



# GLOBAL MUSLIM DIASPORA

**Muslim Communities and Minorities in Non-OIC Member States**  
*Diagnostics, Concepts, Scope and Methodology*



**ORGANISATION OF ISLAMIC COOPERATION**  
**STATISTICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH  
AND TRAINING CENTRE FOR ISLAMIC COUNTRIES**







**SESRIC**

*40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of SESRIC*

**GLOBAL MUSLIM DIASPORA:**  
**Muslim Communities and Minorities in Non-OIC Member States**  
*Diagnostics, Concepts, Scope and Methodology*

Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic Countries  
(SESRIC)

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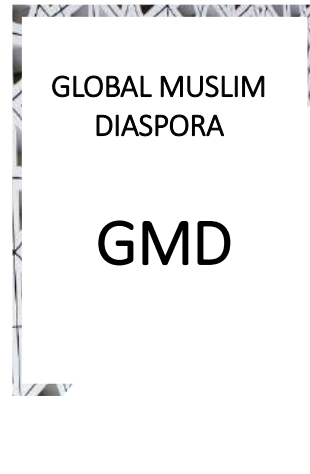
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# ABOUT

The SESRIC has launched the “Global Muslim Diaspora” project and commissioned a comprehensive study on Muslim communities and minorities living in the non-OIC Member States, with the intention to collect statistical data, analyze the challenges, experiences and perceptions on a range of issues related to Muslim communities and minorities.

An interdisciplinary working group composed of researchers from the Social Sciences University of Ankara (SSUA) and the SESRIC runs the Project.



## The Project aims to, inter alia:

- Create an up-to-date database in the form of an interactive map, called Global Muslim Diaspora Atlas, providing reliable data on Muslim communities and minorities living in 48 non-OIC Member States.
- Carry out field studies such as surveys, in-depth interviews and workshops in Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States.
- Prepare country reports for the listed twelve countries that will integrate, discuss and analyse fieldwork findings.
- Initiate cooperation forums to enhance incorporation of different views and perspectives from all relevant stakeholders, thus advance mutual understanding related to Muslim communities and minorities.
- Contribute to the efforts of host countries towards engaging and integrating their Muslim communities and minorities.
- Highlight the values and importance of the Muslim communities and minorities with the intention to reduce negative discourses directed against them.

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# Foreword

It is with great pleasure that I present to you the Global Muslim Diaspora project (GMD), a comprehensive research effort trying to analyse challenges, attitudes, experiences and perceptions on a range of issues related to Muslim communities and minorities living in the non-OIC Member States. The main objective of the project is to provide a range of useful comparative statistics and insights, which can help identify issues and shape future policy.

Islam is not only present in all continents as a religion but also as a cultural and civilizational value. Starting with the Hijrah of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Muslim migrants have laid the foundations for the spread of Islamic values, ideas and habits in the regions where they are settled, thus contributed to the cultural richness and economic development of these places.

Today, whenever we raise the point concerning Muslims living in non-OIC Member States, we have in mind a context in which Islam is present through more recent migrations. However, we should keep in mind that many of these countries have also been the homeland of its Muslim communities and minorities for centuries.

In the contemporary world, characterized by rapid communications and greater mobility of people and ideas, individuals of various societies are in closer contact with different beliefs. Records of Islamic history have many examples of religious tolerance. Many cities of the non-OIC Member States are also a meeting place for different ethnic groups and religious traditions, where over the course of centuries people have developed the capacity for coexistence, trust, sensitivity and tolerance toward others. However, recently in some non-OIC Member States, we are witnessing the rise of exclusionary discourses directed against Muslims. Yet, one should also recognize the normalization of lives of Muslim communities and minorities in most of these countries, which is evident through their integration in the cultural life, political participation, legal recognition of Islamic organizations, freely practicing the Islam and the like.

Despite the recent growth of literature on Muslim communities and minorities living in non-OIC Member States, our knowledge regarding this subject remains limited and fragmented. The GMD project, launched by SESRIC, intends to fill this gap through engaging more closely with the representatives of Muslim communities and minorities in different countries.



The results of this project will be an easy-to-access source of information, which affords the political elites, policy makers, analysts and general public the opportunity to understand how the Muslim communities and minorities in selected non-OIC Member States view the most pressing issues they face today. The project will also provide insights on the similarities and differences of the challenges faced by these Muslim communities.

The development of the GMD project has involved the dedication, skills and efforts of many individuals, whom I would like to thank.

I hope you will enjoy reading this report, which provides preliminary diagnostics and outlines the concepts, scope and methodology of the GMD project.

**Amb. Musa Kulaklıkaya**  
Director General  
SESRIC

# 1. Introduction

Following the initiative of SESRIC and in line with the resolution on “Safeguarding the Rights of Muslim Communities and Minorities in Non-OIC Member States”, adopted in July 2017 in Abidjan by the 44<sup>th</sup> session of Council of Foreign Ministers of the OIC, the GMD project was launched with an aim to provide reliable data and analysis on Muslim communities and minorities living in the non-OIC Member States. For this purpose, the consultants from the Social Sciences University of Ankara have been commissioned to make research, conduct fieldwork, analyse the findings and prepare analytical reports in cooperation with SESRIC.

The GMD project is based on two basic pillars: fieldwork and desk research. Fieldwork is designed to cover Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States, and to be conducted by travelling to these countries. Surveys and workshops with representatives of Muslim communities and minorities and in-depth interviews with Muslim and non-Muslim public opinion leaders are the main components of these fieldwork studies, whose results are to be integrated within the relevant analytical country reports.

The fieldwork activities of the GMD project will be useful in identifying the various diasporic communities of the OIC Member States and in analysing their challenges. They round up the views of Muslim communities and minorities on a variety of issues, provide a range of useful comparative statistics as well as insights that can help identify issues and shape future policy.

Desk research pillar of the GMD project is predominantly based on secondary sources and covers 48 non-OIC Member States,<sup>1</sup> whose findings will be presented on a web-based interactive map via factsheets. These factsheets are composed of three main parts: (i) the country context (historical and the legal/political/social context), (ii) the profile of the Muslim communities and minorities in each country (demographics, education, socio-economic status and political participation), and (iii) the observation of a country in relation to the rights and media representation of Muslim communities and minorities.

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<sup>1</sup> Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cuba, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hong Kong (SAR), Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Mexico, Moldova, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Opposite to the vast majority of the available literature and the debates on Muslim communities and minorities, where Muslims feature as a passive object of discussion, the GMD project takes into account the voices of the Muslim individuals and their communities, and ensures their active engagement in ongoing debate.

This report is prepared with intention to provide methodological framework and explain the scope and concepts used in the context of GMD project. First of all, a general overview of the Muslim communities and minorities living in non-OIC Member States is provided. Later parts of the report deal with rationale, purposes and scope of the GMD project, including a description of methodology and research activities. The last part highlights the conceptual framework, with a focus on the term diaspora. In this regard, this report provides a contribution to discussions on the applicability and relevance of the term “Muslim diaspora communities”.

## 2. Brief Overview of Muslim Communities and Minorities

### Historical Background

There is great degree of diversity in the historical background of Muslims in the countries covered by GMD project. The degree of diversity is due to a number of different factors, the most important of which are listed below:

- The development level of the country in question, which directly affects the living standards of the Muslim communities and minorities,
- The starting date/period of Muslim migration,
- The “hospitality” of the host country, i.e., the official trends on multiculturalism, which have either hindered or encouraged Muslim migration.

Although these factors play a significant role in Muslim migration, they fail to provide solid patterns/correlations by themselves. More economic development does not necessarily bring in more migrants that are Muslim. Japan, for example, may be more economically developed than Canada, but the number of Muslims and their positive outlook towards Canada is higher. Australia places a much greater degree of emphasis on multiculturalism than Germany, yet a higher number of Muslims choose to live in Germany.

Regarding countries’ development levels, countries with stronger economies and well-established social security schemes tend to receive more Muslim migrants. Canada is a fine example. According to the Survey of Muslims in Canada 2016, the first recorded Muslim family arrived in Upper Canada from Scotland in the early 1850s. By 2011, the Muslim population passed the one million, comprising more than 3% of the total population and representing one of the fastest growing religious groups in the country (EnviroNics Institute, 2016: 1). According to the Future of Global Muslim Population study, the Canadian Muslim population is expected to triple by 2030, from around 940 thousands in 2010 to nearly 2.7 million in 2030. This means that by 2030, Muslims could make up 6.6% of the total population, a larger share of the total population than may be found in the USA (Pew, 2011: 20).

Despite the element of slavery in the history of Muslims in the US, their current life standards in the country reflect a great impact on their outlook. 92% of Muslim immigrants surveyed by Public Agenda in 2009 said they intended to make the USA

their permanent home (Public Agenda, 2009: 34). France, with its strong colonial heritage was one of the first countries in Europe to become a country of immigration, initiated in the 1880s from central Europe and its border states of Belgium and Italy. The need for immigrant labour increased greatly during World War I, a time when European immigrants were largely unavailable. The earlier incorporation of Algeria into the French state, entailing free movement between it and the metropole, facilitated recruitment among its indigenous population, who fought along-side their French counterparts in the trenches of Western Europe and also replaced French workers who had been called to the Front. These experiences inaugurated a large-scale migratory flow. Between 1914 and 1954, more than 2 million Algerians resided in metropolitan France. Muslim migration to Japan has more of an Asia-Pacific background, beginning after the October Revolution (1917) in Russia. The first migrants to Japan, Turko-Tatar Muslim refugees from Central Asia and Russia, were predominantly refugees. In the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, on the back of Japan's booming economy, Indonesian Muslims became the largest group of Muslim migrants moving to Japan.

The earliest recorded immigration or the first contact with Muslims varies in all countries under examination. Due to their colonial background or geographical proximity to heavily populated Muslim regions, some countries engaged in close contact with Muslims far earlier than others. China is one example in which interactions with Muslims began around 1,400 years ago with Arab traders primarily concerned with trade and commerce. Similarly, the Muslim migration to Russia began early with migrants moving in significant numbers as early as the 8<sup>th</sup> century. In Poland, Tatar Muslim communities date back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In the Netherlands, the first traces of Islam trace back to 16<sup>th</sup> century when Ottoman and Persian traders settled in Dutch and Flemish trading towns. In Bulgaria and Greece, Muslim communities are largely the autochthonous people that adopted Islam during the Ottoman rule.

The USA, as the world's largest immigration country, was of great appeal to Muslim migrants due to religious liberties dating back to the 1680s. For countries with colonial relations, like France, Muslim immigration can be traced back to the 1920s. Some developed countries signed bilateral immigration agreements in the aftermath of World War II with countries struggling economically, e.g., Morocco, Tunisia, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, former Yugoslavia and Turkey. This migration wave towards more developed economies also continued in later decades, as it was the case with Italy and Japan during the 1980s.

Multiculturalist tendencies have also been important for the historical background of Muslim migration. Canada, the US and Australia are three significant examples in this regard. The rise in Muslim migrant numbers is due to a higher presence of multiculturalism in certain countries as well as their level of economic development.

These examples demonstrate the complex and diverse nature of mentioned countries historical interaction with Muslim communities and Muslim migration. Accordingly, the GMD project will investigate these different backgrounds and analyse how each had an impact on the Muslim communities and minorities.

## Demographics

Attempts to find exact data and figures for Muslim populations encounter immense difficulties and challenges. Out of 228 countries and territories, only 100 included a question on religious affiliation in censuses. Thus, as an author of one comprehensive study on global Muslim population Houssain Kettani notes, “out of world population of 6.93 billion in 2010, only 3.17 billion or 46% were covered by such a question. This illustrates the challenges that any study about world religious affiliation faces” (Kettani, 2010). The issue becomes even more challenging for attempts to provide numbers on minority and diasporic communities belonging to particular religious tradition, as illustrated in Table 1.

**Table 1:** Population of Muslims in Europe

	Yearbook of Muslims in Europe (2016)	Pew (2016)	Kettani (2010)
Germany	4,300,000	4,950,000	4,283,364
France	4,000,000	5,720,000	6,263,658
United Kingdom	2,780,832	4,130,000	2,475,971
Spain	1,887,906	1,180,000	1,178,231
Italy	1,600,000	2,870,000	1,262,049
Netherlands	825,000	1,210,000	965,894
Belgium	781,887	870,000	641,855
Bulgaria	577,139	790,000	914,668
Austria	573,876	600,000	353,952
Switzerland	450,000	510,000	323,528
Sweden	400,000	810,000	499,965
Greece	390,000	620,000	319,845
Denmark	284,000	310,000	202,807
Norway	245,415	300,000	99,534
Finland	70,000	150,000	1,069
Romania	64,337	80,000	65,689
Croatia	62,977	70,000	56,444
Portugal	55,000	40,000	15,025
Hungary	50,000	40,000	2,992
Ireland	49,204	70,000	34,876
Slovenia	47,488	80,000	49,003
Poland	35,000	10,000	26,627
Czech Republic	20,000	20,000	20,822
Luxembourg	18,000	20,000	9,639
Malta	15,000	10,000	3,075

In the given sample of European countries, listed sources provide different estimations on Muslim population. In some of these countries, there is no legal and political reference to a religion and only a rough estimate concerning the Muslim population can be made.

*Source:* Scharbrodt, Oliver (Ed.), *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*, Brill, Leiden, 2018; Pew, *Europe’s Growing Muslim Population*, Pew Research Centre, 29 November 2017; Houssain Kettani, “Muslim Population in Asia, Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania: 1950 - 2020,” five articles published at the *International Journal of Environmental Science and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2010.

Table 2 shows estimates concerning the distribution of the world Muslim population, whose total number in 2010, according to Kettani was around 1.7 billion, or near 25% of the world population. Kettani finds out that the world population annual growth rate on average was 1.194%, while the corresponding rate for the world Muslim population is 1.705%. Thus, the representation of Muslims with respect to the total world population is expected to increase at over one percentage point each decade, reaching one out of four by 2020, and one out of three by 2075.

