Online Appendix

Government-Sponsored Mass Expulsion (GSME) Dataset

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1. **Overview of online appendix**

The Government-Sponsored Mass Expulsion (GSME) dataset online appendix includes additional details to supplement the introductory article. The appendix contains the following sections: discussion of the mass expulsion concept including its definition, attributes and scope conditions; overview of the coding criteria including a coding decision tree, scope condition criteria and sample case diaries; notes on the methodology including data sources and archival research; comparison of the GSME dataset to 11 other extant datasets on expulsion, ethnic cleansing and related concepts; a full list of the 139 expulsion episodes; annotated variable descriptions that correspond to the relevant csv files; and a full bibliography of works used in coding the data (by region).

2. **Mass expulsion concept: Definition, attributes, scope conditions**

2.1. **Definition**

In the GSME dataset mass expulsion is defined as:

> A systematic government-sponsored policy to remove an ethnic, racial, religious or national group, as such, with no individual legal review and with no recognition of the right to return.

2.2. **Conceptual attributes**

The mass expulsion concept introduced in this article has six core conceptual attributes.

2.2.1. ***Government-sponsored***

The government-sponsored clause of the definition includes both state-ordered mass expulsion policies and state-directed policies. The former includes either explicit state-issued expulsion decrees or treaties, or involvement of state military, police, or intelligence services in the physical removal of the target group. Whereas the latter involves expulsion via paramilitary forces—non-state actors, operating at the behest of the state—that are supported by government officials.

The focus on the state as the main actor, or perpetrator, is in line with existing datasets such as Harff (2003), Ulfelder & Valentino (2008), Bulutgil (2016), and Lichtenheld (2020), among others. Although the state must be the perpetrator of the expulsion, in some cases the expulsion is executed by various 'agents' of the state including paramilitary (i.e., non-state) actors. The GSME dataset, however, does not include non-state actors as perpetrators (that are not acting on behalf of a recognized state). This is largely because of feasibility. As Bulutgil (2016) states in her book on ethnic cleansing,

> "…from a conceptual perspective, if non-state actors such as militias or insurgent organizations acquire the ability to exercise coercive power over a given territory, they might also perpetrate ethnic cleansing. The problem is, from a practical standpoint, it is much harder to identify the limits of the territories that are controlled by non-state actors" (4).

Since the GSME dataset focuses on policies instead of practices, the perpetrator must have control over a specific, delimited, bounded territory in which to enact those policies. Even in the case of the Islamic State, perhaps the closest example of a non-state-actor with a (temporary) pseudo state, the boundaries of their caliphate were constantly contested and challenged by the international coalition trying to defeat IS, which is problematic from an operational coding perspective. Moreover, their goals encompassed enslavement and forced conversion rather than mass expulsion.

In addition, the exclusion of non-state actors as perpetrators is likely to have a minimal impact on the overall data sample. Straus (2015) notes regarding his data on large-scale violence against

civilians in Africa—which included state and non-state actors as perpetrators— "state actors are the lead perpetrators in nearly every case" (99).

2.2.2. ***Systematic policy to remove***

The GSME dataset is focused on government mass expulsion policies, not practices or tactics used in implementing those policies. Therefore, the core attribute of the mass expulsion concept is a systematic (i.e. organized, coordinated, intentional) government plan to remove the target out of the territory of the state.

2.2.3. ***Ethnic, racial, religious or national group***

The four target group categories outlined in the mass expulsion definition, and the exclusion of political and economic/class groups, is in line with ethnicity broadly conceived as groups with descent-based attributes. These four categories conform to the key properties of constrained change and visibility.[1] They are 'sticky' and hard to change in the short term and as a result, they make escaping group-based targeting by the state more difficult. They also match those in previous international human rights treaties like the 1948 Genocide Convention as well as the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights. The latter states in Article 12(5), "Mass expulsion shall be that which is aimed at national, racial, ethnic or religious groups."[2]

It is important to note that a geopolitical compromise is behind the exclusion of political and class categories from the final Genocide Convention. But political and class groups are more fluid than the categories included here. One can easily and quickly change political party, affiliation or beliefs. One can also, depending on the context, raise one's socio-economic status. But one cannot easily change ascriptive characteristics such as ethnicity and race. While one can convert to a different religion, governments eager to target religious groups will likely ignore such conversions as in the case of Nazi Germany with Christian Jews.[3] Religious identity, in some cases, is also visible with physically identifiable amulets or clothing (e.g. Sikh turbans, Jewish yarmulkes, Catholic crucifixes, or Muslim hijabs). Nationality is also not easy to change in the short-term. While one can obtain dual nationality in some countries, in many cases nationality is inextricably linked to other ascriptive characteristics including race, ethnicity and religion. In addition, some states prohibit dual nationality. Therefore, although there are tradeoffs for excluding political and class groups, the four categories—ethnicity, race, religion and nationality—were chosen because of their descent-based characteristics that are difficult to change in the short term.

2.2.4. ***'as such'***

The 'as such' clause is included after the ethnic, racial, religious or national group clause to indicate the target group is removed specifically because of its shared group characteristics. The relevant group must be instrumentally, not incidentally, removed.

2.2.5. ***No individual legal review***

Governments expelling populations *en masse* do not individually evaluate the persons being expelled but instead expel individuals simply because they belong to the target group—or are alleged to do so. If individuals are expelled after their documentation (or lack thereof) has been legitimately reviewed

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[1] Chandra, K. (2006). What is ethnic identity and does it matter? *Annual Review of Political Science, 9*, 397-424.

[2] African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. (1981). *The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights*. Retrieved from https://www.achpr.org/legalinstruments/detail?id=49

[3] Evans, R. J. (2005). *The Third Reich in Power*. London, UK: Penguin Books; Harff, B. (2003). No lessons learned from the Holocaust? Assessing risks of genocide and political mass murder since 1955. *American Political Science Review,* 97(1), 57-73.

by the respective government authorities and deemed to be in violation of domestic legislation this is an individual, not a mass or group, expulsion. Mass expulsion is predicated on the absence of legitimate individual legal assessment.

2.2.6. ***No recognition of the right to return***

This clause highlights the importance of irreversibility in mass expulsion policies. There are two main reasons that "no recognition of the right to return," at the time of the expulsion, is included in the definition, both of which help to clarify its conceptual boundary with related concepts.

While all episodes of mass expulsion involve forced displacement, not all cases of forced displacement are incidents of mass expulsion. That is because in mass expulsion events the expelled population is targeted because of its shared group characteristics and not incidentally displaced by violence. However, in some cases, populations incidentally displaced by violence, e.g. during an inter-state war, are later systematically denied the right to return. In this case, these populations are de jure expelled.

An example is found in the 1923 Lausanne Convention codifying the 'population exchange' between Turkey and Greece. Article 3 of the Convention denied both Greek and Muslim refugees, who fled Turkey and Greece, respectively, over the course of the previous decade, the right to return:

> "Those Greeks and Moslems who have already, and since the 18th October, 1912 [the beginning of the first Balkan War], left the territories the Greek and Turkish inhabitants of which are to be respectively exchanged, shall be considered as included in the exchange provided for in Article 1."[4]

Some of the people identified in Article 3 had been expelled during the Balkan Wars, or during the Greco-Turkish War, but others (particularly Greeks) simply left during the generalized violence and instability of the First World War. While they were not expelled at that time, they were expelled in 1923 by Article 3 of the Lausanne Convention.

Article 1 of the Convention also created new refugees by expelling Muslims who were still residing in Greece and Greek Orthodox who were still living in Turkey:

> "As from the 1st May, 1923, there shall take place a compulsory exchange of Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory, and of Greek nationals of the Moslem religion established in Greek territory. These persons shall not return to live in Turkey or Greece respectively without the authorisation of the Turkish Government or of the Greek Government respectively."[5]

Both articles systematically removed Greek Orthodox and Muslims from Turkey and Greece, respectively, but did so through different means of denying their right to return.

The second reason for the inclusion of the irreversibility clause is to distinguish the policy of mass expulsion from the policy (not to be confused with the tactic) of deportation. The irreversibility of expulsion contrasts with the delay of a deported person's right to reapply for entry. While deportation regulations vary across states, most countries require a "cooling off period" in which a deported person must wait before attempting to reenter the country.[6] But after a five- or ten-year period, a person can reapply to legally return to the country from which s/he was deported (whether

[4] League of Nations Archives (LNA), S356, 21/Dossier 5: Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations [*Translation reprinted from the British Treaty Series—No.16/(1923).*], 30 January 1923; UN Archives at Geneva.
[5] LNA, S356, 21/Dossier 5: Convention Concerning the Exchange of Greek and Turkish Populations [*Translation reprinted from the British Treaty Series—No.16/(1923).*], 30 January 1923; UN Archives at Geneva.
[6] U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. "Immigration and Nationality Act: 212."
https://www.uscis.gov/ilink/docView/SLB/HTML/SLB/0-0-0-1/0-0-0-29/0-0-0-2006.html#0-0-0-202

or not entry is granted is up to the country of application). The distinction with mass expulsion is that there is no hope for return at the time of the mass expulsion.

It is true that there have been cases where governments have claimed that the expellees have no right to return and in which the population nevertheless does return (Burma (Myanmar), 1978, 1991-92; Dominican Republic, 1991, 1996-97, 1999-2000; Angola, 2003-05, 2808-09, 2010-11). But the intent of the government to deny reentry at the time of the expulsion decision is what matters for inclusion in the GSME dataset.

2.3. **Scope conditions**

For a mass expulsion episode to be included in the GSME dataset it must also meet two scope conditions:

- The expelled population must be moved across an international border; and
- At least 1,000 persons must be expelled in an annual period

2.3.1. ***Cross-border mass expulsion***

The initial determining factor for a cross-border expulsion to be included in the dataset is that the population must be forced across an international border, or out of newly annexed/ceded territory. The main reason for excluding internal expulsions is empirical feasibility.

Coding internal expulsions would require a much large number of (arguably subjective) determinations for inclusion. In cases of development-induced internal displacement, for example, it is difficult to assess if the government is removing a group specifically *because of* their group characteristics or rather because a specific group 'happens to be in the way' of a development project. In the event of internal displacement resulting from a natural disaster, if an ethnic group affected was living in a flood- or drought-prone area would deliberate government neglect in preventing or mitigating the disaster count as expulsion? Internal expulsion also opens the question of segregation. Are government "red-line" policies that limit access to loans disproportionately affecting one racial group and in turn forcing them to move out of one area to another an expulsion? There are many difficult decisions about inclusion or exclusion of internal expulsion events, which for now radically complicates the process of developing a scientific dataset for widescale usage.

