



**Narratives of
Forced Migration
in the 20th and 21st Centuries**

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ABSTRACT BOOK

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Panel 1A: NARRATING MIGRATION IDENTITIES (Wallace Monument Room)

Bishupal Limbu (Portland State University) Narrative Strategies and Post-Migration Identities in *Dheepan*

What is a refugee narrative and how does it intersect or overlap with other narratives? The most common answer to the first part of this question involves the story of flight: bodies in motion traversing or, more frequently, failing to traverse dangerous seas, difficult terrain, and fortified borders. This dramatic portion of the refugee experience—routinely encountered in documentaries and journalistic writing—often takes attention away from other stories that may be equally meaningful. Refugee narratives are never merely about the flight from danger; they are also about arrival at a new place. In the post-migration stage, refugee narratives intersect and overlap with other narratives such as those of the immigrant or the illegal alien or perhaps even the citizen. In other words, the parameters of the refugee experience are wider and messier than commonly imagined. This presentation will examine a film that portrays the post-migration experience of a family of Sri Lankan refugees in France: *Dheepan* by well-known French filmmaker Jacques Audiard. This film, which won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 2015, places the Sri Lankan refugees in a *banlieue*, thereby linking their story to the story of immigrant communities in France, who are mostly from France's former colonies. The *banlieue* setting, as I will argue, also connects *Dheepan* to the genre of the *banlieue* film and its story of disaffection with state authority and neglect. This connection de-emphasizes the story of flight and turns our attention to the story of becoming an immigrant (which is not the same as assimilation) as part of the refugee narrative. I am interested in exploring how *Dheepan* mobilizes this other story and the genre of the *banlieue* film to propose alternative frameworks for understanding what it means to be a refugee and how post-migration identities are constructed and contested.

Bio: I am an Associate Professor of English at Portland State University, USA. My interests include global Anglophone and Francophone literatures, postcolonial theory, and human rights. I am currently working on a book on the representation of refugees in literature and film.

Bethany Morgan (Washington University in St. Louis) Ausweis: Refugee Identity in Abbas Khider's *Der falsche Inder*

Abbas Khider's 2008 novel *Der falsche Inder* focalizes the figure of the refugee and his negotiation of flight and arrival in the host country through a specific identity discourse. Khider problematizes his protagonist's origins through an inner and outer dichotomy to establish an "identity crisis" long before Rasul Hamid began his odyssey to Germany. Because of his unknown ethnicity and his incongruent skin color Rasul's struggle with his identity is only further complicated by his new identity as an Iraqi refugee in Germany. Is he Iraqi or is he Indian? Can he be German? What is German? Rasul's experience is illuminated to the reader through a first-person narrative in order to provide context and humanity to a subject somewhat intangible to a Western mindset. Specifically, the text shows the enormous difficulty and even impossibility of integration into Germany regardless of any passports, paperwork and identification cards that Rasul obtains. Through a triangulation of memory, writing and loss Rasul establishes his identity. He develops the power to witness against cultural assumptions about him. Without his memories, without his writings, Rasul is only the person that the State says he is. Drawing upon psychological studies on trauma and memory as well as on narrative techniques I maintain that Khider counter-discursively expresses identity and memory within a space of cultural intersection.

Bio: Bethany holds an MA in English from Clemson University and an MA in German from the University of Georgia. She is a PhD Candidate in the joint German and Comparative Literature program at Washington

University in St. Louis. Her current research interests are contemporary German literature, specifically migrant and refugee literatures, in conjunction with Discourse Theory and the themes of memory and trauma with a splash of digital humanities. Bethany's dissertation explores representations of the refugee figure and use of language to establish a counter discourse in novels by Abbas Khider, Jenny Erpenbeck and Sherko Fatah in addition to nonfiction texts by Navid Kermani and mediated refugee testimonies compiled by Cornelia von Schelling and Andrea Stickl.

Christine Vicera (University of Hong Kong) Remembering and Remembering Home in 21st Century Vietnamese, Indonesian and Filipino Diasporic Narratives

In *Global Diasporas*, Robin Cohen points to the Greek roots of the term Diaspora, *spiero*, meaning to 'sow' or to 'disperse' (Cohen xiv). This "sowing" or "dispersion," presupposes the idea of a centre, or a 'home' from which the dispersion occurs. This paper engages with Aleksandra Bida's concept of a multi-scalar home as a way of understanding the migrant's identity and place(s) in the world on an individual, interpersonal, social, and global scale. In examining the dialectic between the diasporic subject's home – both the imaginary home and the adopted home – this paper articulates and maps out the out-of-sync nature of diasporic subjectivity which is manifested in the poetics of asynchronicity that undergird diasporic narratives. The literary and filmic narratives of forced migration in Hannah Espia's independent film *Transit* (2013), Clement Baloup's graphic novel *Vietnamese Memories* and Lian Gouw's novel *Only a Girl* reveal the dual-displacement that characterise the experience of forced migration – a displacement in space as well as in time. This dual-displacement, constitutes the migrant's out-of-sync experience, which according to Steffen Köhn in *Mediating Mobility*, is a result of the migrant's inability to reduce the "many temporal worlds,"

they live in, "the past of the motherland... a present that is often precarious, and an uncertain future," simultaneously into one (Köhn 109). In examining the ways in which this out-of sync experience is manifested in what I would call the "asynchronous poetics," that undergird the narratives of the texts in question, this project adopts Elleke Boehmer's idea of the text as a "score for reading." This paper theorises a connection between these seemingly disparate narratives, which through their "asynchronous poetics" compel readers to remember and to remember¹ stories that have been pushed to the footnotes of history and therefore endow the diasporic subject with the agency to re-imagine their past from their present and to create a more inclusive future in today's global order.

BIO: Christine Vicera is a postgraduate student at the University of Hong Kong currently pursuing her MA in Literary in Cultural Studies. She is currently working as a Research Assistant under Professor Gina Marchetti at the Center for the Study of Globalization and Cultures. Her research interests include world cinema and literature, postcolonial studies, and narrative theory. She is currently working on a book entitled 20/20, a compilation of oral histories of refugees and asylum seekers in Hong Kong and a documentary on the concept of home.

Terri Tomsy (University of Alberta) Dispossession in children's storybooks: Visualizing experiences of migration

This paper examines narrative strategies that seek to convey the refugee experience to children. Working with three award-winning illustrated children's texts, this paper explores how storybooks visually mediate perilous journeys undertaken by many migrants. My focus is on the way authors utilize image and allegory to highlight the infrastructure of securitization set up to deter migrants and refugees, an emphasis that shifts focus away from migrants themselves, and onto the communities into which they claim refuge. Picture books provide a significant

intervention here, given the prevalence of visually spectacular images of fleeing migrants, particularly in the Mediterranean. But whereas media images often guide a necropolitical view of the so-called migrant “crisis,” picture books can challenge pejorative misapprehensions. The visual representation of the migrant experience can create points of empathic attachment for the reader, as exemplified by Francesca Sanna’s storybook, *The Journey* (2016), where her illustrations visually dramatize a child’s perspective of flight.

Yet *The Journey* also exaggerates the size of guards and border walls to signal the escalation of securitized borders and punitive surveillance against migrants. Such details are often not present in media photography of migrants, which can flatten the experience of dispossession into a generic trope, a critique that is expressed in the illustrated stories of Armin Greder (*The Island*, 2002; *The Mediterranean*, 2017). Drawing on scholarship in migration and security studies, literary criticism, and theories of empathy, I explore how Greder and Sanna’s storybooks do more than ask readers for empathy, instead relaying the migrant’s story within a context that *also* foregrounds local hostility, increased security, and the lack of safe passage. I examine how such texts generate a critique of the larger socio-political conditions that exacerbate the scale of dispossession, while also dehumanizing those people most affected.

BIO: Terri Tomsy is an Associate Professor in the Department of English and Film Studies at the University of Alberta, Canada. Her research examines memory politics in postcolonial and post-socialist literatures. Her essays on cultural memory, trauma, postcolonial studies, and human rights have appeared in journals like *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature*, *Life Writing*, *parallax*, *Biography*, and others. She is currently completing a book manuscript about human rights advocacy and cultural mediations of the Guantánamo prison. She is the co-editor (with Eddy Kent) of *Negative Cosmopolitanism: Culture and Politics of World Citizenship After Globalization* (McGill-Queen’s UP, 2017).

Panel 1B: SPACES OF FORCED MIGRATION: CAMPS, MUSEUMS, AND DISPLACED TERRITORIES

Jonathan Bull (Hokkaido University) Museums, memories and problematic narratives of forced migration: the case of the Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum, Japan

In September 2015 the Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum (Kyoto Prefecture, Japan) reopened to the public after renovation and an extensive rethink of its displays. The following month, after three years of hard work, the museum staff received the news that they had long been hoping to hear. UNESCO had agreed to inscribe a selection of the Museum's documents in the Memory of the World (MoW) International Register, alongside other inscriptions such as the Bayeux Tapestry, Beethoven's ninth Symphony and the Diaries of Anne Frank. Based on interviews conducted with those involved in putting together the Museum's current and former displays, this paper examines the process by which the display at Maizuru has been produced and updated over time. We apply the concepts of "regimes" and "repertoires" of migration in order to comprehend the multitude of factors, both contemporary and historical, that have influenced the production of a display treating the complex and sensitive topic of postcolonial migration. We argue that in this case migration regimes, especially the national state and local government, ultimately had the greatest influence on how historical memory of postcolonial migration has been produced.
(187 words)

BIO: Jonathan Bull is a lecturer on the Modern Japanese Studies Program at Hokkaido University, Japan. Prior to this, he worked at the university's Slavic-Eurasian Research Center as an assistant professor. He completed his PhD from the Graduate Faculty of Law at Hokkaido University in 2014. Originally from England, he also studied at Wadham College, University of Oxford and the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) before moving to Japan for his doctoral research.