**Table 2:** Estimate of the World Muslim Population by Continent (2010, 2020)

	Total Population (millions)		Muslim Population (millions)		Share of Muslim Population (%)	
	2010	2020	2010	2020	2010	2020
<b>Asia</b>	4,197	4,746	1,238	1,455	29.5	30.7
<b>Africa</b>	1,033	1,307	435	542	42.1	41.5
<b>Europe</b>	733	742	42	43	5.7	5.8
<b>Americas</b>	940	1,054	9	10	0.9	0.9
<b>Oceania</b>	29	33	0,473	0,528	0.3	0.3
<b>World</b>	6,932	7,882	1,724	2,050	24.9	26.0

Source: Houssain Kettani, "Muslim Population in Oceania: 1950 - 2020," *International Journal of Environmental Science and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2010, p. 169.

Notes: Asia - N = 51; Africa - N = 57, Europe - N = 48 (including Russia); Americas - N = 50; Oceania - N = 22.

Muslims constitute 42% of African population and close to 30% of Asian population, while their share in European continent is estimated at near 6%. Share of Muslims in total population of Americas and Oceania remains at symbolical levels, below 1%. Countries with Muslim population over 50% are concentrated in Asia (28 countries) and Africa (20 countries), while Europe is home to only two of them (Table 3).

**Table 3:** Number of Countries with Muslim Population Over 50 Percent

	Over 90%	80-90%	70-80%	60-70%	50-60%	Total
<b>Asia</b>	17	5	3	2	1	28
<b>Africa</b>	14	1	2	1	2	20
<b>Europe</b>	1	0	1	0	0	2
<b>Americas</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Oceania</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>World</b>	32	6	6	3	3	50

Source: Houssain Kettani, "Muslim Population in Asia, Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania: 1950 - 2020," five articles published at the *International Journal of Environmental Science and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2010.

**Table 4:** Estimate of the Muslim Population in Non-OIC Member States

	Total Population (millions)		Muslim Population (millions)		Share of Muslim Population (%)	
	2010	2020	2010	2020	2010	2020
<b>Asia</b>	1,605	1,861	180	209	11.21	11.23
<b>Africa</b>	437	556	55	71	12.59	12.77
<b>Europe</b>	724	732	36	36	4.97	4.92
<b>Americas</b>	939	1,053	9	10	0.96	0.95
<b>Oceania</b>	29	33	0,473	0,528	1.63	1.60
<b>World</b>	3,734	4,235	280	326	7.50	7.70

Source: Houssain Kettani, "Muslim Population in Asia, Africa, Europe, Americas and Oceania: 1950 - 2020," five articles published at the *International Journal of Environmental Science and Development*, Vol. 1, No. 2, June 2010.

Notes: This table covers all countries and territories, with exception of OIC Member States, where Muslims remain in minority or do not represent the highest number among existing religious groups. Asia - N = 18; Africa - N = 28, Europe - N = 45 (including Russia); Americas - N = 48; Oceania - N = 22.

Table 4 shows estimates of Muslim population living in non-OIC Member States. It covers 160 countries and territories where Muslims are minority or do not represent the highest number among existing religious groups. Since the GMD project targets only non-OIC countries, seven OIC Member States, namely Cameroon, Gabon, Guyana, Mozambique, Suriname, Togo and Uganda are not included, although Muslims in these countries do not represent the largest religious group.

In 2010, share of Muslim communities and minorities living in non-OIC Member States was around 7.5% (280 million) and it is estimated to increase to 7.7% (326 million) by 2020. Muslims represent almost 13% of population (55 million) of non-OIC Member States in Africa, while the corresponding rates for Asia and Europe are near 11% (180 million) and 5% (36 million), respectively.

The Muslim population in many countries does not correlate with the total population size. For example, despite the population size being one of the largest, according to Kettani (2010), the number of Muslims in the US is somewhere around 7 million, comprising 2.2% of the countries' population. However, in Canada, with a population of 664 thousand, Muslims make up the second largest religious group after Christians. Muslims migrating to developed countries generally come from Asia and Africa with a weighted average from India, Pakistan, Iran, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Afghanistan, and sub-Saharan Africa.



## Socioeconomic Profile, Representation and Visibility

The socio-economic profile of Muslim communities and minorities depends heavily on the development level of the host country. Well-functioning economic and social structures continue to attract higher numbers of Muslim migrants. Regarding Muslims monthly/yearly revenues, the secondary research could not provide reliable data. What is certain is the high unemployment level and job discrimination Muslims face in many cases.

The GMD project provides a detailed and comprehensive account on the profile of Muslim communities and minorities, specifically focusing on their socioeconomic status, education, and political participation and visibility. Here, it will suffice to underline some general directions and preliminary thoughts depending on a brief overview of the secondary data.

Unemployment figures in this sense provide one of the objective indicators of the economic situation of Muslim communities and minorities in host countries. Canada, due to the accessibility of data, provides a good example. According to survey conducted by Environics Institute, a small majority of Canadian Muslims are very (23%) or somewhat (30%) worried about unemployment (Environics Institute, 2016: 24). In France the unemployment rate of Muslims is over 14%. In Russia this ratio rises to 50%. In the US, 29% of Muslims are underemployed, in that they are either employed part time but would prefer full-time work (10%), or they are not employed but they are looking for work (18%) (Pew, 2017a: 43). Muslims are far more likely to be unemployed than any other faith group in the country, a House of Commons committee has warned in a report outlining stark differences in the social and economic experiences of different communities in Britain. In the UK, 12.8% of Muslims are unemployed according to the House of Commons's Women and Equalities Committee's report (House of Commons, 2016: 6)

The general profile of level of education of the Muslim communities and minorities is largely related to the multiculturalist tendencies of the country in question. Muslims from Commonwealth countries tend to have a higher education profile than those of other countries.

In Canada 44% of working-aged Muslims (25 to 64 years old) have a university degree, compared with the national average of 26% (Munir, 2015). While 20% of immigrant Muslims graduated from a community college, the figure for Canadian-born Muslims is 31%. In the UK, there has been a reduction in the percentage of Muslims with no qualifications from 2001 to 2011: from 39% to 26%. The percentage of Muslims (over 16) with 'Degree level and above' qualifications is not far off that of the general population (24% and 27% respectively). Few young Muslims take up apprenticeships (0.7% of the Muslim population in the 16-24 year old age band; for the population as

a whole it is 3.6%). (MCB, 2015: 19) The level of education among Australian Muslims compares favourably with the total population. They are more likely to have completed Year 12 and Muslim men are more likely to have a bachelors or postgraduate degree. A larger proportion of Muslims are in full-time education in Australia than other faiths mainly due to their younger age structure (Riaz, 2015, 15).

In non-Commonwealth developed countries, Muslims’ educational profiles and attainment are scattered. In France, the religious education of young Muslims has generally been provided either by the family at home or by associations and mosques in the framework of Koranic courses, independently and outside of regular school hours (Pallavicini, 2010: 50). In Austria, the civic engagement of young Muslims is fostered through charity programs, educational measures are provided on personal skills as well as on religious teachings, together with help with their implementation in the everyday life of young Muslims (Mattes and Rosenberger, 2015: 147). In Sweden, the Swedish National Agency for Education concluded that certain Muslim parents send their children to Muslim schools resulting from a negative bias and inaccurate views of Islam in municipal schools and schoolbooks; disregard for common Islamic rules regarding diet, dress, prayer, chastity, fasting, and so forth; poor religious education by Islamic standards; insufficient discipline; fear of exposure to narcotics and alcohol; and too great a diversity of immigrant groups in the neighbouring municipal schools (Berglund, 2014: 281-282).

**Table 5:** Average Years of Formal Schooling among Religious Groups, by Gender

Religious group	Average	Men	Women
Jews	13.4	13.4	13.4
Christians	9.3	9.5	9.1
Unaffiliated	8.8	9.2	8.3
Buddhists	7.9	8.5	7.4
Muslims	5.6	6.4	4.9
Hindus	5.6	6.9	4.2
Global Average	7.7	8.3	7.2

*Source:* Pew, *Religion and Education around the World*, Pew Research Center, 13 December 2016. *Notes:* Based on adults ages 25 years and older as of 2010 (or latest year available).

According to the Pew Research Center’s report drawn on census and survey data from 151 countries, in terms of formal schooling by religion, Muslims and Hindus tend to have the fewest years of schooling, with 5.6 average years. The report indicates that with 13.4 years Jews are more highly educated than any other major religious community, followed by Christians with an average of 9.3 years (Table 5). The report found significant gender gaps in average years of schooling within and between major world religions. Here, too, Muslim women with 4.9 average years of educational

attainment were listed as the second lowest educated group by religion (Pew, 2016: 6).

Same report found out that the youngest Muslims have begun to make significant gains in formal schooling over the decades, attaining approximately three more years to school, on average, compared to those born earlier. Over three recent generations, the average attainment for some schooling among Muslims saw a 25-percentage point increase, from 46% among the oldest Muslims (aged between 55 and 74), to 72% among the youngest (aged between 25 and 43) (Pew, 2016: 12). However, the percentage of Muslims with no formal schooling remains high, at 36%.

The gender gaps in acquiring formal education were notable for both Hindus and Muslims. The gender difference stood at 24% for Hindus (53% of Hindu women had no formal schooling compared with 29% of Hindu men) and 13% for Muslims (43% of women had no formal schooling compared with 30% of men). The same difference stood at only 1% among Jews (Pew, 2016: 14-15). In contrast with the European context, in the USA, Hindus and Muslims are more likely to seek higher education than Christians. In 2014, 87% of Hindus and 64% of Muslims compared with 14% of Christians had post-secondary degrees in the US (Pew, 2016: 19). Further, in the USA religious minorities were more likely to hold a college degree than Christians. While the US average for obtaining higher education qualifications stood at 39%, 54% of Muslims had a higher education qualification, indicating a 15-percentage point difference. Higher education attendance by religion in Pew's report was listed as: 96% for Hindus, 75% for Jews, 54% for Muslims, 53% for Buddhists, 44% for Unaffiliated, and 36% for Christians (Pew, 2016: 19).

Political participation of Muslim communities and minorities in G8 countries are far higher than in developing countries. Their political participation is also based upon demographics and the education level. In Canada, almost 80% of Muslims voted in elections after 2010. In France, around one third of Muslim registered voters chose to do so in the 2012 presidential elections. In G8 countries, many Muslims directly participate in the political environment via their parties, i.e., in France the Democratic Union of French Muslims and the Turkish-Muslim Equality and Justice Party. In Russia, Muslims are significantly overrepresented in those republics where they are "titular" nationalities; they tend to be underrepresented in regions with significant Muslim ethnic groups; but, as their share in the overall population decreases, the picture becomes more balanced, so that it would be fair to say that smaller Muslim communities and minorities are well represented. In the USA, the American Muslim Alliance, which is actively engaged in promoting Muslim involvement in politics, estimates that there are only about ten Muslims elected to public office in the USA. The immigrant group most actively involved in political campaigning appears to be the Pakistanis. This is to be expected since Pakistan has a long tradition of multi-party politics dating back to its independence in 1947.

In Australia, political participation of Muslims sits at 51.9% compared to 64.6% for the total Australian population. In Argentina, Muslims are not asked for their opinions in political processes due to a constitutional law prohibiting political participation to all non-apostolic Roman Catholics. In the Netherlands, the level of political participation among Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans' varies greatly based on the strength of the links between their respective organizations. For example, Turks enjoy a multitude of tight-knit organizations that enable them to form a well-organized community. Antilleans, however, have a variety of organizations that are not networked together.

Unfortunately, in the pursuit of a multi-ethnic society, many governments' multicultural policies have only served to socially isolate Muslim ethnic groups. In China, no reliable secondary data is provided concerning Muslim political participation due to the socio-political strain between the Chinese central authority and Uyghurs.

Regarding media visibility, in G8 countries, the public image of Muslims tends to be largely unfavourable. In Canada, up to 35% of Muslims have concerns about their portrayal in the media. In Italy, the cultural and religious implications of the process of pluralization, particularly around Islam have been avoided. Muslims are far more visible in the USA. Several globally known and influential Muslim organizations are rooted in the USA, e.g., the Inner-city Muslim Action Network and Islamic Relief USA. Developing countries with insignificant Muslim populations often have centres supported by other Muslim countries that are maintaining their media visibility. In Argentina, for example, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia supports the King Fahd Cultural Centre.

In some countries, the media visibility of Muslim communities and minorities is very limited. In the Czech Republic, there is almost no visibility of Muslims, with the exception of the Centre for Muslim Communities. In Greece, very few national media outlets reproduce Islamophobic discourse. There are, however, certain newspapers, particularly of the right and the extreme-right spectrum, that do perceive Islam and Muslims as a threat to Greece. In Hungary, while Islam has only recently been picked up as a topic of heightened interest, the so-called 'refugee crisis' led to intensive and unfavourable media attention. State-controlled and pro-government media outlets have arguably served as the prime tool of spreading the government's anti-Muslim refugee stances.

Regarding Muslim communities and minorities' rights and freedoms, multiculturalism is one the most significant determinants. In G8 countries, in line with their more liberal values, freedom of religious expression is far better protected than in developing countries. Liberalism applies to the general framework of rights and freedoms concerning religious expression and practice and opposing religious

discrimination. In Canada, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom guarantees the freedom of religious expression. In G8 countries, the rights and freedoms of Muslims are also affected by their experiences with legislative and administrative processes. In Italy, large-scale immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon; therefore, domestic politics and planning do not bear the necessary experience or a model of pluralism, which in effect changes the laws constantly. Russia poses an interesting example for creating a Russian version of Islam. The Russian state provides support to Islamic institutions while simultaneously controlling them. In the US on the other hand, with a rise in Islamophobia there has been an exaggerated fear, distrust, and hostility toward Islam and Muslims perpetuated by negative stereotypes resulting in bias, discrimination, marginalization and exclusion of Muslims from social, political and civic life.

In G8 countries, Muslim organizations have greater flexibility with their religious institutions and organizations, particularly with the practicing of their religion. For example in Canada, there are more than 200 mosques. In France, there were 2,449 prayer rooms and mosques in 2012. In Italy, there were 749 mosques as of 2013. In Russia, the number was 1382 in 2013, which rose from 300 in 1991. In the USA this number is over 2,100. In some countries these numbers decrease significantly. In Australia there are 28 mosques, and, as a radical example, in Argentina the number is only three, all in Buenos Aires. In Eastern European countries the number of mosques is proportionate to the size of the Muslim communities and minorities. For example in Bulgaria there are 1,217 mosques. However, in the Czech Republic there are only four mosques. In New Zealand, there are less than 50 mosques, in Chile three, in Colombia 18, in Iceland one, in South Korea 13, in Costa Rica 2 etc.