In addition, there are severe barriers to systematic data collection for cases of internal expulsion since 1900. Internal displacement was not a significant focus of the international community until much more recently. While Bulutgil (2016) includes internally displaced populations in her comprehensive European ethnic cleansing data that begins from 1900 (particularly for the Soviet Union), data like this outside of the European context from the first half of twentieth century is not available in extant datasets or from international organizations. Unfortunately, data from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 'the world's definitive source of data and analysis on internal displacement,'[7] does not begin until 1998.

2.3.2. ***At least 1,000 persons expelled, in an annual period***

Quantifying the 'mass' in 'mass expulsion' is inherently contentious. In one of the best legal analyses of mass expulsion Henckaerts (1995) states: "there is no absolute answer as to what size group constitutes a mass and what does not. In international law, this dead end has been avoided by

[7] Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC): https://www.internal-displacement.org/about-us

providing qualitative, not quantitative, standards."[8] However, for the purposes of empirical analysis a quantifiable benchmark is needed.

Datasets on civil wars have faced similar numerical challenges in determining the threshold of violence (i.e. deaths) separating internal armed conflict from civil war. One issue in relying on an absolute threshold of deaths is the unreliability of reporting and incomplete or missing data.[9] A relative proportion of the group affected would be a better measure, not least because 1,000 persons expelled in a country of 2 million is proportionally the same as 10,000 out of 20 million or 100,000 of 200 million. However, using a relative proportion introduces a second unreliable quantitative measure: census figures of the target group size within the country. Census data is highly uncertain, particularly in many of the contexts examined in the GSME dataset where regular censuses are not conducted. In addition, manipulation and deliberate under counting of ethnic minorities is a chronic deficiency with country-level population data.[10]

For example, in Myanmar where the government has contentious relations with its ethnic minorities, population figures from the early 1990s ranged from 2,650,000-7,00,000 for the Karen, 500,000-1,500,000 for the Kachin and 690,000-1,400,000 for the Rohingya[11] with lower figures provided by the government and higher estimates by the minorities themselves.[12] In the most recent 2014 census, the Rohingya were deliberately excluded, forced to choose to register as Bengalis or not be counted at all.[13] Therefore rather than relying on two quantitative approximations—expellee population size and target group total population—the latter even more doubtful than the first, the GSME dataset includes a range of low- and high-end estimates of the total expellees.

One could certainly raise the threshold of persons affected above 1,000, but mass expulsion remains a significant phenomenon regardless (*see table below*). Researchers can choose which quantitative threshold is most appropriate for their purposes.

Quantitative Threshold of Minimum No. Persons Expelled	
No. Persons Expelled (min)	*Total Cases*
1,000+ (Current)	139
5,000+	119
20,000+	99
50,000+	73

[8] Henckaerts, J.-M. (1995). *Mass expulsion in modern international law and practice*. The Hague, The Netherlands: Kluwer Law International, p. 1.

[9] Sambanis, N. (2004). What Is Civil War?: Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition. *Journal of Conflict Resolution 48*(6), p. 816.

[10] Mylonas, H. (2015). Methodological problems in the study of nation-building: Behaviorism and historicist solutions in political science. *Social Science Quarterly, 96*(3), 740-758; Ulfelder, J., & Valentino, B. (2008). *Assessing the risks of state-sponsored mass killing*. Paper presented at the Political Instability Task Force, Washington, D.C. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1703426

[11] These figures are an illustrative sample of ethnic minorities, but the trend holds for other ethnic groups in the country.

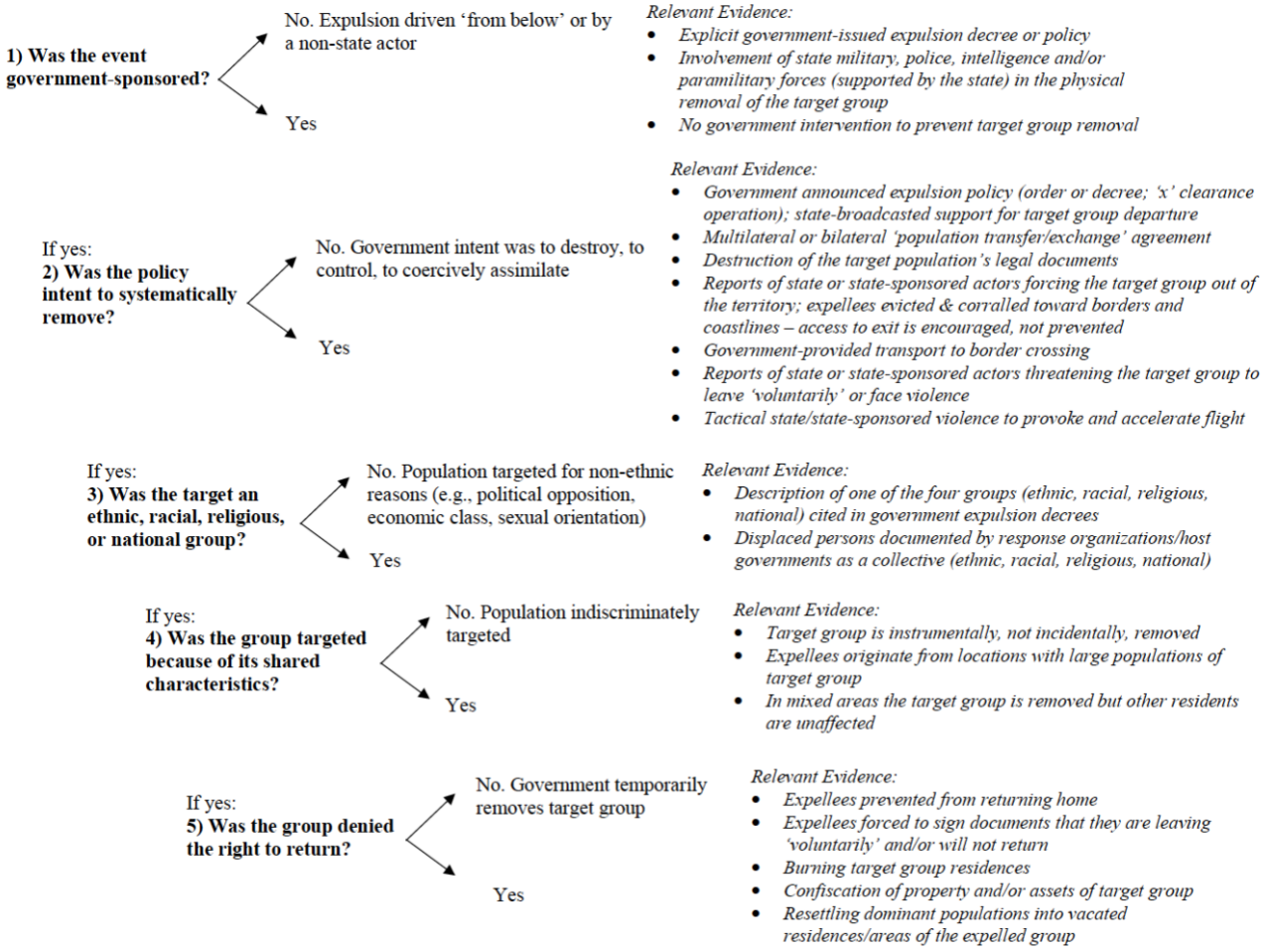
[12] Smith, M. (1994). *Ethnic groups in Burma: Development, democracy and human rights*. London: Anti-Slavery International, p. 34.

[13] International Crisis Group. (2014, May 15). *Counting the costs: Myanmar's problematic census*. Retrieved from https://www.crisisgroup.org/asia/south-east-asia/myanmar/counting-costs-myanmar-s-problematic-census; Ibrahim, A. (2018). *The Rohingya: Inside Myanmar's genocide*. London: Hurst & Company, p. 115-116.

3. **Mass expulsion coding criteria**

3.1. **Coding decision tree**

For an event to be coded as a mass expulsion, the five questions in the coding decision tree below had to be answered in the affirmative.



3.2. **Scope condition coding criteria**

Below is the type of evidence required to indicate the expulsion episode met the two scope conditions:

1. The target population must be moved across an international border
    a. Evidence of cross border expulsion:
        i. Removal of members of the target group from their country of legal residence to another country
        ii. Removal of members of the target group out of territory newly annexed by a foreign power, or out of territory newly ceded to another state
        iii. UN / humanitarian organizations document expellees in neighboring states
        iv. News media report the arrival of expellees in host (or home) states
2. At least 1,000 persons from the target group must be expelled in an annual period
    a. Evidence of at least 1,000 persons expelled in an annual period:

i. Numerical figures from governments, UN, humanitarian organizations and/or news media
    1. While quantitative evidence is often lacking or politicized with each side increasing or decreasing the figures, there must be recorded estimates of at least 1,000 persons expelled over the course of a year
    2. High and low-end estimates are collected to show the range of available information

3.3. **Case diaries**

To increase transparency in both data collection and coding, two mass expulsion case diaries are included below as well as a discussion of two "borderline" cases that were excluded from the dataset. The case diaries have two parts. The first includes a case narrative which describes the background context in the leadup to the expulsion, the expulsion event itself, and the sources used. The second part analyzes the case using the coding criteria decision tree (3.1 above) with answers to each of the five critical questions for event inclusion. Case diaries for Uganda's 1972 expulsion of Asians and Myanmar's 2016-18 expulsion of Rohingya are included. The two case diaries for episodes that were excluded from the dataset are: the Ottoman Empire's policy toward Armenians (1915-16) and the Kenya government's policy toward Asians (1967-68).

3.3.1. ***Expulsion cases***

Expelling Government: Uganda
Year: 1972
Target Group: Asians
Background Context: In the early 1970s the total Ugandan population was approximately 10 million, of which an estimated 100,000 were non-Africans. Most of the non-Africans (74,000) were Asians of Indian descent and approximately one-third of this group (24,500) had Ugandan citizenship (Melady & Melady, 1976). On October 12, 1971, President Idi Amin called for a census of all Asians, citizens and non-citizens—a clear racial targeting. Asians were required to participate or forfeit any claims to live in Uganda; many had their passports confiscated during this process, and were rendered stateless (Sharma & Woolridge, 1974). After the census, Asians were required to carry green passes to indicate they had been counted, without which their movement was banned (Tandon, 1972).