In addition to chapters in edited volumes, his most recent work was published in *The Journal of Contemporary History* entitled 'Karafuto Repatriates and the Work of the Hakodate Regional Repatriation Centre, 1945-50' (2018) and *Japan Forum* with the title 'Return on display: memories of postcolonial migration at Maizuru' (2019, co-authored with Steven Ivings). His research is about the post-colonial movement of Japanese after the collapse of the empire in 1945. In particular, he has focused on the lives of Japanese who were in Sakhalin and their reintegration into post-war society. He is currently working on turning his dissertation on this topic into a book.

Amy Lyford (Occidental College, LA) Isamu Noguchi, Artistic Activism, and the Problem of "Exile"

I propose a paper focused on the forced "internal" migration, incarceration, and post-war reintegration of U.S. residents of Japanese descent during and after World War II. In the wake of the February 19, 1942 Executive Order 9066, which demanded that all residents of the west coast who happened to be of Japanese descent be placed in "relocation centers", or what scholars today refer to more accurately as detention camps. My paper will not only map out the basic trajectory of this federally sanctioned process of intra-US forced migration and detention, but it will do so by focusing on the experience of the Japanese American artist Isamu Noguchi, who – for complex reasons – went voluntarily into one such camp in Arizona in May of 1942. Noguchi's time in camp was the result of a long career of social and political activism both within the US and in Mexico during the 1930s and early 1940s; yet that activism, which played a part in his "voluntary" migration to the Poston camp, did not mean that his goals of forming an art program within the camp to make a bad situation slightly better were achieved. The impact of the time in camp, the complex political situation, and his own engagement as an activist after he left camp and returned to New

York City in the later 1940s, reveal a specific case of how this artist struggled with but couldn't surmount the xenophobic and racist logic of Japanese American incarceration. By exploring Noguchi's camp experiences, and the impact of those experiences on his artistic and political engagement after the war, my paper will provide a case study of historical forced migration as well as suggest concordances and echoes from Noguchi's moment that resonate with the debates along the southern US border about race, identity and migration.

BIO: Amy Lyford is Professor of Art History at Occidental College, where she teaches courses in modern and contemporary US and European art history. Her research interests span widely across the twentieth century, including the history of photography; modernism and issues of race, gender, sexuality and class; feminist art history and gender studies. She is the author of two books, both published by the University of California Press: *Surrealist Masculinities: Gender Anxiety and the Aesthetics of Post-World War I Reconstruction in France* (2007); and *Isamu Noguchi's Modernism: Negotiating Race, Labor and Nation, 1930-1950* (2013). She is currently completing her third book about the American surrealist artist Dorothea Tanning (under contract with Reaktion Press, London), and has begun the ground work for a new project focused Jean Fautrier's paintings of the 1920s and 1930s.

Xan Holt (Columbia University) Displaced Territories and Texts in Arno Schmidt's *The Stony Heart*

Inaugurating the field of general semantics, the engineer and philosopher Alfred Korzybski wrote, "A map is *not* the territory it represents, [...]. A word is *not* the object it represents."¹ Polish by birth, Korzybski was well schooled in the frequent displacement of borderlines and likened cartography and language as useful yet fallacious and inconstant means

¹ Alfred Korzybski. *Science and Sanity. An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. (Brooklyn: Institute of General Semantics, 2000), 58.

of delimiting reality. Though unfamiliar with Korzybski's thought, in his early works the German author Arno Schmidt offers a similar equation of texts and maps, highlighting the abstraction of both from their respective referents. Moreover Schmidt, who lost his Silesian home following the postwar expulsion of Germans, recognizes the role of the cartographer in the construction of the state's military apparatus; in his early short story *Enthymesis*, the narrator, an ancient Greek beaumatist tasked with measuring the distance between Syene and Alexandria, ironically emphasizes the utility of such cartographic expeditions: "collecting a great deal of "practical" knowledge for the "use of the state"; for the purposes of measurement, so that military routes and maps can be delimited and drawn up as quickly as possible."² Military prowess, part of the securing of territorial sovereignty, relies on an iconic representation akin to narrative in its manufacture of meaning, its formation of a seemingly static identity of place.

Opening with a brief general overview of the representation of mapmaking and border-drawing in the author's early work, my presentation will concentrate on Schmidt's 1956 novel *The Stony Heart*, in which he appears to upend the near mythic stability of place undergirded by cartography and official narratives. In a specific passage of the novel, the aptly named Line, an expellee like Schmidt, recounts her experience of the Polish acquisition of Silesia while the protagonist Walter Eggers tampers with an 18th century Hanoverian "State Handbook" in order to swap it for a rarer volume at the East German state library. The simultaneous description of the German-Polish territorial exchange and Eggers' counterfeiting offers suggestive parallels between political geography and textual representation that, far from ascribing

² Arno Schmidt. *Enthymesis, oder W.I.E.H.* In Vol. 1 of *Bargfelder Ausgabe, Werkgruppe 1*, no. 1, 7–31, (Bargfeld: Arno Schmidt Stiftung, 2013), 15. My translation.

transhistorical validity to territorial demarcations, foreground the constructedness and variability of place.

Bio: Xan Holt is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Germanic Languages at Columbia University. His focus is on twentieth century German-language and Polish literature with a secondary concentration in film studies. He is currently finishing his dissertation, which is entitled *Cold War Crossings* and discusses textual representations of trans-border travel in works by Uwe Johnson, Arno Schmidt, and Zbigniew Herbert. These texts are treated as uniquely literary attempts to subvert the prevailing geopolitical and cultural divisions of 1950's and 1960's Europe while redefining the notion of textual boundaries by means of myriad intertextual references and other literary devices.

Panel 1C: DIASPORA: RESPONDING TO MIGRATION IN LITERATURE AND ACTIVISM (Blairlogie Room)

Antonia Wimbush (University of Birmingham) Creative Responses to French Caribbean Migration

In the post-war era, huge waves of migrants from the French Caribbean islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique arrived in metropolitan France to strengthen the work force and rebuild infrastructure which had been damaged during World War Two. From 1962 to 1983, 160,000 men and women migrated through the BUMIDOM scheme (*Bureau pour le développement des migrations dans les départements d'outre-mer*). These people were not forced to migrate to escape from war or persecution. Yet many felt they had little choice, given the dire economic conditions on the islands. The French government strongly encouraged Antilleans to migrate to the metropole, not only to solve a growing economic crisis but also to dissolve political tensions on the islands and to put a stop to the threat of independence from France. The BUMIDOM office paid for one-way plane tickets and organised accommodation and work in the metropole. Antilleans were offered low-paid, low-skilled jobs in sectors such as health care, transportation, and the domestic service sector; these were jobs that the metropolitan population simply refused to do.

This paper explores the current trend of creative responses to Caribbean migration, which helps to fill the gap in knowledge about a crucial episode in France's recent history. The paper compares the *bande dessinée Pèyi an nou* (2017) ['our country' in Creole], written by Jessica Oublié and illustrated by Marie-Ange Rousseau, with the play *Aliénations* (2018) by Martinican playwright and actress Françoise Do. Both the *bande dessinée* and the play center around female characters and chart their personal identity quest as they uncover their family story of migration and rejection. Analysing *Pèyi an nou* alongside *Aliénations* allows me to make broader conclusions about the potential of creative visual and dramatic media to

depict instances of migration which have been overlooked by more traditional forms of cultural production.

BIO: Antonia Wimbush is a Teaching Fellow in French at the University of Birmingham. Her doctoral research, funded by the AHRC Midlands3Cities Doctoral Training Partnership, was completed at the University of Birmingham in 2018 and analysed themes of exile and migration in life-writing by women writers from Algeria, Guadeloupe, Côte d'Ivoire, and Vietnam. She has written articles on migration and trauma for the *Bulletin of Francophone Postcolonial Studies*, the *Journal of Romance Studies* and the *International Journal of Francophone Studies*. She is currently Conference Secretary for the Society for Francophone Postcolonial Studies.

Katie Singer (Rutgers University - Newark) Biography of the Great Migration through the Voices of Those Who Left

In an oral history collection created in the late 1990s for what was to have been the Krueger-Scott African-American Cultural Center in Newark, New Jersey, USA, we hear narratives from those forced en masse to flee the Southern states of America. Participants of this Great Migration, the narrators in this collection outline the obstacles and discoveries in joining what was to them a very new society - albeit in their own country.

The integration of "country folk" into city life was met with both community outreach and derision. Southern Blacks had a different way of talking, dressing, even going to church according to some. There were Northern Blacks, including those who had migrated from the South earlier, who wanted nothing to do with these newcomers, to hold onto - or continue to strive for - the "respectability" that went along with more Northern and Eastern ways. This was not only a matter of pride but of necessity for some. The reliance on White folks "believing" that African Americas were worthy of working for them, living next to them, and

shopping alongside them, was integral to an increased quality of life as well as potential social mobility.

Through the voices of those who participated in the Great Migration emerges a picture of life experience in a city both of promise and of peril. We hear some were welcomed and others dismissed; how women navigated both domestic and public lives in this industrialized, gendered, and racialized space; what “home” became for some and not for others; and stories of racism alongside those of racial collaboration. In all, the Krueger-Scott oral histories provide a narrative of a Black migration community constructed by the push and the pull of 20th century America.

BIO: Katie Singer has a Ph.D. in American Studies from Rutgers University-Newark and an M.F.A. in Creative Writing from Fairleigh Dickinson University where she taught writing, literature and African-American studies for ten years. Thereafter she taught at Rutgers University-Newark while working toward her doctorate in the field of Race, Ethnicity and Modern Society. Her writing consists of articles, essays, short stories and poetry. She has published in various journals and anthologies, her most recent academic work appearing in *New Jersey Studies*. Titled, “Narrative of the Krueger-Scott Mansion Project: Constructing African-American History,” the article looks at the Newark’s proposed Krueger-Scott African-American Cultural Center that never came to fruition and some of the reasons behind the failure of the project. She is presently a member of the history faculty at Bard High School Early College in Newark.