Another significant component of religious institutions can be found in the realm of education. In G8 countries, over 40% Muslims have a university degree, higher than the national average. In France for example, in primary schools, no religion courses can be taught, whereas in secondary schools religion can be taught by chaplains (but not during the school timetable). In G8 countries, Islamic education institutions are not widespread and tend to face bureaucratic problems. Yet, there is no absolute ban on their operation. For example in Japan, as an exceptional example, rather than officially recognized state schools, mosques tend to carry out Islamic education. The Islamic Trust only runs one private Islamic school (International Islamia School). In the US, the educational levels of Muslims are not evenly distributed among Muslim ethnic minorities. For example, Pakistanis in the US are particularly well educated. Yet, in general, US Muslims have the second highest level of education among major religious groups in the USA. Moreover, US Muslims overall tend to be more affluent and educated than the Muslim communities and minorities found in Western Europe. This in turn has helped Islamic education institutions in the US to flourish, from primary schools to universities.

Due to a lack of official and precise data on the specific contributions of Muslims to the socio-economic fabric of their host countries, some generalizations have to be drawn. With regards to their level of education, Muslim migrants in a number of countries do have a direct effect on the rise in unemployment. Muslim migrants can even severely affect the rise due to alienation from the high-end job market and socio-cultural isolation. Yet, Muslims cover a great variety of less-skill required service sectors, which are disliked by the rest of the society, i.e., delivery, waste processing, small food chains and transportation.

Regarding the social aspect, Muslims, particularly in G8 countries, have organized a number of umbrella-type councils, associations and foundations. They have also established political parties and several other forms of political discussion forums. These platforms do not only increase Muslims socio-political participation but also the colour and the diversity within the host society, enriching the societal outlook.

## 3. Purpose, Scope and Outcomes of the GMD Project

The Global Muslim Diaspora (GMD) is a research initiative of SESRIC, which aims to collect and analyse reliable statistical data and information on Muslim communities and minorities living in non-OIC Member States. The project intends to map out the Muslim communities and minorities that are dispersed across the world in terms of their demographic profile, living conditions and experiences in their host countries. In this context, the GMD project collects and analyses both qualitative and quantitative data.

### Rationale

There is no doubt that Muslim communities and minorities across the globe have become the focus of much public concern and political debates, particularly in the last twenty years. The debates are centred on a number of crucial issues including security, identity and integration in the context of Muslim communities and minorities. When looking at the elevated salience of the topic, however, the available information on Muslim communities and minorities remains alarmingly limited and largely unreliable. Moreover, Muslim communities and minorities tend to be treated as the passive objects of these debates, featuring as mere statistics rather than active participants. A significant number of these debates can be perceived to be biased and politically loaded in the sense that Muslim communities and minorities feature unfavourably in extreme right and xenophobic political rhetoric, often in association with terrorism.

The GMD project, therefore, aims to contribute to the production of reliable and objective knowledge on the Muslim communities and minorities, incorporating existing secondary data sources with primary input from the communities themselves. The project aims to raise awareness of the many crucial issues surrounding Muslim communities and minorities across the globe and contribute to constructive dialogue amongst interested parties, involving the actual voice of the Muslim communities themselves.

Considering the vast complexity of its subject matter, the GMD project makes no claim to be authoritative in bringing debates surrounding Muslim migrants and communities in host countries to a conclusion. However, it purports to bring such

debates to a more constructive platform where common challenges can be more concisely identified and analysed.

## Purposes

The general objective of the GMD project is to establish a comprehensive and reliable empirical data source on Muslim communities and minorities across the globe as well as to provide an in-depth analysis of the present and prospects for the future. The general objective of the project is to evaluate the societal, political, economic and legal existence and influence of Muslim groups in non-OIC Member States. In order to reach the general objective, the GMD project has identified following specific objectives:

- To create an inclusive and up-to-date database in the form of an interactive map, called Atlas of Muslim Communities and Minorities (GMD Atlas).
- To initiate a global discussion in order to advance mutual understanding and cooperation among countries.
- To contribute to the on-going efforts of host countries towards better understanding, engaging, and integrating their Muslim communities and minorities.
- To highlight the profile and importance of the global Muslim communities and minorities at a time when Islam and Muslims occupy almost central place in international politics.
- To incorporate the different views and perspectives from Muslim communities and minorities, host country public authorities, relevant academic centres, and CSOs.

The GMD project is positioned to carry out more detailed field research for a comparative analysis of Muslim groups' status and everyday lives in selected pilot countries. One of the reasons for such analysis is to find out the influence of Muslim groups on the development of relationship between their origin and host countries and analyse the level and structure of this relationship.

The analysis applied in this project is expected to contribute to efforts in explaining why the status, influence and the presence of Muslim groups in various countries differ. From an academic perspective, the project intends to contribute to the literature by re-examining conceptual frame related to Muslim communities and minorities, diaspora, migration and societal influence.



The outcome of the GMD project, particularly of the GMD Atlas is expected to:

- Provide objective information on the demographic profiles of Muslim communities and minorities worldwide.
- Present a reliable source of information for researchers and policy-makers on integration and immigration around the globe.
- Transfer the knowledge and experiences of the best practices in the domain of Muslim communities and minorities among the OIC Member States.
- Contribute to mutual relations between origin and host countries of Muslim communities and minorities and raise the necessary awareness to create sincere and meaningful dialogue and cooperation.

The findings of the project are also expected to contribute to the efforts of OIC Member States in enhancing communication and cooperation between the Muslim communities and minorities, and the relevant national institutions in their countries of origin. The outcome of the GMD project can also contribute to the establishment of a cooperative platform between the Muslim communities and minorities' host countries and the OIC Member States.

## Scope

To achieve set objectives, the GMD project has proceeded through following three major areas of focus:

- The situation of Muslim communities and minorities in host countries.
- The perceptions and attitudes of host countries towards the Muslim communities and minorities.
- The relations of a Muslim communities and minorities with their countries of origin.

The questions and issues raised under each area of focus are summarized below:

*The situation of Muslim communities and minorities in host countries:* What is the religious and cultural profile of the Muslim communities and minorities? What are the difficulties and challenges they face and the advantages they experience? What are their education and professional profiles and their level of integration in the societies of their host countries? What are the challenges they face when integrating in host country societies? Do they have problems in learning and practicing Islam? Are they facing discrimination in any form? Does such discrimination, if it exists, affect their consciousness or identity? In what way do they contribute to the host countries? Are they aware of the opportunities that host countries provide? What differences are there between the first and the later generations of Muslim immigrants?

*The perceptions and attitudes of host countries towards the Muslim communities and minorities:* What are the main perceptions and attitudes of non-Muslims in the host countries towards the Muslim communities and minorities? What is the level of social relations between non-Muslims and Muslims? If exist, what are the reason for certain negative attitudes towards Muslims? How effective are the integration and migration policies in assimilating Muslim communities and minorities into the host society? How do certain exclusionary discourses affect integration?

*The relations of the Muslim communities and minorities with their countries of origin:* What sense of belonging do Muslim migrants have with their countries of origin? How frequently do they visit their home countries? How do they maintain relations with their relatives back home? Do they acquire a sense of cultural differentiation with their relatives in their country of origin? If they do, to what extent does it create a sense of exclusion? Are they interested in, or do they follow, the cultural and political developments in their country of origin? Are they contributing in any way to solving existing issues in their country of origin? Are they interested in returning to their countries of origin? What are their reasons for returning or not returning to their countries of origin, e.g., second generations' problems of identity?

## Project Outcomes

The GMD project covers a wide array of outputs as listed below.

*Introductory Report:* The report that provides preliminary diagnostics on the Muslim communities and minorities living in non-OIC Member States, as well as introduces concepts, scope and the methodology of GMD project.

*Country Reports:* Twelve report on countries selected for the fieldworks. The reports provide a more in-depth analysis of the Muslim communities and minorities in the relevant host countries and cover the Muslim communities' demographical, socio-economic and political characteristics, as well as a discussion and analysis of fieldwork findings.

*GMD Glossary:* Development of a Glossary on Global Muslim Diaspora, the first dictionary of its kind that focus specifically on Muslim communities and minorities and immigrants. In this glossary, the reader will find the specific linguistic usages, figures of speech, terms, and concepts that are particular to Muslims and Islam.

*GMD Atlas:* An interactive web site that clearly and comprehensively illustrates a variety of data on Muslim communities and minorities via maps and graphs at both global and local level. Maps and graphs are to be used to provide visualized information on: (i) timeline of major events of Muslims migrations to the host country, (ii) major Muslim communities and minorities, (iii) citizenship policies, (iv)

education policies, (v) integration and cohesion policies, (vi) discriminatory profiles and (vii) prominent figures and organizations of the Muslim communities and minorities.

*A Medium-Length Documentary:* A documentary film in which the GMD project is introduced and its activities narrated and presented. Photographs, voice-recordings, and footage from field studies is used in the production of the film. To this end, in the field studies, the project team pay particular attention to collecting visual data and materials.

*Final Report:* An extensive final report in which the all findings of the project are integrated and an up to date picture of the Muslim communities and minorities is depicted. The report provides a range of useful comparative statistics on countries covered by GMD project, and enables direct comparison with the findings of other similar studies.

## 4. Themes and Countries

The GMD project focus on specific themes to analyse the current state of Muslim communities and minorities in selective number of countries. This section reviews the themes and countries analysed in within the framework of the GMD project.

### Themes

The GMD project brings descriptive information concerning the profile and everyday lives of Muslim communities and minorities together with analyses of the present and future issues, challenges, and opportunities. In order to allow cross-context comparison as well to draw general conclusions, several main themes and headings are determined. These include the following:

*Historical Country Context:* The legal, political, socio-economic and cultural contexts in which the Muslim communities and minorities live are important. Without possessing a strong grasp of these contexts, it is very difficult to understand the current situation of or identify the challenges and opportunities within these communities. Therefore, the project explains the country contexts concerning Muslims in as great a detail as possible. This includes a description and analysis of the historical background of both the national context *vis-a-vis* immigration and minorities in general, and the specific history of Muslim immigration into a country.

More specifically, this theme comprise the following sets of information on each national context: 1. the historical context of immigration into the country, 2. the legal and political context, particularly focusing on migration, integration, and citizenship policies, 3. the institutional structure, particularly focusing on institutions relevant to Muslim communities and minorities.

*Profile of the Muslim Communities and Minorities:* One major characteristic of all Muslim communities and minorities around the world is their inner diversity. Although related by their religious affiliation, Muslim communities and minorities display a tremendous amount of diversity with respect to their ethnic, linguistic, cultural and national identities to name just a few. Therefore, it is necessary to have an understanding of the general characteristics of the Muslim communities and minorities in each country.

It is difficult to come up with a very concise and detailed breakdown of the demographic characteristics of Muslim communities and minorities in any country.

However, it is useful to identify the major characteristics of the profile of Muslim communities and minorities. To this end, the following aspects of the Muslim communities profile are investigated:

- Demographic profile (e.g., size of the community, its distribution according to gender, age groups, ethnic identities, countries of origin, and so on).
- Education profile (e.g., educational attainment levels, access to education, and so on).
- Socioeconomic profile (e.g., employment status, employment sectors, income levels, and so on).
- Civic, legal, and political profile (e.g., political participation in elections, membership of political and civil society organizations, and so on)
- Religious institutions (e.g., religious centres and mosques, religious CSOs, religious education centres, and so on).

*Views on Migration and Integration:* As Muslims are a focal point of many on-going discussions surrounding migration and integration, it is important to consider the views of Muslim communities and minorities on such debates. Those interviewed in the context of GMD project are asked to evaluate the migration policies of their respective countries of residence as well as describe the positive and negative aspects of their lives as a Muslim.

Debates concerning social and cultural integration are also becoming increasingly significant. In this context, many people measure integration by the level of adaptation on the part of minorities and immigrants to the life in the country as well as their ability to adopt appropriate cultural norms and values. In addition, concepts such as sense of belonging, identity and loyalty are featured in these debates. Therefore, respondents to the GMD project are also asked about their views and attitudes on such concepts, with the intention to include their own perspective and voice in these debates.

*Perceptions on the Socioeconomic Status of the Muslim Communities and Minorities:* The socioeconomic status and profile of the Muslim communities and minorities are of great importance. The project attempts to understand Muslims' socioeconomic standing in each country via two approaches. Firstly, information that is more objective is collected, including income levels, employment statuses and sectors, educational attainments, and so on. Second and equally important, the Muslim communities' self-evaluation and own perception about their socioeconomic status is investigated. This self-perception is crucial in understanding how Muslim communities and minorities are placing themselves vis-à-vis the mainstream society. Furthermore, it provides an indication as to what extent Muslims believe that they have the chance for upward social mobility in the society.

*Visibility and Representation of Muslims:* One of the starting points of GMD project has concerned the widespread complaint by many Muslim communities and minorities concerning their insufficient visibility and under-representation in the countries in which they live. To contextualize this complaint, the visibility and representation of Muslims in each targeted country is investigated. At the same time, this project attempts to bring together objective data concerning visibility and representation with the subjective view and perception of Muslims themselves.

While each country may yield a unique context from which to conceptualize and operationalize the visibility and representation of Muslims depending on their political and institutional structure, the GMD project investigates and analyse the visibility and representation of Muslims in the following areas:

- Visibility and representation in public institutions (e.g., the state apparatus, police force, courts, and so on).
- Visibility and representation in the media (e.g., TVs, newspapers, social media, and so on).
- Visibility and representation in academia (e.g., universities, research institutions, reports and other research publications, and so on).

*Relations among Muslim Communities and Minorities:* It is essential to be able to contextualize Muslim communities and minorities in a relational way since they cannot wholly be considered as socially isolated and closed groups. In fact, Muslim communities and minorities across the globe tend to feel a strong bond amongst themselves, with their respective mainstream societies, other minority communities in the country, and other communities and societies abroad, including their respective countries of origin. These bonds include significant economic, cultural, social and political interactions and play an important role in the lives of the Muslim communities and minorities.