Expulsion Description: On August 4, 1972, President Idi Amin announced that the Asian problem had reached "explosive proportions" and he must "act immediately to save the situation" (Keesing, 1972: 25469). He stated that there was no place, "for the over 80,000 Asians holding British passports who are sabotaging Uganda's economy and encouraging corruption," and that the Ugandan economy should be in the hands of Ugandans, particularly African Ugandans (i.e. indigenous, black Africans) (Patel, 1972: 17). The next day Amin said the continued presence of British citizens of Asian origin was not in the country's best interests and that they had three months to leave.[14] Four days later, on August 9, Official Decree 17 and Statutory Instrument No. 124 were released, formalizing Amin's announcements. Decree 17 stated:

> "On and after the commencement of this Decree, every entry permit or certificate of residence issued or granted under the provisions of the Immigration Act, 1969, to any person who is of

[14] Statement by H.E. The President of Uganda Concerning the Status of the Asian Community in Uganda, 09 August 1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[c] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972-1984] Volume 3; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Asian origin, extraction or descent and who is a subject or citizen of any of the countries specified in the Schedule to this Decree shall cease to have any validity whatsoever."[15]

The schedule of countries in the decree included: the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Republic of India, the Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Bangladesh. Thus, the official government decree extended the expulsion to all Asians with foreign citizenship, not just British Asians. The corresponding Statutory Instrument No. 124 exempted Asian civil servants and Asian professionals.[16]

Although Decree 17 targeted Asian non-citizens, Amin announced that the government would 'double check' the citizenship of Asians who were registered as Ugandan citizens in the 1971 census.[17] On August 14 a spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs instructed Asian citizens to report to the Immigration Office in Kampala by September 10—one month after the official decree was released—to verify their documents or be considered non-citizens.[18] The stated purpose of the verification campaign was to eliminate false citizens who illegally obtained citizenship or who held dual citizenship, which was illegal under Ugandan law.

Confidential cables sent between the UNHCR Branch Office in Kampala to the High Commissioner in Geneva indicate concerns that the verification exercise was a façade: "We suspect that the scrutiny of citizenship will be used as a means of rejecting the bulk of the Asian community holding Ugandan citizenship. The [Asian] community leaders fully share our views."[19] Through the verification process over half of the 23,000 Asians claiming Ugandan citizenship had their claims rejected.

Additional confusion ensued on August 16 when Amin rescinded the exemption outlined in Statutory Instrument 124: "they [the Asians] could not serve their country with a good spirit after the departure of the other Asians."[20] Adding to the chaos, three days later at a mass rally in Rukungiri in south-western Uganda, Amin stated that even Ugandan Asian citizens would have to leave.[21] At the end of the 90-day timeline only an estimated 1,500 Asians remained in Uganda.[22]

***Sources**:* Archives of the UNHCR & ICRC (see footnotes for specific documents); Keesing Contemporary Archives, 1972; Patel, 1972; Tandon, 1972; O'Brien, 1973; Sharma & Woolridge, 1974; Melady & Melady, 1976; Jørgensen, 1981; Lalani, 1997 - *Full citations in Section 8*

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[15] Confidential Memorandum from The Representative, UNHCR Branch Office for Uganda—photostatcopies of Decree No. 17 and Statutory Instrument No. 124/72, 14 September 1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[a] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972] Volume 1; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Daily Telegraph newspaper article, "Expulsion Decree by Amin After 'Divine Message,'" 10.08.1972; 11/2/10-100.UGA.ASI[a], Refugees from Asian in Uganda [Volume1-1.UGA.ASI]; Series 2; Box 204; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[18] Document from UNHCR/Kampala: Uganda Asians, 09.10.1973; 11/2/60-600.UGA[a]; Series 2; Box 1012; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

[19] Confidential Cable from UNHCR Branch Office Kampala, August 24, 1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[a] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972] Volume 1; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[20] News compilation. (1972). "Asians Queue to Beat Citizenship Deadline." *August 19*. In Z. Lalani (1997), *Ugandan Asians Expulsion: 90 Days and Beyond Through the Eyes of the International Press* (pp. 21). Tampa, FL: Expulsion Publications.

[21] East Africa Standard. (1972). "Now All Ugandan Asians are Ordered Out." *August 20*. In Z. Lalani (1997), *Ugandan Asians Expulsion: 90 Days and Beyond Through the Eyes of the International Press* (pp. 25-26). Tampa, FL: Expulsion Publications.

[22] Hoagland, Jim. (1972). "Kampala Exodus: Asian Quarter Like A Ghost Town." *Washington Post, November 13*. In Z. Lalani (1997), *Ugandan Asians Expulsion: 90 Days and Beyond Through the Eyes of the International Press* (pp. 138,140). Tampa, FL: Expulsion Publications.

Mass Expulsion Coding Criteria Decision Tree Answers

1. *Was the event government-sponsored?* Yes. The Ugandan government released Official Decree 17 on August 9, 1972, which documented the expulsion of persons of Asian origin. The expansion of the expulsion order to include Asian citizens and non-citizens was publicly announced by President Amin later in August and September.

2. *Was the policy intent to systematically remove?* Yes. Amin's goal was to remove the Asians from Uganda. This is officially documented in Decree 17 as well as via his announcements throughout August and September 1972. Amin was quoted as saying, "If all of them go I'll be very, very happy."[23] His coordination with the UN to physically remove the Asians also shows a distinct intent to remove the Asians rather than to destroy, control or coercively assimilate them as a group.[24]

3. *Was the target an ethnic, racial, religious or national group?* Yes. Decree 17 outlined a specific ethnic targeting: "any person who is of Asian origin, extraction or descent." While at first glance it may seem like Uganda was only targeting 'non-citizens' (although non-Asian, non-citizens such as Arabs and Europeans were not included in the expulsion decree), however, Amin's decision on August 16 to include all Asians regardless of citizenship status (including Asians with Ugandan citizenship) further cemented the ethno-racial nature of this mass expulsion.

4. *Was the group targeted because of its shared characteristics?* Yes. Asians were expelled because of their Asian descent. While the Ugandan government's "verification exercise" was intended to have the veneer of individual legal evaluations, thousands of Asians had their citizenship revoked simply on discriminatory grounds. As a UNHCR/Kampala official stated in his cable of August 24, "We suspect that the scrutiny of citizenship will be used as a means of rejecting the bulk of the Asian community holding Ugandan citizenship."[25]

5. *Was the group denied the right to return?* Yes. Not only did the government denationalize a substantial portion of the expelled Asians, rescinding their Ugandan citizenship and rendering them stateless, it also confiscated the assets and property of the expelled Asians. Before departure, Asians were required to declare all their assets and liabilities to the Register of Properties and Businesses,[26] and complete income tax and foreign exchange clearances at the Bank of Uganda.[27] They were only allowed to take £50 per person[28] and a maximum of 485lbs

[23] Times Newspaper Limited, London. (1972). "Kampala Fear that More Will Become Stateless." *August 16*. In Z. Lalani (1997), *Ugandan Asians Expulsion: 90 Days and Beyond Through the Eyes of the International Press* (pp. 19, 20). Tampa, FL: Expulsion Publications.

[24] Confidential Cable from Komorsky (UNHCR Representative Kampala) to UNHCR High Commissioner, 20.10.1972; 13/1/4-18, Uganda Asians [Volume 1]; Series 4, Box 43; Fonds 13, Sub-Fonds 1, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[25] Confidential Cable from UNHCR Branch Office Kampala, August 24, 1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[a] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972] Volume 1; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[26] Confidential Memorandum regarding the Legal and Policy Aspects of Compensation Claims, 17.04.1974; 11/2/66-660.1[a], Compensation Claims of Ugandan Asians in any Country [Volume 1]; Series 2; Box 1293; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[27] ACICR B AG 232 152-002.04; United Nations Centre IPS Building Kampala: Importance Notice, 30.10.1972.

[28] ACICR B AG 252 152-001; Confidential Report on the Current Situation in Uganda, 05.10.1972.

of personal effects out of the country.[29] Despite Amin's assurances that the expelled Asians would be fully compensated, this did not happen. Over the weekend of December 16, a Ugandan government spokesman announced that properties left behind, as well as other assets, would be taken over by the government without compensation.[30]

Expelling Government: Burma (Myanmar)
Year: 2016-18
Target Group: Rohingya
Background Context: Before the events of 2016-18, the Burma (Myanmar) government had previously expelled its Rohingya population in northern Rakhine state in three different waves: 1978, 1991-92 and 2012-13. After the first two expulsions, the Bangladeshi government responded by forcibly expelling the Rohingya back to Burma (Myanmar), with the support of the UNHCR (VanHear, 1998; Loescher, 2001; Amnesty International, 2018). Therefore, the Myanmar government was stymied in its efforts to permanently remove the Rohingya from Rakhine State.

Burma (Myanmar) has a long history of conflict with its ethnic minorities, and the Rohingya have been the most severely targeted. Successive governments have deemed the Rohingya to be "illegal immigrants" from Bangladesh, denying their existence as a distinct ethnic group as well as access to Burmese citizenship (Amnesty International, 2018). The 1982 citizenship law legally rendered many Rohingya stateless and in the following decades they have been systematically discriminated against and marginalized by the state (Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018).

Expulsion Description: On October 9, 2016, a group known as the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA) launched an attack against three border guard posts in Rakhine State, killing nine police officers, and seizing weapons and ammunition (OHCHR, 2016; Amnesty international, 2016/2018; HRC, 2018). The Myanmar military responded with an 'area clearance operation,' purportedly as a counter-insurgency measure, but which systematically targeted Rohingya civilians including killings, rape, torture, enforced disappearances, arbitrary detentions, burning of villages and destruction of property and livelihoods (OHCHR, 2016; Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018; MSF, 2018). The security forces involved included the Tatmadaw (Myanmar armed forces), Border Guard Police, Police Forces and Rakhine villagers—some in police uniforms and others in plain clothes (OHCHR, 2016). Satellite imagery from UNOSAT documented at least 1,407 structures damaged or destroyed in seven different locations throughout Maungdaw township in northern Rakhine (OHCHR, 2016: 38). In a small-scale version of what was to come in 2017, an estimated 87,000 Rohingya were expelled, *en masse*, to Bangladesh (IOM, 2017; Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018).

