provided the economic base of French colonial rule in the region, and constituted the principal source of revenue for the post-colonial Senegalese state. A series of severe droughts and the falling world market price for peanut oil undermined the peanut economy, and some Malian cultivators therefore decided to settle in Dakar where they transformed themselves into kola nut traders, drawing on their transnational family networks in Mali and the Ivory Coast to facilitate their businesses.

Initially, these Malian traders stored their shipments of kola nuts at *La Gare*, the terminus train station in Dakar, in three big old warehouses that were no longer used by the state. Gradually, the kola traders were able to acquire warehouses, offices and accommodation in a neighbourhood in the vicinity of *La Gare*. They were still present in that neighbourhood in 2013, even though most of them had abandoned the kola trade and instead become forwarding agents and transporters. One of the most successful kola traders had founded the *Mosqué des Bambaras* – a mosque for the Malians living in this neighbourhood, the former epicentre of the Malian kola trade in the city.

Since the beginning of the railway, Malian women known as *bana-banas* had been travelling back and forth on the passenger train with goods that they traded with the populations in the towns and villages along the line (Lambert 1993). When the kola traders abandoned *La Gare*, a female *bana-bana* took over the warehouses and pioneered the wholesale import and trade in dried agricultural produce (*fruits secs*) from Mali. Subsequently, a Malian wholesale market gradually emerged around *La Gare*, as a new wave of Malian immigrants associated with the *fruits secs* business entered the stage in the 1980s. *Bana-banas* acted as suppliers to the Malian traders at *La Gare* and also sold their own goods that they displayed in the doors of the warehouses or on pieces of cardboard on the ground. Additional warehouses were built, and a retail market began to sprawl around the terminus station. The female *bana-banas* who came with goods on the passenger train from Mali often used *La Gare* as a dormitory in between the two trains; other *bana-banas* would seek a host among the big Malian kola nut traders settled in the capital city.

However, in 2009 the Senegalese authorities evicted the traders and demolished the Malian market at *La Gare*. In its place a *Grand*

*Théâtre* – which was a gift from China – was constructed, as part of the president’s neoliberal vision for the capital, aimed largely at attracting foreign investment (Melly 2013). The Dakar–Niger railway was privatised in 2003 and in 2009 the new owners, a Franco-Canadian consortium, decided to take the passenger train out of service. This was the train that the *bana-banas* had been travelling on with their goods. Thus the Malian women, whose businesses and livelihoods depended on the railway and its terminus station, had their trade infrastructure pulled from beneath their feet.

However, this did not lead to the disappearance of Malian trade in the Senegalese capital. Instead, several smaller Malian markets emerged in the vicinity of the old train station. These dispersed traders were connected through kinship and credit networks and their shared history at the former market, and they continued referring to themselves as ‘*les gens de La Gare*’ (the people from *La Gare*). However, supply and customers had dwindled. As one market woman told me, ‘After the market was destroyed, people say that, “Now there is nothing at *La Gare*, so we’re not going there anymore”’. The supply trucks from Mali preferred stopping in the northern suburbs of Dakar instead of venturing south to the Malian markets in the congested city centre; the customers followed suit. Most *bana-banas* stopped bringing Malian goods to Dakar and only continued their journeys to the capital in order to purchase goods for sale back in Mali.

Several of the remaining Malian market traders seemed to have little commercial rationale for perpetuating their businesses in the city centre. Instead, they largely persevered on the basis of their memories of the profitable trade they had enjoyed at *La Gare* and their sense of belonging to this place and its trading community. In contrast, most of the *bana-banas* had re-oriented their trading networks and were drawing on new infrastructures to facilitate their businesses. Several of them were acting as middlemen on behalf of traders based back in Mali, who the *bana-banas* supplied with goods that they collected in Dakar. One entrepreneurial female *bana-bana* had started up a bus route in 2003 for passengers travelling between Bamako and Dakar. A few years later, she started up her own bus company, and several other Malian bus companies started appearing in the following years. Some of the Malians based in Dakar were



'La Gare': the terminus train station of the Dakar–Niger railway in the Senegalese capital, 2013. ©Gunvor Jónsson

catering to the *bana-banas* who had been deprived of their temporary accommodation at *La Gare* and of the possibility of transporting their goods on the passenger train: informal enterprises had sprung up in 2009, renting out bedrooms and simultaneously providing trucks that would transport the *bana-banas*' goods back to Mali.

