

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Introduction	1
Refugees – the pressing questions	1
Globalisation	2
Crisis and exclusion	5
Disciplinary perspectives	7
Borders	9
Asylum rights	11
Definitions	12
The problem of numbers	14
Part I Disordered World	19
1 Globalisation and Forced Migration	21
Globalisation	21
New world order	23
The global system: myth and reality	25
Poverty	27
Movements of capital	29
Contradiction	36
2 Crisis of the State	38
States and migrants	38
‘New’ emergencies – old problems	39
From reforms to riots	42
The IMF ‘menu’	44
Imposition of reform	46
Crisis and mass displacement	48

3	Migrants Old and New	57
	Migration and inequality	57
	Colonies and slaves	58
	Indenture	61
	Migrants and the state in Europe	63
	America – ‘the asylum of freedom’	65
	Patterns of migration	67
	Imperial diaspora	68
	Algeria – making colons	69
	War and recession	71
4	Chain Migration to Forced Migration	76
	New migrants	76
	The search for labour	78
	Impacts of the ‘long boom’	80
	Chain migration	82
	Migration networks	83
	Community and reciprocity	86
	Recession and migration	88
	End of the ‘miracle’	90
	‘Nowhere to go’	92
	Part II Rights	95
5	Refugees and Rights	97
	Origins	97
	Rights	98
	Nation-states	100
	Huguenots – the ‘classic’ refugees	102
	‘Profitable strangers’	105
	Exiles	108
	Exiles in Britain	110
	‘Image of Britannia’	111
	‘Race’ and nation	113
	National identity	115
6	Towards Disaster	120
	Menace from the East	120
	Age of exclusion	124
	The Nazi project	128
	‘Invaders’	130
	Racism and exclusion	133
	‘Money speaks’	136
7	From Ambassadors to Aliens	141
	Repatriation	141

Human rights	144
'Ambassadors'	147
'New' refugees	150
'Invisible' refugees	151
Hordes of aliens	154
Scapegoats	158
Balkan 'ambassadors'	160
8 Legality and Authenticity	164
Who is 'illegal'?	164
In praise of informal migrants	165
Amnesties	168
Coyotes	170
Capitalism's 'lubricant'	172
France: welcoming <i>clandestins</i>	174
Germany: from guestworkers to refugees	176
Britain: legacy of empire	179
Unfree labour	183
Demographic deficit	184
Part III Journeys and Destinations	191
9 Displacement	193
Human agents	193
Women migrants	198
Containment	200
'Havens'	202
'Repackaging' refugees	204
'Supertankers'	205
'Corrals'	207
Women in camps	208
Tabula rasa	209
'Warriors'	212
Moving on	213
10 Circuits of Migration	216
Transnational communities	216
Discourse of rights	219
Refugees 'in orbit'	221
Urban refugees	223
City lives	225
Cairo	227
Destitution	229
Co-operation and competition	231
Culture of disbelief	233
Gatekeepers	235

11	Cultures of Terror, Cultures of Abuse	240
	'Demobilisation'	241
	Low intensity conflict	243
	Regimes of terror	245
	Terror and the informal networks	247
	Border controls in Europe	249
	Debt bondage	251
	Death at sea	253
	Criminal or functionary?	254
	Deception	257
12	Conclusion: Racism without End?	263
	Refugees and crime	263
	Detention	265
	The Australian option	267
	'Boundless Plains'	269
	Playing politics with refugees	271
	Acts of war	273
	Encampment	275
	Official racism	277
	State racism	280
	From prejudice to solidarity	282
	'Designer migrants'	285
	Open borders	288
	<i>Bibliography</i>	294
	<i>Index</i>	318