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Comparative Diasporas: How has neoliberalism shaped collective identities

Abstract:

In questo articolo osserverò gli effetti che le trasformazioni neoliberali dell'economia e della governance hanno avuto sulla configurazione delle diaspore e delle immaginazioni diasporiche. In generale, gli studiosi hanno prestato attenzione alle forme di attaccamento affettivo e alle modalità di appartenenza generate dalla coscienza e la pratica diasporica e alle possibilità per le solidarietà etnonazionaliste di tipo transnazionale di mantenere un interesse nei confronti della “madrepatria” nel mondo globalizzato; tuttavia, ci si è concentrati poco su come tali attaccamenti possano essere influenzati, costituiti, indeboliti o rinfranti dalla formazione ideologica che è emersa in concomitanza con lo sviluppo del discorso diasporico, il neoliberalismo. In questo articolo, con riferimento al mio terreno, illustrerò gli effetti delle trasformazioni neoliberali e sosterrò che dobbiamo prestare maggiore attenzione alle sinergie tra la formazione di nuovi soggetti e la forma contemporanea del capitale globale.

In this article I consider the relationship between neoliberal economic and political formations and diaspora as a form of collective identification of groupness by migrant communities and their descendants around the globe. For my purposes here, I do not focus on diaspora as an analytic term to be identified, or attempt to assess transnational connections through an empirical listing of characteristics but prefer the flexibility in the notion of diasporic moments (Fortier 2000). Fortier's conceptualization makes us aware of the longing, nostalgia and memory associated with displacement that can characterize diasporic consciousness and the actual events and practices observed in the calendar of activities, celebrations, holidays, social relations and the mobilization of affect etc., in sites of the diaspora that are more or less synchronized with each other as well as that of the homeland. These moments in the

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diaspora can create room to displace or challenge the exclusive authority of the ‘centre’ or homeland to articulate and control that specific identity formation. Diasporas are not only internally defined but are framed by the opportunity structures, perceptions and inequalities in the host countries within which they operate. In this article then I use diaspora loosely and draw on examples from the two fieldsites as an ethnographer that I have had a chance to observe over a sustained period of time – Italian immigrants in Toronto, Canada and non-EU migrants in Naples, Italy.

First, I consider how neoliberalism is entangled with transformations in Toronto’s Italian origin population through the decade of 1991-2001 as the immigrant generation faced challenges from their children and grandchildren about group self-presentation. Part of the conflict within the Italian Canadian community was that the generational disjuncture coincided with the different forms of capitalism experienced by migration cohorts and how these structures affected how actors perceived their mobilization of ethnic or diasporic identity. The migrant generation arrived under state-organized capitalism, which included activist state social policies of inclusion such as multiculturalism. Those who came of age during the rise of deregulated capitalism in Canada characteristic of neoliberal ideology in the late 1980s and early 1990s, while still enmeshed with a legacy of state-organized capitalism and the rhetoric of multiculturalism were engaged with new questions about the limits of direct state action and confronted with ideas such as privatization, deregulation, personal responsibility, assumptions of risk, and the fashioning of an enterprising self. In this context, I argue here that part of the conflict over representation resulted from the formative experiences cohorts in the diaspora with different regimes of capitalism.

In the second example in this article, I examine the relationship between the neoliberal politico-economic formation and diasporas through a discussion of social indebtedness. I speculate about social indebtedness in the form of the immigrant investor/entrepreneur. In doing so, I will also slip more broadly into migration and migrants not always focussing on diaspora *per se*. I address how subjectivity is understood under neoliberalism and the implications these demands on subjectivity have for understanding the situations faced by migrants and diasporas (Freeman 2000; Martin 2002; Rose 2007). In a comparative sense, if Italian immigrants in profited from abundant work opportunities and state-organized forms of integration and nation-building in postwar Canada, many of the migrants I worked with in Naples in the last decade faced uncertain legal status and economic futures. Uncertainties and