The complex networks of relationships established between various Muslim communities and minorities and a large number of other actors are not easily captured in their entirety. However, the following sets of relationships are given special attention in each country:

- Relations amongst various Muslim communities in the country (e.g., relations between the Pakistanis and Indonesian Muslims, or Shia and Sunni Muslims, and so on).
- Relations between the Muslim communities and minorities and mainstream society.
- Relations between the Muslim communities and minorities and other ethnic/religious minority communities.

- Relations between various Muslim communities and minorities and their respective countries of origin.

*Future Projections and Expectations:* One of the major objectives of this project is to produce reliable projections for the future depending on an analysis of the information collected on the status of Muslim communities and minorities. While demographic projections concerning the respective sizes of various Muslim communities and minorities are a part of country specific reports, this project goes beyond such a narrow and shallow numeric look to the future. As such, future projections concerning almost each of the major themes described above are evaluated, including the political context, migration and integration debates, as well as relations between Muslim communities and various actors.

Finally, a thorough analysis of today’s context and an empirically supported projection for the future are the pre-requisites for producing recommendations for potentially feasible and effective policies concerning Muslim communities and minorities around the world. Therefore, the analysis and future projections are complemented with a discussion of a number of current policies and recommendations for new ones.

## Countries

The GMD project aims to address all Muslim communities and minorities that live in non-OIC Member States. However, due to various limitations and logistical considerations, it initially involves secondary data collection for 48 countries grouped in four categories. As shown in Figure 1, first category includes the G8 countries, second category comprises G20 and other major EU countries, third category largely consists of the remaining EU Countries and fourth category includes all remaining host countries with a sizeable Muslim communities and minorities.

**Figure 1:** Countries Covered by GMD Project



Out of 48, twelve countries are selected for primary data collection through fieldworks. In choosing these countries under focus, a proper representation of different geographic regions was sought including Western Europe (Germany, France and the United Kingdom), South Europe (Spain), North America (Canada and the United States), South America (Argentina), Eurasia (Russia), East Asia (Japan), Africa (South Africa) and Oceania (Australia).

The fieldwork is conducted in at least one city, selected as the most significant for its respective Muslim community, which, in most cases is the capital city of the country concerned. In addition, the following criteria were considered:

- The size, both absolute and relative to the host country population, of the Muslim community in the country.
- Diversity of the Muslim community reflecting a plurality of ethnic, cultural, and religious backgrounds.
- Significant differences in the migratory histories of the selected countries, particularly in relation to the migration of Muslim communities (e.g., colonial migration, labour migration, asylum seeking, etc.).
- Significant differences in the legal and political contexts of the selected countries that reflect different approaches to (Muslim) immigrants in their country via integration and multiculturalism policies.

The twelve countries of focus and the details of why they were selected are explained below:

*The United Kingdom:* According to the most recent national census conducted in 2011, the number of Muslims living in the UK is more than 2.7 million, constituting around 5% of the total population. The Muslim communities are extremely diverse with respect to ethnicity, country of origin, migration channel, legal status as well as socio-economic characteristics among many other categories. This is both partly a legacy of the British Empire and a result of contemporary globalization. The debates over how to manage ethnic and cultural diversity in the UK go back centuries. In the contemporary sense, these debates have taken a very public character with the country developing different frameworks around race relations, multiculturalism and most recently, integration and cohesion. A proper analysis of the British context would provide valuable information about each of these frameworks and how they have impacted on and been perceived by the Muslim communities in the United Kingdom.

*Germany:* This country presents a different example that is equally interesting for the purposes of this project and makes an excellent case for comparison. The number of Muslims living in Germany is predicted to be around 5 million, which constitutes more than 5% of the total population of this country. This large minority, similarly to the



UK, is extremely diverse with respect to ethnicity, country of origin, legal status, and so on. Unlike the UK, where the history of migration is largely related to the history of colonial imperialism, the large migrant stock in Germany was actively imported as part of bilateral labour migration agreements. These “guest-workers” later became more than guests and today Germany is one of the most diverse societies in the world. For a considerable length of time, Germany had initially refused to acknowledge that labour migrants had become a permanent part of society, and even following acknowledgement, the country sought to implement a rather restrictive integration and citizenship policy, which, at times, was referred to as assimilationist. Today, however, German integration policies have become more permissive and welcoming towards cultural plurality and the society reflects its diversity at every level and in every institution.

*France:* An intermediary case between the UK and Germany is France. France has seen a significant level of migration from its former colonies, such as Algeria and Morocco, while it also imported a significant number of labour migrants in the aftermath of World War II. Although there are varying numbers ranging from 4.7 million to 7.7 million Muslims living in France, it can safely be estimated that around 10% of the country’s total population is made up of Muslims. Muslims in France are characterized by a great degree of diversity. Due to the country’s colonial past, the population is made up of a large number of North African Muslims in addition to Turks and Muslim immigrants from the Middle East. France’s approach to diversity has been highly controversial reflecting the country’s republican tradition. A firm emphasis on equality before the law and a fierce opposition to the public representation of religious and cultural identities has been criticized by many commentators as factors marginalizing a large section of the youth in France. France has also recently altered its assimilationist approach in order to devise more effective integration policies and schemes.

*Canada:* Although the well-accepted image of Canada is one of a welcoming multicultural society, Muslims have faced criticisms of failing to adequately assimilate into Canadian society. Muslim community in this country face challenges with respect to religious freedom, acceptance by the broader society and national security profiling. Much of the problem stems from the fact that public perceptions frequently emphasize Islam’s perceived connection with violent extremism. The result creates a dominant perception on Muslims, which differentiates them from general Canadian society and its traditional values. The Canadian case is of particular importance due to the liveliness of the above-mentioned issues in such a multicultural society. It is important to examine the reasons why the Canadian government’s multiculturalist narrative and implementations have failed to eliminate Muslim discomfort.

*Australia:* Migration policies of this country have also tended to focus on multiculturalism. Due to the country’s geographical proximity with Asian mainland,

the majority of its Muslim community members originate from Asia. However, Middle Eastern and African Muslim migrant numbers are not completely inconsiderable. Despite the numbers and composition of the Muslim population differing from that of Canada, the Australian government and society have failed to reconcile with Muslim lifestyles and practices. This is a concern when the rapid hike in Australia's Muslim population - which has doubled from 341 thousands to 604 thousands since 2006, is factored in, and Muslims living in Australia find themselves "under constant suspicion" - stigmatized and labelled a security threat. This stereotyping is galvanized by cultural differences, resulting in discrimination in private, public and institutional spheres. Australian multiculturalist anti-Islamophobia policies have continually failed to address these problems. Australia in this sense provides another significant case for understanding the effects of increase in numbers of Muslims on the general outlook of the non-Muslim population. The fieldwork in Australia provides the explanation why multiculturalism policies fail to alleviate the "anxieties" about Muslim communities adapting the host country's values.

*The United States:* The US migration policies focus more on integration around the American identity than multiculturalism. Communities are encouraged to amalgamate within this American identity rather than living in defined and separate social boundaries. Therefore, the US example differs from that of Canada and Australia in the sense that the latter two focus on rather vague shared values and multiculturalism. Yet, the US practices still fail to provide a comfortable environment for Muslim communities. The US differs from other examples due to the strongly active rhetoric of Islamophobia and a far greater number of Muslims. More than half of Americans claim to hold unfavourable views of Islam. Fieldwork in the US could identify the effective and ineffective points of US governments' "melting pot" policies regarding congregating Muslim communities around an American identity. The fieldwork could also enlighten how diversities in American Muslims affect their diasporic stance.

*Japan:* Religion is not a criterion in Japanese public statistical data. Japan's peculiarity is the heavy emphasis on secularism in its constitution. Therefore, no Muslim organization may achieve any sort of political authority in Japan. There is freedom of religion but political participation and representation, as a "Muslim", is not accepted. Since 2016, however, the Japanese government has been increasingly watchful over its Muslim population and their practices and congregations. Japan in this sense provides an example of how secularism and religious freedom affect Muslim communities. The fieldwork could provide deeper examination of the reasons and applications of the Japanese governments' increasing anxiety over Muslim communities and how they affect the freedom of Japanese Muslims, which is not enough evaluated in the literature.

*South Africa:* Three significant aspects of Islam in South Africa make it peculiar. First is the rise in numbers. The number of Muslims in South Africa is notable: between 600 thousands and one million. In the past two decades, Islam in South Africa has grown six fold. The second peculiarity concerning South Africa is the reason behind this rise. The acceptance of Islam in South Africa has become part of rejection of a society based on Christian principles, which are seen as having been responsible for establishing and promoting the Apartheid doctrine through the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa. In other words, Islam is perceived to be a salvation. Thirdly, regardless of this rise, there is serious fragmentation among the Muslim community. Even if, South Africa is one of the few Muslim minority countries in the world, which is considering the implementation of Muslim Personal Law or Muslim Family Law, Muslim communities do not meet on a common ground regarding their issues. South Africa's case is significant due to the reasons for the conversion into Islam and the continuation of Muslims' issues even if there is a religious leadership and a high possibility of the implementation of Muslim Civil Law.

*Russia:* Islam is important part of religious, social and cultural life of Russia, whose Muslim population of various ethnic backgrounds is estimated between 14-20 million, or 10-15% of total population in 2016 (Scharbrodt, 2018: 583). The number of Russia's non-Muslim population is predicted to decline at a rate of 0.6% a year over the 20-year period while those that identify as Muslim are increasing at the same rate (Moreno, 2016). In recent years, cases of Islamophobia and xenophobia became visible in Russia, including various cases of head scarf-wearing Muslim school-girls being prevented from entering schools, or discriminated in access to job (Scharbrodt, 2018: 569-571). Violation of Muslim' right is most severe in the largely non-Muslim areas of Russian Federation. In terms of education, both in religious and civil aspects, there is the lack of accreditation of Islamic institutions by the Russian state. As for civil education, the most disconcerting issue is distorted image of Muslims in Russian history books. One part of the Russian media endeavours to mobilize and incite nationalist and sectarian skirmishes. Some 27% of Russians feel irritation, dislike or fear towards Central Asian Muslims, and almost four-fifths of Russians say the Kremlin "must limit" the flow of Muslim migrants (Mirovalev, 2018). The Russian case is interesting in developing a trajectory of the future of Muslims living in Russia.

*Argentina:* The significance of Muslims in Argentina is their gradual decrease in numbers. There are several reasons for this development. Firstly, Muslim families' customs are largely being lost. Secondly, Islamic literature on religion is very limited in Spanish. With mixed marriages, children lose almost all connections to Islam, and there are very few study centres for disseminating Islam. Yet, the Saudi Government has financed the new Islamic Cultural Centre King Fahd, which has a mosque considered the largest of its kind in Latin America. The case study in Argentina would highlight the detailed reasons for the erosion of its Muslim community and ascertain whether this is the same in other Latin American countries.

## 5. Methodology and Research Activities

In order to provide a portrait of Muslim communities and minorities in non-OIC Member States, a mixed-methodology is employed which includes two research flagships; desk research for 48 countries through which a review of existing data sources is conducted, and field research in 12 countries through which primary data are collected.

### Desk Research

The GMD project focuses on two types of secondary data: general/global and specific/local with pilot countries. With the aim of preparing a map (GMD Atlas) for the Muslim communities and minorities in 48 non-OIC Member States, the “general” data is collected predominantly from academic research, official reports, national censuses and other existing sources. The data and information accumulated from these sources will be available online in form of country factsheets, integrated into the GMD Atlas.

### Primary Data Collection

Fieldworks are to be conducted in capital cities and/or most Muslim populous cities of Argentina, Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, South Africa, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States. Out of 48 countries, these twelve countries are selected on the bases of the following criteria:

*a) Magnitude and Visibility:* The diversity of the Muslim community, reflecting a plurality of ethnic, cultural, religious backgrounds; the size and significance of the Muslim population, as well as their host countries’ political and socio-economic importance in the world have been taken into consideration. Countries that are subject to field studies are all home to very large Muslim communities. It is important to note that there are around 25 non-OIC Member States - home to a significantly large Muslim population (i.e., with a Muslim population of more than 100 thousand). With the exception of Japan, the countries that have been selected for the fieldwork host a Muslim community that is larger than 500 thousand. In addition to the size of the Muslim communities, the project also paid particular attention to the global visibility of the host countries.

*b) Polarity and Comparability:* Significant differences in the legal and political contexts, reflecting different approaches to Muslim immigrants and

diasporic communities through policies such as integration, assimilation, or multiculturalism are taken into consideration. Further, aiming to cover disparate political and religious contexts, conducting field studies in South Africa, Japan and Russia is preferred. Fieldworks in these countries will enable the GMD project to investigate and observe Muslim communities and their political, legal, civic, educational, socio-economic, and cultural presence in distinct, divergent, and dissimilar denominational and religious contexts (Orthodox Russia, Shinto and Buddhist Japan) and compare the findings from these contexts with those of Western countries.

c) *Complexity and Peculiarity*: Certain attention is paid to the differences in the migratory histories, particularly in relation to the migration of Muslim communities (e.g., colonial migration, labour migration, asylum seeking, etc.). In this regard, the GMD project has targeted to cover countries that present distinctively more complicated contexts, as is the case specifically in Spain and Russia.

d) *Exceptionality and Affinity*: Countries that are celebrated for their successful integration and multiculturalism policies and score exceptionally high in the relevant indexes, e.g., Canada and the United Kingdom are also included. In addition, countries that have long histories of immigration and experience of integration (since they are ex-colonies like Canada, Argentina, Australia and South Africa) are also added to the picture. These countries will enable the GMD project to further its contribution to the global discussion on immigration and integration.

With selection of these twelve countries for fieldwork, the GMD project becomes globally representative, and covers most of the Muslim communities and minorities.

The fieldworks are designed in such a way as to provide members of the Muslim communities in selected twelve countries more of an opportunity to have their say. A large part of the existing data; whether in official statistics, policy reports or academic studies, consider Muslim communities and minorities as rather passive subjects of analysis. However, this projects idea is to listen to the voice of the Muslims themselves and report their experiences, attitudes and perspectives as much as possible.