Cara Levey (University College Cork) Beyond Postmemory? Transnational Activism Between Latin America and Europe

In the run up to the high-profile 2002 royal wedding of Dutch Prince Willelm to Argentine-born Máxima Zorreguieta Cerruti, protests erupted from an unlikely source: members of H.I.J.O.S Holanda, the Dutch branch of the Argentine organisation comprised of the offspring of victims of the

1976-1983 dictatorship, raised objection over the father of the bride’s rather murky role in the Argentine dictatorship. With the furore that followed, Máxima’s father withdrew his participation in the royal nuptials. This example of the way in which the activism of post-dictatorship actors in Europe is framed within distinct local contexts calls for a reconsideration of the interface between generational and geographical displacement vis-à-vis the Argentine human rights movement. This paper focuses on ‘next’ generation activism undertaken by the offspring and allies of the Argentine exiles who sought refuge in Europe during dictatorial rule. ‘Next’ or ‘post-dictatorship’ (Ros, 2012) is understood as a term differentiating those of the overlapping and second generations of dictatorship from the protagonist generation, whilst the term ‘activist’ is employed somewhat unconventionally to denote not only those who define themselves as politically active or engaged, but those who are committed *in some way* to the creation and construction of memory of the Southern Cone dictatorships. Although some scholars have considered the role of activist exiles from a historical perspective (Markarian; Mira), there has been scant research into the next generation of post-dictatorship activists and their peers across Europe, particularly in countries like the Netherlands and Sweden and even less that compares second-generation identity and activism *between* Europe and Latin America. With the aim of bringing these diasporic voices in from the periphery, this paper will offer a nuanced picture of post-dictatorship protagonism in Europe by considering such transgenerational and transnational activism over different temporalities and geographical and virtual spaces of encounter.

BIO: CARA LEVEY (MA UNIVERSITY OF LONDON, PHD UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS) is a Lecturer in Latin America Studies at University College Cork, Ireland. Her work focuses on the politics of memory in the Southern Cone. She is the author of *Fragile Memory, Shifting Impunity: Commemoration and Contestation in Post-dictatorship Argentina and Uruguay* (Peter Lang, 2016) and articles on commemoration and intergenerational memory in *ACME, History and Memory, Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* and

Romance Studies. She is also interested in post-crisis culture in Argentina and is co-editor (along with Daniel Ozarow and Christopher Wylde) of *Argentina since the 2001 Crisis: Recovering the Past, Reclaiming the Future* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), which was published in translation in Argentina in 2016. Her current work pursues two main lines of enquiry: the first on the role of perpetrators in commemorative culture in Argentina, and the second on the manifold ways in which the past is treated and "worked through" virtually and spatially by second generation post-dictatorship activists in Europe.

Panel 2A: APPROACHES TO FORCED MIGRATIONS ACROSS GREECE AND TURKEY (Wallace Monument Room)

Zeynep Ardic ‘Forced migration and conflict: dealing with the past’

Conflict has been one of the most common causes of forced migration in the last century. Millions of people, both refugees and internally displaced persons, have been forced to leave their homes due to conflicts. Forced migration itself not only constitutes violation of human rights (such as the right to housing and the right to an adequate standard of living), but it is also accompanied by various other human rights abuses (such as torture). In addition to losing their homes and facing numerous problems in their new destinations, these people suffer from serious traumas caused by these violations. If these traumas are not healed, they also pass on to next generations.

In order to address human rights violations in the context of forced migration, this paper suggests that transitional justice mechanisms offering innovative and alternative ways to deal with past human rights violations must be applied. Its mechanisms, especially reparations, can play a significant role in redressing human rights abuses induced by forced migration. In this paper, Turkey will be given as an important case study within this context. Forced migration has been one of the most damaging consequences of the conflict which has been going on for nearly 40 years between the Turkish security forces and the PKK (a Kurdish separatist group). In addition to being victims of serious human rights violations, the Kurdish IDPs have faced serious challenges in the cities they arrived. Turkey has sought ways to address these challenges and redress the past violations through a wide-range of mechanisms, yet these efforts have not been entirely successful. Analysing Turkey’s efforts to deal with the legacies of forced migration can provide important insights into the debates on forced migration, conflict and human rights violations.

Bio: Zeynep Ardic holds a BA in law from Ankara University. She received an LLM from University of Warwick in the “International Development Law

and Human Rights” program with a dissertation titled “Decolonial Option in the North Caucasus” in 2013. She worked at SETA Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research based in Ankara for a year as an intern research assistant in 2014. She completed her PhD in February 2019 at University of Sussex with a thesis titled “Searching for Transitional Justice Mechanisms in the Kurdish Question in Turkey: addressing violations of social, economic and cultural rights”.

Sibel Karakoc ‘Reconsidering Refugee Settlement: The Impact of Turkish-American Tobacco Trade on the Settlement of the Greco-Turkish Population Exchange Refugees in Turkey’

Turkey in the early republican era was marked by significant changes to its demographic composition as well as to its economy due to internal and external displacement of ethnic and religious communities. One of these population displacements is the “Greco-Turkish Population Exchange”. Although there is an extensive literature on the exchange itself and its social and political impact, scholars overlook its economic dimension and tend to narrate the economic aspect of the exchange only based on its impact on the domestic economies of the countries involved. However, economic activities in certain cash-crops, particularly tobacco, were long been part of the global market and needs to be evaluated under global conditions with all involved parties. Turkish tobacco was part of the global trade network that involved several countries (the United States, Britain, and Germany), the French monopoly under the Regie Company, and Ottoman Public Debt Administration who used the tobacco revenues to pay foreign debt. The uprooting of tobacco cultivators consequently effected domestic economies of Turkey and Greece as well as the parties involved in the global trade. Little known is that the population exchange and its economic impact on tobacco cultivation and trade created a major concern among major powers and Turkey. Besides official meetings during Lausanne Conference also private meetings were held to ensure the as little as disturbed continuation of the tobacco trade. In accordance, this article argues and provides empirical evidence that

not only domestic dynamics were effective in the pattern of settlement but also global capitalistic relations imposed a certain pattern of settlement. Utilizing Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Archives and American National Archives in Washington D.C., this research investigates settlement policies as a result of global commercial interests.

BIO: Sibel Karakoc is a PhD candidate in the department of History at SUNY - Binghamton University. Her research interests are late Ottoman and early Turkish Republican era. In her dissertation, she is focusing on forced demographic movements and the political economy of refugees. She is the graduate student assistant editor of JOTSA – The journal of Turkish and Ottoman Studies Association.

Panel 2B: TRAFFICKING AND CAMPS: MOBILITY AND IMMOBILITY (Lomond Room)

Julie Umukoro (University of Port Harcourt) SHE-menism: Girl-Trafficking and the Gendered Experiences of Forced Migrations in Soji Cole's *Embers*

This discourse dwells on the gendered experiences of forced migrations of young girl-victims of human trafficking. As victims, they are commoditised as objects for meeting the selfish pleasure of lust, carnal sex and other materialistic concerns of their captors, men usually; and who often have to lure or kidnap and then ferry or transport their victims away from familiar grounds.

In general, the study examines four stereotypes: the *doll*, the *courtesan*, the *stripper* and the *sex-toy*. With an attribute of a semiotic shifting signification, she is the nameless one introduced casually as 'my girl', 'my woman', 'my mistress' or 'concubine'. Of particular interest is the sex-toy stereotype. Given the master-slave relationship of a handler (male) and a victim (female) in this case, **she**, the victim, is perceived in this study as a Slave Hijacked to Entertain (SHE). Entertain who? Men, of course! The entertainment factor here is connotative as it trivialises the victim as mere means for a man's sport. So, garnished by sexual images, a girl-victim becomes merely a sex-toy to a male owner; and here, designated as Slaves-Hijacked-to-Entertain-Men (SHE-men).

This study thus examines the concept of *SHE-menism* in Soji Cole's 2018 drama, *Embers*. Using the Chibok secondary school girls' abduction scandal as a launching pad, Soji Cole sets his drama in an IDP camp where shattered female characters, find a common bond in their flesh-chilling ordeals as captives of men. They tell how, commoditised as sex-tools, they were denied their humanity and freedom; and, of how, in stoic docility, they were powerless captives of the blood-thirsty boko-haram war-lords as well as soldiers and government officials in the IDP camp(s) The study will concentrate on their image as commodity for male pleasure.

BIO: Julie Umukoro is a Professor of Semiotics and Performance studies at the University of Port-Harcourt, Port-Harcourt, Nigeria. As a scholar-artist, she has made substantial academic and creative contributions to the literary world over the years. Her works cut across the different genres of prose, drama and poetry, in addition to many professional contributions to the arts of theatre, film and music. She is also an actress and composer. Her passion for children's literature and theatre finds expression in two of such published works: *Adams Family* (2012) a serialised drama of seven episodes and her latest, *Three Tales, Three Tribes* (2019) *Marriage Coup* (2012) on the other hand is a full length satirical drama for all. She has also made substantial academic contributions in journals and books. Her interest in material culture is centred mostly on visual or nonverbal communication in drama. Thus, beside writing, she has found expression too in artistic exhibitions. Examples are: The "Dress Ensemble, Trends Today" exhibition at the Bayly Art Museum, University of Virginia (UVA) in 2002; and The Kalabari Eya marriage costumes exhibition unveiled in Dubai in April 2012.

