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Chapter 2
Diasporas, transnational spaces and communities

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The term 'diaspora', long used only to describe the dispersion of Jewish people throughout the world, has in the last 30 years elicited unprecedented interest, attracting the attention not only of the academic world but also of the media. In everyday language, the term is now applied to all forms of migration and dispersion of a people, even where no migration is involved; this corresponds not only to the development and generalisation of international migrations throughout the world, but also to a weakening, or at least a limitation, of the role played by nation-states at a time when globalisation has become a dominant process. I have chosen here to address the concept of diaspora from a geographical standpoint, taking into account its materiality in terms of space, place and territory.

In this chapter I shall try first to differentiate the concept of diaspora from that of others such as migration, minority, transnational community and territory of movement, and then complement the resulting definition with a typology of diasporas. My hypothesis is that the related concepts of diaspora and transnational community could be applied to different types of trans-border or transnational societies and thus help improve our understanding of the different spatial and temporal processes involved.

2.1 The concept of diaspora

A community diaspora first comes into being and then lives on owing to whatsoever in a given place forges a bond between those who want to group together and maintain, from afar, relations with other groups which, although settled elsewhere, invoke a common identity. This bond can come in different forms, such as family, community, religious, socio-political and economic ties or the shared memory of a catastrophe or trauma suffered by the members of the diaspora or their forebears. A diaspora has a symbolic and 'iconographic' capital that enables it to reproduce and overcome the – often considerable – obstacle

of distance separating its communities (Bruneau 2004: 7-43). Members of a diaspora coalesce in their present place of settlement the whole set of micro-places (e.g. city neighbourhoods or villages) occupied or crossed by those whom they recognise as their own. Each of these places acts as a centre in a territory where social proximities suppress spatial and temporal distances (Prévélakis 1996). All diasporas are socio-spatial networks necessarily undergoing territorial expansion because they aggregate both places of memory and places of presence (Offner & Pumain 1996: 163).

Diaspora areas and territories must be assessed in steps: first in the host country, where the community bond plays the essential role; then in the country or territory of origin – a pole of attraction – via memory; and, finally, through the system of relations within the networked space that connects these different poles. It should, however, be borne in mind that the term 'diaspora' often plays more of a metaphorical than an instrumental role. The different criteria suggested by most authors (Cohen 1997; Sheffer 2003) can be narrowed down to six essential ones focused around dispersion under pressure, choice of destination, identity awareness, networked space, duration of transnational ties and relative autonomy from host and origin societies as indicated below.

1) The population considered has been dispersed under pressure (e.g. disaster, catastrophe, famine, abject poverty) to several places and territories beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of origin.

2) 'The choice of countries and cities of destination is carried out in accordance with the structure of migratory chains which, beyond the oceans, link migrants with those already installed in the host countries, the latter thought of as conveyors towards the host society and the labour market, and guardians of the ethnic or national culture' (Dufoix 2000: 325). Such a choice may, however, also be determined by the conditions of traumatic dispersal, in which case, even though there may be far less choice, previous migratory routes can be used.

3) The population, integrated without being assimilated into the host countries, retains a rather strong identity awareness – which is linked to the memory of its territory and the society of origin – with its history. This implies the existence of a strong sense of community and community life. As in the case of a nation, it is an 'imagined community', relying on a collective narrative that links it to a territory and to a memory

(Anderson 1983). Intergenerational transmission of identities is also at work.

4) These dispersed groups of migrants (or groups stemming from migration) preserve and develop among themselves and with the society of origin, if one still exists, multiple exchange relations (people, goods of various natures, information, etc.) organised through networks. In this networked space, which connects essentially non-hierarchical poles – even if some are more important than others – relations among groups dispersed over several destinations tend to be horizontal rather than vertical.

5) These diasporic migrants have an experience of dispersion including several generations after the first migration. They have transmitted their identity from one generation to the other in the *longue durée*.

6) A diaspora tends to be an autonomous social formation from the host and the origin societies thanks to its numerous cultural, political, religious, professional associations. Lobbying in favour of their origin society is not uncommon among diasporas, but neither is resistance against instrumentalisation by the homeland.