In August 2017 the Myanmar military's next operation against the Rohingya seemed to be pre-planned as a "large build-up of troops and other military assets across northern Rakhine began in early August" and two battalions were relocated from Shan State to Rakhine before the ARSA's second attack (Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018). These battalions had a well-documented history of human rights abuses and war crimes against ethnic minorities in Shan State.

Nearly a year after the October 2016 attacks, on August 25, 2017, ARSA conducted a larger attack against 30 security posts in northern Rakhine killing 12-15 soldiers (Amnesty International,

[29] Munnion, Christopher. (1972). "Asians Searched to Skin by Uganda Customs." *September 1*. In Z. Lalani (1997), *Ugandan Asians Expulsion: 90 Days and Beyond Through the Eyes of the International Press* (pp. 43). Tampa, FL: Expulsion Publications.
[30] Confidential Memorandum from the Representative, UNHCR Branch Office for Kampala, 18 December 1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[c] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972-1984] Volume 3; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

2018; HRC, 2018). The UN Human Rights Council International Fact-Finding Mission (IFFM) Report stated that a small number of the ARSA leadership were armed but most of the untrained villagers supporting them "wielded sticks and knives," although some did have improvised explosive devises (HRC, 2018: 8).

The Myanmar security forces immediately responded, often in coordination with armed Rakhine Buddhist, and systematically destroyed Rohingya villages forcing Rohingya Muslims to flee northern Rakhine state across the border to Bangladesh (OHCHR, 2017; Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018). The military destroyed entire villages, burning homes, mosques, fields and markets to both drive out the Rohingya and prevent them from returning to Myanmar (OHCHR, 2017; Amnesty International, 2018). Women and girls were systematically raped, and men and boys accused of supporting ARSA "terrorists" were detained and tortured (Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018). The Tatmadaw would enter a village, fire at residents, set homes on fire and inform Rohingya that they should "immediately abandon their homes" or they would be killed (OHCHR, 2017: 3-4).

The OHCHR Mission Report documents testimonies of Rohingya refugees in Cox Bazaar, Bangladesh: "The day of the big attack, the Myanmar army came and surrounded our house. They started to scream that we do not belong in Myanmar and that it is not our country. Then they started to shoot" (OHCHR, 2017: 4). Another informed OHCHR that the military used megaphones to announce: "You do not belong here – go to Bangladesh. If you do not leave, we will torch your houses and kill you" (OHCHR, 2017: 5). Many interviewees stated that the army shouted, "You are Bengali! This is not your home, you do not belong here" (OHCHR, 2017: 5).

From August 2017 through November 2018, nearly 750,000 Rohingya were expelled to Bangladesh with approximately 10,000 killed in the military campaign (HRC, 2018; MSF, 2018; HRW, 2019). Nearly 400 Rohingya-majority villages in northern Rakhine were completely or partially destroyed and the government "seized and bulldozed dozens of Rohingya villages, destroying evidence of crimes" (HRW, 2019).

Sources: Human Rights Watch (2016, 2018, 2019); OHCHR (2017); IOM (2017); MSF (2018); Amnesty (2018); Human Rights Council (2018) - *Full citations in Section 8*

Mass Expulsion Coding Criteria Decision Tree Answers

1. *Was the event government-sponsored?* Yes. In 2016, the Myanmar military announced an 'area clearance operation' in northern Rakhine State involving the Tatmadaw (Myanmar armed forces), Border Guard Police, Police Forces (OHCHR, 2016; Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018; MSF, 2018). After the 2017 ARSA attack senior Myanmar military officials from the War Office, including Commander-in-Chief, General Min Aung Hlaing, traveled to Rakhine State to be briefed on the publicly announced renewed "clearance operations" (Amnesty International, 2018). General Hlaing posted on Facebook on September 2, at the peak of the operation, that "the Bengali problem was a long-standing one which has become an unfinished job despite the efforts of the previous governments to solve it. The government office is taking great care in solving the problem" (HCR, 2018: 8). In addition, the violence used to remove the Rohingya from northern Rakhine State, was systematically similar across villages and military units indicating the organized and coordinated nature of the government's operation (OHCHR, 2017; Amnesty International, 2018; HRC, 2018).

2. *Was the policy intent to systematically remove?* Yes. The OHCHR documents a systematic pattern of security forces entering a village, firing on Rohingya villagers, setting a few homes on fire and then announcing to residents that "the same would befall them [as other villages] if they did

not comply with the order to immediately abandon their homes" (OCHCR, 2017: 3-4). After the residents left, their villages were destroyed. Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh were quoted as saying security forces used megaphones to announce: "You do not belong here – go to Bangladesh. If you do not leave, we will torch your houses and kill you" (OHCHR, 2017: 5). There was a clear intent on the part of the military to remove the Rohingya from Rakhine to Bangladesh "where they belong."

3. *Was the target an ethnic, racial, religious or national group?* Yes. Statements from refugees in Bangladesh documented security forces shouting at villagers in northern Rakhine that they were "Bengalis" that "you are not the people of Myanmar – you are the people of Bangladesh" and that they were "Muslims…and we should go to Bangladesh" (OHCHR, 2017). There is only one group in Myanmar that is labelled as being "illegal immigrants" from Bangladesh and that is the Rohingya. Amnesty International claims that the Rohingya were targeted by the state as a racial group (2018: 20). It could be argued that Rohingya were targeted as an ethnic, racial, religious or national group.

4. *Was the group targeted because of its shared characteristics?* Yes. The Myanmar military targeted northern Rakhine in its 'clearance operation' where the majority of the population is Rohingya (HRC, 2018). Satellite imagery indicated that in mixed villages with ethnic Rohingya and Rakhine people living together, the Rohingya areas were systematically burned and destroyed whereas other parts of the village were unharmed (Amnesty International, 2018). Furthermore, while the military announced the end of their operation against the ARSA on September 5, 2017, violence against the Rohingya continued with tens of thousands more expelled in subsequent months indicating the non-military nature of this event (Amnesty International, 2018).

5. *Was the group denied the right to return?* Yes. According to the OHCHR mission report from September 2017, "credible information indicates that the Myanmar security forces purposely destroyed the property of the Rohingyas, scorched their dwellings and entire villages in northern Rakhine State, not only to drive the population out in droves but also to prevent the fleeing Rohingya victims from returning to their homes" (OHCHR, 2017: 1). Further, the OHCHR reported that the Myanmar military planted landmines along the border with Bangladesh to prevent Rohingya refugees from returning to their homes (OHCHR, 2017: 10).

3.3.2. ***Borderline cases, <u>not</u> expulsion***

Government Concerned: Ottoman Empire
Year: 1915-16
Target Group: Armenians
Background Context: In the late nineteenth century, Sultan Abdülhamid II believed the Treaty of Berlin concessions empowered secessionist minorities and increased Christian influence in the empire.[31] The Armenian patriarch's outreach to Russia, and the inclusion of minority protections and rights in the treaty, furthered Abdülhamid's suspicion about the loyalty of the Armenians and fears of foreign interference to bring about Armenian statehood.[32] Perceiving the Armenians as a security

[31] Morris, B., & Ze'evi, D. (2019). *The Thirty-Year Genocide: Turkey's Destruction of Its Christian Minorities, 1894-1924*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 38.
[32] Ibid, p. 19.

threat to the Empire, Abdülhamid responded with extreme repression killing an estimated 200,000 persons from 1894-96.[33] Although foreign powers advocated for the Armenians during the Berlin treaty negotiations, they did little to intervene and stop the violence. These massacres foreshadowed the annihilation of the Armenians, during the reign of the Young Turks, who deposed Abdülhamid in a coup d'état.

Armenian territorial claims, unlike previous nationalist groups that had broken off from the periphery of the Ottoman Empire, were located in the heart of Anatolia.[34] As a stateless minority their aim was not territorial augmentation but self-determination and the creation of a new state.[35] While there were multiple factions within the Armenian nationalist movement with different ideas of how to achieve statehood, the two Armenian revolutionary groups—Dashnaks and Hunchaks—used violence as part of their overall strategy.[36] Although their views and tactics were not supported by the overall Armenian community, any violence was seen as a direct threat by the Young Turk Ottoman government. For example, a 1913 Armenian conspiracy to assassinate Talat Pasha, planned in Romania by rogue elements of the Hunchak Party but thwarted by the Ottoman authorities, was used as justification for later government massacres and genocidal policy.[37]

Description [*genocide, not mass expulsion*]: The Armenians were seen by the Ottoman government as disloyal traitors for making alliances with Russia—Turkey's main geopolitical adversary at the time—and other foreign powers to support their autonomy claims.[38] The Armenian reform process, initiated with the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, and culminating in the Armenian Reform Agreement with Russia in February 1914, was of major concern to the Unionists.[39] With the Balkan War defeats fresh in the Ottoman officials' minds, the Russia Agreement (combining the empire's eastern provinces into two larger provinces and appointing a foreign inspector for each) harkened back to a similar process in their former European territories.[40] The Ottomans sought to avoid additional territorial losses at all cost.

When the Second World War began, some Armenians (certainly not all, although the entire population paid the price) fought with the Russians in the eastern part of the empire, increasing fears of an Armenian uprising.[41] After a disastrous military loss in the Battle of Sarıkamış[42] in January 1915, the Entente naval attack on the Dardanelles in the west a month later, and the Russians advancing in the east, Ottoman fears were high that the war was about to be lost spurring action against the Armenians.[43]

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[33] Morgenthau, H. (1918/2000). *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*. Reading, England: Taderon Press, p. 192; Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 486.
[34] Valentino, B. (2004). *Final solutions: Mass killing and genocide in the 20th century*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, p. 159.
[35] Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 489.
[36] Dadrian, V. N. (1993). The Secret Young-Turk Ittihadist Conference and the Decision for the World War I Genocide of the Armenians. *Holocaust and Genocide Studies, 7*(2), 173-201, p. 194.
[37] Dadrian, 1993: 190-91; Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 489.
[38] Morgenthau, 1918/2000: 215; Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 489.
[39] Akçam, T. (2012). *The Young Turks' Crime Against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, p. 125, 129.
[40] Akçam, 2012: 131.
[41] Valentino, 2004: 163; Akçam, 2012: 170.
[42] The Ottomans are estimated to have lost over 60,000 soldiers in this battle in the Caucasus Mountains, most of whom froze to death in the sub-zero temperatures (Akçam, 2012: 157).
[43] Valentino, 2004: 163; Akçam, 2012: 157-8.