Béatrice Blanchet (Lyon Catholic University) Remapping the borderlands of Britain: the Calais "Jungle" and the enduring legacy of imperial frontier policing

This paper investigates the political rhetorics and the media discourses on Europe's shifting borderlands in contemporary Britain, against the backdrop of perceived "migrant crisis" which has given renewed visibility to liminal spaces while reviving colonial representations of otherness. (Post) colonial narratives of identity and place are often predicated upon the assumption of distinctive spheres of belonging (*home* and *away*) respectively associated with "civilization" and undomesticated alterity, closely linked to fears of subversion and images of contagion. Indeed, the early 21st century has witnessed the resurgence of crossboundary invasion narratives illustrated by iconic representations of migrants attempting to cross British borders. The Calais Jungle camp constitutes a

metonymic illustration of the migrant crisis, characterized by violent geographies of exclusion (Gregory 2006) and translated into dichotomies between humanity and animality. While dehumanizing metaphors identify migrants with the barbarism of the “jungle”, displacing the space of their precarious lives outside the normal juridical order, migrants remain both internal and central to that order as exceptions to the rule (of law). Delineated through juxtaposed borders and characterized by hybrid governance, the migrants camp appears as a biopolitical “space of exception” (Agamben 2005) that conjures up the colonial practices associated with the multilayered frontier mapping between Afghanistan and India, Britain’s alter ego. The memorial legacy of imperial borderlands – simultaneously regarded as barriers and bridges – contributes to the perception of migrants as a threat to Western security and integrity, through fictionalised narratives of national sovereignty and identity. The actual invisibility of the disenfranchised migrants living in legal limbo contrasts with their perceived crossboundary ubiquity as well as their strong bodily presence through media coverage. In the contemporary period, the discursive celebration of British insular exceptionalism constitutes a response to the attested existence of liminal spaces of belonging — epitomized by the figures of insider-outsiders such as migrants and exiles.

BIO: Dr Béatrice Blanchet currently teaches translation and geopolitics at UCLy (Lyon Catholic University, France). She graduated from the Institut d'études politiques (Aix-en-Provence, France) and completed her PhD on French and British intellectuals at Oxford University (*Bourse d'Excellence Lavoisier*, French Foreign Office). Dr Béatrice Blanchet has published in leading journals including *Modern and Contemporary France* and the *Journal of European Studies*. She has recently participated in international conferences, giving talks on memories of wars and representations of postcolonial boundaries in contemporary Britain. Her early interest in comparative intellectual history has expanded to embrace questions of memories explored through the prism of geographies of belonging.

Pnina Rosenberg (Technion-Israel Institute of Technology) Gender and Exile: Graphic novels by women refugees interned in Rieucros camp (France, WWII)

To live like God in France — this popular saying was part of the world outlook of many of the German refugees/émigrés, who with the rise of Hitler to power saw France as the cradle of human rights, the Promised Land that would provide them with a safe haven. It is estimated that by 1939 there were in France ca. 30.000 – 35.000 German refugees. Despite the numerous relief organizations, the refugees' situation was extremely difficult, not only due to lack of or insufficient economic resources but also for confronting hostility and mistrust that only increased with the time. Following the French declaration of war on Nazi Germany, and with the passing of xenophobic/racial discriminatory laws, the thousands of stateless refugees of German and Austrian origin were ironically-tragically designated as undesirables and "enemy aliens," and as such were interned in camps in Southern France.

The aim of this paper is to analyze two graphic diaries done by Dora Schaul and Sylta Busse-Reismann, who were among the numerous exiled German women that were interned in the women's camp Rieucros. Schaul (1913, Berlin-1999, idem.), an amateur artist, "naively" yet accurately depicted the various phases of her internment as a "political" undesirable in her *My War Adventures, 1 September 1939 - ? (Mes aventures de guerre 1 sept. 1939 - ?)*. The set designer Busse-Reismann (1906, Westerland-1989, Augsburg), who, contrary to Schaul, was a professional artist, produced a series of colorful paintings representing various aspects of the inmates' life in a somewhat theatrical style, that vividly reconstruct the women-prisoners' Sisyphean struggle to maintain their dignity as feminine human beings.

Both graphic novels not only reflect the artists' rootlessness, trauma, sexual abuse and frustration, but also their struggle to create some order through art in their otherwise chaotic world.

BIO: Dr. Pnina Rosenberg is an art historian specializing in the art/legacy of the Holocaust, focusing on women artists' oeuvres and graphic novels during and after WWII. She lectures on those subjects in the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology and has presented papers at international conferences and published books and articles. She coedited *Critical Insights: The Diary of Anne Frank* (2017) to which she contributed an article on Anne Frank's Graphic Novel. Dr. Rosenberg is the art editor of *Prism: Journal for Holocaust Educators*, Yeshiva University, NY.

Huw Halstead 'There and back again: the expatriated Greeks of Imbros between homelands old and new'

When the Greeks of the island Imbros were forced by persecution to emigrate from Turkey during the 1960s/1970s, they feared they would never again return. Most resettled in their purported 'national homeland' – Greece – where they received a rather lukewarm reception from a government and populace that viewed them with suspicion due to their Turkish birthplace. This paper begins by exploring how the expatriated Greeks responded to this alienation by commemorating their locality as part of the national pantheon of Greek 'lost homelands'. They founded a community association to lobby for support from the Greek state, wrote and read nostalgic pieces about Imbros in their community newspaper, and discussed the establishment of a 'New Imbros' on Greek soil where they could continue their traditions and return to a rural lifestyle. They also sought to publicly emphasise their legitimacy as residents of Greece by creatively repurposing the recent and ancient past to narrate their displacement as a national martyrdom.

After 1988, however, circumstances on Imbros unexpectedly changed, permitting growing seasonal, semi-permanent, and even permanent return. This precipitated a communal struggle to confront a multitude of daily challenges to the returnees' sense of belonging in a locality greatly transformed during their exile. The narratives of those who have participated in this return movement demonstrate that return does not

simply put an end to displacement. Rather, return is revealed to be an ongoing and everyday process of negotiation, triggering great joy and gratification but also anxieties and tensions not altogether dissimilar to those experienced during the original displacement from Imbros. Yet return has also significantly reconfigured the community's relationship to Greece and Greek national history, and strongly influenced the national identity construction of the Greek-born second generation. Return is thus best seen as part of the pathology of displacement rather than its antithesis or panacea.

BIO: Dr Huw Halstead is a Research Fellow in the School of History at the University of St Andrews. He was previously the Macmillan-Rodewald Postdoctoral Student at the British School at Athens, and an Associate Lecturer in Modern History at the University of York. His research combines oral and written sources with participant observation to explore displacement, memory, and public history in Mediterranean Europe and former Ottoman territories. He is currently working on place, landscape, and belonging during the Greek dictatorships as part of the ERC-funded project *Dictatorship as experience: a comparative history of everyday life and the 'lived experience' of dictatorship in Mediterranean Europe (1922-1975)*.

Panel 2C: ATTEMPTS AT RETURN AND COMMUNITY: THE ROHINGYA AND NIGERIANS IN LIBYA

Regina Menachery Paulose (Attorney) The Right of (Voluntary) Return? The Case of the Rohingya of Myanmar

This paper/presentation will discuss the concept of the “right of return” in refugee law. The principle of “right of return” is invoked by refugees who want to go back home. However, what happens in cases where the right of return is invoked upon certain conditions being met? If those conditions are not met, how does voluntariness impact the return process? This presentation will discuss these questions in the context of the Rohingya of Myanmar, victims and survivors of genocide and crimes against humanity.

Regina Menachery Paulose has a Juris Doctorate from Seattle University School of Law and a LLM from the University of Turin/UNICRI. She is an US based attorney practicing in international criminal law and human rights. She is the attorney for the *Arakan Rohingya National Organization*. Her publications focus on similar subjects including transnational crimes. She is the 2018-2019 Vice Chair of Programs for the International Refugee Law Committee of the American Bar Association. She is 2017-2019 Chair-Elect of the Washington State Bar Association’s World Peace through Law Section.

Khair Mahmud (Jagannath University) Rohingya influx in Bangladesh: Need for a Human Rights approach to Environment

Being an overpopulated country Bangladesh is highly susceptible to climate change and has been grappling with soil erosion, rising sea levels and frequent natural disasters. Beside so many existing problems, its latest worry is the Rohingya influx from the neighboring country Myanmar. The environmental impact of one million refugees is difficult to overstate. The UN Development Program recently released an environmental

assessment, identifying 28 risk factors threatening biodiversity and human security over this area. Thousands of acres of national forests were cleared for Rohingya settlement. Also, areas previously inhabited by wild elephants are now barren. The lush, green, hilly landscape has rapidly transformed into flattened stretches of red earth covered in tarp tents as far as the eye can see. The dramatic environmental consequences of this massive migration will last for years affecting people who live inland in Bangladesh and beyond. The paper tries to find the possible human rights approach to the present environmental crisis which would eventually help to maintain regional peace and environmental safety for a long term and also help the two neighboring countries to manage protracted crises in humane and sustainable ways.

BIO: Khair Mahmud is Assistant Professor and Director of the Masters programme in Human Rights and Security Studies at the Law faculty of Jagannath University, Bangladesh. He is also a research fellow at the Raoul Wallenberg Institute of IHL & HR. Previously worked as a researcher at Impunity Watch in the Netherlands. He is currently co-editing a book on Transformative Justice jointly done by Oxford center for transitional justice and the Theatre of Transformative Academy, Geneva. Prior to Joining the Jagannath University, khair Mahmud was a Lecturer of Law at the University of Rajshahi and Dhaka International University. He also worked as a member of legal volunteer team at the Liberation War Museum Dhaka, Bangladesh. He holds a bachelor of law degree, an LLM from the University of Rajshahi and an Advance Master on Transitional Justice, Human Rights and the Rule of Law from the Geneva Academy of IHL & HR.

Panel 2D: BIOPOLITICS: NATIONALISM, MEMORY, AND CHILDREN (Mull Room)

Sofie Lene Bak (University of Copenhagen) Safe haven: Nationalism and racism in the Danish exile community in Sweden 1943-1945

Denmark is the celebrated exception from the horrors of the Holocaust with 98% of the Jewish population surviving Nazi persecution, the vast majority in exile in **neighboring** Sweden. National and international historiography has hitherto ignored the exile experience and the repercussions on Danish-Jewish post-war identity. However, by combining Oral History with new empirical evidence, it is possible to expand historiography in time and space, uncovering the impact of the exile on the Jewish community. Moreover, the historical case provides new insight to the identity processes brought on by forced migration.