Against this concept of a 'community' diaspora (Jewish, Greek, Armenian or Chinese diasporas, for example), Chivallon (2004) posits a 'hybrid' diaspora, distinguished very clearly from any 'centred model'. This 'hybrid' model has been defined by Anglo-American authors on the basis of the black diaspora of the Americas, using the approaches of post-modernist cultural studies. These authors, Hall and Gilroy especially, refer to the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari and to the image of the rhizome as opposed to that of the root – i.e. to a world of dissemination and hybridisation, as opposed to a world of filiation and heritage. There is no hard core of identity – nor continuity nor tradition – as in the community model, but a variety of formations. This hybrid diaspora rejects all reference to the nation and to nationalist ideologies. However, albeit for a relatively limited period of time (1919-1945), a minority of intellectuals gravitating around Garvey and Du Bois did promote a pan-African nationalist ideology.

For a diaspora to be able to live on by transmitting its identity from one generation to the next, it must as much as possible have places for periodic gatherings of a religious, cultural or political nature, in which it can concentrate on the main elements of its 'iconography'. The

concept of iconography, introduced in the 1950s by Gottmann (1952: 219-221), shows the importance of visible and palpable symbols, such as the monasteries that the Greeks of Pontos (the Black Sea region in Turkey) reconstructed in Northern Greece. Such symbols contribute to consolidating social networks and to preserving them during the hard times of exile. The symbols that make up an iconography are akin to three main fields, religion, political past (memory) and social organisation: 'Religion, great historical recollections, the flag, social taboos, invested and well grounded/ anchored interests are all part of what is called iconography' (Gottmann 1952: 136). Those symbols are the object of a virtual faith that singularises a people as different from its neighbours, who are attached to other symbols. The rooting of national iconography in the minds of citizens is all the deeper as it is transmitted to children very early by the family and the school. It unquestionably constitutes the main factor of socio-political partitioning in space. It is also what allows a diaspora not to become diluted into the host society and to keep its distinct identity. This concept particularly applies to 'nations' or, more exactly, to nationalities within great multi-ethnic empires, such as the Ottoman or the Russian. Their territorial inscription is neither continuous nor homogeneous, unlike what is implied by the ideal territory of a contemporary European nation-state. The case appears very close to that of the diasporas, to which it can apply with equal relevance.

These 'places', where we can find the main components of the iconography, include sanctuaries (churches, synagogues, mosques), community premises (conference rooms, theatres, libraries, sports clubs) and monuments that perpetuate memory. They also include restaurants and grocery shops, newsagents and the media (newspapers, community magazines, local radio and television stations, websites). These various places may be concentrated in the same 'ethnic' neighbourhood, the same locality, or be dispersed throughout a city or some bigger territory.

Since 'iconography' – in the Gottmannian sense – is the material and symbolic condensation of the intricate web of linkages between the members of a community and their territory, a perfect reproduction of its elements (e.g. reconstructing the Pontic monasteries in mainland Greece) is simply not possible: territory cannot be moved from one location to another. The material aspects of social networks depending on locations, territories, landscapes or monuments that are usually associated with rootedness, immobility and autochthoneity have, in the course of time, become mobile. The fact that members of a diaspora create 'places of memory' in the host country gathering the icons make it possible.

By introducing the spatial and temporal dimensions of territoriality into the concept of diaspora, it can be shown how the reproduction of

memory goes hand in hand with the construction of monuments and other symbolic and sometimes also functional places that constitute the instruments for a re-rooting in the host country.

2.2   Four major types of diasporas

Different diasporas are distributed unequally throughout the world at the beginning of the twenty-first century, with a generally confirmed tendency for them to be found on one or several continents. In every diaspora, culture in the widest sense – folklore, cuisine, language, literature, cinema, music, the press as well as community life and family bonds – plays a fundamental role. Family bonds, in fact, constitute the very fabric of the diaspora, particularly in the case of diasporas stemming from Asia and the eastern Mediterranean, with their well-known extended family nature; similarly, the community link is always present in, and constitutive of, all types of diasporas. What distinguishes diasporas, however, is the unequal density of their organisational structure, and the greater or lesser influence exerted by, if it still exists, their nation of origin. Religion, enterprise, politics and a combination of race and culture are the four major domains in which these two discriminating features manifest themselves. The combination of these criteria allows a typology of diasporas to be sketched out here, as four types, and illustrated with a few examples.