This contribution has tried to dissect the diasporic black box, by disentangling some of the different networks, generations and waves of Malian migrants in Dakar, as well as the histories, memories and imaginaries that might be involved in a process of diaspora formation. The Malian market traders appeared to show the signs of an emerging diasporic mentality, as reflected in their self-designation as 'the people from *La Gare*'. Only time will tell whether this imagined community will persist, perish or transform itself, in the face of persistent and dramatic developments in the urban environment and the wider socio-economic landscape they inhabit. □

# References

- Advisory Committee of the TGTE (2010) *Formation of a Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam: final report based on the study by the Advisory Committee*. Committee for the formation of a Transnational Government of Tamil Eelam, 15 March.
- Ahmed, S. (2000) *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Postcoloniality*. London: Routledge.
- Aja, A., and Arango, J. (2006) *Veinte años de inmigración en España: perspectivas jurídica y sociológica (1985–2004)*. Barcelona: Fundació CIDOB.
- Amarasingam, A. (forthcoming) *Pain, Pride, and Politics: Sri Lankan Tamil Activism in Canada*. University of Georgia Press.
- Anderson, B. (1983) *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, B. (1998) 'Long distance nationalism'. In: Anderson, B. (ed.) *The spectre of comparisons: nationalism, southeast Asia and the world*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, B. (2002) 'The New World Disorder'. *New Left Review* 193.
- Anderson, B. (2013) *Us and Them: the Dangerous Politics of Immigration Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Anthias, F. (1998) 'Evaluating "Diaspora": Beyond Ethnicity?'. *Sociology* 32(3):557–580
- Asad, T. (2003) *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Bannerji, H. (2000) *The Dark Side of the Nation*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar Press.
- Barreto, L. F. (1996) 'Macau: A Multicultural Centre'. *Macau Magazine*, pp. 28–43.
- Bauböck, R. (2009) 'The Rights and Duties of External Citizenship'. *Citizenship Studies* 13(5): 475–499.
- Baumann, G. (1996) *Contesting Culture: Discourses of Identity in Multi-Ethnic London*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2011) 'The marriage route to migration: of border artistes, transnational matchmaking and imported spouses'. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* 1 (2):60–68.
- Benhabib, S. (1996) *The Reluctant Modernism of Hannah Arendt*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Berg, M. L. (2015) "'La Lenin Is My Passport': schooling, mobility and belonging in socialist Cuba and its diaspora'. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 22(3):303–317.
- Betts, A and Jones, W. (forthcoming) *The Nation Outside the State: Transnational Political Mobilisation in the African Diaspora*.
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. (2005) 'Spaces of multilingualism'. *Language & Communication* 25(3):197–216.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Brah, A. (1996) *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting identities*. London: Routledge.
- Brubaker, R. (2005) 'The "diaspora" diaspora'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28(1):1–19.

- Brubaker, R., and Kim, J. (2011) 'Transborder Membership Politics in Germany and Korea'. *Archives européennes de sociologie/European Journal of Sociology* 52(1):21–75.
- Brun, C. and Van Hear, N. (2012) 'Between the local and the diasporic: the shifting centre of gravity in war-torn Sri Lanka's transnational politics'. *Contemporary South Asia* 20(1):61–75.
- Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2008) 'Immigration and integration policymaking in Spain', *Imiscoe Working Paper* 21:14.
- Cahn, C. and Peric, T. (1999) 'Roma and the Kosovo conflict', *Roma Rights* 2:6–21.
- Charsley, K., and Liversage, A. (2012) 'Transforming polygamy: migration, transnationalism and multiple marriages among Muslim minorities', *Global Networks* 13(1):60–78.
- Chisholm, A. (2014) 'Marketing the Gurkha security package: colonial histories and neoliberal economies of private security'. *Security Dialogue* 45:349.
- Clifford, J. (1992) 'Traveling Cultures'. In: Grossberg, L. et al. (eds.), *Cultural Studies*. New York: Routledge, pp. 96–117.
- Cohen, R. (1997) *Global Diasporas: an introduction*. 1st ed. London: UCL Press.
- Cohen, R. (2008) *Global Diasporas: an introduction*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, R. (2010) 'Social identities and creolization'. In: Knott, K. and McLoughlin, S. (eds.) *Diasporas: Concepts, intersections, identities*. London: Zed Books, pp. 69–73.
- Collyer, M. (ed.) (2013) *Emigration Nations: Policies and Ideologies of Emigrant Engagement*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Comaroff, J.L. and Comaroff, J. (2009) *Ethnicity, Inc.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Crooke, A. (2009) *Resistance: The Essence of the Islamist Revolution*. London: Pluto Press.
- Csergő, Z., and Goldgeier, J.M. (2004) 'Nationalist Strategies and European Integration'. *Perspectives on Politics* 1:21–37.
- Dabashi, H. (2011) *Brown Skin White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- David, A. (2008) 'Local Diasporas/Global Trajectories: New Aspects of Religious "Performance" in British Tamil Hindu Practice'. *Performance Research* 13(3):89–99.
- David, A. (2012) 'Sacralising the City: Sound, Space and Performance in Hindu Ritual Practices in London'. *Culture and Religion* 13(4): 449–67.
- David, P. (1980) *Les Navétanes. Histoire des migrants saisonniers de l'arachide en Senegambie des origines à nos jours*. Dakar: Les Nouvelles Editions Africaines.
- de Bruijn, M. and van Dijk, H. (1995) *Arid Ways*. Amsterdam: Thela.
- de Bruijn, M. and van Dijk, R. (eds.) (2012) *The Social Life of Connectivity in Africa*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- de Bruijn, M., van Dijk, R. and Foeken, D. (eds.) (2001) *Mobile Africa: Changing Patterns of Movement in Africa and Beyond*. Leiden: Brill.
- Délando, A. (2014) 'The Diffusion of Diaspora Engagement Policies: A Latin American Agenda'. *Political Geography*, 41:90–100.
- Délando, A. and Gamlen, A. (2014). 'Comparing and Theorizing State–Diaspora Relations'. *Political Geography* 41:43–53.
- Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus*. Trans. Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dixon, J. M. (2010) 'Defending the nation? Maintaining Turkey's narrative of the Armenian genocide'. *South European Society and Politics* 15(3):467–85.