anxieties developed for many Italians with the introduction in 2003 of the Biagi laws that legalized over 40 different types temporary contracts but lead also to an increased sense of precariousness because it reinforced trends towards the dismantling of welfare-state guarantees. Precarity expresses an anxiety about the increased uncertainties with work and social alienation surfacing out of the politico-economic changes in neoliberal regimes that compel flexible, casual and temporary labour contracts in contrast to the ‘certainties’ of welfare state labour markets and social arrangements (Bodnar 2006; Virno and Hardt 2006; Papadopoulos et al 2008). Yet for regular or irregular, migrants in Naples, precarity is a naturalized, generally unavoidable, feature of their migratory trajectory. For Neapolitans, migrants offer a stark example and warning about the potential dangers associated from an unregulated economy and the erosion of workers’ rights. In the example below I discuss the migrant as an investor and entrepreneur dependent upon a kind of social indebtedness. This is not to suggest, for example, that the migrant worlds of Naples lack some high profile ‘typical’ diasporic activities. From the small but influential professional and middle-class Palestinian community well-integrated into Naples but engaged with the politics of Palestine or to the recent arrest of a number of Tamil Tigers in the immigrant and formerly heavily working-class Neapolitan neighbourhood *Quartieri Spagnoli*, there is plenty of activity that could be cast as diasporic. There is also the view expressed by police I have interviewed that other transnational ‘terrorist’ groups find Naples a safe and productive place to be. Instead, my focus here is more mundane but nevertheless crucial as we think through the reconfigurations of ‘diaspora’ in the new politico-economic formations.

Contesting Italianness in Toronto

Italian officials and ordinary migrants have coined many terms over the last century reinforce this expanded space and political imaginaries of the nation: *gli italiani nel mondo* (the Italians of the world), *Italia fuori d’Italia* (Italians outside Italy), *Italiano all’estero* or *lavoratore all’estero*, *apaesamento*. (Italians abroad, workers abroad, workers settled abroad). Each of these terms emphasizes the persistent efforts of the ‘homeland’ to define, control and manage, by naming and actions, not only the emigration of Italians overseas but also the settlement process. These terms not only deny the nationalising processes that occur in the host countries among Italian immigrants, but

also erase the temporal dimension of settlement – generational change – and the implications of that for identity formation, culture and a sense of peoplehood. The centre represents Italians overseas as timeless members of the national community. What is at issue here are the problems associated with the collective representation of the group. Control over representation becomes entwined with discourses about authenticity, essentialising, objectification and reification.¹ More specifically for this article, the commodification of Italian culture for consumption.

Those who compete for hegemony over Italians in the diaspora are multiple and transnational, originating both from various levels of government in Italy and the sites of Italian origin settlement around the world, which includes the representation of Italianness in media and Hollywood to the state-centred ways of promoting Italian heritage in multicultural societies such as Australia and Canada. In each of these spaces of the ‘diaspora’, people of Italian heritage, migrants and their descendants, compete for control over self-presentation with these global representations and state-sponsored ones but also internally within communities. The developing conflict within Toronto Italia emerged through the increasing aestheticization and commodification of culture in the contemporary world, which led to the marketing of things Italian. This marketing circulated explicitly in 2000s under the ‘Made in Italy’ discourse that seemed to mix part pride and fear as Chinese technologies in clothing, leather and micro-electronics put increasing pressure on key sectors in the Italian economy. In Toronto, the decade before, representation, authenticity and identity with the potential for the profitability of one’s cultural heritage became hotly contested within the community. For the group of second generation Italian Canadians I discuss below, the opening up of the self to capital as a resource for exploitation is naturalized as way to survive in the new economy of neoliberalism. The reduction of the complexity of social life, relations and cultural practice to specific products, goods and styles offers a forceful alternative to other views within the diaspora and compels community members to question what identity project offers the most ‘authentic’ access to Italianness.

The use of Italians in the diaspora to assist with the aggressive branding of Italy by present-day Italian governments echoes a century long interest in

¹I have found Werbner’s article on essentialising thought-provoking. Werbner, P. 1997. ‘Essentialising Essentialism, Essentialising Silence: Ambivalence and Multiplicity in the Constructions of Racism and Ethnicity’. P. Werbner and T. Modood (eds.) *Debating Cultural Hybridity*. London: Zed Books.

massive overseas emigrant Italian population (and their descendants) by Italian governments (Rosoli, 1978). As early as the 1890s, Italian government officials speculated on the role “Little Italy” might play for ‘Greater Italy’ in fostering economic opportunity (Foerster, 1919, p. 477). Mussolini whose government aggressively promoted Italian language and culture (and fascism) through its consulates in the inter-war period once described emigration as a ‘haemorrhage of lost blood’ (Bosworth, 2002, p.251). Even today, embedded in this telecommunications tussle is the political debate over capturing the votes of Italian citizens living abroad, which may include those who have obtained citizenship based on *ius sanguinis* and have never lived in Italy but are eligible to vote in Italian national elections for districts established by the Italian parliament in North America, South America, Europe and the rest of the world (see Fortier, 2000). These voters cast decisive votes in the 2006 election.