The fieldworks are comprised of following components: (i) surveys with ordinary members of the Muslim communities and minorities; (ii) in-depth interviews with Muslim and non-Muslim public opinion leaders and (iii) workshops in which representatives from a wide range of Muslim CSOs participate. In addition, fieldwork activities are designed to include on-site visits and observations of various mosques,

Muslim CSOs and cultural centres, as well as a large number of conversations with members of the Muslim communities.

## Surveys

Surveys are conducted among 400 respondents in each country, mainly in capital cities, by trained interviewers from local public opinion research companies. The questionnaire is prepared by the SESRIC, originally written in English, and subsequently translated into local languages. All interviewers were given written instructions containing general description of the questionnaire and the method of selecting respondents. In addition to the written instructions, all interviewers were trained to understand research goals and interviewing methods.

The respondents were persons aged 18 or older, whose usual place of residence is in the countries included in the survey and who speak the national language(s) well enough to respond to the questionnaire.

In some countries, specific ethnic communities constitute a proportionately larger component of the Muslim communities, as the Turkish community does in Germany and the Moroccan community in Spain. For that reason, the sample structure was designed to ensure diversity, thus reflect the voices of individuals from different Muslim communities. Since there is a tendency for residential segregation among different Muslim ethnic communities, different neighbourhoods are selected to prevent all responses being obtained from individuals living in a single neighbourhood.

Furthermore, respondents are stratified according to the ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status and generational status with the aim to ensure the widest possible diversity and inclusiveness in the sample.

Special attention is paid for the representation of women, since Muslim women tend to be under-represented in such surveys due to male dominance in the Muslim public sphere and a lower proportion of employed Muslim women. The findings of surveys are discussed and analysed in the country reports.

## In-Depth Interviews

The primary purpose of the in-depth interviews is to provide a general overview of each framework and to highlight the main issue of concern and attention. In other words, the interviews are designed not to simply learn about the experiences of the individual interviewee, but to benefit from their knowledge and views about and towards the Muslim communities and minorities. Ten to fifteen such in-depth interviews are conducted in each country.

An interview guide for interviewers has been designed by the project team in order to gather information on the following main topics listed below:

- The country context related to Muslim communities and minorities,
- The profile of the Muslim communities and minorities in the country,
- Their relations with one another and with non-Muslim communities,
- Their perspectives on the concept of Muslim diaspora,
- Muslim communities and minorities in the country with respect to various country-specific issues and concepts, and
- Future prospects for Muslim communities in the country and beyond.

Guide for in-depth interviews include the main questions concerning these topics. To ensure flexibility and the acquisition of the highest level of information, interviewers are permitted to modify and adjust the questions when required—particularly when such modification would be more conducive if not compulsory in accordance with the interviewee’s interest, knowledge and competence on a given issue. Therefore, various and numerous specific follow up questions and enquiries are also raised throughout the interviews.

In all the interviews, the highest ethical standards are to be followed with each respondent duly informed about the research being conducted and the voluntary nature of their participation. Each interview will be voice-recorded with the consent of the respondent. Regardless of whether the respondents authorize the project team to use their names, they remain anonymous in the respective reports and written materials.

In selecting the persons to be interviewed, a purposive sampling methodology is employed, whereby initial research is conducted to identify:

- The most prominent academic experts and researchers that have extensively worked on and written about the Muslim communities over the years.
- Policy-makers that have been involved in the host country’s national or local policy-making processes concerning Muslim communities who can also reflect the host country’s perspective on several issues.
- Key individuals from the Muslim communities and minorities living in the selected cities that can provide valuable information as well as assist the project team in contacting other significant Muslim individuals and institutions.

## Workshops

While the interviews are primarily oriented towards gathering more specific information concerning each contextual framework; including the legal and political structure, the dominant vision on Muslims, and the main contemporary discussions in the country concerning Muslim communities, the workshops aims at gathering information from Muslim civil society, reflecting their own experiences, opinions, and perceptions.

A workshop is organized in each of the fieldwork locations. As a workshop aims to obtain the views from Muslim civil society in general, a list of CSOs that are advisable and suitable to be invited to the workshop is prepared in advance. All Muslim CSOs, i.e., those established and managed by Muslim communities and those major faith-based organizations and institutions, which have a significant level of Muslim participation, are included in this list. Official invitations are sent out to CSOs through e-mail addresses and follow-up phone calls are made when required.

The participants from the invited CSOs and other representative groups are brought together around a table and invited to introduce themselves and their respective organizations. Following this, the attendees are asked to share their opinions, experiences, and insights on the following issues:

- The term diaspora and its applicability to Muslim communities and minorities in non-OIC Member States.
- The relations of the Muslim communities and minorities with their host country and their respective countries of origin, as well as other Muslim communities (ethnically, linguistically, and denominationally different).
- The advantages and disadvantages of being a Muslim individual or being part of a Muslim community in the host country.
- The main issues Muslim individuals and communities face and the future prospects for Muslims in the host country.

The workshops are voice-recorded and transcribed following the fieldwork completion. The transcriptions are used as the input for the country reports. In addition to voice recording and moderated discussions, the workshop participants are invited to provide written remarks and thoughts on the above listed subjects, on forms circulated by the project team. These forms are collected at the end of the workshop and are analysed along with the transcription from the workshop.

The workshops are conducted observing the highest ethical standard. Each participant is informed as to the nature and the contents of the meeting and must voluntarily agree to take part. Maximum effort is paid to make sure that each



participant is able to freely and comfortably present his or her personal and institutional views on every topic discussed.

## Challenges and Limitations

The term diaspora is a disputed concept for which there is no universally agreed definition. It is often charged with significant connotations, symbolism and at times, prejudices. Therefore, one challenge that this project face concerns the usage of the concept of 'Muslim Diaspora'. Although GMD project is certainly not the first to invoke the concept of Muslim Diaspora (see, for instance, Dufoix, 2008: 77 and Cohen, 2008: 18, 153), it is the first sustained effort to analytically consider its applicability and analytical potential.

Many respondents of in-depth interviews as well as workshops participants have reservations and caveats concerning the use of this concept. It is never the intention of this project, however, to super-impose the concept of a Muslim diaspora, defined in whatever way, on any of Muslim communities and minorities studied in its framework. That is why the concept is discussed analytically in the next chapter of this report, with respect to all relevant literature, while the Muslim communities and minorities are all asked to reflect on the employment of the concept subjectively.

Another significant issue is the inconsistency and lack of data. Even if the methodologies employed are of a similar nature, the results, in many studies with similar scopes, end up quite differently. A good example is the Table 1 of this report. Data asymmetry and inconsistency indicates that conducting fieldwork is not only a good opportunity but also imperative in order to collect the most reliable and recent information on some of covered countries.

The asymmetry of accessible data for the 48 target countries proved to be a considerable limitation. For example, the accessible data on Muslims living in Canada, Australia and the United States communities are far more detailed than those in Russia and Japan. For some other countries, this asymmetry is even more considerable.

## 6. Concept of Muslim Diaspora and Its Importance

The GMD project does not use a categorical definition of diaspora by identifying noteworthy criteria and suggesting which communities are truly diasporic and which are not. As Cohen (2008) emphasizes, “no single contemporary diaspora will fulfil all the definitional desiderata” (513). The Muslim diaspora, in general, and Muslim diasporic communities, in particular, are no exception to this. Thus, instead of formulating a normative definition of the concept of diaspora vis-à-vis its primal investigation and case of the Muslim diaspora, the GMD project relies on all important aspects of term diaspora, that are reflected in Annex-1.

For the purpose of this project, Muslims living in non-OIC Member States are defined as “Muslim diaspora” since while these communities are characterised by immense diversity, they still share the Muslim identity as a global referent, binding them with other Muslims across the globe. In fact, the very diversity and disunity that is always and everywhere coupled with a desire to eliminate it, is itself diasporic.

The GMD project is aware of the presence of autochthonous Muslim communities and minorities, but for practical reasons and difficulties in identifying people whose ancestors came from elsewhere, the project deals with all Muslims living in non-OIC Member States. Further, whether someone from a Muslim communities and minorities identifies as religious or not, or whether they practices their religion or not, does not preclude them from being involved in the scope of the GMD project. Irrespective of their personal religious views, they continue to share certain social and political experiences coming from a Muslim background. Based on these arguments and premises, the GMD project identifies the Muslim diaspora as a “super diaspora”, i.e. a diaspora that is dispersed among and over different jamaats, cultures, ethnicities and nationalities.

Diversity, positionality, performativity, differences, layers, sections and fragments are not exclusive to any diaspora. Society, at the risk of highlighting the obvious, is made of parallel societies of genders, races, ethnicities, denominations, classes cultures and the like. The Muslim diaspora is as diverse, fragmented, sectioned, classed and gendered as any other diaspora, including sub-categorical ethnic Muslim diasporas like Pakistani, Turkish or Iranian diasporas. Not only identities and cultures but also diasporas are inherently and invisibly multi-hyphenated. Hyphens in this perspective are more references to tensions than connective links. Tensions are not lacking in any

identity. Thus, the Muslim diasporic experience could and should be examined in respect to the tensions that it contains and is founded upon. From such a perspective, Oliver Roy (2004) claims that “Muslims of foreign descent living in Europe” display tensions between five levels of identity, though not mutually exclusive:

- The transposition of an original, well-bonded solidarity group (based upon geographical origin and/or kinship).
- A larger ‘ethnic’ or national identity, based upon a common language and culture, which may include solidarity or group identity, often duplicated with a common citizenship.
- A neo-ethnic definition of Muslims set by their genealogical ties with any kind of Muslim society, whatever their personal faith and religious practices, as sharing common sociocultural patterns in the anthropological sense (attitudes and values, but not language and literature).
- Definition of a Muslim identity based exclusively on religious patterns, with no reference to a specific culture or language.
- Acculturation along Western lines, occasionally keeping the faith inside the home or, for some specific categories of youth, leading to the creation of a Western subculture, a marginal urban youth culture, sometimes recast into an ethnically described category (like the *beur* in France), but where today’s ‘ethnicity’ has little to do with their father’s culture” (Roy, 2004: 117).

Radeljic argues that the interactions between European societies and diasporic Muslim groups have followed four stages:

1. Invisible interaction, in which Muslim groups were received and viewed as guest workers that would eventually return to their home, thus their cultural and religious characteristics and differences were deemed of little importance to attract any particular attention from the host societies (Radeljic, 2014: 240);
2. Visible interaction in which family reunions took place and the temporal presence of Muslims within Western societies became permanent. At this stage, Muslim organisations, e.g., Avrupa Milli Görüs Teskilatları/Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüs; Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren, the Union of Muslim Organizations of the UK, and the United Islamic Communities in Sweden were “established to provide an educational environment and to promote a political vision of Islam and Muslim unity, both inside and outside the host countries” (Radeljic, 2014: 240).
3. Questionable interaction, in which host countries introduced integrational models and the concept of a European identity. Muslim communities and minorities received such agendas as “a threat to their own existence in

Europe and decided to place an even greater emphasis on the Dar-al-Islam (the world of Islam) and the Ummah (the community of believers) in order to secure their status.” (Radeljic, 2014: 241).

4. Necessary interaction, in which following the events of September 11, the Madrid and London bombings (2004 and 2005, respectively) and securitization agendas, “[t]he convergence of European and American political discourse” on Muslims, Muslim identity and communities began. This convergence is “noteworthy for the automatic correlation between the war on terrorism, internal security measures and immigration policy” (Radeljic, 2014: 242-43).

These tensions, periods, stages and options are more or less applicable to all political and historical diasporic contexts, in and beyond the European one, in which Muslim individuals have re-rooted themselves. None of these tensions or issues is specific to Muslim communities and minorities. Any diasporic group with different ethnic, national, linguistic, religious and cultural roots from that of the host society may go through similar stages or experiences similar tensions. Opportunities and disadvantages, tensions and peace, misery and comfort, invisibility and over-visibility etc., are present in all diasporic experiences. In such cases, the host societies’ reservations and concerns about the lack of interaction, integration and adaptation of migrants co-occur and collide with the diasporic groups’ concerns about losing their cultural, religious and ethnic identity. From such a perspective, the situation of Muslim groups in non-OIC Member States could be identified as truly diasporic.

Muslim communities and minorities are also characterised by the existence and dynamism of the multi-stranded social relations they form and sustain with their country of origin as well as with other diasporic communities living in different locations. The recent emphasis on and interest in cyber-connection and transnational networks in the diasporic context finds a unique example in the Muslim diaspora. Scholars such as Barbara Metcalf (1996) and Pnina Werbner (1996) best capture the significance of these developments and networks within the Muslim diaspora. According to Metcalf (1996), the “*social space* of networks and identities created in new contexts away from homelands,” together with the “*cultural space* that emerges as Muslims interact, and the *physical space* of residence and community buildings founded in new settings” comprises what she defines as a *Muslim space*, or the “imagined maps of Muslims diaspora” (18).

Different models and theories of diaspora give more attention to different sub-categories of the Muslim diaspora. In each one, however, the Palestinian diaspora continues to occupy a central place. In fact, from the perspective of the classic and modern view of diaspora, it is a “diaspora proper” or by far the most “diasporic” of the Muslim diasporas. It has also been important for the Muslim diaspora since it

continues to serve as a point of connection, solidarity and commonality between different denominational, ethnic and national Muslim groups, and impacts on the Muslim diasporic groups' approach to the concept of diaspora. As observed during earlier field studies for GMD project, Muslim individuals of the diaspora often expressed their reservations about the use of the term diaspora due to its Jewish connotations and implications.

With this political and critical approach, one significant question emerges: is there no term in the languages of the Muslim communities and minorities for the signification of diaspora and diasporic experience? Interestingly, the Arabic term "al-Shatat" which also signifies displacement and expulsion contains a similar meaning to diaspora (Kenny, 2013: 71).