- Dufoix, S. (2012) *La Dispersion. Une histoire des usages du mot diaspora*. Paris: Editions Amsterdam. [English translation to be published by Brill in 2015.]
- Eade, J. (1989) *The Politics of Community: The Bangladeshi Community in East London*. Aldershot: Avebury.
- Eade, J. and Garbin, D. (2006) 'Competing visions of identity and space.' *Contemporary South Asia*, 15(2):181–93.
- Embassy of Afghanistan, Washington, D.C., <http://www.embassyofafghanistan.org>.
- Evinch, G. (2008) 'The emerging role of law in Turkish American public advocacy: defending freedom of speech on the Ottoman–Armenian conflict of 1885–1919 in *Griswold v. Massachusetts Board of Education*.' *Ankara Bar Association Annual International Law Congress*, January 8–11.
- Fassin, D. (2010) 'Introduction: frontières extérieures, frontières intérieures.' In: Fassin, D. (ed.) *Les Nouvelles Frontières de la Société Française*. Paris: La Découverte, pp. 5–24.
- Ferguson, J. (1990) *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development,' Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E. (2015) 'On the Threshold of Statelessness: Palestinian narratives of loss and erasure,' forthcoming in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.
- Foucault, M. (1991) 'Governmentality'. Trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon. In: Burchell, G., Gordon, C. and Miller, P. (eds.) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 87–104.
- Gamlen, A. (2014) 'Diaspora Institutions and Diaspora Governance,' *International Migration Review* 48(1), Fall, pp. 180–217.
- Garnett, J. and Harris, A. (2013a) 'Church without Walls: Mapping the Sacred in East London.' In: Garnett, J. and Harris, A. (eds.) *Rescripting Religion in the City: Migration and Religious Identity in the Modern Metropolis*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 115–30.
- Garnett, J. and Harris, A. (2013b) 'Wounding and Healing: Dealing with Difference in Christian Narratives of Migrant Women in East London since 1980.' *Women's History Review* 22(2): 1–20.
- Gerring, J. (1999) 'What makes a concept good? A criterial framework for understanding concept formation in the social sciences' *Polity* 31(3): 357–93.
- Giroux, H. (2014) 'The Militarization of Racism and Neoliberal Violence.' *Truthout*, 18 August, <http://truth-out.org/opinion/item/25660-the-militarization-of-racism-and-neoliberal-violence>
- Glissant, E. (1990) *Poétique de la relation*. Paris: Gallimard. [*Poetics of Relation*, trans. B. Wing (1997). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.]
- Goffman, E. (1968) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Goodfellow, T. and Smith, A. (2013) 'From Urban Catastrophe to "Model" City? Politics, Security and Development in Post-Conflict Kigali.' *Urban Studies*, doi:10.1177/0042098013487776.
- Goodhart, D. (2004) 'Discomfort of strangers,' *Guardian*, 24 February, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2004/feb/24/race.eu>
- Gupta, A. and Ferguson, J. (1992) 'Beyond "Culture": Space, Identity and the Politics of Difference.' *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):6–23.
- Haley, A. (1976) *Roots: the story of an American family*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