Toronto, Canada, was a significant destination for Italian migration in the post-war period (1951-1967) and in the 1990s home to more than 400,000 Italians. Post-war Italian immigrants and their descendants have created a vibrant swirl of Italian heritage cultural activities and organizations and saturated the city’s public culture with commodified Italian culture in the urban landscape (Harney 1998). As a largely post-war migration from Italy, Toronto’s Italians have benefited from the technological innovations in transport and communications to maintain significant contact and networks with the Italy that, at times, is expressed discursively as diasporic. Moreover, they have met with quite significant economic success as a group taking advantage of Canada’s post-war boom and expanding economy. The economic success of Italian immigrants engaged with manufacturing and construction industries in Canada and the issue of continual socio-economic linkages with Italian hometowns through remittances or the more contemporary tours of 2nd or 3rd generation Italian Canadians to their parents’ or grandparents’ hometowns is not the focus here but is relevant to the degree that they reveal the relative economic success of this portion of the diaspora.

Given the age of the migration cohort, a significant number of Italian origin people living in Toronto now belong to the second and third generations. Until the 1990s, institutionally, the community was still dominated by the first generation that controlled the Italian-language media and dominated the business and professional sector, articulating a masculinist image of hard-working, self-sacrificing immigrants. The dominant aesthetic community was also composed of the immigrant generation organized around social, cultural

and community institutions that offered more immediate and specific linkages to migrant hometowns in Italy, controlled access to cultural facilities, media, and organized social club events, dinner-dances, saints' days feasts and the like. There was also an intra-ethnic schism, though good-natured, between migrants from Veneto, Calabria, Abruzzo, Sicily and Friuli. There existed a smaller but significant aesthetic community of young first-generation artists, writers, filmmakers who arrived from Italy to Canada as adolescents or young adults and articulated a much more explicit transnational vision, a deeper sense of loss, nostalgia and questioning of place and an explicit confrontation over which language or languages their work should employ. This community becomes more varied when one considers the Quebecois Italian Canadian intellectual coterie that moved to Ontario in reaction to Quebecois nationalist activities.

Intersecting with these internal differences were external actors attempting to represent Italianness to Italians and the wider community. Italian government and tourism agencies working within the community characterized Italians in Canada as simply those Italians 'living overseas' and had little interest in the way in which Italianness was shaped and constituted in the urban North American setting. Flashy magazines, marketing efforts by the diplomatic service and private corporations each had a specific Italy-centred vision of Italians and hoped to use the Italian settlement to sell Italy abroad. Coupled with this is Canada's version of multiculturalism, articulated differently by each level of government, which encouraged cultural retention through the sponsorship of language programs, arts activities and picnics. These institutional actors operated within the swirl of images generated by the media and Hollywood about Italians, mostly Italian Americans, and their purported connections to organize crime, and more local stock images of Italian labourers in construction, at the weekends making tomato sauce or homemade wine, indulgent Italian mothers, grandmothers oppressed by Italian Catholicism and dressed in black perpetually mourning the death of a relative, and putatively emotional adolescents concerned with the presentation of self.

Into these competing interests and images emerged a second-generation group of Italians who published a magazine, the *Eyetalian*, and sponsored events throughout the cityscape, that sought to challenge the images of Italians as put forth both by the immigrant generation, the media and governments, but also to become the indispensable resource for Italian Canadians and the wider society to learn about Italianness. The name itself, mimicking and reclaiming the derogatory pronunciation of the word 'Italian' commonly

heard by Italian immigrants from the mouths of host society employers and hostile politicians, anticipated the irreverence to old images that would mark the magazine's content. The magazine published in English, and articulated an Italianness that at the same time was proud of the migrant tradition but engaged with contemporary urban identity issues about hip lifestyles, aesthetics, sexuality, and gender, and aggressively critiqued the nationalising projects of both Canada and Italy as experienced by Italian Canadians. By entering this tangle of competing interests and claims, the group contested the right to objectify Italianness and to profit from the cultural cache of the lifestyle, aesthetic forms and commodities linked with that identity. They sought to create a cultural space for the 'second generation' eager to engage with 'things Italian' but blocked by traditional expressive avenues for collective representation either through traditional Italian community media and institutions, Italian institutions or Canadian mainstream institutions and media.