From 1915-16, an estimated one million[44] Armenians were systematically killed on the spot, or via death marches in the desert, in the Armenian genocide.[45] This was the completion of previous efforts under Abdülhamid II to annihilate the Armenian population. Because the Armenians were stateless, they had no safe haven to flee to for protection in their fight against the Ottomans.[46] And even if they had tried to flee (for those in the east Russia was nearby), Ottoman policy was to contain the Armenians within the territorial bounds of the country and prevent them from leaving. Turkish historian Taner Akçam (2012) cites a coded telegram sent from the Ottoman Interior Ministry's General Directorate of Security to provincial governors and district officials in April 1915 stating that: "no Armenian male or female of any age be allowed to leave the country without a command from the High Command."[47] Although the Great Powers espoused strong rhetoric in support of the Armenians, and advocated treaties that de jure increased their autonomy and representation within the empire, in 1915-16 they did nothing to stop the genocide.

Mass Expulsion Coding Criteria Decision Tree Answers

1. *Was the event government-sponsored?* Yes. The Ottoman authorities systematically organized and directed the attacks against the Armenian population in the Empire.

2. *Was the policy intent to systematically remove?* No. The intent of the Ottoman government was to annihilate the Armenian population. This analysis is supported by historical evidence from the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive. Akçam (2012), states:

   > "Extant Ottoman documents reveal that the Unionist government made clear distinctions in its wartime policies between the Armenians and the empire's other Christian communities. The Greeks…were deported and expelled with brutality, but the Armenians were targeted for outright annihilation."[48]

   Akçam (2012) even cites an angry telegram from Talat Pasha to the Governor of Diyarbekir chastising him for using violence against all Christians: "the policy of annihilation was to be limited to the Armenians and not to include other Christian groups."[49]

3. *Was the target an ethnic, racial, religious or national group?* Yes. The Armenian population was an ethno-religious group.

4. *Was the group targeted because of its shared characteristics?* Yes. The Armenians were systematically targeted because they were Armenians. No other groups were targeted for annihilation.

5. *Was the group denied the right to return?* N/A. An estimated 90 percent of the Armenian population was destroyed within the territorial boundaries of the Empire; therefore, the Ottomans denied their right to exist as a group.[50]

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[44] Akçam (2012) calculates that 1.2 million Armenians were deported, of which only 200,000 survived the deportation, bringing the estimated total deaths to one million.
[45] Akçam, 2012: 258-261.
[46] Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 489.
[47] Akçam (2012) cites Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive: BOA/DJ.ŞFR, no. 55/141, p. 186.
[48] Ibid, p. 125.
[49] Akçam (2012) cites Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archive: BOA/DJ.ŞFR, no. 54-A/73, p. 210.
[50] Akçam, 2012: 261.

Commentary on Case Exclusion: The case of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire is excluded from the mass expulsion dataset because it is an instance of genocide and not mass expulsion. The comparison of the Ottoman treatment of the Armenians and Orthodox Greeks is useful in further explaining case exclusion and inclusion, respectively. Although similar tactics, particularly deportation, were used toward both Christian minorities, the Ottoman government's policies toward the two groups were distinct: the Armenians were to be destroyed, the Greeks removed. As cited in the telegram from Talat Pasha above: "the policy of annihilation was to be limited to the Armenians and not to include other Christian groups" (Akçam, 2012: 210).

In addition, while both the Armenians and Greek Orthodox suffered internal deportation, Greek property was not subject to liquidation, it was to be protected and preserved, while the Armenian property was to be appropriated by the state (Akçam, 2012: 119). In some cases, Greek Orthodox were allowed to return home after deportation, or if it was discovered that Greeks had been erroneously deported with Armenians, they were often set free (Akçam, 2012: 119, 122). The Armenians were prohibited from leaving, in order to be massacred on the spot, whereas the Greek Orthodox were encouraged to leave (Morris & Ze'evi, 2019: 486). It is not necessary to debate the horrors of mass atrocities, but it is analytically important to examine why the government approached these two populations differently.

Government Concerned: Kenya
Year: 1967-68
Target Group: Asians
Background Context: The first British census conducted in 1911 estimated 11,787 Asians lived in Kenya. This figure roughly doubled in each of the next four decades, peaking in 1962 with an estimated 180,000 Asians.[51] A sizable population reduction occurred in the mid-1960s after Kenya's independence, because of Africanization policies, particularly of the civil service. Although the Kenyan government had announced some restrictions on certain kinds of trade and business, no systematic Africanization of the economy was implemented. However, shortly after independence, many African Kenyans were upset that they had not seen the economic fruits of post-colonial governance and continued to see Asian dominance in commerce. In the post-independence period Kenya's population grew at three percent, per year, and the economy was saddled with chronic unemployment. Approximately 80,000 students entered the job market each year, many moving from rural to urban areas to seek employment, and only a fraction of that total was absorbed into the labor market.[52]

Description: Facing populist pressure in 1967, the Kenyan government passed two legislative bills: the Kenya Immigration Bill (July) and the Trade Licensing Bill (October). The Immigration Bill cancelled permanent residency certificates that allowed non-citizens to work in Kenya and replaced them with work permits. The work permits would be issued to licensed businesses that employed and trained Kenyan citizens.[53] In addition, certain skilled and semi-skilled workers, people in positions as clerks, secretaries, shop assistants, tailors, carpenters, plumbers, construction workers, etc. now had to apply for work permits.[54] Applying for work permits (for a limited duration of three to six months)

[51] Nowik, L. (2015). East African Indians: How Many Are They? In M. Adam (Ed.), *Indian Africa: Minorities of Indian-Pakistani Origin in Eastern Africa* (pp. 99-176). Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers Ltd, p. 121; Herzig, P. (2006). *South Asians in Kenya: Gender, generation and changing identities in diaspora*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, p. 30.
[52] Cable, V. (1969). The Asians of Kenya. *African Affairs, 68*(272), 218-231; p. 227.
[53] Aiyar, S. (2015). *Indians in Kenya: The politics of diaspora*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 276.
[54] Aiyar, S. (2015). *Indians in Kenya: The politics of diaspora*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, p. 276.

was expensive—out of reach for many semi-skilled workers—each application cost £25 and required a £150 security bond.[55]

The Trade Licensing Bill passed three months later, required all businesses to apply for new trade licenses and restricted the trade of basic goods (sugar, posho and other staples) to citizens. It also restricted the areas of the country where Asians could trade, designed to remove Asian traders from rural areas.[56] The government believed these two legislative actions would create 20,000 African private-sector jobs.[57] Importantly, the Trade Licensing Act did not apply to manufacturing licenses, a sector dominated by Asians and which generated significant economic growth for Kenya.[58]

In September 1967, shortly after the Kenya Immigration Bill was passed, the Conservative opposition party in Britain lobbied the UK government to restrict the entry of Indians with British passports.[59] A combination of Kenya's Africanization initiatives and uncertain UK immigration restrictions resulted in the 1967-68 'Asian exodus.' In the last few months of 1967, 13,600 Asian UK passport holders fled to Britain with more in early 1968.[60]

On March 1, 1968, the UK parliament passed the Commonwealth Immigrants Bill imposing an immigration quota for British citizens without at least one parent or grandparent born, or naturalized, in the UK.[61] This policy directly targeted former colonial subjects and restricted Asian immigration to the UK.[62] It is difficult to specify how many Asians left Kenya in the late 1960s because of the politicized nature of the figures. However, between independence in 1963 and 1969, an estimated 39,000-46,800 Asians left Kenya, with the peak in 1967-68.[63]

Mass Expulsion Coding Criteria Decision Tree Answers

1. *Was the event government-sponsored?* Yes (but), although the Kenyan government passed two legislative bills that in turn reduced the non-citizen Asian population in Kenya, it did not order/direct the mass expulsion of its Asian minority.

2. *Was the policy intent to systematically remove?* No. The government policies were intended to selectively remove individual non-citizen Asians in specific trades (and locations – e.g., rural areas) who were not employing Africans in their businesses. These legislative maneuvers did not affect Asians with Kenyan citizenship, nor non-citizen Asian manufacturers who were crucial for the continued growth of the Kenyan economy.

3. *Was the target an ethnic, racial, religious or national group?* No. The legislation did not explicitly have an ethnic, racial, religious or national component, although most of the traders affected were Asians.

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[55] Ibid, p. 283.
[56] Cable, 1969: 229.
[57] Aiyar, 2015: 276.
[58] Rothchild, D. (1970). "Kenya's Africanization Program: Priorities of Development and Equity". The American Political Science Review, 64(3), 737-753; p. Rothchild, 1970b: 750).
[59] Aiyar, 2015: 285.
[60] Hansen, R. (1999). The Kenyan Asians, British Politics, and the Commonwealth Immigrants Act, 1968. *The Historical Journal, 42*(3), 809-834; p. 818.
[61] Mattausch, J. (1998). From subjects to citizens: British 'East African Asians'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 24*(1), 121-141; p. 132.
[62] Hansen, 1999: 821.
[63] Rothchild, 1973: 374-5; Hansen, 1999: 818; Ghai, D., & Ghai, Y. (1971). "The Asian Minorities of East and Central Africa." *Minority Rights Group.* Report Number 4: 1-39.

4. *Was the group targeted because of its shared characteristics?* No. The legislation targeted non-citizen traders and semi-skilled workers with residency permits. Residency permits were cancelled and replaced with work permits which required new applications that were individually re-evaluated by the Kenyan government. Asians were not removed *en masse* because of their Asian descent as indicated by the large Asian population remaining in Kenya after the legislation, at the request of the government.

5. *Was the group denied the right to return?* No. Non-citizen Asians who did not obtain work permits had to return to their place of citizenship (largely the U.K), but they were not excluded from re-applying for entry to Kenya in the future.

Commentary on Case Exclusion: Unlike Uganda, the Government of Kenya did not expel its Asians *en masse*. Instead, Kenya implemented various Africanization initiatives through legislative means which gradually (and legally) reduced its non-citizen Asian population (of a specific economic class), while protecting Asian-dominated manufacturing and Asians with Kenyan citizenship.