1)   A first set of diasporas is structured around an entrepreneurial pole; everything else is subordinated to it or plays only a secondary role: the Chinese, Indian and Lebanese diasporas are the best examples of this. Religion here does not play a structuring role, essentially because of its very diversity: Christians, Muslims, Hindus or Buddhists. Nor does the nation-state of origin exercise any decisive influence, for a variety of reasons: there may be several such states instead of one homeland clearly defined (Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China, South-East Asia for the Chinese); it may be deliberately disengaged and intervene only in case of extreme difficulties (India); it may be too weak and divided (Lebanon). Entrepreneurship constitutes the central element of the reproduction strategy of these diasporas, most of them emerging from a colonial context in which the ruler assigned their various commercial and enterprise activities (Indians and the Lebanese in Africa, the Chinese in South-East Asia).

2) Another set of diasporas is that in which religion, often asso-
ciated with a particular language, is the main structuring ele-
ment: this is the case of the Jewish, Greek, Armenian and
Assyro-Chaldean diasporas. In these cases the religion is
monotheistic, and the language of a holy script or a liturgy
may itself be regarded as essential. Greek and Armenian are
taught alongside religion in diaspora schools. Synagogue and
church, each with their pronounced ethnic hue, are constitu-
tive places for these diaspora communities. Where nation-
states have been formed, they have exercised an increasingly
stronger influence on these diasporas. Nevertheless, even
where this influence is greatest, as is the case for the Greek
diaspora whose cohesion is secured by the Orthodox Church,
the diaspora has managed to preserve relative independence.
When the Holy Synod of the Athens Church (1908-1922)
tried to take over control of the Greek Orthodox Church in
the United States, strong resistance led to restoring the juris-
diction of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

3) A third set of more recent diasporas is organised chiefly
around a political pole. This is particularly so when the terri-
tory of origin is dominated by a foreign power, and the main
aspiration of the diaspora population is the creation of a
nation-state. An example of this is the Palestinian diaspora:
having succeeded in setting up a real state-in-exile, the
Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO), whose objective of
establishing a nation-state next to the state of Israel has al-
ready been partially achieved by the creation of the
Palestinian Authority, which has been endowed with terri-
tories that it has administered since 1994. The Palestinian
diaspora's collective memory is rooted in the historical events
that mark the trauma of dispersal and occupation, especially
the catastrophe (*nakba*) of 1948. This is 'the core event of
their imagined community, the criterion of its alterity and the
main founder of the diaspora' (Kodmani-Darwish 1997: 194).

4) A fourth set is organised round a racial and cultural pole.
This is the case, for example, of the black diaspora, which has
been shaped by several attempts at defining a shared identity.
Centred on the 'negro race', what separates it from the other
types is, first, the fact that this diaspora has no direct refer-
ence to definite societies or territories of origin. The black
diaspora is defined first and foremost by socially constructed
'race', and only subsequently by culture. Whereas the

definition of race is, of course, contested and subject to various debates and interpretations, as is the very conception of African Americans as a diaspora, collective memories refer to the traumatic experiences under which this diaspora formed: the slave trade and the slave economy of the plantations. Few contemporary African Americans define their identity in relation to ancestral African homelands. We can also include the European Roma in this category, as they share many of the same characteristics. One commonality with the black diaspora is a decentred community structure, not unified by the transmission of a codified tradition or by political organisation, but characterised by the non-hierarchical proliferation of community segments, that is, small groups not organised as a structured society. The logic of cultural hybridisation, which implies borrowing from the host society, comes into full play in both cases amidst highly diverse host societies, even if Roma society is characterised by high degrees of endogamy and very low rates of mixed marriages. Racial discrimination and a strong tendency towards ghettoisation are also common features, as is the great difficulty of upward social mobility to escape poverty (Cortiade, Djuric & Williams 1993).

The concept of diaspora cannot be used to describe all types of scattered populations issued from a migration process: other types of social formations were to emerge in the post-colonial period and societies within migration fields. Concepts other than that of diaspora – like those of transnational communities and territories of movement – can be invoked; although they do share some characteristics with diasporas, they also have their own, specific features.