- Hall, S. (1992) 'The Question of Cultural Identity'. In: Hall, S., Held, D. and McGrew, T. (eds.) *Modernity and its Futures*. Cambridge: PolityPress/Open University, pp. 273–325.
- Hammond, L. (2012) 'The Absent but Active Constituency: The Role of the Somaliland UK Community in Election Politics'. In: Mandaville, P. and Lyons, T. (eds.) *Politics From Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks*. Columbia: Hurst, pp.157–178.
- Hammond, L. et al. (2013) *Family Ties: Remittances and Livelihoods Support in Puntland and Somaliland*. Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit (FSNAU) – Somalia
- Hanifi, S. M. (2006) 'Material and social remittances to Afghanistan'. In: Westcott, C. and Brinkerhoff, J. (eds.) *Converting migration drains into gains: harnessing the resources of overseas professionals*. Manila: Asian Development Bank, pp. 98–126.
- Hannerz, U. (1987) 'The World in Creolisation'. *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 57(4):546–559.
- Harris, A. (2015) 'Patron Saint of Catholics and Hindus: St Antony and Ecclesial Hospitality in East London'. In: Snyder, S., Orobator, A. and Ralston, J. (eds.) (2015) *Moving Body: the Church in Migration around the world*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Hassan, F. et al. (2013) *Mapping of the Somali Diaspora in England and Wales*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- Heil, T. (2013) 'Cohabitation and Convivencia. Comparing Conviviality in the Casamance and Catalonia'. Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford.
- Heil, T. (2014) 'Conviviality. (Re-)negotiating minimal consensus'. In: Vertovec, S. (ed.) *Routledge International Handbook of Diversity Studies*. Oxford: Routledge, pp. 317–24.
- Hess, M. and Korf, B. (2014) 'Tamil diaspora and the political spaces of second-generation activism in Switzerland'. *Global Networks*, 14(4):419–437.
- Holmes, D.R. and Marcus, G.E. (2006) 'Fast Capitalism: Para-Ethnography and the Rise of the Symbolic Analyst'. In: M.S. Fisher and Downey, G. (eds.) *Frontiers of Capital*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 33–56.
- Horst, C. (2013) 'The Depoliticisation of Diasporas from the Horn of Africa: From Refugees to Transnational Aid Workers'. *African Studies* 72 (2):228–245.
- Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya (2014) 'Població estrangera per països. 2014 Mataró', <http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?b=12&res=e121&nc=a> [accessed 23 October 2014].
- International Crisis Group (ICG) (2010) *The Sri Lankan diaspora after the LTTE*. Asia Report 186, International Crisis Group.
- Jacobson, H. (1993) *Roots schmoots: journeys among Jews*. London: Viking.
- Jenkins, R. (1994) 'Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17(2):197.
- Jones, G.A. and Chant, S. (2009) 'Globalising Initiatives for Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction: Exploring "Failure" with Reference to Education and Work Among Urban Youth in The Gambia and Ghana', *Geoforum* 40(2):184–96.
- Jones, W., de Oliveira, R.S. and Verhoeven, H. (2013) 'Africa's Illiberal Statebuilders'. *RSC Working Paper Series* 89.
- Kapur, D. (2010) *Diaspora, development, and democracy: the domestic impact of international migration from India*. New Delhi; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kebbe, C. Omar (2013) *The Gambia: Migration in Africa's 'Smiling Coast'*. <<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/gambia-migration-africas-smiling-coast>> [accessed 8 September 2014].