4. **Data collection: Methods, sources & archival research**

4.1. Methods

Data for this project was collected over four years from 2017-2021. In the summer of 2017, a research assistant conducted a robust internet search of all states and select key words—mass expulsion, ethnic cleansing, population transfer, population exchange, mass refugee refoulement, mass repatriation, exile and mass deportation—to identify potential cases. Next, archival research (*see below*) was conducted at the UNHCR and ICRC in Geneva in 2018 and 2019 to identify new cases and verify existing ones. During 2018-2020, further data was gathered to identify additional cases.

4.2. Sources

The sources of the data include (*see Section 8 for detailed list of works used for coding*):

- Secondary historical sources including books and academic articles
- Extant datasets (*see Section 5*)
- United Nations reports, press releases, situation reports (IOM, OCHA, UNHCR), Commission of Experts documents, OHCHR reports, UN Human Rights Council international fact-finding mission reports
- Human rights organization reports and briefs: Amnesty International, European Commission of Human Rights, Human Rights Watch (Americas Watch), and Minority Rights Group International
- Humanitarian aid organization situation updates and reports: MSF, OFDA, ReliefWeb
- Think tanks and research institute reports: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Danish Institute for International Studies, European University Institute, Global Initiative, International Centre for Migration Policy Development, International Crisis Group, IMPACT, Migration Policy Institute
- U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants digital archive of Refugee Reports (1979-2006) and World Refugee Surveys (1961-2009)
- Other primary sources: Africa Contemporary Record (1968-2000), Keesing's Record of World Events, West Africa magazine

- News articles from a variety of outlets including Al Jazeera, Associated Press, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Canberra Times, Foreign Policy, IRIN news, Le Monde, Los Angeles Times, Jerusalem Post, Miami Herald, National Public Radio (NPR), New Republic, New York Times, PBS, Radio Free Asia/Europe, Reuters, The East African, The Guardian, The National, The New Humanitarian, The New Times, TIME magazine, United Press International (UPI), UN News, Washington Post, World Politics Review, Voice of America, Vox

4.3. **Archival research**

Archival research was conducted at the UNHCR and ICRC in Geneva, Switzerland. This research helped to identify new cases and confirm information in existing sources. The type of documents reviewed in the archives included telegrams, cables, confidential memos, meeting minutes, reports, and documented conversations with expelling government officials. The information in these documents was then triangulated with other sources listed in Section 4.2 above.

4.3.1. ***United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)***

Although not all refugees are expellees, many are, therefore the UNHCR, with its mandate of refugee protection, was a valuable data source. With support from archival staff, I systematically searched the UNHCR archival registry for all possible expulsion cases. During my archival trips, I examined 146 expulsion files.[64] The UNHCR registry filing system includes all correspondence in and out of UNHCR/HQ from 1951-95[65] classified according to its subject and country of interest. Relevant correspondence included those classified as "Protection: Admission" and "Protection: Expulsion." Each of the registry series was searched for expulsion events using the select reference codes:

- Series 1: 11/1-6/6* (for records relating to expulsion) and 11/1-6/4* (for records relating to admission);
- Series 2: 11/2*; and
- Series 3 via a manual search of key terms in an Excel sheet because the catalogue was not published online at the time

Although files can be identified online through the UNHCR archives search portal (http://adlib-ras.unhcr.org/ais5/MapSearch/#_ga=2.253035081.1746707808.1603291813-1106917339.1600178864), they can only be examined in person at the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva.

UNHCR archives & records website: https://www.unhcr.org/en-us/archives-and-records.html

Below are two sample documents from the UNHCR archive to illustrate the type of documents examined:

[64] Almost all expulsion-related files were available, however, some files remained closed by the UNHCR because they contained personal information of asylum seekers.
[65] The UNHCR has a 20-year declassification policy; during my visits files were only accessible up to 1995.

Sample Document 1:[66] Outgoing cable from UNHCR/Kenya to the High Commissioner for Refugees/Geneva ("HICOMREF" in box #5) concerning the expulsion of Ugandan foreign nationals and refugees from Kenya in 1979. The cable documents both the estimated number of persons affected "more than 2,500 Ugandans living in Kenya" as well as information about their expulsion "…escorted to the Ugandan border and expelled. Men, women and children who have lived in Kenya for years were rounded up by Kenya police…more expulsions were expected in the next few days."

https://www.dropbox.com/s/dho2yaigjsio5u4/UNHCR-Kenya%2C%2031.07.1979%3B%2011-2-64-641.KEN.jpeg?dl=0

Sample Document 2:[67] Internal memo from the UNHCR representative in London to the High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva regarding the 1972 expulsion of Uganda Asians. In this memo the London UNHCR Representative expresses his concern about the 57,000 Asians in Uganda with UK passports stating that "it will be an extremely difficult operation to carry out humanely in less than 90 days from scratch." The memo also states that, "…some of the non-Ugandan citizenship [sic] are to be exempted from expulsion," however President Amin revoked that exemption on August 16 indicating delayed communication between the UNHCR/Kampala office and UNHCR/London. Documents like this were helpful in recording the complex citizenship dynamics in some of the expulsion episodes in the dataset.

https://www.dropbox.com/s/37zr7vuf6qcwvua/UNHCR-London%20Rep%2C%2017.08.1972%3B%2011-2-64-641.UGA%5Ba%5D.pdf?dl=0

4.3.2. ***International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)***

The ICRC has a broader mandate than UNHCR—ensuring humanitarian protection and assistance for victims of armed conflict and other situations of violence—but they are often involved in responding to mass expulsion events. Particularly given the ICRC's role in providing travel documentation,[68] their archives, available from 1863-1975, provided useful details on select cases. During my archival research at the ICRC in Geneva, I analyzed 83 expulsion-related files. Although the ICRC archival inventories are not available online, I was able to pre-identify relevant files relating to mass expulsion in pdfs of the *Inventaire du sous-fonds* for records from 1951-75. The rest of the files were identified on-site by searching through hard copies of their inventories.

ICRC archives website: https://www.icrc.org/en/archives

Below is a sample document from the ICRC archive to illustrate the type of documents examined:

[66] Outgoing Cable from UNHCR/Kenya, 31.07.1979; 11/2/64-641.KEN – Expulsion and Deportation-Kenya [1971-1984]; Series 2, Box 1278; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[67] Internal Memorandum from the UNHCR London Representative, 17.08.1972; 11/2/64-641.UGA[a] Expulsion and Deportation – Uganda [1972] Volume 1; Series 2, Box 1281; Fonds 11, Records of the Central Registry; Archives of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

[68] The ICRC travel documents are internationally recognized travel papers, valid for three months, that allow undocumented refugees to travel to a transit center or resettlement country. Upon arrival, the refugee must obtain permanent documentation and the travel papers are returned to the ICRC (ACICR B AG 232 152-002.02; Communiqué de presse No 1139, 27.10.1972).

Sample Document 3:[69] ICRC circular from the ICRC Director of the Relief Bureau J.P Robert-Tissot and Secretary General Henrik Beer regarding Ghana's 1969 expulsion. This circular describes the response of Red Cross National Societies in both Togo and Niger to the influx of "persons expelled from Ghana."

https://www.dropbox.com/s/4alq8tuk7burwkh/ACICR%20B%20AG%20232%20082-001%2C%20R%C3%A9sidents%20%C3%A9tranger%20expuls%C3%A9s%20du%20Ghana.pdf?dl=0

5. **Comparison to existing datasets**

This dataset builds on the data collection efforts of other scholars researching mass expulsion and ethnic cleansing. The three extant datasets that are the most closely related to the GSME dataset include: Henckaerts (1995), Adida (2014) and Bulutgil (2016). Additional information on the distinction between the new dataset and these three authors is included below:

Table 1. Comparison of GSME dataset & existing expulsion-related datasets

Existing Datasets	*Concept*	*Temporal Coverage*	*Geographic Coverage*	*Target Group*	*No. Cases*
Henckaerts (1995)	Mass Expulsion	1945-1995	Cross-national	Citizens & Non-Citizens	53
Adida (2014)	Mass Immigrant Expulsion	1956-1999	Sub-Saharan Africa	Non-Citizens	44
Bulutgil (2016a)	Ethnic Cleansing	1900-2000	Europe	Residents (excluding temporary workers & refugees)	41
Bulutgil (2016b)	Ethnic Cleansing	1955-2010	Africa	Residents (excluding temporary workers & refugees)	28
GSME dataset	Mass Expulsion	1900-2020	Cross-national	Citizens & Non-Citizens	139

Henckaerts (1995): In the most comprehensive legal analysis of mass expulsion, Henckaerts (1995) includes an appendix with 53 mass expulsion events during 1945-95, of which 37 are included in the GSME dataset. Sixteen of Henckaerts' 53 cases are not included: seven do not meet one of the scope conditions (<1,000 persons were expelled); the target group is unavailable for four cases; two cases are entered twice; one case is erroneous included (El Salvador, 1969); and two cases do not meet the selection criteria (Equatorial Guinea, 1976; Iraq, 1990). In full, the GSME dataset documents 139 global cases of mass expulsion (1900-2020), 37 that Henckaerts includes, and 102 new cases.

Adida (2014): Adida's (2014) quantitative analysis of why some sub-Saharan African governments expel immigrants and others do not documents 44 cases of mass immigrant expulsion in Africa (1956-99) of which 26 cases are included in the GSME dataset. Eighteen of Adida's 44 cases are not included: 11 do not meet one of the scope conditions (<1,000 persons were expelled); the target group is unavailable for two cases; one case is not found in any other sources; and four cases do not meet the selection criteria (Equatorial Guinea, 1974, 1976; Djibouti, 1984; South Africa, 1994). The GSME dataset contains 43 total cases of expulsion in sub-Saharan Africa, 26 that Adida includes and 17 new cases.

Bulutgil (2016): In Table 1 above, Bulutgil's data is listed as two entries because her book is centered on European ethnic cleansing (2016a above), but she also includes a list of African cases (2016b above)

[69] ACICR B AG 232 082-001, Résidents étranger expulses du Ghana, 29.12.1969.

as a theoretical and empirical extension. Bulutgil offers the most comprehensive data collection of ethnic cleansing to-date, including 69 cases of ethnic cleansing in Europe (1900-2000) and Africa (1955-2010) [*NB: her Africa data is inclusive of North Africa*]. Thirty-four of Bulutgil's 69 cases (Europe & Africa) are not included in the GSME dataset: 12 do not meet one of the scope conditions (cases of internal expulsion); and 22 do not meet the selection criteria. This latter number is higher than Henckaerts & Adida because Bulutgil measures ethnic cleansing, rather than mass expulsion, therefore all cases of genocide, massacre and discriminatory policies are excluded. In total the GSME dataset includes 101 cases of expulsion in Europe and continental Africa, of which 66 are new in relation to Bulutgil's data.