During the Second World War, approx. 20.000 Danish Nationals took refuge in Sweden, of which 40% were of Jewish family. The majority consisted of members of the Danish resistance, intellectuals and enemies of Nazi-Germany. In Sweden, the refugees gave free expression to a nationalism that made unrestrained use of Danish national symbols and cultivated Danish language and culture. However, this nationalism did involve chauvinistic elements, not only vis-à-vis the Swedish hosts, but also towards refugees of other nationalities, who had fled to Sweden alongside Danish citizens. In addition, this intensified focus on "Danishness" included drawing boundaries between "Danes" and "Jews".

In Sweden, the anti-Nazi political discourse of occupied Denmark dissolved and antisemitism proved functional in the field of tension between activism and passivism, as Jews were accused of lacking engagement in active resistance towards the German enemy. Historically, the integration and inclusion of the Jewish community in Danish society had been relatively frictionless. To many Danish Jews, this was their first encounter with antisemitism. What caused the anti-Nazi discourse to dissolve in the Danish exile community? What was the reaction in the

Jewish community and how did it effect the identity and strategies of Danish Jews after their return to liberated Denmark?

BIO: Sofie Lene Bak, PhD, Associate Professor, Copenhagen University, Denmark. Former curator and research manager at the Danish Jewish Museum. PhD from Copenhagen University in 2003 with a Dissertation on Danish Anti-Semitism 1930-1945. Author of several books, articles and papers on Danish Jewish History, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust, most recently (in English) *Nothing to speak of. Wartime experiences of the Danish Jews 1943-45* (2012) and "Repatriation and restitution of Holocaust victims in post-war Denmark", in Ruth Illman and Björn Dahla (eds.): *Jewish Studies in the Nordic Countries Today* (2016).

John Regan (Dundee University) The 'Exodus Myth' and Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Ireland

After 1968, Northern Ireland experienced nearly thirty years of civil war. Though some denied it, the so-called 'Long War' influenced aspects of professional historical writing on Ireland. This paper addresses historical interpretations of the 'exodus' of Protestants from southern Ireland between 1911 and 1926. It argues explanations of ethnic conflict in 1920-1923, in the 1990s came to mirror interpretations of contemporary violence in Northern Ireland 1968-1998.

In 1993, Canadian born historian, Peter Hart, claimed to have discovered evidence of the IRA's attempt to 'exterminate' and 'expel' the Protestant minority in county Cork in 1922. In 1996, Hart said what might be described as 'ethnic cleansing' had been widespread in southern Ireland in the early 1920s. These revelations, Hart argued, helped explain the 34% decline in the minority Protestant population between 1911 and 1926 (as much as 45% in some southern counties), with 'nearly all' being forced to leave by the IRA during the violent years of 1920-23. 'The timing and context of population loss turn the census figures in to a political and social event', wrote Hart in 1996, 'and turn Protestant decline into a Protestant exodus'. Memories of these terrible events, Hart claimed, had

been suppressed and were denied in the nationalist historiography. Some historians have compared the experiences of southern Protestants with Jewish and Ukrainian minorities in post-1918 Poland, the Palestinians in 1947, and even ethnic minorities under the Third Reich. In the furor following the publication of Hart's prize-winning monograph, *The IRA and its enemies* (Oxford, 1998), the liberal academy sided with Hart against detractors coming mainly from the Irish republican tradition. Tragically, Hart died in 2010, at the age of 46.

Re-examining Hart's statistical analysis it is now clear he miscalculated his datasets. These miscalculations enumerated a false statistical premise – tens of thousands of Protestants experienced forced migration in 1920-23. That southern Irish Protestants did not experience forced migration associated with intimidation and violence because of their religion, collapses Hart's ethnic conflict thesis.

BIO: John M Regan lectures in history at the University of Dundee, Scotland. After completing a doctorate at Queen's University Belfast in 1994, Dr Regan became the Irish Government's Senior Scholar at Hertford College, Oxford. He was later elected to a Research Fellowship at Wolfson College Oxford and awarded a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship. In 1999, he published *The Irish Counter-Revolution 1921-36*, (Gill & Macmillan) and in 2013 *Myth and the Irish State: Historical Problems and Other Essays* (Irish Academic Press). He has published extensively in *Historical Journal*, *Irish Historical Studies*, *History*, *Reviews in History* and *The Journal of British Studies*.

Ruth Amir (Yezreel Valley College) Forced Migration and Transfer of Children: Biopolitics and Borderscapes

The proposed paper engages with narratives of corrective interventions of "problem" populations as a technology of power for controlling and subjugating populations. The theoretical import of the Foucauldian notions of biopower, anatomo-politics, and borderscapes facilitates a critical analysis of forced migration and child removal policies and their

respective narratives. Founded on knowledge/power, biopower consists in the subjective problematization of social groupings identifiable by traits such as ethnicity, race religion, nationality, and political affiliation. Anatomo-politics is practiced by keeping of the children's bodies apart from their families', providing them with training and subjecting them to discipline and constant surveillance.

The forced migration and transfer of children thus stretches, crosses, and transgresses borders in at least three ways. These are: first, problematization stretches a border between the children in their dual capacity of individuals and group members, and society and dominant group; Second, the children's removal separates them from their families and kin and creates a rift between their life and opportunities prior and subsequent to the transfer. Finally, the transfer or migration involve the crossing of physical domestic or international borders.

The proposed paper offers a comparative analysis of the official narratives and programs by perpetrators, which convey the forced child migration and transfer during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The analysis will focus on the expropriation and commodification of children based on the Foucauldian notions of bio-power, anatomo-politics, and borderscapes. Twentieth century forced transfers or migrations of children were practiced in the context of colonialism (US, Canada, and Australia, Réunion), decolonization (Congo), parental political affiliation (Francoist Spain), socioeconomic status (Ireland's Magdalene Laundries; Britain), and national identity (Cuba, the Baltic Deportations). Twenty-first century removal programs are practiced by both State and non-State actors and includes the enlistment or conscription of child soldiers.

BIO: Ruth Amir is Senior Lecturer at the Department of Political Science at Yezreel Valley College. Her research and publications focus on transitional justice, genocidal forcible child transfers, and forced migration. Among her recent books are *Twentieth Century Forcible Child Transfers: Probing the Boundaries of the Genocide Convention*; *Who is Afraid of Historical Redress: The Israeli Victim-Perpetrator Dichotomy*; *The politics of Victimhood*:

Historical Redress in Israel? (in Hebrew); co-edited volume, *Critical Insights: Anne Frank, the Diary of a Young Girl*. Her two recent articles (2018) are “Canada and the Genocide Question: It did Happen Here.” And “Law Meets Literature: Raphael Lemkin and Genocide Studies.”

PANEL 3A: RECKONING WITH REFUGEEEDOM: REFUGEE VOICES IN MODERN HISTORY, 1919-1975

Alex Dowdall, “The Greatest Parliament of Men’: Refugees’ Letters to the League of Nations, 1919-1938”, considers the thousands of letters written by refugees, mostly Russians and Armenians, to the League of Nations in the years after 1919. The paper demonstrates how refugees often appealed to the League using a language of utopian internationalism, and argues that although their demands and appeals were rarely successful, the act of petitioning itself constituted both an important political intervention, and a form of moral judgement on the activities of the League.

Dr Alex Dowdall (University of Manchester), is a Research Associate with the ‘Reckoning with Refugeeedom’ project, where his research concerns refugees in the Mediterranean region during the era of the League of Nations. Focused primarily on France, which occupied a prime position at the political epicentre of attempts to assist Russians and Armenians and, later on, refugees from the Spanish Civil War, it examines the room for manoeuvre refugees had at this formative moment and how they negotiated the international and domestic refugee regime. His broader research interests lie in the field of war and forced displacement during and after the First World War. His first monograph, entitled *Communities under Fire: Urban Life at the Western Front, 1914-1918*, is forthcoming.

Kasia Nowak, “To Reach the Lands of Freedom’: Resettlement Petitions of Polish Displaced Persons to the American Poles, 1948-1951”, examines petitions written by Polish refugees in Allied-occupied Germany to the American Committee for the Resettlement of Polish Displaced Persons. The paper reveals how refugees navigated through the post-war refugee regime by appealing to traditional networks of belonging. They fashioned themselves as anti-communist, hard-working immigrants who would strengthen the Polish exile community.

Dr Kasia Nowak (University of Manchester), is a Research Associate with the ‘Reckoning with Refugeeedom’ project. Having recently completed her PhD at the University of Manchester, her research investigates how Polish Displaced Persons conceptualised their experiences of refugeeedom and how they navigated through the refugee regime in the aftermath of the Second World War. More broadly, her research interests include cultural history of war and displacement, people’s history, history of the body, and history of Eastern Europeans.

Peter Gatrell, “Individual Case Files as a Historical Source” is a preliminary attempt to establish the extent and significance of confidential letters and petitions lodged with the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva. It will reflect on the nature of this evidence, the changing context in which refugees sought to make themselves heard, and on the opportunities and challenges that this archival source material present to the historian.

Professor Peter Gatrell (University of Manchester), is the Principle Investigator of the ‘Reckoning with Refugeeedom’ project. He has spent much of the past 20 years studying the history of population displacement in the modern world. His books include a trilogy on refugee history: *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia during World War 1* (Indiana University Press, 1999), *Free World? The campaign to save the world’s refugees, 1956-1963* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), and *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford University Press, 2013). His new book on the history of Europe since 1945, with a focus on migration in/to Europe, will appear with Penguin Books (*The Unsettling of Europe: the great migration, 1945 to the present*) and Basic Books (*The Unsettling of Europe: how migration reshaped a continent*) in May 2019.