- Kibria, N. (2008) 'The "new Islam" and Bangladeshi youth in Britain and the US'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(2):243–266.
- King, R. and Christou, A. (2010) 'Cultural geographies of counter diasporic migration: Perspectives from the study of second generation "returnees" to Greece'. *Population, Space and Place* 16(2):103–119.
- Kleist, N. (2008) 'In the Name of Diaspora: Between Struggles for Recognition and Political Aspirations'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34(7):1127.
- Lambert, A. (1993) 'Les commerçantes maliennes du chemin de fer Dakar–Bamako'. In Grégoire, E., Labazée, P. and Amselle, J.L. (eds.) *Grands commerçants d'Afrique de l'Ouest: logiques et pratiques d'un groupe d'hommes d'affaires contemporains*. Paris: Editions Karthala et Editions de l'ORSTOM.
- Leftwich, J. (1987) 'Rudolf Rocker: Mentor of the Jewish Anarchists'. *Jewish Quarterly* 34 (2):126.
- Levinson, B. A., and Holland, D. C. (1996) 'The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: An Introduction'. In: Levinson, B.A. et al. (eds.) *The Cultural Production of the Educated Person: Critical Ethnographies of Schooling and Local Practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press, pp. 1–54.
- Li, D. (2015) 'Offshoring the Army: Migrant Workers and the U.S. Military'. 62 *UCLA Law Review* 124:124–174.
- Lichtenstein, R. (2007) *On Brick Lane*. London: Penguin.
- Lull, R. (1295–6). *Arbor Scientiae*. Rome.
- London Metropolitan University, 'Britain at Work: Voices from the Workplace, 1945–1995' collection, 'Interview with Derek Cox by Jamil Iqbal, Abdul Shahid and Shanaz Shahid, 22 March 2006'.
- Lowe, L. (1996) *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Mahmood, S. (2008) 'Feminism, Democracy and Empire: Islam and the War of Terror'. In: Scott, J. W. (ed.) *Women's Studies on the Edge*. Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 81–114.
- Mansoor, S. (2002) 'You're Muslim, you'll never be English'. *Guardian*, 18 June, <http://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2002/jun/19/familyandrelationships.religion>
- McClintock Fulkerson, M. (2007) *Places of Redemption: Theology for a Worldly Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 22–3.
- Melly, C. (2013) 'Ethnography on the Road: Infrastructural Vision and the Unruly Present in Contemporary Dakar'. *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 83:385–402.
- Menocal, M. R. (2002) *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Christians and Jews Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Misrahi-Barak, J., and Raynaud, C. (eds.) (2014) *Diasporas, cultures of mobilities, 'race'*. Montpellier: Presses Universitaires de la Méditerranée.
- Mohan, G. (2002) 'Diaspora and Development'. In: Robinson, J. (ed.) *Development and Displacement*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press, p.77.
- Nagl, J. (2007) *U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Newbury, C. (2011) 'High Modernism and the Ground Level: The Imidugudu Policy in Rwanda'. In: Straus, S. and Waldorf, L. (eds.) *Remaking Rwanda: State Building and Human Rights after Mass Violence*. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, pp. 223–239.