Palestinians use that term to describe a process of expulsion on a colossal scale, the systematic depopulation of towns and villages, and the erasure of their history and culture. Many of the refugees have lived for generations in agonizing proximity to a homeland from which they are permanently excluded, even as Jews from all over the world enjoy a "right of return." While these features are highly distinctive, the Palestinian case has several characteristics that fit within the familiar framework of diaspora. Catastrophic in origin, al-Shatat involved dispersal to multiple destinations at once and was accompanied by a strong sense of banishment and exile. (Kenny, 2013: 71)

Some scholars, however, advocate against the identification of Muslim communities and minorities as a Muslim diaspora. Silvestri (2016), for example, claims that the centrality of the transnational and deterritorialized dimensions of religion in the global articulations of Islam (stressed by Roy), "is not sufficient evidence that Muslims constitute a diaspora". For Silvestri "the abiding territorial connection with the origins of a community" is definitive in deciding whether it is diaspora or not (319). Although later listing Muslim diaspora among the deterritorialized category—others being victim, labour, imperial and trade, Cohen, on the other hand, argues that "religions generally do not constitute diasporas in and of themselves" (cited in Vertovec, 2000: 10).

Cohen describes religions at best as posing phenomena "cognate" to diasporas. This is largely because religions often span more than one ethnic group and, in the case of faiths that have come to be widely spread around the globe, religions normally do not seek to return to, or to recreate, a homeland. From Cohen's (1997: 189) perspective, while religions do not constitute diasporas themselves, they "can provide additional cement to bind a diasporic consciousness" (Vertovec, 2000: 10).

Given that many models and theories of diaspora underline or depart from a religious and theological starting point, due to the prominence of the Jewish, Greek, and

Armenian paradigms (look at Annex-1), the marginalization and subordination of religion to ethnicity and nationality as pointed by Baumann (1998) is of interest (Vertovec, 2000: 8). It appears that the political gravity of ethnic and national association and connection has dwarfed the importance of religious binding. In the case of the Muslim diaspora, however, the picture becomes more complex since it is not only error-prone but also extremely difficult, if not impossible, to dissociate the political, national and ethnic from the religious binding here – from both etic and emic perspectives. This decidedly associative nature is one reason for the importance of the Muslim diaspora in diaspora scholarship. The other could be listed as follows:

*Gendering:* The veil controversy in many host countries, Muslim women's comparatively more visible religious identity (because of their veils and attires) and the domestic, normative and patriarchal positions and roles (as cultural carriers and preservers of ethno-cultural identities) that Muslim women are placed in and shouldering, make the gender issue in the context of the diasporic Muslim communities and minorities much more important in comparison with other contexts and diasporic communities. Thus, the Muslim diaspora offers an unmatched opportunity to investigate and analyse gender dimension of diaspora.

*Connecting:* From dating sites and cyber-arrange marriages to Halal trip apps and 24/7 active online consulters, the Muslim diaspora is cyber-connected around the world. Muslims are arguably one of the most transnationally active, wired and cyber-connected groups among all diasporas and thus provide an opportunity to examine the new interfaces and tarns-faces of diasporic connection.

*Blooming:* Because of the securitization agendas in the post 9/11 world and the rise of Islamophobia, Muslim communities and minorities began to work together generally in both political and organisational ways that brought about cultural, ethnic, linguistic and denominational connections and dialogues. A political will, interest and direction towards solidarity and unity is emerging and the Muslim communities and minorities are going through what may be referred to as an "expressional and illustrational stage" in which different aspects of diasporism (their formation, formulation, construction and effects) are becoming far more visible and noticeable. As a result, the Muslim diaspora offers a unique example to observe a diaspora in the process of re-blooming.

*Becoming:* Muslim writers, artists and activists are describing what it is to be Muslim and to be diasporic to the memento of the age in all corners of the world. They are narrating, composing, textualizing and performing the experience of migration, attempts at assimilating and facing discrimination.

Analyses of these cultural, literary and artistic productions will help to explain the current Muslim diaspora and its dynamics. Even more importantly, however, they will also enable us to follow the steps of how a diaspora, a diaspora-in-becoming, is materially, culturally, organisationally and symbolically produced and re-produced.

*Resolving:* The diaspora, as seen in almost all historical and contemporary examples, is a unique space to begin international, interfaith and interethnic dialogue. The Muslim diaspora, consequently, is also an exceptional space for intercommunal dialogue to attempt to find solutions for the major crises facing the Ummah and the Dunya. The Muslim diaspora should be invited to and included in the process of problem solving and peace building.

# Annex: Literature Review on the Concept of Diaspora

This annex discusses the general concept of diaspora. In line with many such scholarly investigations on the concept of diaspora, in the first part of the Annex-1, the most prominent studies and definitions of the concept are introduced. The second part of the annex discusses modern and postmodern approaches and the main debates that revolve around the diaspora concept as it exists in the world today. Following this, a succinct outline of the primary contributions to diaspora studies – with a particular eye towards models, theories and typologies developed to explain and frame the concept is provided. The chapter also outlines the general points of criticism levelled against these models and theories.

## Defining a Traveling Term in Changing Global Conditions

Signifying particularly the dispersal of the Jews, Armenians, and Greeks, *viz.*, the paradigmatic triad of diaspora studies, the concept of diaspora and its usage remained limited to the religious and theological realms until the 1970s. Its original religious conception which was to a large extent associated with the theological, and occasionally actual, dispersal of people that share the same faith, after a centuries-long history of unchallenged fixity, has now become a “linguistic weed,” in Donald Akenson’s designation, employed in an immensely broad range of fields, sub-fields, areas, and platforms (Cohen, 1994: 15, Dufoix 1). It was only in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the term visibly emerged in other fields of studies, such as politics, literature, sociology, and anthropology, and gradually expanded to cover and designate the involuntary dispersal of other communities, specifically those of African origin. As pointed out by many scholars, towards the end of the 1980s, the proliferation of the concept has been taken to such a striking extent that it is in danger of becoming yet another overused word that can mean almost everything but signifies nothing (Stock, 2010: 27). In many contexts, the term is now employed synonymously with a number of related concepts such as migration, transnationalism, exile and the like. Rogers Brubaker’s felicitous designation of “diaspora” – a dispersion of the meanings of the term in a semantic, conceptual and disciplinary space” captures the situation in perhaps the most fitting way (1).

In the face of such a challenge, many scholars find a resolution in formulating robust conceptual frames and rigid definitions that only leads to further problems. Almost every scholarly probe into the concept begins with the historicization of the concept.



An introduction of the etymological, teleological, and theological explanations of the term becomes a somewhat scholarly decorum in studies on diaspora. Accordingly:

[t]he Greek noun *diasporá* derives from the verb *diaspeirein*, a compound of “*dia*” (over or through) and “*speirein*” (to scatter or sow). The word emerged from the proto-Indo-European root, *spr*, which can be found today in such English words as “spore,” “spread,” and “disperse.” In all of its various uses, diaspora has something to do with scattering and dispersal. To the ancient Greeks, diaspora seems to have signified mainly a process of destruction. [...] In its original Greek sense, then, diaspora referred to a destructive process, rather than to a place, a group of people, or a benign pattern of population dispersal. It was in Jewish history that diaspora assumed its most familiar form. The early parts of the Jewish story derive from biblical narratives, supported to some extent by archaeological evidence. Displacement, exile, and longing for a homeland were the central features of this narrative. (Kenny, 2013: 3)

Thanks to the paradigmatic epitome of the Jewish experience, which had not only illustrated the concept but also defined it for centuries (cited from Sheffer in Brubaker, 2005: 2), the cycle of departure, dispersal, suffering, longing, and return, to this day functions as the ultimate narrative frame, a monomythical structure, in defining and determining the scope of the concept. The Oxford English Dictionary defines diaspora as “the dispersion of the Jews beyond Israel”, then adds “the dispersion or spread of any people from their original homeland” and “people who have spread or been dispersed from their homeland”. This reflects that even today, the term is still heavily associated with its original reference to religious history, and despite being limited to “a theological, eschatological horizon rather than a historical situation,” it is treated as a fateful test and punishment of divine will, rather than the unfolding of politico-historical clashes and human will (Dufoix, 2008: 1).

Dufoix maintains that since the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the evolution of the concept of diaspora and its usage has been marked by “first secularization, the extension to nonreligious meanings; then trivialization, the widening of the spectrum of relevant cases; and only later formalization of the establishment of criteria, allowing the shift from a definite to an indefinite category with its subtypes.” (2) One of the most important developments of this evolution has been the publication of the interdisciplinary journal *Diaspora* in 1991. In the introductory piece entitled “The Nation-State and Its Others: In Lieu of a Preface,” in the inaugural issue of the journal, the editor, Khachig Tölölyan equated diaspora with population dispersal, in general, and advocated an extension of the concept (from its conventional and restricted use in the Jewish, Greek, Armenian and African cases) to apply and cover a much wider

“semantic domain,” that includes closely related terms such as immigrant, exile community, transnational and ethnic community (Kenny, 2013: 11). From this perspective, the role of the *Diaspora* journal and academia has been significant, although the media and political usage has played a role too.

In less than a decade, the term had been imported from the academic realm and discourse by journalists, community leaders, civil servants, and the media, and became a “global word” for the “global world” (Dufoix, 2013: 6). In line with this holding, and against the general conviction and complaints about the term losing its meaning by overuse and becoming an exhausted concept, some scholars argue that with its ever-increasingly loose, indefinite, and ambiguous character, the concept now captures “the very spirit of the age” (Knott and McLoughlin, 2010: 2).

As pointed out by Brubaker, despite its anarchic dispersion in semantic and conceptual space, three core elements have become fundamentals of the majority of definitions and framings of the concept: “The first is dispersion in space; the second, orientation to a ‘homeland’; and the third, boundary-maintenance” (Brubaker, 2005: 5-6). These core elements, however, did not stop the ever-escalating usage of the concept and its expanding semantic domain. Different theories and models and a fast-growing literature of diaspora scholarship is to some extent responsible for this. Prior to discussion of these theories and models, a final point concerning the use of the concept needs to be registered.

Martin Baumann (1995) notes that three pivotal referential points have always marked the meanings and usages of the concept of diaspora; whether it refers to the historical Jewish experience, a modern religious context, or a postmodern situation, these referential points, that demarcates the processual, communal, and spatial significations, are closely connected and thus can cause inherent ambiguity when the context and the reference is not appropriately clarified.

That is, when we say something has taken place “in the diaspora” we must clarify whether we refer to (a) the process of becoming scattered, (b) the community living in foreign parts, or (c) the place or geographic space in which the dispersed groups live. The kind of conceptual muddle that may arise from the failure to distinguish these dimensions with regard to historical Jewish phenomena continues to plague the many emergent meanings of the notion of diaspora (Vertovec, 2000: 2-3).

As indicated in many studies, however, none of these terms and elements are specific to the diaspora definition; they are related, if not central to, both migration and transnationalism. Thus, in order to better understand the concept of diaspora, it is

necessary to explain diaspora in relation to and in comparison with migration and transnationalism.

### **Transnationalism, Migration and Diaspora: Semantic Boundaries and Relational Frames**

Semantic boundaries have been and still remain one of the salient problems in defining and framing the concept of diaspora. As noted by many researchers of diaspora studies, the interchangeable use of the terms related to the concept of diaspora such as transnationalism, migration, and exile, and the frequent overlaps of these terms are very common in literature. Steven Vertovec (2000) argues that migration, transnationalism, and diaspora constitute the triadic realms in which socio-cultural and religious dynamics develop distinctively (11). He defines and differentiates these terms as follows:

By transnationalism I refer to the actual, ongoing exchanges of information, money and resources –as well as regular travel and communication– that members of a diaspora may undertake with others in the homeland or elsewhere within the globalized ethnic community. Diasporas arise from some form of migration, but not all migration involves diasporic consciousness; all transnational communities comprise diasporas, but not all diasporas develop transnationalism. (11-12)

According to Astghik Chaloyan (2017), despite the diversity of approaches and understandings to transnationalism, all modes and definitions make some references to “more or less the common phenomena – combination of plural civic-political memberships, economic involvements, social ties and engagements in cultural, social, political and economic activities, which are not limited by any spatial, territorial or geographical borders” (32). Thus, Chaloyan defines transnationalism as the “ties and connections of migrants, going beyond the country of residence (with any relation to the homeland), as well as the back-and-forth flow of material and immaterial resources binding to a common reality more than one locality and actors involved in it” (37). For Chaloyan, diaspora, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with diasporic consciousness, “the sense of stemming from one place, of having roots in the same homeland” (59). Put succinctly, the subjectivity of diasporic consciousness (for diaspora) and the material and immaterial flow of resources (for transnationalism) is placed at the center of definition when distinguishing the former from the latter.

What brings transnationalism to such a close definitional and semantic proximity with diaspora is the importance that is attributed to simultaneity and dual attachment, *i.e.*, “living a life and being present in more than one reality simultaneously, feeling

home at home and abroad” at the same time (Chaloyan, 2017: 32). While many scholars of diaspora have highlighted the decreasing importance of attachment to an original home in diaspora, particularly for third-plus-generation, dual connection and identification with multiple localities remain fundamental in understanding both phenomena. It may be difficult to imagine a diaspora entirely free of transnational bonds and activities, in literature, a principal feature, however, which differentiates transnationalism from diaspora might be the “border-spanning engagements and activities” (Chaloyan: 2017: 32). In line with this perspective, it goes without saying, labor and trade diasporas, are not taken into account and the main emphasis is placed upon the notions of dispersal and displacement. In Chaloyan’s view, “speaking about diaspora, the idea for any reason of a dispersed population crosses the mind, while dispersion is not a determinant for transnationalism, as such” (Chaloyan, 2017: 52).

Chaloyan notes as salient characteristics of diasporic communities as distinct from transnational ones to be their lobbying power. In Pnina Werbner’s (2005) words, diasporic communities, “whatever their origin, appear to be susceptible to being constructed as dangerous outsiders with loyalties beyond the nation state” (473). Accordingly, in light of the political and economic resources available to them, diasporic communities have the potential and ability to engage in the political processes and activities of their host country and push certain favorable agendas in their countries of origin (60). Such objectives and interests are missing in the engagement of transnational communities with their host countries. Thus, dual political attachment and attendance, both to the homeland and the host country, appears as a distinctive feature of a diaspora.