2.3 From migration field to transnational space: The Turkish example

An international migration field results from the 'structured coupling of the places produced by the flows between the different points of the migration system' (Faret 2003: 283). Such a field comprises places of departure, route, settlement, re-settlement and even places of return. This concept applies particularly well to Turkish migration in Central and Western Europe.

In the second half of the twentieth century (1957-2000), more than three million Turks migrated to Western Europe, with two thirds going to Germany (De Tapia 1995: 187). This was essentially an international labour migration, often the subject of agreements between states.

Nevertheless, further analysis reveals this field to be relatively complex, because the subsequent migration of shopkeepers, carriers and various investors – not to mention social migrations such as family reunifications, second- and third-generation marriages as well as collective solidarities – all superimpose themselves on labour migrations. In a subsequent phase, political migrations by asylum seekers – for example, Kurds, Assyro-Chaldeans, Armenians and Alevis as well as refugees of leftist parties – have acquired ever increasing importance. There is, consequently, great diversity in the reasons for, and causes of, Turkish migration. The migration movement inside this field is intense, owing to the road, sea-going and air network forms of transport that Turks themselves use and run, largely based within their own travel agencies, transport companies and communication satellites.

In the case of Turks, the diaspora does not precede the emergence of the nation-state, but comes after it. Is it therefore a diaspora or, rather, a transnational migration field that favours the emergence of a transnational community? The Turkish nation-state is recent (1923); it has not completely succeeded in unifying the national identity of the different segments of society round a Sunni and Kemalist hard core. The high segmentation and internal disparities of Turkish society appear more in dispersion and migration than they do in the national territory where the minorities are not fully recognised and are hidden by an apparent national homogeneity. This society is a community composed of different socio-cultural milieux that, though they do interact, have also acquired their own organisational and social networks. The divisions are not only ethno-cultural, but also religious or ideological. The Kurds, whose migrations – owing to the repression directed against them since the 1980s – are increasingly political in the current period, find themselves increasingly distinguished from other Turks and it is they, more than other Turkish-speaking Muslims, who come under the heading of diaspora (Wahlbeck 2002).

It is therefore difficult to differentiate a diaspora from the economic and political migration of a people stemming from a socially segmented society and comprising notable differences of identity. The recent character of migration (since 1957) and the segmented type of society constitute obstacles to the recognition of a real diaspora. To take better account of these phenomena, researchers such as Vertovec (1999) and Kastoryano (2000) have suggested the concept of transnational community.

2.4   Transnational communities

In the 1990s, a new concept emerged in academic discourse: 'transnational community'. Countries at the edge of the industrialised and tertiarised world of the North's major powers (the US, Canada, Western Europe, Japan), often former colonies or old countries of the Third World, send more and more migrants in search of employment and remittances to their families in the 'place of origin'. These rural, mostly unskilled economic migrants set off from a village, a basic rural community to which the migrants remain strongly attached and to which they return periodically. The family structure, more than the village community of origin, is essential in explaining the cohesion of these networks. Those from a rural community in a Latin American country or the Philippines, for instance, increasingly migrate to urban centres of various sizes in the US, with a migration movement being established between the place of origin and the places of settlement and work. The migration territory also comprises relay places, most often a large city, which serve as hubs for a migratory route network: for example, Dallas and Chicago for Mexicans from Ocampo (Faret 2003) and Buenos Aires for Bolivians from the Cochabamba region (Cortes 1998). The strong association with these different places, based upon the movement of the population of one village, where the dominant activity is migration in a variety of forms, constitutes a transnational migration territory.

A transnational community is based on specific mobility know-how, 'migration expertise'; the inhabitants of these places, so strongly marked by migration, have made it their essential activity. Some mobility may be based on the experience of mountain husbandry, which has always had to adapt to the seasons – whether for transhumance in certain cases or, in the case of Andean peasants, because several distinct ecological mountain levels are concerned. Peoples with a long nomadic tradition, like the Turks or Mongols, can also be moulded more easily in these transnational spaces (De Tapia 1995). A transnational community links the global to the whole range of greatly different local, networking places, without hierarchy between these different hubs. The role of the border is very much curtailed by a migrant population whose essential element of identity is knowing how to first cross the border itself, pass through the border area and then live outside it, whilst avoiding expulsion.