The *Eyetalian* created a space to organize business, create contacts and establish social networks. It provided a forum for young writers, designers and artists to practice, hone and develop their skills and portfolios. It became a conduit for those first and second generation entrepreneurs involved in design, food and wine, travel as well as artists, writers, musicians to speak to each other, make contacts and develop business arrangements. As an aesthetic community based on Italian heritage but raised in Toronto, children of immigrants, educated in English, its members shared common idioms that reflected this complex transnational and multicultural reality, and undermined essentialist notions of Italianness as they reaffirmed and re-imagined the aesthetic underpinnings of solidarity. Ironically as they attempted to undermine essentialist representations of Italianness they offered up versions of their ethnic or 'diasporic' identity for objectification in commodity form and in the process made available their affective selves, using their subjectivities for survival as demanded by the volatility new work regimes and disappearance of state supports and institutions in neoliberal conditions.

Migrant 'Diasporas' in Naples: Enterprising Selves, Entrepreneurship and the Investor

Even as the second and third generations of Italian Canadians were opening up their social relations, selves and cultural practices to capital, they still operated with the framework of citizenship and the rights accorded to mem-

bers of the nation-state. In contrast, I turn in this next example to irregular and regular migrants in Naples, Italy who face considerable socio-structural obstacles in their attempts at livelihood in that city. Interest in the role of networks of diaspora communities in the possibilities for development in their sending countries has received considerable attention over the last decade as OECD countries further limit their direct aid or link development funding to social enterprises and market mechanisms. In that context, remittances as engines of development have been seen offering a panacea to the challenges of direct development aid and they fit well within the neoliberal ideological framework, which seeks to displace risk onto individuals and their choices and away from state institutions. While this feature of diasporic life is crucial for migrants in Naples and part of the political imaginary for many sending countries, I turn in my example below to the figure that is prior to the remittance – the migrant entrepreneur.

One of the central themes analysts have considered about conditions faced by citizen-subjects under the politico-economic regime of neoliberalism, is the intense social and personal insecurity integral to globalisation. This insecurity accompanied by the assumption of risk by citizens for services and welfare support previously covered by the state has undermined the certainties of citizens (Martin 2002). The presence of the migrant, asylum seeker, and refugee further unsettles citizens of wealthier nation-states because the precarious circumstances of their arrival, legal status, social networks and work conditions serve to undermine the glib rhetoric of exuberant boosters of an unfettered and lightly regulated global capital. Temporary contracts, casual labour, the assumption of risk by individuals, requires citizens to open up their affective selves, to use their subjectivities for survival as demanded by the volatility new work regimes and disappearance of state supports and institutions in neoliberal conditions. Nowhere is this more evident than in the contradictions within Italian political discourse in the last few years as a country in need of labour finds it difficult to match its needs with the hysterical and excessive rhetoric of fear and anxiety about the invasion of migrants present in popular discourse.

Fieldnote entries, April 2005:

It's sometime before 10 am on a sunny Spring morning. Even so, the air in the old city is cool and humid, as shadows still cover much of the narrow passages between 17th and 18th century palazzi. The local shopowners are just raising their metal security screens, sweeping their front steps and scrubbing the dirt off the volcanic slabs that pave the streets. They join university students and a few immigrant street

vendors in local coffee bars for the first espresso café of the morning. Spaccanapoli, or one of the old city's Roman roads, Decumano, that splits the city in half and runs through many old neighbourhoods, is a central thoroughfare for Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese and West African street vendors on their way to set up for the day's sale of goods. I am with a group of four or five Bangladeshis who often set up their movable stands – clever jerry rigged cardboard stands – near the old city's central Piazza del Gesu and the University quarter that had a good traffic of students and tourists willing to buy their jewelry, trinkets, scarves and posters. Each seems to sell a variant of the others products but on closer examination the jewelry is all slightly different, as are the buttons and posters. The group resists groupness even as I try to frame them that way. They do however, watch each other's stands while they eat lunch, head back to the wholesale stores to buy products or escape for a short while to call home. Each day brings a variation in who is there. One takes his chances on the more highly trafficked but also highly police-patrolled Via Toledo, another on Corso Umberto. Each is replaced by another.