Similarly, Michel Bruneau (2010) identifies “a very strong anchoring in the host country” and “a clear-cut break from the home country” (it may be inaccessible or the attachment to it is extremely weak) as main points to distinguish between diasporism and transnationalism (49). This departure from the homeland and re-anchoring in the *hostland* is compensated by the “creation of territorial markers, places of memory, favoured by an ‘iconography’” which aims at fixing the broken links with the homeland in the case of diasporic communities (49). For transnational communities, such breaks do not take place, nor does a collective desire for re-anchoring and re-rooting in the host country. In other words, while “[d]e-territorialisation goes with, or is followed by, re-territorialisation” and a pre-existing identity is re-formulated in diasporism, such processes are missing in transnationalism (Bruneau, 2010: 49).

The concept of diaspora and its semantic relation and explanatory interdependence with migration, on the other hand, is partly due to migration’s vast implications and structural connotations. “Used in one sense, diaspora flattens out social and temporal distinctions, lumping all members of a given migrant group into a single

undifferentiated category based on their place of origin” (Kenny, 2013: 16). When utilized under this term, the reasons, motivations, and means, and in fact, the whole experience of migration is heavily homogenized. “Migrations, however, are rarely uniform” (Kenny, 2013: 16-17). According to Kenny, the concept of diaspora, from such a perspective, offers a powerful critical tool for revealing significant variations between and within immigrant groups and illuminating distinctive aspects of migration and the world created by migrants (16-17). Kenny explains the main points of connection and divergence between the two as follows:

Approaching migration history from the perspective of diaspora clarifies the distinctions between different forms of migration. [...] A standard approach to migration history concentrates on one-directional flows and connections—the movement of people from one country to another, and the involvement of these people in the affairs of their homeland. The idea of diaspora offers a richer, more multifaceted interpretation of the types of connections migrants and their descendants form abroad. At their most interesting, these connections become multipolar rather than unilinear, uniting scattered communities of common origin in a new global network. (Kenny, 2013: 40)

Another term that produces a similar semantic effect, and is thus generally used synonymously with diaspora is exile. Baumann (2000) connects the term exile with connotations of displacement, forced and involuntary immigration, and the marginalization of individuals or groups in social and political realms (19). Baumann goes on to define exile as aligning to “experiences of loneliness, foreignness, homesickness and an enduring longing to remigrate to the place of origin” (Baumann, 2000: 19). One often stressed difference between the two concepts is that, in contrast to diaspora, exile appears and is treated as a more subjective and individualistic experience. Further, unlike diaspora, exile is rarely associated with religious connotations and semantics and more explicitly and frequently aligned with political persecution and coercion, and, in most cases by nation-states (Baumann, 2000: 23). Voluntary departures and dispersal, collective will and desire for re-rooting, successful adaptation to new social, economic, and cultural contexts, and political engagement and activism in a host country are common to diasporism and less visible in exile. Despite the Janus-faced character of diaspora, which marks a dual attendance and attachment to the politics of home and host countries, as well as identification and a sense of belonging towards both, the exile never leaves home politically, intellectually, or spiritually. The exilic lives and longs for his or her home in a foreign land. Thus, negative connotations such as sorrow, the feeling of an outcast, frustration, displacement, loss, and nostalgia forms and marks the experience of exile. Baumann argues that the “contemporary connotations of exile are resonant of a state of sojourn, estrangement and homesickness” (Baumann, 2000: 23).

Despite scholarly attempts to construct more precise and robust definitional frameworks to differentiate between the concepts of diaspora, migration, transnationalism, and exile, these terms continue to be employed synonymously by many. In order to better understand the determining and distinguishing elements that have been fundamental in forming and framing diasporism, it is necessary that the constructive and defining terms such as home and belonging, hybridity, intersectionality, and the like are investigated. In the following subsection, these critical terms and their definitional models are discussed.

### **Important Terms and Concepts in Diaspora Studies and the Inflation of Literature**

From the 1970s onwards, the proliferation both in the popularity, usage, and definitions of the concept of diaspora continued. Cohen (2008) pinpoints four stages in diaspora scholarship that has ultimately determined approaches to the concept:

- *Classical*, in which the use of term was limited almost exclusively to the Jewish case, and to a certain degree the Greek case, but has gradually expanded to describe the dispersion of Africans, Armenians, Irish, and Palestinians since the 1960's. Here, the notions and experiences of collective trauma and suffering, involuntary dispersal, victimhood, and return or longing for the country or place of origin constitute key importance.
- *Metaphoric*, in which since the 1980s, as Safran noted, "diaspora was deployed as 'a metaphoric designation' to describe different categories of people - expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities tout court" (Cohen, 2008: 1-2). In this phase the number of communities described as diasporic increased substantially.
- *Constructionist*, marked by the critiques of some postmodernist and social constructivist scholars and theorists who "sought to decompose two of the major building blocks previously delimiting and demarcating the diasporic idea, namely 'homeland' and 'ethnic/religious community'" (Cohen, 2008: 2). In the eyes of such scholars and theorists, in our postmodern world, "identities have become deterritorialized and constructed and deconstructed in a flexible and situational way; accordingly, concepts of diaspora had to be radically reordered in response to this complexity" (Cohen, 2008: 2).
- *Consolidatory*, the current phase in which the critiques of social constructionists have been partly adapted with some reservations about and cautions against the concept losing its descriptive and analytical power. This phase "is marked by a modified reaffirmation of the diasporic idea, including its core elements, common features and ideal types." (Cohen, 2008: 1-2)

Since the body of literature addressing these terms is vast, it is perhaps best to attend to these phases by means of the central terms that have influenced and marked the main arguments and positions. These terms may be pinpointed as follows: archetypal models, home and belonging, hybridity and subjectivity, and class and gender. Although some of these terms are present in almost each and every definable model and theory of diaspora, the importance and emphasis placed on one or another largely determines the meaning and boundaries of the concept.

### **Archetypal Models**

One of the most prominent scholars of diaspora studies, Robin Cohen is correct in claiming that it is impossible to ignore the primary aspects of the Jewish, Greek and Armenian examples when addressing the concept of diaspora. If such notion as dispersal from a homeland and desire to return to it, collective misery and exile, and religious and theological underpinnings remain at the heart of many definitions and framing of the diaspora, it is only the result of the archetypal paradigm of the Jewish, Greek, and Armenian experiences. In such models and theories, the ethnic, racial, historical and religious aspects of diasporic experience frame the scope of diaspora. Accordingly, what determines the 'diasporicness' of a given migrant or exile community or minority group away from their land of origin is the proximity of their experience to these archetypal models; the closer the experience to this archetypal model, the more diasporic the community. The African and Palestinian cases, from this perspective and structure, appear as the most "diasporic" diasporas.

A number of problems, however, emerge from this understanding and modelling: First, the diasporic experiences of Jewish groups have always revealed a variety of differences, but one fact that is highlighted in numerous studies is that for the majority of Jewish diasporic groups, attachment to the homeland or desire for return have never played an important role in identity construction. In fact, as Cohen (2008) points out, in general "their primary loyalties were to their countries of settlement rather than to their religion, even less to their ethnicity" (509). Second, as Clifford (1994) reminds us, even the so-called 'pure' forms "are ambivalent, even embattled, over basic features" (306). "Moreover at different times in their history, societies may wax and wane in diasporism, depending on changing possibilities-obstacles, openings, antagonisms, and connections-in their host countries and transnationally" (Clifford, 1994: 306). Thus, Clifford suggests that although it is necessary to "recognise the strong entailment of Jewish history on the language of diaspora," we should not treat it as a definitive normative model. "Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas can be taken as nonnormative starting points for a discourse that is traveling or hybridizing in new global conditions" (Clifford, 1994: 306). As Kenny (2013) warns,

[u]sing diaspora as an all-encompassing term for the history of Jewish migration pays little heed to the actual processes whereby Jewish people moved from place to place, which varied considerably over time. Jewish migration had several discrete phases, which must be distinguished from one another. Many Jewish people were forcibly displaced by wars and persecution, but many others migrated by choice—as soldiers and traders, for example, or in search of family members. Those who settled abroad often decided not to return, even when it was possible to do so. (Kenny, 2013: 21-22)

To summarise, no definition and example of diaspora is perfect and exhaustive and the Jewish (or Armenian, Greek, African) case is no exception. Diaspora is an extremely powerful and useful concept for understanding, analysing, and deciphering dispersal, mobility, identity, and re-rooting of different communities throughout history. Using the historical Jewish, Greek, or Armenian experiences as the ultimate and definitive paradigms, rather than illustrative examples, undermines the capacity of such a potent concept, not to mention producing many sweeping generalisations and potential inaccuracies.

### **Home and Belonging**

As maintained by many scholars, albeit from different and even contrasting positions, such as Sheffer (1986 and 2003), Clifford (1994), Brah (1996), Baumann (2000), and Stock (2010), the idea and image of a homeland, *viz.* a temporally and spatially distant land of longing and belonging that provokes and fosters a preserved ideology of return, lies at the very heart of the concept of diaspora (Brah, 1996: 180). The place and importance of home is of fundamental importance, particularly in both the classical and modern understanding of diaspora and diasporic imagination. In almost every such description of the concept definitional phrases such as “regular contact with the homeland,” “a desire, will, or promise of return to homeland” and “a collective misery and suffering that is caused by dispersal from a homeland” are common. Sheffer bases his definition on a belief in common origin and contact with the homeland through transnational networks: “Modern diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin – their homelands” (cited in Dufoix: 2013: 4).

This place of origin may have been left centuries or generations ago; it may not exist as an actual destination of visit, anxiety, longing, and return, or it may have been left only recently (Stock, 2010: 24). In all versions, the spatial distance is always coupled with a temporal one. What remains more important, as stressed by Anthias (1998), Clifford (1994) and Stock (2010), home is more imagined, recreated, remembered and is less lived, visited, and returned (Stock, 2010: 24). It is more symbolic than



actual, more idealized than real. Home, as Stock explains, is “a highly contextual and ambivalent notion, referring to multiple places and spaces in past, present and future in various ways” (27). In much the same way as diaspora, it is a heuristic concept; fluid, relational, positional, mediated, bound to change, multi-layered and multi-centered, reproducible, transferable, and translatable. According to Stock, the bewildering array of uses suggests that, just like diaspora, “the concept of home becomes an empty one, one which can mean anything and, in consequence, signifies nothing” (27). It may be recreated in a Turkish Restaurant in London, transferred inside the small backpack of a Syrian refugee, translated into the broken English of a Kurdish worker, and built in the garage-masjid of an Italian-Iranian Muslim.

Essentially, “at each moment in time, various home spaces may compete, collide or complement each other” (Stock, 2010: 27). The idea of home carries with it a constructive tension: between living somewhere and longing for and belonging to somewhere else, between inside and outside, between attachment and separation, between “living here and relating to a there” (Baumann, 2000: 324). Clifford refers to this tension as the “empowering paradox of diaspora” (322). According to some scholars of diaspora studies, *e.g.*, Anthias (1998), Baumann (2000), Brah (1996) and Hall (1990), this tension and duality, while it may be viewed and lived by those of living outside their country of origin as troubled and problematic, “can open up new spaces to reflect on and critique essentialist discourses of nation, ethnicity or origin” (Stock, 2010: 26).

Further tension emerges in connection with the academic-analytical understanding of the concept and the performative-practical perception. This tension may be linked to what Levitt and Schiller (2004) refers to as the duality of “ways of being” and “ways of belonging,” in the social field (Levitt, 2010: 41). Accordingly, the identities and their engagement in the social field can be different and contradictory. “Individuals can be embedded in a social field but not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field. They may be unaware or reject the ‘diaspora’ label offered to them by their peers, the academy or sending states or they may actively embrace it” (Levitt, 2010: 41). In other words, scholars and theoreticians of diaspora and workers and migrants of diasporic communities perceive, conceive, and experience diaspora in a variety of different ways. Yet, as Stock (2010) emphasizes the very tension between emic and etic notions of home, the view of an insider worker and an outsider scholar, the practical desire to recreate, re-root, unite, sameness, reconstruct, resettle and the analytical need to point the complexity, fluidity, incompleteness, multiplicity, deconstruction, and ambivalence gives such a creative power to the idea of home in diaspora scholarship, as well as the real experience of diaspora (27-8).

Before concluding this discussion two important points regarding the concept of home *vis-à-vis* diasporic context and discourse need to be emphasized: (i) First, the

generational differences and positions in connection with the homeland and the *hostland* are crucial when discussing both the emic and etic conception and perception. Bruneau notes that while engaging with the homeland at the national level, first generations migrants tend to privilege and engage with the *hostland* solely at a local level. Second generations, on the other hand, engage with the *hostland* at the national level, and, occasionally, the transnational level. Third generations functions on two or three of these levels (Bruneau, 2010: 48). (ii) Second, recent developments in high technology, cyberspace, transnational and transcultural networks and their impacts on the conception of or connection to the homeland are becoming more and more important in diaspora discussions. Accordingly, members of a diasporic community who share the same “roots” or “routes” now have new means and channels to connect intranationally and transnationally, which alleviates the burden of diasporic imaginations and serves to overburden diaspora software.

### **Hybridity, Intersectionality, Positionality**

Emerging with the works of Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and James Clifford, difference and hybridity have taken central stage in diaspora discussions since the end of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Underlying the dangerous uniformity between the regime of representation and power formed by the lethal couplet of power-knowledge, as Foucault, Fanon and Hall have highlighted many times, this position staunchly criticises the homogenising, fixing and exclusivist approaches that dominate diaspora and identity discussions. Accordingly, rather than being fixed and transparent, identity is a cultural and social “production,” which is constantly reformulated and never complete. Questioning the authority, authenticity and homogeneity of cultural identity, this view places an important role on subjectivity, relationality and positionality. Anthias (1998) tackles this problem rather well:

What do migrant women who work in ethnic ghettos and do not speak the language of their country of residence (like our mothers) have in common with us (whose language is first and foremost English)? Do I need to adopt the hat or the badge? What is that badge? Who can classify me? Such questions are central, it seems to me, to any analysis: the diaspora is constituted as much in difference and division as it is in commonality and solidarity (564).