Anindita Ghoshal, entitled “Seeking Refuge and Laying Claims: Migration, Memory and Identity in Post Partition West Bengal 1947-1971”, explores the narratives and sufferings of Bengali asylum seekers during and after the Partition of the Indian Subcontinent in 1947. Incorporating diverse

source materials, it investigates why, despite belonging to the same religion, these refugees had to fight with many agencies at every level, from the state to the local, in order to claim rights over land and professional rehabilitation. It argues that the basic rights of these refugees were constantly challenged, with the result that the dream of homecoming turned into disillusionment for them.

Dr. Anindita Ghoshal (Diamond Harbour Women's University, Kolkata, India), is the Co-Investigator of the 'Reckoning with Refugeedom' project. Her area of research includes Partition and refugee studies with special emphasis on eastern/northeastern India and Bangladesh. Two of Anindita's books will appear shortly: *Refugees in Search of Identities: the Struggle for Rights and Habitat in Post-Partitioned Eastern and Northeastern India, 1947-1977* (Orient Blackswan); and (edited) *Partition of India: Contestation, Narratives and Memories* (Primas).

PANEL 3B: LEAVING AFRICA: NARRATIVES OF THE “RETURN” AND THE MEMORY OF PORTUGUESE *RETORNADOS*

Morgane Delaunay (Université Rennes 2) Portugal and the return of the settlers from Africa (1975-2019)

After the Carnation Revolution of April 25th 1974, which put an end to the *Estado Novo* regime in place in Portugal since 1926, the democratization process, and simultaneously the decolonisation process of the African territories under Portuguese rule, began. One of the consequences of the end of Portuguese empire in Africa, that ended with the independence of the former colonies, was the arrival and settlement in Portugal of nearly half-a-million Portuguese ex-colonists, largely from Angola and Mozambique. Known as *retornados*, most arrived during the summer of 1975, in an air lift organized by the authorities to evacuate the Portuguese population from Angola, where the situation had worsened and descended into civil war. The resettlement of this population had an important demographic impact for the former metropole territory; by 1981, the *retornados* represented 5% of the Portuguese resident population. In a context of high political and social instability, and of an economic crisis, this migratory phenomenon represented an additional challenge for the Portuguese administration that had to devise and implement measures in order to welcome, accommodate, and (re)integrate those national migrants into the economy and society. This paper aims to present the characteristics of the repatriated population from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, as well as the issues raised by its arrival and settlement in Portugal. Finally, this presentation highlights the effects of this repatriation on Portuguese society.

Bio: Morgane Delaunay has a Bachelor’s degree in History and Political Science (Université Rennes 2), a Master’s Degree in History and International Relations (Université Rennes 2), and a Master’s Degree in International Migrations (Université de Poitiers). In 2015 she entered a

PhD program both at Université Rennes 2 and at ISCTE-IUL in Lisbon, financed by the Région Bretagne. Her research focuses on the integration process in Portugal of the population repatriated during the Portuguese decolonization of Africa, in a comparative perspective with the French case of the *Pieds-noirs* population from Algeria. She presented a paper on the parliamentary debate on the *retornados* at the Conference of the Lusophone Studies Association in 2017, in Brazil (“A questão dos ‘retornados’ no debate parlamentar português (1975-1976)”). In November 2018, she participated in the First Encounter of Young Researchers on Contemporary History at the Universidade Nova, in Lisbon, where she presented the paper titled “Portugal e a chegada dos ‘retornados’: políticas estatais numa perspetiva comparada com o caso francês dos ‘Pieds-noirs’ da Argélia”. She was also invited to participate in the conference “Déracinés, Exilés, Rapatriés ? Fins d’empires coloniaux et migrations” that took place in November 2018 at the École Polytechnique of Paris, where she presented the paper “La fin de l’empire colonial portugais : le processus d’intégration des *retornados* au Portugal (1975-2018)”. Email: delahunaymorgane@live.fr

Elsa Peralta (University of Lisbon) Remembering the return: Testimonies of paradox and bewilderment

This presentation is based on personal testimonies of the return from Africa by Portuguese settlers and their descendants living there before decolonization. It focuses on the lived experiences of these people during the moment of return, that is, on the duration of the events of departure, travel and arrival. Contrary to the narratives about the *before* (colonial time in Africa) or about the *after* (the postcolonial time in Portugal or in the other places where these populations settled after the return), the testimonies about the time when the return actually happened are told in a more fragmented way, revealing a considerable difficulty in giving meaning to the past – both the personal past and that of the Portuguese nation. The violence of the events that triggered the return, the sudden biographical and historical rupture, and the perception of the

incommensurability of the experience within the established framework of a colonial order considered as “normal” until then, give these testimonies a particular significance. They not only destabilize the structure and meaning of the master narratives that mediate the experiences of the Portuguese returnees before and after their return (respectively the “lost paradise” of colonial Africa and the “miraculous integration” of the returnees in Portugal), but they also complicate the framework of the established memorial culture on the Portuguese empire and decolonization. In view of the disruptions that still echo in these testimonies, this paper also asks whether the return was a trauma, both for the individuals involved, and for the imagined Portuguese community as a whole.

Bio: Elsa Peralta, PhD in Anthropology (University of Lisbon, 2006), is a research fellow at the Centre for Comparative Studies (CEC), Faculty of Arts & Humanities, University of Lisbon, Portugal. During the Spring Semester 2019 she is the FLAD/Michael Teague Visiting Professor in the Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies, Brown University. Her work draws on perspectives from anthropology, memory studies and postcolonial studies and focuses on the intersection between private and public modes of recall of past events, in particular of the colonial past. At the present she coordinates the Research Line “Legacies of Empire and Colonialism in Comparative Perspective” and is currently working on the research project “Narratives of loss, war and trauma: Portuguese cultural memory and the end of empire”. Her works includes several articles and chapters, as well as the edited volumes *Heritage and Identity: Engagement and Demission in Contemporary Society* (Routledge, 2009), *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas coloniais e reconfigurações pós-coloniais* (Edições 70, 2013), *Retornar: Traços de Memória do Fim do Império* (Edições 70, 2017). She is also the author of *Lisboa e a Memória do Império* (Deriva, 2017). She was the curator and scientific coordinator of the exhibition “Return – Traces of Memory” produced by the City of Lisbon in 2015.

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Isabel Ferreira Gould (University of Lisbon) The enduring resonance of loss: Aural memory and return migration in postcolonial Portuguese literature

My paper examines the literary treatment of aural memory and return migration in postcolonial Portuguese narrative. It focuses on listening, ear-witnessing, and aural remembrance in the context of decolonization and return to post-imperial Portugal. What sounds did authors choose to represent? How was Portugal’s imperial downfall witnessed aurally? How did returnees settle in the unfamiliar soundscapes of post-Revolutionary Portugal? What roles did listening play in memories of uprooting, exile, loss, and trauma? What echoes of colonialism reverberated during the postcolonial era? My paper addresses these questions in Portuguese texts ranging from diary-style writing, to memoir, to prose fiction, in the context of scholarship on memory studies, theories of aural reception, and sound studies. The paper contributes to the study of post-imperial Portuguese identities and migration and (dis)integration after return.

Bio: Isabel Ferreira Gould holds a PhD in Portuguese and Brazilian Studies from Brown University. She is an independent scholar and a collaborating research team member of the Centre for Comparative Studies at The University of Lisbon. She is on the research team “Narratives of loss, war and trauma: Portuguese cultural memory and the end of empire—an exploratory research project”, also at the University of Lisbon, sponsored by Portugal’s Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT). She taught Portuguese language and literature, African and Brazilian literatures at Brown University, Harvard University, University of Notre Dame, University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth, Rhode Island College, and the University of Rhode Island. Her research interests include life-writing under and after empire; colonialism and postcolonialism; family and intergenerational memory; war, dictatorship, and torture; returnees, migrants, and exiles; listening, aural reception, and sound studies; nature,

hunting, and animal preservation in African and Portuguese literatures. She has essays, interviews, and book chapters published in Portugal, Brazil, and the USA. She co-edited the book *Visitas a João Paulo Borges Coelho. Leituras, Diálogos e Futuros* (Edições Colibri, 2017). She is the co-editor of a 2019 issue of *Eutomia*, titled *Listening Place and Writing by Ear*. Email: isabelferreiragould@gmail.com

Bruno Góis (ICS-ULisboa) *Retornados e refugiados 2.0*: Connected memories produced in Facebook groups of Portuguese returnees from the former colonies

The number and size of Facebook groups composed of Portuguese people who returned from the former colonies is impressive. There are dozens of groups and the largest has more than 30,000 members and is growing at an accelerated pace. The development of the internet in recent decades has deepened the possibilities for users to be both producers and consumers of online content. Social media change according to the offline geo-social space to which they refer (Miller et al 2016). Thus, the narratives of the *retornados* entered the online world first through blogs. However, the massification of Facebook in Portugal and the arrival of older generations to this social media allowed for a more participatory (although fragmentary) collective construction of "connected memories" (Garde-Hansen 2011). This paper focuses on these connected memories, with the aim of understanding the role of these platforms in retrieving the colonial past among *portugueses retornados* (returned Portuguese). This paper also addresses the ways in which these online spaces relate to offline sociabilities established in colonial times (such as neighborhood, school, workplace, city, and region) or, instead, to current offline encounters (such as lunches and parties) created in postcolonial times.