Wazim is trying a new set of bracelets and he seems to be second-guessing himself. He asks others their views. Will these sell? Did he pay too much? Should he invest in many more for his selling trips on Italian beaches and at Italian saint's festivals where the big money can be made? They tell me as much as four or five hundred Euros or more can be made on these festival weekends if you bring the right product, and are willing to risk the confiscation of your goods by the Customs police, the denial of space at festivals by local authorities and the jockeying for space with all the other street vendors. Then, the cost of the train and time is a frustrating loss. Ayub suggests Wazim join him at a festival in Calabria. He has an Italian contact he met last year in Calabria at the festival of San Paolo who will give him space in his licensed stall. Just as this discussion is underway, the local Neapolitan butcher comes out with a response to a form he had helped Ayub fill out to a local town council for permission to set up a stall at another festival in Puglia. The butcher had let Ayub use his address and helped him fill out the Italian. Tariq comes by and buys everyone a coffee. He wasn't selling much more on the streets but was investing in a wholesale store. The others looked upon him as a model of upward mobility. If they saved, worked hard and chose the right goods they might be able to get a store. Tariq tells me as an aside that he was able to save a lot but what really helped him to start up the store was a rotating credit system he was asked to join by other Bangladeshis. Just then, several Senegalese vendors walk by with big plastic bags of designer bags. They greet the group. After some small talk, they leave. The Bangladeshis laugh in what suggests to me a mix of awe or admiration. They tell me those guys are real risk takers – selling fake (or of questionable origin – it was hard to get that clarified in Naples) or pirated goods and they set up in high-risk spots.

As Martin notes 'the investor type has already been dispossessed of a se-

cure past, present and future' (2007: 36). It is not a personal indebtedness but a social indebtedness. The investor cannot make the money alone. Immigrant solidarities or diasporas reveal a kind of social indebtedness. Although the investor is socially indebted, in neoliberal discourse, the investment language operates simultaneously with the language of entrepreneurship. The investor is entrepreneurial about the investments he or she makes. The investor/entrepreneur can beat the market, can have 'unique' insights, can stay up late in the family home to make that extra individual sacrifice, can work longer hours on the street corner selling, can make 'smarter' decisions about fashion trends, can better negotiate relations with Italians. The investor and the entrepreneur are intertwined as contemporary figures. The shadowing of the investor with the entrepreneur elides a tremendous social interdependency that really produces them both.

Naples has been a city beset with multiple problems and challenges: unregistered informal economies, under-employment, clientelism, uncontrolled property speculation, poor planning, political corruption, petty and organised crime (Camorra), and over-dependency on the central state for financial assistance (Allum, 2003). The official unemployment rates in Naples underscore the severe social and economic difficulties facing the city's inhabitants: nearly 25 per cent, with the rate for people between the ages of 30-64 at 15 percent, three times the national average for that range; but more significantly, for 15-24 year olds it is a staggering 65 per cent (IRES Campania, 2004). Even today, with interviews I have conducted with Neapolitans, migration, if not out of Italy at least north to richer regions such as Emilia Romagna and Lombardy is foremost in the minds of young Neapolitans. Naples then, is a point of transit and movement for migrants and Neapolitans alike because of its economic uncertainties whether these migrant trajectories are seasonal, temporary, permanent, or imagined as possibilities. Such unemployment numbers also hint at the presence of an unregistered economy that sustains precariously both those unemployed and employed and offers space for irregular migrants to rest and build a small nest egg or consider future mobility further north. A transportation hub, with an international seaport and a main junction for the Italian railway, the city offers opportunities for informal, unregistered work to those willing to take it in agriculture, domestic service, small craft manufacturing, street trading, services and construction – enterprising selves willing to operate in uncertain conditions. It has tended to draw migrants because of the rumours about the flexibility and opportunities available in its unofficial labour market (Harney, 2006). While there were 128,049

officially resident foreigners in Campania, more than half live in Naples – estimates of irregular presence and would increase that conservatively by 30% (authors interviews, 2005). I focus on both ‘regular’ and ‘irregular’ or ‘documented’ and ‘undocumented’ migrants because there is quite a bit of slippage and movement between these legal statuses in the lived experiences of migrants and their life trajectories through their time in Italy (Schuster, 2005). As a result, this renders an accounting of them difficult. The ambiguities therefore present in the field in Naples with respect to economic activity and the irregularity of migrants offers a useful site to consider the fissures, inconsistencies and erasures that constitute the presumed ways with which to organize and manage one’s life and the affairs of institutions under contemporary economic conditions.