In addition to previous data collection efforts on mass expulsion highlighted in Table 1, Table 2 compares the GSME dataset with a sample of existing datasets[70] that have focused on related, but distinct, concepts.

Table 2: Comparison of GSME dataset & existing datasets on related concepts

Existing Datasets	*Concept*	*Temporal Coverage*	*No. Cases*	*GSME Case Overlap*	*Percentage overlap*
Harff (2003)	Genocide & politicide	1955-2001	37	4	10.8%
Ulfelder & Valentino (2008)	State-sponsored mass killing	1945-2006	120	6	5.0%
Greenhill (2010)	Coercive-engineered migration	1951-2006	56[71]	7	12.5%
Orchard (2010a)	Refugee mass movement	1991-2006	44	3	6.8%
Orchard (2010b)	Regime-induced displacement[72]	1991-2006	31	3	9.7%
Bellamy (2011)	Mass atrocities & armed conflict	1945-2010	103	3	2.9%
Straus (2015)	Large-scale violence against civilians	1960-2008	33	0	0.0%
Butcher et al. (2020)	Targeted mass killing	1946-2020[73]	205	8	3.9%
Lichtenheld (2020)	Strategic population displacement	1945-2008	160	6	3.8%

The far-right column of Table 2 indicates that there is minimal overlap in cases included in the GSME dataset and datasets that examine other concepts such as genocide, politicide, refugee mass movements, regime-induced displacement, mass atrocities, and large-scale (or mass) killing. This indicates the boundedness of the mass expulsion concept examined here and justifies the dataset's utility as a research tool in and of itself and as a complement to this existing data.

Table 3 lists the specific cases of overlap between the datasets listed in Table 2 and the GSME dataset.[74] The main case overlap is the Rohingya in Myanmar (1978; 1991-92; 2012-13; 2016-18) and events in the former Yugoslavia throughout the 1990s.[75] This is not surprising given the varying

[70] Table 2 is not exhaustive of all extant datasets but includes some of the most prominent datasets in the field.

[71] Greenhill (2010) has 64 total cases of coercive engineered migration of which 56 are definitive and 8 are suggestive. Table 2 documents the overlap with Greenhill's definitive cases (7 of 56, or 12.5%). The total case overlap rises to 10 of 64, or 15.6 percent, if the suggestive cases are included.

[72] This only includes regime-induced displacement in cases of refugee mass movement; regime-induced displacement for IDP movements are excluded for a more accurate comparison since internal expulsions are not included in the GSME dataset.

[73] This reflects the TMK Version 1.1 update (2021) with additional data for 2018-2020 that extends the original dataset (1946-2017) in the Butcher et al. (2020) article: https://politicsir.cass.anu.edu.au/about-targeted-mass-killing-dataset

[74] Straus (2015) is not included in Table 3 because there is no overlap in cases with the GSME dataset.

[75] Authors use different labels/naming for the 1990s former Yugoslavia cases. I have included the country names as listed in the respective datasets.

interpretations of these events as mass expulsion, ethnic cleansing and genocide as well as similar tactics used.

Table 3: Case overlap with GSME dataset							
Country	Year(s)	Harff (2003) *1955-2001*	Ulfelder & Valentino (2008) *1945-2006*	Orchard (2010) *1991-2006*	Bellamy (2011) *1945-2010*	Butcher et al. (2020) *1946-2020*	Lichtenheld (2020) *1945-2008*
Yugoslavia	1945-48		X		-	-	-
Czechoslovakia	1945-46		X		-	-	-
Poland	1945-48		X		-	-	-
Iraq	1974-75	-	-		-	-	X
Cambodia	1970	-	-		-	X	-
Cyprus	1974	-	-		-	X	X
Burma (Myanmar)	1978	X	-		-	X	-
Burma (Myanmar)	1991-92	-	-	X	-	X	-
Yugoslavia	1991	-	X	-	X	-	X
Bosnia[76]	1992-95	X	X	-	X	-	X
Croatia	1994-95	-	-	X	-	X	X
Serbia (Yugoslavia)	1998-99	X	X	X	X	X	X
Burma (Myanmar)	2012					X	
Burma (Myanmar)	2017					X	

Greenhill (2010) is excluded from Table 3 because only one of her cases (Serbia 1998-99) overlaps with the other datasets listed there. Table 4 catalogues the overlapping cases between the GSME dataset and her 2010 data on coercive-engineered migration.

Table 4: Case overlap with Greenhill (2010) Coercive-engineered migration *1951-2006*[77]	
Country	*Year*
Israel*	1967
Uganda	1972
Bangladesh	1978-82
Vietnam*	1979
Thailand	1979-80s
Libya*	1985
Bangladesh	1989-92
Saudi Arabia	1990-92
Zaire	mid-1990s
Federal Republic of Yugoslavia	1998-99

[76] 'Bosnia' is not a case in the GSME dataset, but both Lichtenheld (2020) and Harff (2003) refer to the 'Bosnia conflict' which includes the perpetrators of Serbia and Croatia which are included in the GSME data.

[77] The three starred cases are 'suggestive, but at this point, inconclusive ("indeterminate")' (Greenhill, 2010: 16-17); see footnote 71 above.

6. **Full list of mass expulsion episodes, 1900-2020**

#	Expelling Country	Years	No. Persons Expelled[78]	Target Group
1	Greece	1912-1912	10,000	Muslims
2	Serbia	1912-1913	10,000-20,000	Albanians
3	Greece	1913-1913	15,000	Bulgarians
4	Bulgaria	1913-1914	70,000	Greeks
5	Bulgaria	1913-1914	48,500-48,570	Muslims
6	Turkey	1913-1914	46,700-46,764	Bulgarians
7	Greece	1913-1914	100,000-125,000	Muslims
8	Turkey	1913-1914	150,000-279,000	Greeks
9	France	1919-1921	100,000-150,000	Germans
10	Bulgaria	1919-1928	30,000-50,000	Greeks
11	Greece	1919-1919	53,000-100,000	Bulgarians
12	Turkey	1922-1922	868,186-1,000,000	Greeks
13	Turkey	1922-1924	35,000	Armenians
14	Greece	1923-1926	355,635-356,000	Muslims
15	Turkey	1923-1926	189,916-190,000	Orthodox Christians (Greeks)
16	United States	1929-1939	500,000-2,000,000	Mexicans
17	Mexico	1931-1932	3,000	Chinese
18	Cuba	1933-1934	8,000	Haitians
19	Dominican Republic	1937-1938	10,000-30,000	Haitians, Dominico-Haitians
20	Cuba	1937-1939	29,900	Haitians
21	Germany	1938-1939	40,000-50,000	Jews (Austrian)
22	Germany	1939-1941	365,000-1,000,000	Jews (Polish), Poles
23	Bulgaria	1940-1940	100,000	Romanians
24	Romania	1940-1940	61,000	Bulgarians
25	Germany	1941-1941	100,000-130,000	Jews (French), French
26	Bulgaria	1942-1943	210,000	Greeks, Serbs
27	Peru	1942-1943	1,771-1,800	Japanese
28	Greece	1944-1945	18,000	Albanians
29	Poland	1944-1946	482,000-518,000	Belorussians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians
30	Soviet Union (Russia)[79]	1944-1946	1,496,000-2,100,000	Poles, Jews (Polish)

[78] Figures listed indicate the range of low- and high-end estimates.

[79] For consistency the country is referred to as 'Soviet Union (Russia)' throughout, even after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

31	Czechoslovakia	1945-1946	50,000-91,079	Ukrainians
32	Soviet Union (Russia)	1945-1946	33,961-42,000	Czechs, Slovaks
33	Czechoslovakia	1945-1947	2,252,544-3,000,000	Germans
34	Poland	1945-1947	6,000,000-8,250,000	Germans
35	Hungary	1945-1947	176,843-500,000	Germans
36	Romania	1945-1947	50,000-300,000	Germans
37	Yugoslavia	1945-1947	250,000-271,000	Germans
38	Czechoslovakia	1946-1946	200,000	Magyars (Hungarians)
39	Hungary	1946-1946	200,000	Slovaks
40	Hungary	1946-1946	40,000	Serbs, Croats
41	Yugoslavia	1946-1946	40,000	Magyars (Hungarians)
42	Netherlands	1946-1948	3,000-3,691	Germans
43	Israel	1947-1949	600,000-800,000	Palestinians
44	Bulgaria	1950-1951	152,000-155,000	Turks
45	United States	1954-1955	1,000,000-1,300,000	Mexicans
46	United Kingdom (British Imperial Sierra Leone)	1956-1957	30,000-50,000	Guineans
47	Egypt	1956-1957	20,200-25,000	Jews
48	Indonesia	1957-1958	50,000-60,000	Dutch
49	Cote d'Ivoire	1958-1958	1,000-2,000	Togolese, Beninese
50	Burma (Myanmar)	1962-1964	300,000	Indians (Tamils)
51	Gabon	1962-1962	2,700	Congolese (Brazzaville)
52	Republic of Congo	1962-1962	3,000	Beninese
53	Niger	1963-1964	6,918-16,000	Beninese (Dahomeyans)
54	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	1964-1964	1,000-3,000	Congolese (Brazzaville), Burundians, Malians
55	Cote d'Ivoire	1964-1964	16,000	Beninese
56	Turkey	1964-1965	36,000-47,000	Greeks
57	France (French Somaliland)	1967-1967	2,000-10,000	Somalis
58	Israel	1967-1968	270,000-390,000	Palestinians
59	Sierra Leone	1968-1968	2,000-8,000	Ghanaians
60	Honduras	1969-1969	60,000-130,000	Salvadorans
61	Ghana	1969-1970	200,000-1,000,000	Nigerians, Togolese, Burkinabe, Nigeriens
62	Uganda	1970-1970	30,000	Kenyans (Luo)
63	Libya	1970-1970	20,000	Italians
64	Cambodia	1970-1970	200,000-250,000	Vietnamese