These migrants come from a nation-state, where they have lived for a relatively long time, returning periodically, and then investing part of their income in their village of origin, which they, or at least part of their family, do not plan to quit for good. The members of a transnational community seek to acquire the citizenship of their host country,

while retaining that of their country of origin. This double affiliation is not only a question of facility, but also a chosen way of life. However, there is no uprooting from the territory and society of origin, nor trauma, as in the case of diasporas. There is no strong desire to return, because transmigrants never actually leave their place of origin, with which they retain family and community ties that are greatly simplified thanks to the growth, regularity and safety of communications.

As Foner (1997) has shown for immigrants in New York, both today and at the turn of the twentieth century, modern-day transnationalism is not altogether new but instead has a long history. Russian Jews and Italians maintained family, economic, political and cultural links to their home societies at the same time as they developed ties within their host land. Expecting to return home one day, they sent their savings and remittances homeward and kept up their ethnic allegiances. A transnational social space already existed but it may have been harder than it is now to maintain contacts across the ocean. Today technological changes have made it possible for immigrants to maintain closer and more frequent contact with their home societies. International business operations in the new global economy are much more common. Telephones, emails and internet-based telecom allow immigrants to keep in close touch with the family members, friends and business partners they left behind in the home country. With greater US tolerance for ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism, maintaining multiple identities and loyalties is now seen as a normal feature of immigrant life. Nowadays, too, a much higher proportion of these immigrants (e.g. Indians and Chinese) arrive with advanced education, professional skills and sometimes substantial amounts of financial capital that facilitate these transnational connections (Foner 1997: 362-369).

The concept of transnational community is also used by researchers who have studied transnational nationalism. According to Kastoryano (2006), for example, Turkish transnational communities live in a four-dimensional space: that of the immigration country, the country of origin, the immigrant communities themselves and the transnational space of the European Union. The concept of 'long-distance nationalism' (Anderson 1998) refers to the nation-state of departure, Turkey, which acts on its exiled population by way of language, religion and dual nationality. This nation-state tries to reinforce as much as possible the loyalty of its nationals residing outside its frontiers. But the transnational networks of migrant associations can bypass the states by acting directly on transnational European institutions. We can observe the emergence of a transnational space, characterised by the dense interaction of actors belonging to different traditions (e.g. Islamist and secular Turks, Alevis, Kurds, Lazes). It is a new space of political socialisation, one of identification beyond that of national societies. The EU has

created a transnational civilian society in which national, provincial, religious and professional networks compete and interact among themselves, thereby promoting the logic of supranationality.

For Kastoryano (2006: 90), the concept of diaspora is more aptly applied to populations scattered prior to the making of their nation-state, such as Jews and Armenians, for whom nationalism refers to a mythical place, a territory to be recovered, a future state-building project. This more restricted meaning takes into account the extended history of diasporas who may have built their own nation-state after a lengthy period without a state, which is exactly the case of the Jews, Greeks and Armenians. Nation-states emerged only in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe, and these diasporas were already in existence a long time before that. Migrations occurred often after this state-building within the former reticular space of their diaspora. But diasporas may also have emerged from the forced exile of religious or national minorities of a nation-state after its creation (e.g. the Tutsis of Rwanda, Assyro-Chaldeans or Kurds of Turkey, Tamil of Sri-Lanka, Tibetans of China). Such diasporas are organised around an unsettled nation-state problem; this is not the case of transnational communities that do not contest the home or host nation-state. A transnational community is economically oriented, and its political interest is restricted to the migration policies of both its home and host country. There is, equally, another form of transnational community in which cross-border migrants, using a network of acquaintances, are continually circulating between their home place and a variety of host places to sell goods; this kind of quasi-nomadism requires the use of another concept, as discussed below.

2.5   Territories of movement

In the name of an anthropology of movement, Tarrius works in the tradition of analysing the emergence and development of new migratory forms in Europe, which have been studied by researchers since the 1980s. Marseille is the observation site for the construction of these underground international economies dealing with licit or illicit products. A world of 'small migrants' – i.e. 'merchandise/goods conveyers' – is devoted to the transportation and trade of goods imported outside official EU quotas of forgeries and smuggled goods, between the North African countries and France via Spain. They take advantage of the spatial, economic and social closeness that exists between the south and the north of these Mediterranean countries due to the colonial and migratory past of those spaces. Localist analysis must be overcome to study those migrant societies that generate 'new cosmopolitisms',

which are now invisible or hidden or displayed in mixity. They result in encounters between mobile, more or less steady and enduring groups. New forms of identities then occur, founded on the capacity of multiple belonging.