The Lisbon Agenda the European Union (EU) established an ambitious goal that by 2010 the EU should be ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world’; yet, (perhaps unsurprisingly) the accompanying report only once mentioned migrants and did so with an opaque reference to the problems of integration. To indicate the demographic significance of this non-EU irregular migrant presence in Italy alone, in the 2002 amnesty for irregular (undocumented) migrants in Italy offered as part of that year’s ‘Bossi-Fini’ immigration legislation (Law no.189), the Italian government received over 700,000 formal requests for regularization of migrant status. The flexible, neoliberal knowledge-based economy, driven by new information and communication technologies, structural changes in industrial economies, and rhetoric has suggested the citizens must be entrepreneurial and invest in their skills, embrace risk in order to work smarter, more creatively, and with greater flexibility.

What threat to the national fantasy do migrants pose through their ‘unaccounted for’ labour. These migrants even though they exist in precarious situations with little support are generally not seen as individualized, self-reliant, self-made, competitive, risk-takers – entrepreneurs or investors. Instead migrants are presented as threats to the nation, parasitic of the wealth in the ‘west’. Further, putative migrant ‘clannish’ behaviour conjures up or recalls for Italians an imagined collective solidarity in Italian social organization in the past, now lost; yet, this presumed migrant solidarity in the present is perceived as a threat to Italians today since (if it exists) it offers an unfair competitive advantage to the autonomous, entrepreneurial, investor desired through financialization discourse. In the concern over migrant solidarities, the social interdependency of the migrant is recognised. These racialized solidarities of-

fer solace (or advantage) for migrant entrepreneurs or labour in the Italian (underground) economy. Intriguingly, the migrant circumstance provides a surfeit of meaning for Italians. On the one hand, the precariousness of their entrepreneurial self-reliance reveals the possible limits to adopting or accepting the entrepreneurial activities encouraged within neoliberal rhetoric, while on the other hand, the presumed social indebtedness or the security of racialized solidarities, diasporas or communities provides a alternative image to the eroding solidarities of Italian society under conditions of neoliberal restructuring.

Conclusion

The reconfigurations of politico-economic relations demanded by neoliberal ideology create an increased sense of uncertainty among workers as they are asked to tolerate risk in exchange for labour opportunities. In the case of generational competition among Italian Canadians for the right to represent ‘Italianness’ in Toronto, second and third generation Italian origin Canadians embraced the language of the market to establish claims over their identity in a commoditized and marketable vision of difference and its subsequent ability to produce value. In that process, their imagining of Italianness contrasted with alternative visions of groupness that were more fully embedded in the state-organized framework of multiculturalism. In contrast with this example, non-EU migrants in Naples confronted the increased securitization of European countries and their precarious status within them to offer us a look at the possibilities of the autonomous individual who has the moral responsibility to manage risk, self regulate and seek out knowledge and resources to survive. Ironically this archetypal autonomous, risk-bearing entrepreneur also can be interpellated as the quintessential member of a solidarity, a diaspora that supports in collective membership.

Research on migration has focused on how immigrants are excluded and positioned precariously in social, cultural and economic ways in relation to the securitization of society, resurgent nationalisms and the post 9/11 fears of terrorism. In instances in which there is a focus on the economic functioning of migrants in the new flexible economies, here they are seen as serving the basic needs of the professional workers or ‘skilled’ migrants mobile through the opportunities in the financialized economy – as domestic, cleaners etc. in the dual economy. Here again, they are positioned outside the dominant nar-

rative. In this article, I have begin to sketch some of the ways we might think about migration in relationship to the neoliberal politico-economic regime that has reconfigured state-economy-citizen relations over the last thirty years. To sequester the analysis of migration outside the dominant discursive framework form of contemporary global capitalism has the effect of reproducing the social and economic marginalization of migrants and their collective solidarities such as diasporas by suggesting they are not actively engaged with similar challenges to their subjectivities and social organization that neoliberalism throws up to citizens in liberal democracies.

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