Bio: Bruno Góis (Santarém, Portugal) holds an MSc in International Relations and is an Anthropology PhD candidate and research fellow at ICS-ULisboa, with the project "Portuguese colonial empire and urban

popular culture: comparing visions from the metropolis and the colonies (1945-1974)" (FCT PTDC/CPC-CMP/2661/2014). He co-edited (with Elsa Peralta and Joana Oliveira) the book *Retornar: Traços de Memória do Fim do Império* (Edições 70, 2017) and was a member of the scientific commission of the Exhibition "Return – Traces of Memory" produced by EGEAC in 2015. He is a member of the ICS-ULisboa research groups "Identities, Cultures, Vulnerabilities" and "Empires, Colonialism and Post-Colonial Societies". He is also on the research team of tracodememoria.letras.ulisboa.pt (CEC-ULisboa project "Narratives of loss, war and trauma: Portuguese cultural memory and the end of empire - exploratory research project" - FCT IF/01530/2014). Email: brunodegois@gmail.com

PANEL 3C: REFUGEES IN INDUSTRY, ENTREPRENEURSHIP, AND GARDENING

Suzanne Mawson (University of Stirling) Entrepreneurship and (re)constructions of 'identity': Exploring entrepreneurial activity among Syrian refugees in the UK

Over the past decade, forced human migration has become an increasingly important and debated topic, particularly in the aftermath of the Syrian civil war. The migration and refugee literature observes the significant difficulty that refugees face when attempting to integrate in their 'host' economies, where there is often a mismatch between refugees' skills and abilities and the opportunities and requirements of their host economy (Roth et al., 2012). Highly qualified individuals, unable to find employment in their field of specialty, must therefore decide whether to upgrade their qualifications/retrain (Mulvey, 2015), be underemployed in low value sectors (Shneikat and Ryan, 2018), face unemployment or start their own business. All of these options can lower individuals' self-esteem (Bhugra, 2004) and threaten their professional identities (Wehrle et al., 2018).

Despite the fact that the decision to engage in entrepreneurial activity is inherently personal (Garnham, 2006), studies have largely overlooked why refugees may self-select into entrepreneurial activity. We query some of the pervasive assumptions in the literature - that entrepreneurship is considered inferior to formal employment and that the decision to engage in entrepreneurship derives predominantly from economic motives. We instead seek to explore why individuals choose to engage in entrepreneurial activity in their 'host' country and whether his activity is linked to the (re)construction of personal and professional identity. Little work has explored the issue of refugee identity linked to entrepreneurial activity and we seek to disaggregate between 'entrepreneurial identity' and identity derived from entrepreneurial activities (e.g. wider personal and professional identities). This paper reports on emerging findings from

an ongoing study exploring the economic and social integration of Syrian refugees in the UK.

BIO: Dr Suzanne Mawson is a Lecturer in Entrepreneurship in the Stirling Management School. She specialises in developing and supporting growing businesses, as well as those with growth potential. With a background in international development, she is interested in how entrepreneurial activity manifests itself in daily life and how such activities are undertaken by different groups in society, such as refugees.

Dr Laila Kasem is a Senior Lecturer in Strategic Marketing at the University of Worcester. Laila's research expertise lies in the internationalisation of firms and subsequent capability development. She is also interested in migrant entrepreneurship and the relationship between migrant entrepreneurs and their customers.

Tiffany Beebe (University of Colorado Boulder) Caught Between Local and National Policy: Refugee Industrialists in Tyneside, England

By the start of the Second World War, Britain had taken in more than 70,000 refugees from the Third Reich. A small number of these were "refugee industrialists," or individuals who established new businesses in the "depressed" or "special areas" of Britain that suffered most during the Great Depression. My paper considers the experiences of these refugee industrialists in Tyneside, a region in northeastern England. I question how the British government intended for refugee industry to operate, and how that differed from local interests and policy. How did local English populations receive Continental migrants—who were largely German-speaking, Jewish, and urban? How did the refugees experience the migration process? The outbreak of the Second World War marked a shift in refugee policy as well as perceptions of and treatment of refugee populations already in Britain. In the summer of 1940, the British

government interned nearly 30,000 German refugees, fearing they harbored a Nazi fifth column. I use the Tyneside refugees as a case study to illustrate the impact internment had on refugees' families, businesses, and employees. I also explore shifting attitudes towards enemy aliens/refugees/Germans within Tyneside as most adult male refugees faced internment. The considerable lobby campaign to end internment, with many Britons writing to support interned refugees both individually and as a collective, seems to point toward a break between local attitudes and state policy toward refugees. I argue that Tyneside provides a fascinating case study because not only did refugee experiences change substantially, attitudes toward the incoming German-Jewish population fluctuated dramatically over a short period of time (1936-1945).

Bio: Tiffany Beebe is a doctoral candidate at the University of Colorado Boulder. She focuses on 20th century Britain, the experiences of minority populations, immigration, gender and sexuality, and Jewish studies. Her dissertation explores immigration from the Third Reich to rural areas of Britain 1933-1945, asking questions about multicultural Britain, race, and religion in pre-World War II Britain. Beebe's other projects include immigration in the Mandate of Palestine, Irish experiences in wartime Britain, and the shifting relationship between individual and the state in postwar Britain.

Yasmine Shamma (University of Reading) "To Plant Flowers": Refugee Gardening

With a focus on the experience of Syrian refugees living within the camps of the desert country of Jordan, this paper examines the tendency to root the act of home-making in gardening practices and metaphors. How do refugees make-home, within and without the tents and caravans that have been allocated them? What does the green space surrounding the

tents mean to these refugees? How is the act of gardening a subversive gesture towards ecoglobalism? Drawing on interview material with the refugees themselves, this paper works to foreground the refugee voice in understanding the complexities of the refugee plight as manifest in acts of gardening.

It is well understood that refugees inherently seek the securities of well-intentioned states. But Syrian refugees temporarily or impermanent displaced throughout the camps of Jordan's deserts exhibit, in their gardening practices and pursuits, an environmentalism—moving to create or at least view gardens in pursuit of something both escapist and post-human. In the case of the refugee garden, something transgressive is at play. This paper considers the progressive and regressive implications of this transgression at once, examining the tendency of the stateless subject to entangle herself in the timeless practice of planting trees, flowers, and fruits in her here and now.

Bio: Yasmine Shamma is Research Fellow at Durham University, and will in the spring be Lecturer in Literatures in English at the University of Reading. She is the author of *Spatial Poetics* (OUP, 2018) and the editor of *Joe Brainard's Art* (EUP, 2019). Her current work considers the implications of migration in nesting and home-making as practiced by refugees of recent and ongoing crises in the Middle East.

PANEL 3D: REFUGEE JOURNEYS: COMIC BOOKS, DOCUMENTARY, AND NARRATIVE

Arnoud Arps (University of Amsterdam) An impossibility of existence: Remembering the Indo-Dutch repatriation in *Contractpensions – Djangan Loepah!*

Between 1945 and 1968 around 300.000 Dutch citizens repatriated from their homeland (the Dutch East Indies) to their so-called homeland (the Netherlands) - a land many of them never had set foot on. These people are considered as part of the first-generation of Indo-Dutch people (Indische Nederlanders). They experienced the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies, which was followed by Sukarno's proclamation of independence that set in motion the transition of the Dutch East Indies into Indonesia. Subsequently a period of violence and chaos followed in the years after- the Bersiap-, where anti-Dutch sentiments rose quickly. The traumatic years during the Japanese occupation, followed by the Bersiap and eventually the forced migration from Indonesia left lasting impressions on the Indo-Dutch people. However, the Dutch attitudes and reception in the Netherlands towards this large migrant group was problematic; partly because of the fact that the Netherlands was still recovering from the Second World War. The 2009 documentary *Contractpensions – Djangan Loepah!* is about these Indo-Dutch repatriates. In the documentary it is shown how they had to adapt to the culture in the Netherlands and how the Dutch people from the Netherlands looked at their fellow countrymen from the Dutch East Indies. The director of the documentary is Hetty Naaijkens – Retel Helmrich, a second-generation Indo-Dutch, who was born in Indonesia and moved with her family to the Netherlands at the age of two. This paper addresses issues of belonging, becoming, trauma, coming to terms and exile through the narratives of the migrants in the documentary whilst also taking into consideration the documentary as a form of cultural memory by a second-generation Indo-Dutch person. By analysing the documentary from the perspective of *accented cinema* as coined by

Hamid Naficy, this paper explores how Indo-Dutch people deal with relations to the current country in which they reside and the homeland of earlier generations.

Bio: Arnoud Arps is a PhD candidate at the Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis and a lecturer within the department of Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam. He was a visiting scholar at the Asia Institute, The University of Melbourne and an affiliated fellow at the Royal Netherlands Institute for Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV). His research focuses on the position of media within the field of memory studies, postcolonial studies and travel studies with the Dutch East Indies and Indonesia as his main research topics. His current PhD-project investigates how cultural memories of the violence during the Indonesian War of Independence are produced, constructed and consumed through contemporary Indonesian popular culture.

Golnar Nabizadeh (Dundee University) The Lives of Others: Comics, Trauma, and Cultural Memory

This paper examines representations of migration, war, and traumatic memory in two works of 'comics journalism': *The Photographer: Into War-Torn Afghanistan with Doctors Without Borders* (2006) by Emmanuel Guibert, Didier Lefèvre, and Frédéric Lemerrier; and *Villawood: Notes from an Immigration Detention Centre* (2015) by Safdar Ahmed. The paper frames its theoretical approach via Judith Butler's work on 'grievability' as a mode of recuperating the lives deemed 'other' in the Western mediascape (*Frames of War* 2009). As a documentary comic, *The Photographer* retraces Didier Lefèvre's journey with Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) into Northern Afghanistan in 1986, an expedition that reveals the profound impacts of the Afghan–Soviet War, which lasted from December 1979 to February 1989, on the civilian populations from both sides of the conflict. *The Photographer* is distinctive because its narrative does not reside wholly within drawn or photographic time, but rather

moves between the two. The conjoining of the photographic and illustrated strips thus asks readers to contemplate the relationship between cultural memory and witnessing in documentary comics, and by doing so, supports critical awareness about the tensions that inhere alternate modes of narrative representation and recall.

The second part of the discussion considers the creation of cultural memory in Safdar Ahmed's online comic *Villawood* and argues that the inclusion of artwork by asylum seekers and refugees within Ahmed's project generates a multi-directional form of cultural memory through the creation of a visual archive otherwise occluded from Australian news media. An artist and academic, Ahmed helped found the 'Refugee Art Project' in 2010 which provides art workshops for asylum seekers and refugees in the Villawood detention centre. *Villawood* depicts some of Ahmed's experiences working with detainees in the eponymous detention centre. The paper concludes by arguing that comics are a highly productive form through which counter-historical forms of cultural memory can be mobilised, and that this is particularly valuable for representing the perspectives of individuals and communities forced to flee their homes.