'Territories of movement' (Tarrius 2001) link the place where goods for consumption are shipped out (for instance, in the Maghreb) to the places they are delivered in Western Europe, within which there are further underground economy networks. They may seem to resemble transnational communities, in so far as they link the formerly colonised country where the migrants' community of origin is situated with the migrants' current residence. They are, however, actually very different. The transnational community essentially moves people who are going to 'sell' their labour and send part of their wages back to their community of origin in the form of remittances. Conversely, in the territory of movement, the cross-border entrepreneurs and nomads move with goods they loaded up on in their place of origin to sell in different cities of the host country that they are familiar with. Having in some cases lived in the latter for a lengthy period, they have been able to establish a helping network of acquaintances and support – the 'informal notaries' of Tarrius (2001: 52-56).

These intermediaries take commercial advantage of the wealth differential between their place of origin and their host place, circulating goods between poor and rich countries. Their expertise in moving – in moving goods especially – by crossing borders and circumventing taxation mechanisms of the states is as important for them as the expertise of a Mexican or Bolivian is within the migration field of a transnational community. Their host places are only points of passage or way stations, not places of settlement and integration. The only essential place for them is the one of their origin, whence they leave with their goods; they return regularly, and invest their earnings there. They never actually leave: it is their only base. Their identity is not a diasporic one: it is a 'nomadic identity' based on 'partial and short-lived hybridisation [*métissage*]' acquired in the course of the selling activity through which they socialise. In their place of origin, the link is based on family and community ties, whereas in the host and transit places, well-established local intermediaries – informal notaries (Tarrius 2001) with diaspora experience – are needed:

> Those informal notaries are interlocutors who are very much valorised by regional and local, political and police authorities who actively take part in the life in emerging mosques in large Southern cities. They contribute to institutionalising uncontrolled areas, of land's ends within Schengen space, such as

those identified by Italian researchers around Trieste, or Bari,
Sicily, in Naples and in Milan's suburbs. (Tarrius 2001: 55)

Without their intermediation nothing is possible and the smuggler can-
not maintain his activity and presence on the selling places. These bro-
kers maintain relationships with local, political and police powers, with
official representatives of the migrants' home states as well as with their
religious representatives, open trading and various underground net-
works. They sit astride numerous borders of norms and interests.

The territories of movement and transnational communities are pro-
duced by globalisation and result from socioeconomic inequalities,
which tend to increase, such as differences in the price of goods and
wages between countries of the North and of the South. They lock na-
tion-states into an asymmetrical situation, one of dominating and being
dominated. The base in the host country, although weak for territories
of movement (in the transit place), can, on the contrary, be strong for
transnational communities (in the host place); in both cases, however,
the rooting in the community of origin remains very significant and
may prevail over that in the country of settlement or transit.

2.6 Originality and value of the concepts of diaspora and transnational community

The value of the diaspora concept is that it shows sedimentation over
time, often a long period of time, of communities dispersed throughout
the world, which vary considerably from one diaspora to another. These
diasporas are characterised by the search for a certain cultural or reli-
gious – at times even political – unity. They have been formed, over the
course of time, by several waves of migration, each of which could have
different or several causes at once. It is this long-term sedimentation
that makes a diaspora. This is not the case either for transnational com-
munities, which have been formed recently in response to a call for la-
bour, or for smugglers depending on an underground economy. Each
diaspora member, wherever he or she may be, adjusts his or her own
cultural and social unity to the local and national features, with integra-
tion characterising intergenerational trajectories: he or she produces
métissages. For instance, Greek-Americans are different from those liv-
ing in Canada or Australia because their various migration trajectories
combine with the integration policies of these different states. The first,
second or third generations, in turn, produce their own different types
of 'mixities' within each of these host countries. There are several ways
to keep one's identity in exile and dispersion, as diasporas firmly rooted
in their various places of settlement have taught us. They have an

exceptional symbolic and 'iconographic' capital that enables them to reproduce and then overcome the obstacle of the – often considerable – distance that separates their communities. This symbolic capital lives on, particularly in shared memory.