65	Zambia	1971-1972	150,000	Rhodesians, Batswana, Zaireans, Tanzanians, Somalis
66	Iraq	1971-1971	11,000-60,000	Iranians
67	Uganda	1972-1972	50,000-80,000	Asians
68	Iraq	1974-1974	60,000	Iranians, Kurds
69	Turkey	1974-1975	168,000-200,000	Greek Cypriots
70	Cyprus	1974-1975	37,000-60,000	Turkish Cypriots
71	Algeria	1975-1976	30,000	Moroccans
72	Cambodia	1975-1978	150,000-200,000	Vietnamese
73	Libya	1976-1976	13,700	Tunisians
74	Republic of Congo	1977-1977	5,000-6,000	Malians
75	Vietnam	1977-1979	400,000-1,000,000	Ethnic Chinese
76	Burma (Myanmar)[80]	1978-1978	200,000	Rohingya
77	Burundi	1978-1978	40,000-50,000	Zaireans
78	Gabon	1978-1978	6,000-12,000	Beninese
79	Bangladesh	1978-1979	187,000-190,000	Rohingya
80	Chad	1979-1979	1,000	Beninese
81	Kenya	1979-1979	2,500-4,000	Ugandans
82	Zambia	1979-1979	4,000	Zaireans, Tanzanians, Malawians, Somalis, Mozambicans
83	Thailand	1979-1980	49,000-54,000	Cambodians
84	Iraq	1980-1980	20,000-25,000	Iranians
85	Kenya	1980-1981	3,000	Tanzanians, Ugandans
86	Gabon	1981-1981	5,000-10,000	Cameroonians
87	Sierra Leone	1982-1982	1,000	Guineans (Foulah)
88	Uganda	1982-1982	44,000-75,000	Banyarwanda
89	Mongolia	1983-1983	1,764-10,000	Chinese
90	Nigeria	1983-1983	1,500,000-2,000,000	Ghanaians, Nigeriens, Cameroonians, Chadians, Togolese, Beninese
91	Nigeria	1985-1985	200,000-700,000	Ghanaians, Nigeriens, Cameroonians, Chadians
92	Cote d'Ivoire	1985-1985	10,000	Ghanaians
93	Libya	1985-1985	42,000-80,000	Tunisians, Egyptians
94	Mauritania	1989-1989	70,000-85,000	Senegalese, Mauritanians
95	Senegal	1989-1989	80,000-100,000	Mauritanians

[80] For consistency the country is referred to as 'Burma (Myanmar)' throughout the dataset. Officially the country's name was changed from the Union of Burma to the Union of Myanmar in 1989.

96	Bulgaria	1989-1989	250,000-310,000	Turks
97	Kenya	1989-1990	5,000	Somalis
98	Kenya	1990-1990	1,000	Ugandans, Rwandans
99	Saudi Arabia	1990-1990	750,000-1,000,000	Yemenis
100	Bhutan	1990-1992	106,000-110,000	Nepalis
101	Kuwait	1991-1991	200,000-400,000	Palestinians, Iraqis
102	Dominican Republic	1991-1991	35,000-60,000	Haitians, Dominico-Haitians
103	Burma (Myanmar)	1991-1992	250,000-260,000	Rohingya
104	Yugoslavia	1991-1992	250,000	Croats
105	Yugoslavia	1992-1995	2,000,000	Bosnians (Muslims & Croats)
106	Bangladesh	1992-1997	230,000	Rohingya
107	South Africa	1993-1994	136,279-152,205	Mozambicans
108	Greece	1993-1994	96,000-100,000	Albanians
109	Croatia	1995-1995	180,000-200,000	Serbs
110	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	1995-1995	14,000-15,000	Rwandans, Burundians
111	Libya	1995-1995	80,000	Sudanese, Mauritanians
112	Tanzania	1996-1996	250,000-500,000	Rwandans, Burundians
113	Dominican Republic	1996-1997	30,000	Haitians, Dominico-Haitians
114	Ethiopia	1998-1999	54,000-75,000	Eritreans
115	Yugoslavia	1998-1999	740,000-900,000	Kosovar Albanians
116	Eritrea	1998-2000	49,000-70,000	Ethiopians
117	Dominican Republic	1999-2000	10,000-20,000	Haitians, Dominico-Haitians
118	United Arab Emirates	2002-2002	1,200	Afghans
119	Angola	2003-2005	80,000-300,000	Congolese (Kinshasa)
120	Tanzania	2006-2007	17,000-60,000	Rwandese, Burundians
121	Soviet Union (Russia)	2006-2007	2,300	Georgians
122	Iran	2007-2007	160,000	Afghans
123	Angola	2008-2009	154,000-160,000	Congolese (Kinshasa)
124	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	2009-2009	30,000-40,000	Angolans
125	Thailand	2009-2009	4,689	Hmong
126	France	2009-2011	23,014-28,955	Roma
127	Uganda	2010-2010	1,700	Rwandans
128	Angola	2011-2012	60,590-105,000	Congolese (Kinshasa)
129	Iran	2011-2012	349,500	Afghans

130	Burma (Myanmar)	2012-2013	19,000-20,000	Muslims (Rohingya & Karman)
131	Tanzania	2013-2013	8,509-52,576	Rwandese, Burundians, Ugandans
132	Republic of Congo	2014-2014	179,000-245,000	Congolese (Kinshasa)
133	Cameroon	2015-2019	100,000-109,000	Nigerians
134	Dominican Republic	2015-2019	250,000-310,000	Haitians, Dominico-Haitians
135	Pakistan	2016-2016	500,000-565,000	Afghans
136	Burma (Myanmar)	2016-2018	812,000-831,500	Rohingya
137	Algeria	2016-2020	67,000	Sub-Saharan Africans
138	Angola	2018-2018	330,000-400,000	Congolese (Kinshasa)
139	Turkey	2018-2018	137,000-300,000	Syrian Kurds (Afrin)

7. **Annotated variable descriptions**

The main GSME dataset, at the level of mass expulsion episode-years, is found in the gsme_event_data.csv file. Below is a list of variables and annotated descriptions.

7.1. **GSME event data**

7.1.1. **exp_country**

Name of expelling country.

7.1.2. **region**

The region of the expelling country. These regions correspond to the World Bank's classification and include East Asia & Pacific (1); Europe & Central Asia (2);[81] Latin America & the Caribbean (3); Middle East & North Africa (4); North America (5); South Asia (6); and Sub-Saharan Africa (7).

NB: According to the World Bank classification, North America includes Bermuda, Canada and the United States. Since there were no Canadian or Bermudian expulsions during 1900-2020, North America is effectively the United States. Also note, that none of the 'Europe & Central Asia' cases included in the dataset occurred in Central Asia. Therefore, mass expulsions in the 'Europe & Central Asia' region are confined to European states, the Soviet Union (Russia) and Turkey.

Source: https://datahelpdesk.worldbank.org/knowledgebase/articles/906519-world-bank-country-and-lending-groups

[81] Yugoslavia is not included in the World Bank's list of Europe & Central Asian countries, but it has been included under this region in the dataset.

7.1.3. **sub_region**
The sub-region of the expelling country.[82] These sub-regions correspond to the UN Statistics Division classification which outlines 22 sub-regions: Northern Africa (1); Eastern Africa (2); Middle Africa (3); Southern Africa (4); Western Africa (5); Caribbean (6); Central America (7); South America (8); Northern America (9); Central Asia (10); Eastern Asia (11); South-eastern Asia (12); Southern Asia (13); Western Asia (14); Eastern Europe (15); Northern Europe (16); Southern Europe (17); Western Europe (18); Australia & New Zealand (19); Melanesia (20); Micronesia (21); and Polynesia (22).

Source: https://unstats.un.org/unsd/methodology/m49/

7.1.4. **year_1**
The year in which the mass expulsion episode began.

7.1.5. **year_2**
The year in which the mass expulsion episode ended.

7.1.6. **dur**
The duration of the mass expulsion episode.

7.1.7. **exp_min**
The minimum number of persons reported to be expelled.

7.1.8. **exp_max**
The maximum number of persons reported to be expelled.

7.1.9. **pop_exp**
The target group expelled (may be an ethnic, racial, religious or national group).

7.1.10. **dest_exp**
The country, or countries, to which the target group was expelled.

7.1.11. **freq**
The frequency of the expulsion episode for the expelling country (e.g. was this the first, second, third… expulsion episode for 'x' country as of 1900).

7.1.12. **cat_n**
The target group expelled included nationals. National, used interchangeably with citizen, is defined as a legally recognized subject of a state, either native or naturalized. This is a binary variable: 0 indicates nationals were not expelled, 1 indicates nationals were expelled.

7.1.13. **cat_fn**
The target group expelled included foreign nationals. Foreign national is defined as someone who is not a citizen of the country in which s/he resides. This is a binary variable: 0 indicates foreign nationals were not expelled, 1 indicates foreign nationals were expelled.

[82] The dataset includes 17 of the 22 UN Stat sub-regions. The five sub-regions not included are: Central Asia; Australia & New Zealand; Melanesia; Micronesia; and Polynesia. *NB: Yugoslavia is not included in the UN Stat data but has been included in the "Southern Europe" sub-region.*

7.1.14. **cat_ra**

The target group expelled included resident aliens. Resident alien is defined as a permanent resident of the country in which s/he resides. This is a binary variable: 0 indicates resident aliens were not expelled, 1 indicates resident aliens were expelled.

7.1.15. **cat_ref**

The target group expelled included refugees. Refugee, used interchangeably with asylum seeker, is defined as a person outside his/her country of citizenship seeking the protection of another. In some cases (Israel, 1967; Kuwait, 1991; Bangladesh, 1992) the refugees expelled were also stateless persons—defined by the 1954 Convention as 'a person not considered a national by any state under the operation of its law.' These three cases involved Palestinians and Rohingya. This is a binary variable: 0 indicates refugees were not expelled, 1 indicates refugees were expelled.

7.2. **GSME annual data**

This section describes the variables in the gsme_annual_data.csv file used to create Figures 1 & 2 in the article.

7.2.1. **exp_country**

Name of expelling country. Countries listed as 'NA' in this column indicate no expulsion occurred that year.

7.2.2. **year_1**

The year in which the mass expulsion began.

7.2.3. **exp_ongoing**

The number of mass expulsion events ongoing in a particular year in a particular country.

7.2.4. **exp_onset**

The number of mass expulsion events than began in a particular year in a particular country.

8. **Works used for coding (by region)**

East Asia & Pacific

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