Consequently, cultural identity is as much related to differences as it is to similarities. The uniqueness of a given cultural identity, according to Hall (1990), is created not by exactness, continuity, and similarities but by the ruptures, discontinuities, and differences (225). Cultural identity, from such a perspective is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being,’ that is to say, it “belongs to the future as much as to the past” (Hall, 1990: 225). “It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But,

like everything which may be understood as historical, they undergo constant transformation” (Hall, 1990: 226). From this perspective, cultural identities are not given overarching frames and essences but are constantly produced, reformulated, re-examined, and re-imagined positionings and relations. They are always in the process of production, transformation, and construction.

Hall (1990) identifies this nature of cultural identity with the paradoxical formulation of “doubleness of similarity and difference” (227). The sameness that is always-already fused, syncretised, creolised, traversed and intersected with other cultural elements that are different and same, and also intersected, syncretised, and creolised. What may be referred to as the dialogic differentiation, *i.e.*, a dialogue between the sameness and differences of cultural identities, takes the notions of hybridity, intersectionality and positionality into the heart of the discourse of diaspora. It also negates the centrality of original homeland, ethnic or religious similarity and unity, and the idea and promise of a return in the conception and understanding of diaspora. In a noteworthy passage frequently quoted in diaspora scholarship, Hall (1990) summarises this position well:

The ‘New World’ presence - America, *Terra Incognita* – is therefore itself the beginning of diaspora, of diversity, of hybridity and difference, what makes Afro-Caribbean people already people of a diaspora. I use this term here metaphorically, not literally: diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, the imperialising, the hegemonising, form of ‘ethnicity’. We have seen the fate of the people of Palestine at the hands of this backward-looking conception of diaspora – and the complicity of the West with it. The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of ‘identity’ which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference (Hall, 1990: 235).

In line with this argument, Gilroy emphasizes the fact that the conception of diasporic identity implies change and transformation, as much as it implies sameness and continuity. Gilroy borrows the term *changing same*, *i.e.*, “something endlessly hybridized and in process but persistently there” from the black American poet and writer LeRoi Jones (alias Amiri Baraka, 1934-2014), in order to clarify his idea (Dufoix, 2013: 5, Brubaker, 2005: 6-7). In this essentially postmodern view of the diaspora as Gilroy and many other scholars observe, the essentialism and particularism of

modern understanding, in which ethnic/racial/religious attachments and boundaries are fixed, preserved, and one-way, is replaced by an alternative “third space, dual-attachment, and dual-consciousness that is global and local, towards homeland and hostland, inside and outside, and ultimately similar and different at the same time (Hickman, 2005: 119).

## Gender and Class

Following the arguments of Hall, Gilroy and Clifford regarding the intersectional, hybrid, and positional nature of diasporic identities, a feminist and postmodernist critique of diaspora studies gained prominence in the late-1990s. At the time, a strong criticism was levelled against classical and modern conceptions of diaspora for their ignorance and/or circumvention of the gendered structure of difference. According to this feminist view, despite the full attention given to ethnic categories, ethno-national and religious relations, the classic and modern framing of diasporism fell discreditably short in comprehending or attending to the gendered nature of representation and inter-cultural/ethnic/racial/religious relations. Yet, ethnic, cultural, national, racial positions, discourses, and representations are always already gendered.

Floya Anthias (1998), a prominent scholar of the feminist and gender critique of diaspora, for example, argues that diaspora studies demonstrate an overwhelming interest in transnational processes, transethnic relations, the construction of identity and solidarity that is based on ethnic, historical, cultural commonalities and pay little attention to class and gender differences (558). This “failure,” according to Anthias, impedes the power of the concept of diaspora in explaining and understanding the diversity and differences that always hallmark transnational movements (558). Given the growing importance and recognition of the intersectionality of gender, class, and ethnicity in social relations (as well as the ways in which these factors intersect; the functions, forms and influences), the importance of issues surrounding gender and class in diaspora studies is undeniable (Anthias, 1998: 558).

From the feminist and gender perspective, the issue of gender and diasporism should be attended and analysed at two related levels: The first level focusing on the *question of gender and diaspora, i.e., “the ways in which men and women of the diaspora are inserted into the social relations of the country of settlement, within their own self-defined ‘diaspora communities’ and within the transnational networks of the diaspora across national borders”* (Anthias, 1998: 572). The second level addresses the *question of gendering diaspora*, which relates to “an exploration of how gendered relations are constitutive of the positionalities of the groups themselves, paying attention to class and other differences within the group, and to different locations and trajectories” (Anthias, 1998: 572).

At the first level, that being the level in which gender relations and differences in diasporic habitus is analysed, the main focus is naturally placed on women's experiences and positions within the diasporic context. In many cases as Willis and Yeoh (2000) and Vertovec (2000) demonstrate, post-immigratory reconfigurations and the transformation of gender positions and roles resulting from greater female employment are very common (Vertovec, 2000: 15). Thus, post-immigratory and pre-immigratory socio-cultural, familial, economic relations and positions could alter dramatically. As Clifford highlights "new roles and demands, new political spaces, are opened by diaspora interactions [...] under strong economic or social compulsion, [women] may find their new diaspora predicaments conducive to a positive renegotiation of gender relations." (Clifford, 1994: 314)

Turning to the gender issue at the second level, *viz.* the *question of gendered diaspora*, women appear as the invisible architects of the entire diasporic world – invisible because theories fail to acknowledge them. Given that in a vast majority of communities women are perceived as not only biological "producers" of children and thus "bearers of the collective" or "cultural carriers" within ethnic and cultural boundaries, but also as the active agents of the ideological reproduction of group members, the women's role and importance in the diasporic context gains an even greater importance (Peterson, 2005: 67-68). If producing, reproducing, preserving and transforming cultural, ethnic, religious identities and ties is essential in the discussion of diaspora, then continuing to ignore or failing to acknowledge gender differences must be seen as a theoretical failure.

As Anthias' proposition for the second level reveals, the postmodernist and feminist critique also questions the silence concerning the role and importance of class positions and experiences in diaspora studies. In Homi K. Bhabha's influential *Nation and Narration* (1990), for example, as Anthias points out (1998), the image of diasporic and migrant other is a "rootless but routed" intellectual (570). Fittingly, Anthias asks: "what are the commonalities between a North Indian upper-class Oxbridge-educated university teacher and a Pakistani waiter or grocer? How meaningful is it to refer to them as part of the Asian diaspora in Britain let alone the Asian diaspora more globally?" (570). In line with this holding, Clifford (1994) points to one potential gain of paying particular attention to class differences in diaspora studies as follows: "In distinguishing, for example, affluent Asian business families living in North America from creative writers, academic theorists and destitute 'boat people' or Khmers fleeing genocide, it will be apparent that degrees of diasporic alienation, the mix of coercion and freedom in cultural (dis)identifications, and the pain of loss and displacement are highly relative" (Clifford, 1994: 313).

Gender and class dimensions are among the most ignored or circumnavigated aspects of diasporism in theoretical models and typologies developed to understand and analyse diaspora. Before moving to the last part of this chapter where the Muslim

case is discussed, it is worthwhile to briefly outline the most prominent examples of these theories and typologies.

### Prominent Models and Typologies

One dominant and prevalent impact of the definitional, conceptual and semantic anarchy is the manner in which diaspora theories and models are based on comparative check-lists in order to detect or recognise diasporism. Stressing the difficulty of drawing lines, Cohen (2008) designates four important tools for social scientists in designating the diasporism of a group:

- We can distinguish between emic and etic claims (the participants' view versus the observers' view) and discuss how these claims map onto the history and social structure of the group concerned.
- We can add a time dimension looking at how a putative social formation, in the case of a diaspora, comes into being, how it develops in various countries of settlement and how it changes in response to subsequent events in host countries and homelands.
- We can list the most important features that seemingly apply (or partly apply) to some, most or all of the cases we consider are part of the phenomenon we are investigating.
- Finally, we can create a typology, classifying phenomena and their subtypes using the measures of consistency, objectivity, pattern recognition and dimensionality with a view to evolving an agreed and controlled vocabulary. Weber's 'ideal types' is a widely used method, which has also been adopted (Cohen, 2008: 5).

In one such attempt, in 1991, William Safran constructed a set of criteria for diasporas. Accordingly, the concept of diaspora was deemed appropriate to be applied to a group if that group demonstrated several of the following characteristics: dispersion from an original center to at least two foreign regions; existence of a collective memory towards the original homeland; a common belief in the minority status of the group; definition of the homeland as the place to return to; commitment to the maintenance or restoration of the homeland; and the continued presence of relationships to the homeland (cited in Dufoix, 2013: 4-5). Relying on Safran's model and criteria, Robin Cohen developed another conceptual model, based on nine criteria, in his *Global Diasporas* (2008). Cohen lists the common features of a diaspora as follows:

- Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
- Alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;

- A collective memory and myth about the homeland including its location, history and achievements;
- An idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
- The development of a return movement which gains collective approbation;
- A strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long period of time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;
- A troubled relationship with host societies suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
- A sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement; and
- The possibility of a distinctive yet creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism (514).

Based on these factors, Cohen suggests five types of diaspora - victim, labour, trade, imperial and cultural, that are presented in Table-6.

**Table 6:** Five Types of Diaspora

Main Types of Diaspora	Examples	Other Mentioned Cases and Notes
Victim	Jews, Africans, Armenians	Also discussed: Irish and Palestinians. Many contemporary refugee groups are incipient victim diasporas but time has to pass to see whether they return to their homelands, assimilate in their hostlands, creolize or mobilize as a diaspora.
Labour	Indentured Indians	Also discussed: Chinese and Japanese; Turks, Italians, North Africans. Many others could be included. Another synonymous expression is “proletarian diaspora”.
Imperial	British	Also discussed: Russians, colonial powers other than Britain. Other synonymous expressions are “settler” or “colonial” diasporas.
Trade	Lebanese, Chinese	Also discussed: Venetians, business and professional Indians, Chinese, Japanese. [...]
Deterritorialized	Caribbean peoples, Sindhis, Parsis	Also discussed: Roma, Muslims and other religious diasporas. The expressions “hybrid”, “cultural” and “post-colonial” are also linked to the idea of deterritorialization without being synonymous.

*Source:* Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London: Routledge, 2008, p. 18.

Normative and definitional models, however, although serving as functional and practical comparative devices, as seen in Cohen’s typology, could be homogenising and dissipative. Anthias (1998) is correct in finding Cohen’s typology “descriptive and inductivist,” since “[s]uch a typology provides an incommensurable comparative schema. There is no enabling device for understanding the different dimensions in

relation to one another” (562-563). These flaws, however, are inherent in almost all typologies. What is important in Cohen’s typology, from the perspective of this project, is that it places Muslim diaspora, which as Cohen indicates “generated 1,700 thousands hits on a Google search in August 2007,” among “deterritorialized,” diasporas (Cohen, 2008: 153). Cohen’s analysis also indicates that the ideas of “hybrid”, “cultural” and “post-colonial” ideas and conceptions of diaspora are linked to this type of diaspora.



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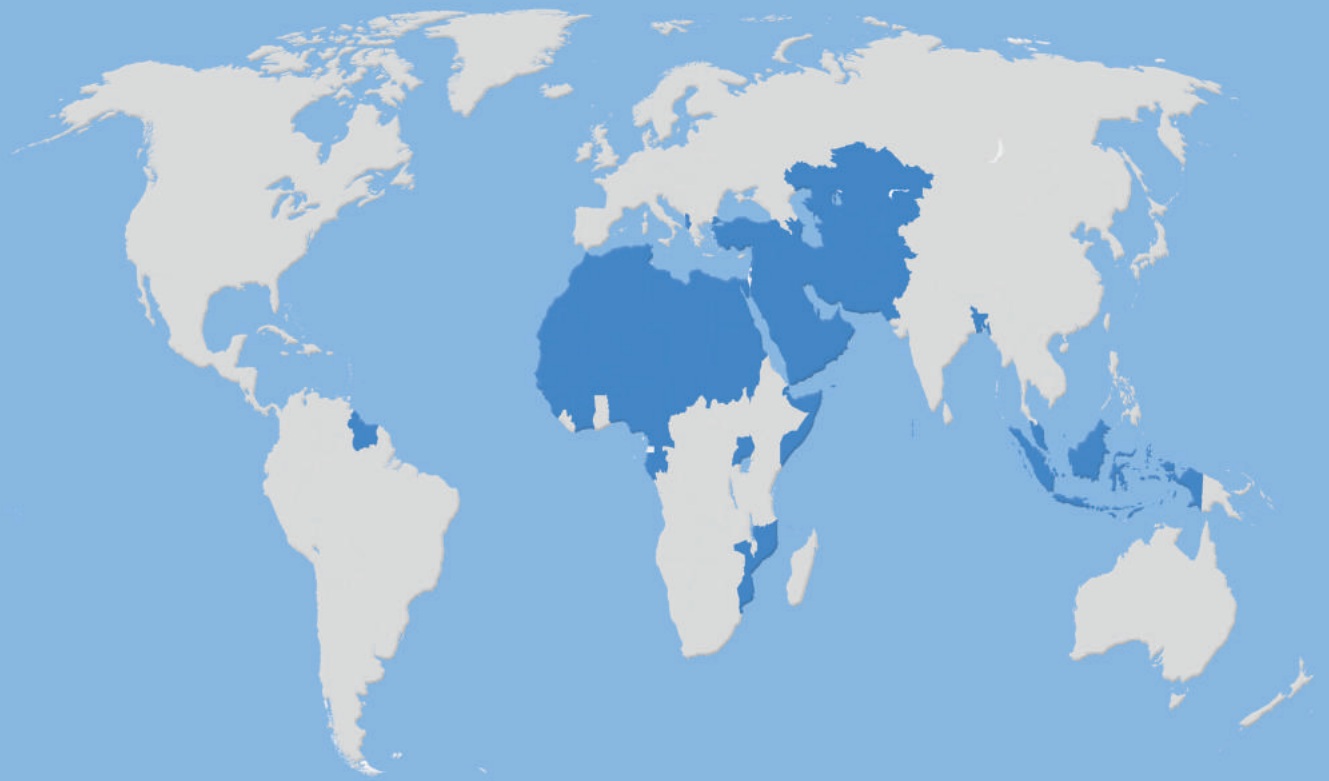
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