So the relationships between diasporas and space or territories have their own specificities. Belonging to a diaspora implies being able to live simultaneously on the transnational world scale, the local scale of the community and the scale of the host or home country, thereby combining the three scales whilst privileging one or two of these. This combination differs from one individual to another, according to their position in the genealogy of generations. For instance, the first generation, those who were born and have lived in the society of origin, tend to privilege the local scale of the host country and the national scale of the home country where they lived before their migration. The second generation takes into account more often the local and national scales of the host country, where they were born and have lived and, sometimes, the transnational scale; the third generation, in search of its origins, moves on two or three of these scales.

A diaspora is a patchwork of families, communities and religious networks integrated in a territory by a nation-state, within its borders. These patchworks of families, clans, villages, cities, etc., are contained inside the borders of this nation-state where circulation, and exchanges are easier inside than with the outside. The nation-state creates an arbitrary limit between the networks inside it and those that are outside. Diasporas, however, cannot benefit from this extraordinary tool of integration. They function, as previously mentioned, as a hinge between different spaces and different geographical scales. Their networks belong to each of the host countries as well as to a trans-state diasporic network. Their global network, with its economic, cultural, social and political functions, can play the stabilising role that nation-states cover less and less.

Through migration, diaspora members have lost their material relationship to the territory of origin, but they can still preserve their cultural or spiritual relationship through memory. Territory or, more precisely, territoriality – in the sense of adapting oneself to a place in the host country – continues to play an essential role. Memory preserves part of territoriality, whilst the trauma of uprooting creates conditions of mobilisation that can play a substantial role in integrating and unifying various family, religious or community sub-networks into a real diaspora. The construction of commemorative monuments, sanctuaries, monasteries and other symbolic (and sometimes functional) places is an essential means, for the members of a diaspora, of a re-rooting in the host country.

Unlike people of the diaspora, transmigrants and cross-border entrepreneurs or smugglers do not seek to establish a social network destined to last or a transnational social group based on the richness of a symbolic capital and a memory transmitted from one generation to the next. They seek first and foremost to build a house in their home village and climb the social ladder there, and then to do so in their place of settlement if such a place exists. Transmigrants are far too dependent on their community of origin and on their host country to become as independent as people of the diaspora are. The social group to which they belong often does not exceed the community of origin and the network of its migrants, whereas the people of the diaspora have the feeling of belonging to a nation-in-exile, dispersed throughout the world, bearing an ideal. But transnational communities, like the Turkish one, are sometimes the bearers of a transnational nationalism, which appears with the interactions of their different actors and tries to influence the nation-state of their origin and that of their settlement. Dual nationality and migratory circulation within the framework of a transnational region like the EU favour the emergence of new trans-border communities differing from the long-term diasporas.

It is, in my view, this relationship to places and territories that enables us to distinguish between diasporism and transnationalism. Diaspora implies a very strong anchoring in the host country and sometimes, when the home country is lost or is not accessible (as with the Greeks of Asia Minor, Armenians or Tibetans), a clear-cut break with it. This is compensated, in the host country, by the creation of territorial markers, places of memory, favoured by an 'iconography' fixing the link with the home country. That gives some kind of autonomy from host and origin societies to the diasporic social formation compared to the transnational community. In transnational spaces and territories of mobility, this break does not take place, nor is there the need to be re-rooted elsewhere on the host territory. Any particular family has two parallel lives in two or more nation-states: the home country is dominated and the host countries, where the family has migrated, are dominant. In the autochthonous model, the fact of having 'always been there', on which the nation-state is based, means that identity is constructed in close connection with place over a greater or lesser period of time. On the contrary, in a diaspora, identity pre-exists place and tries to re-create it, to remodel it, in order to reproduce itself. Individuals or communities in diasporas live in places that they have not themselves laid out and that are suffused with other identities. As such, they will try to set up their very own place, one that is redolent of their home place within the bosom of which their identity, that of their kinfolk, of their ancestors, has been formed. De-territorialisation goes with, or is followed by, re-territorialisation.