- Orozco, M. (2009) *Emerging Markets for Rwanda: Remittance Transfers, Its Marketplace and Financial Intermediation*. Washington, D.C.: Inter-American Dialogue, <http://www.thedialogue.org/PublicationFiles/Rwanda%20Remittance%20transfers%20report.pdf>
- Panossian, R. (2005) 'Homeland–diaspora relations and identity differences'. In: Herzig, E. and Kurkchian, M. (eds.) *The Armenians: Past and present in the making of national identity*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 229–243.
- Peggs, J. (1844) 'The Lascars' Cry to Britain: An appeal to British Christians on behalf of the Asiatic Sailors, who resort to London, Liverpool, etc.' London: s.n., p.12.
- Ragazzi, F. (2014) 'A Comparative Analysis of Diaspora Policies'. *Political Geography* 41:74–89.
- Raghuram, P. (2009) 'Which migration, what development? Unsettling the edifice of migration and development'. *Population, Space and Place* 15(2):103.
- Raj, S. (2004) 'Dialogue "On the Ground": The Complicated Identities and the Complex Negotiations of Catholics and Hindus in South India'. *Journal of Hindu-Christian Studies* 17:33–44.
- Raj, S. and Harman, W. P. (eds.) (2007) *Dealing with Deities: The Ritual Vow in South Asia*. New York: SUNY Press.
- Rajasingam, N. (2009) 'The Tamil diaspora: solidarities and realities'. *openDemocracy*, 17 April, [www.opendemocracy.net/article/the-tamil-diaspora-solidarities-and-realities](http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/the-tamil-diaspora-solidarities-and-realities)
- Sartre, J.P. (1957) *Being and Nothingness: an Essay on phenomenological ontology*. London: Methuen.
- Sayyid, B. (2004) *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. London: Zed Books.
- Schetter, C. J. (2005) 'Ethnoscapes, National Territorialisation, and the Afghan War'. *Geopolitics* 10(1):500.
- Sigona, N. (2009) 'Being Roma activists in post-independence Kosovo'. In: Sigona, N. and Trehan, N. (eds.) *Romani Politics in Contemporary Europe: Poverty, Ethnic Mobilization and the Neoliberal Order*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, pp. 209–25.
- Sigona, N. (2012) 'Between competing imaginaries of statehood Roma, Ashkali and Egyptian (RAE) Leadership in Newly Independent Kosovo', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38(8): 1213–1232.
- Sinatti, G. and Horst, C. (2014) 'Migrants as agents of development: Diaspora engagement discourse and practice in Europe'. *Ethnicities* 14(2):1–19.
- Sökefeld, M. (2006) 'Mobilizing in transnational space: a social movement approach to the formation of diaspora'. *Global Networks* 6(3):265–284.
- Solanes Corella (2006) 'Integración sin derechos: de la irregularidad a la participación'. *Cuadernos electrónicos de filosofía del derecho* 1(14):1–27.
- Spivak, G. (1999) *Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, ix.
- Suny, R. G. (2009) 'Truth in telling: reconciling realities in the genocide of the Ottoman Armenians'. *The American Historical Review* 114(4):930–46.
- The Gentleman's Magazine (1823) 93/1: 80.
- Thobani, S. (2007) *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Thobani, S. (2008) 'Gender and Empire: Veilmentaries and the War on Terror'. In: Chakravorty, P. and Zhao, Y. (eds.) *Global Communications: Towards a Transcultural Political Economy*. Boulder, Co.: Rowan & Littlefield, pp. 219–242.
- Thobani, S. (2009) 'Slumdogs and Superstars: Negotiating the Culture of Terror'. *Studies in South Asian Film and Media* 1(2):227–248.
- Thobani, S. (2010) 'Imperialist Missions: Representing Muslims in the War on Terror'. In: Meenakshi, T. (ed.) *The Politics of Nationhood and Belonging*. Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan, pp. 230–258.
- Tölölyan, K. (2000) 'Elites and institutions in the Armenian transnation'. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 9(1): 107–136.
- Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives, Avenues Unlimited papers (TH/I/AVU)
- Turner, S. and Kleist, N. (2013) 'Introduction: Agents of Change? Staging and Governing Diasporas and the African State'. *African Studies* 72 (2):192–206.
- Tweed, T.A. (1997) *Our Lady of the Exile: Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 94–95.
- University of Warwick Modern Records Centre, Papers of the Young Women's Christian Association, *Update*, issues 1 and 3 (Winter and Summer 1990).
- Van Hear, N. (1998) *New Diasporas: the mass exodus, dispersal and regrouping of migrant communities*. London: UCL Press.
- Van Hear, N. (2010) 'Diaspora and Migration'. In: Knott, K. and McLaughlin, S. (eds.), *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities*. London: Zed Books.
- Van Hear, N. (2012) 'Between the Local and the Diasporic: The Shifting Centre of Gravity in War-torn Sri Lanka's Transnational Politics'. *Contemporary South Asia* 20(1):61–75.
- Van Hear, N. (2014) 'Refugees, diasporas and transnationalism'. In: Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, E., Loescher, G., Long, K. and Sigona, N. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.176–187.
- Vasquez, M. (2010) 'Diasporas and Religion'. In: Vasquez, M., Knott, K. and Cuban, S. (eds.) *Diasporas: Concepts, Intersections, Identities*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Vimalarajah, L. and Cheran, R. (2010) 'Empowering diasporas: the dynamics of post-war transnational Tamil politics', *Berghof Occasional Paper* 31. Berlin: Berghof Conflict Research, Berghof Peace Support.
- Vuibau, T. (2013) 'Soldier returns bravery medals'. *Fiji Times*, 23 January, <http://goo.gl/ffgCM7> (accessed 24 April 2014).
- Ware, V. (2014) *Military Migrants. Fighting for YOUR Country* [with new foreword]. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- White, D. (1973) 'Black v. Pak?'. In: Gelfand, D. E. and Lee, R. D. *Ethnic conflicts and power: a cross-national perspective*. New York: Wiley, pp. 109–113 [originally published in *New Society*, 10 December 1970, pp. 1033–34.]
- Wray, H. (2011) *Regulating Marriage Migration into the UK: A Stranger in the Home*. Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.
- Zangwill, I. (2009) *Children of the Ghetto*. Cambridge: Black Apollo Press.
- Zlatar, A. (2001) 'Culture in Croatia During the Transition Period'. *Eurozine*.
- Zubaida, S. (1998) 'Cosmopolitanism in the Middle East'. *Civil Society: Democratization in the Middle East* 7 (79).