BIO: Dr Golnar Nabizadeh is Lecturer in Comics Studies at the University of Dundee where she teaches on the Comics & Graphic Novels MLitt, as well as undergraduate modules on film and literature. Her research interests are graphic justice, critical theory, trauma and memory studies. She has published on the work of Alison Bechdel, Marjane Satrapi, Shaun Tan, and the Australian online comic "At Work in Our Detention Centres: A Guard's Story", among others. Her monograph, entitled *Representation and Memory in Graphic Novels* (2019) is available from Routledge.

Caroline Wiedmer (Franklin University Switzerland) Eldorado: The Logistics of Border Regimes from the Mediterranean to Switzerland

Since 2012 an ever-shifting and often contradictory system of agreements, laws and regulations regarding refugees has rendered the outer edges of the European continent the world's most treacherous, and the various pipelines into the heart of Europe some of the most

unpredictable. The breaching of the border and the fractured logistics inherent in the movement of refugees across the continent has put pressure not only on notions of citizenship but also on the degree of violence made visible as humans move alongside circuits of capital and goods, each challenging territorial borders in different and often contradictory ways. As Deb Cowan argues in *The Deadly Life of Logistics*, "it is the circulatory system itself that becomes the object of vulnerability and protection, not human life in any immediate way" (Cowan, 2014, 14).

In my talk I want to explore the biopolitics of recent forced migration in Europe both in the maintenance of the volatile exterior border and in the circulation of refugees into the hinterlands of Europe, through the lens of a recent film by Swiss filmmaker Marcus Imhoof, entitled *Eldorado* (2018). In tracing the paths of refugees from a ship of the now-defunct organisation *Mare Nostrum* through Italy and finally into Switzerland, the film helps us see the invisible matrices regulating the maritime waters and trace the precarious routes braved by those fleeing. *Eldorado*, I argue, sets up the contradiction in circulatory systems that privilege stuff not only over people, but indeed over sovereign territory; a shift which has implications for both the sovereign nation and the conceptualisation of citizenship, and ultimately for how we understand Giorgio Agamben's notion of bare life (Agamben, 1995, 15).

Bio: Caroline Wiedmer is the author and editor of a number of books, including *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (Cornell University Press, 1999), *Inventing the Past: Memory Work in Culture and History* (Schwabe Verlag Basel, 2005, together with Otto Heim), *Motherhood and Space: Configurations of the Maternal in Politics, Art and the Everyday* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, with Sarah Hardy) and *The Intersections of Law and Culture* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2012, with Priska Gisler and Sara Steinert Borella). She has received research fellowships from the University of London, the Center for Gender Studies of the University of Basel,

Princeton University, Stanford University, the Collegium Helveticum at the ETH in Zürich and the Center for Advanced German and European Studies of the Freie Universität of Berlin. In the Department of Literature and Culture she teaches classes on memory, poverty, law and culture, catastrophe, and urban studies. Her classes in German Studies focus on Swiss-German Film and Migration. Her research interests include memory studies, gender, film, law and culture, spatiality, and the workings of narrative in multiple domains of cultural and intellectual life. She is currently at work on a study of street newspapers and the construction of public space.

Johanna Leinonen (Migration Institute of Finland, Turku) Refugee Journeys: Narratives of Forced Mobilities

My project examines memories of refugee journeys in the narratives of Karelian evacuees³ from the Soviet-occupied areas to Finland during World War II and refugees who arrived in Finland in the 1990s or after 2015. While these periods of significant forced migration have been extensively examined, a crucial aspect of the refugee experience – the journey – has been largely ignored by scholars (see BenEzer & Zetter 2014). This is even though the studies that exist on the topic suggest that displaced persons consider the journey as a formative experience.

In this paper, I discuss the theoretical underpinnings of my research and present some preliminary findings. I conceptualize the refugee journey as a biographical rupture for those who experience it, one which is constituted by its spatiality and temporality as well as by its emotional, embodied, social, and material dimensions. I view refugees as mnemonic agents, for whom remembering the journey is part of the process in which they make sense of their past from the perspective of today, and in negotiation with the future. I analyze the journey narratives with an

³ In 1940, Finland ceded Finnish Karelia, the area located in Southeast Finland, to the Soviet Union, and over 400,000 Karelians were evacuated from the area.

intersectional lens on how gender, age, ethnicity, class, religion, sexuality, and migration status intersect to produce differing experiences.

The sources include archival materials and interviews. The case studies involve different kinds of historical contexts and the journeys traveled are heterogeneous. I hypothesize that despite these differences, I will be able to identify commonalities in the journey experiences.

Bio: Johanna Leinonen holds a Ph.D. Degree in History from the University of Minnesota (Minneapolis). Leinonen is Academy Research Fellow at the Migration Institute of Finland (Turku). Her current research project (2018–2023) examines refugee journeys memories. Her areas of specialization include family reunification, transnationalism, migration history, international marriages, critical race and whiteness studies, gender and migration, and multi-methodological research. Her peer-reviewed publications include articles in the *International Migration Review*, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Scandinavian Studies*, and *Social Science History*.

About a half of them returned to Karelia in 1941 but were evacuated again in 1944, this time permanently.

Panel 4A: THE RECEPTION OF REFUGEES DURING AND AFTER WW1

Jacqueline Jenkinson (University of Stirling) War Trauma among Belgian Refugee Women in Scotland in the First World War

This paper considers the evidence for war trauma suffered by Belgian female refugee civilians who fled to exile in Britain after the German invasion of their country at the beginning of the First World War. The focus of the paper is on refugees living in Scotland. Evidence of war trauma is explored by analysing the descriptions of symptoms and applicant behaviour for a group of individual case studies of women (and several children and men) which have been constructed from the detailed personal information provided in Poor Law admission registers and patient case notes from psychiatric and general hospital stays. The individual case histories discussed are considered in relation to present day internationally recognised definitions of war trauma (post traumatic stress disorder). The paper sheds light on understandings of war trauma, historical debates about human security in the First World War and gender issues in war.

Bio - Senior lecturer in British History, University of Stirling. I have published widely on migrant and minority groups in the First World War, most recently on Belgian refugees, but also on the wartime experiences of Lithuanians and black and Arab British colonial people.

Kieran Taylor (University of Stirling) 'Telling the character of foreigners' and choosing 'suitable guests': motivations of Belgian refugee hosts in Scotland during the First World War

Over the course of the First World War around 20,000 Belgian refugees came to Scotland. Glasgow Corporation, the city's municipal government, assumed national responsibility for the refugees' care across Scotland for the duration of the War. In organising this humanitarian relief the

Corporation drew upon the support of a wide range of individuals to hosts refugees.

This paper examines the motivations of those who hosted Belgian refugees in Scotland. It examines four case studies of individuals who offered hospitality. These case studies will evidence the diverse range of reasons why hosts opened their doors to Belgian exiles.

In contextualising the lives of refugee hosts during the First World War the paper wishes to provide an understanding of the attitudes of native Scots to their Belgian guests. Drawing on archived materials such as: newspaper reports, personal correspondence and local archives the paper establishes that action on behalf of refugees appealed to a broad coalition of interests. The paper argues that hosts motivations were rooted in broad narratives of humanitarianism, patriotism and religious duty.

BIO: Kieran Taylor is a second year PhD student at the University of Stirling. His research examines the role of Glasgow Corporation in delivering the relief of Belgian refugees in Scotland. His research is funded by the University of Stirling and Glasgow Life.

Emil Kerenji (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) A Nation of Refugees, Colonists, and Settlers: Narrating Forced Migration in Interwar Yugoslavia

This paper examines the politics of narrating forced- and other mass migration in interwar Yugoslavia. After almost a decade of violence that culminated with World War I, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later renamed Yugoslavia) was founded in December 1918. For the next two decades, public debates in Serbo-Croatian were dominated by the invocations, retellings, and memories of mass expulsions and ethnic

cleansing during the Balkan wars; of the occupation of Serbia by Austria-Hungary in World War I, and the subsequent mass migration of the Serbian army and much of the civilian population to the allied camps in Corfu; and of the historically more distant mass migrations of Orthodox Christians from the Ottoman Empire to the Habsburg lands until the nineteenth century.

This pervasive use of the narratives of forced- and mass migration in interwar Yugoslavia signaled the urgency of concerns following the redrawing of political borders. The rhetoric was mostly deployed in (bio-)political discussions about ways to reorganize territory and populations in the new Kingdom, but other discourses, from scientific and artistic production to educational curricula, engaged with the topic of migration (forced or otherwise) in foundational ways. Jovan Cvijić's theories of "metanasthasic movements" (by which he meant historical waves of refugee migrants), and their influences on the physical-geographical as well as cultural-psychological landscape of the Balkan peninsula, coalesced into arguments for the need for Yugoslav political, economic and cultural unity. Miloš Crnjanski's literary work, especially the novel *Seobe* ("Migrations," 1929), mused about forced dislocations of the Serbian population in the seventeenth century, and its consequences for the national character. Middle-school textbooks invoked mass expulsions and migrations—medieval, early modern, and modern—as foundational moments in the history of the nation. And the need for "agrarian reform"—a radical redistribution of land through expropriation of landlords and settlement of peasant land-tillers in areas depopulated by war and ethnic cleansing—was universally acknowledged across the political spectrum, and political and legal concepts such as "colonist" and "settler" entered the political debate.

This paper focuses on several sets of diverse primary sources in order to trace the trajectories of these discourses in the interwar period, and examine the politics of their deployment in arguments for territorial and human reorganization of Yugoslavia. While these debates were embedded in the wider European context addressing these issues, they

were also based on a specific Balkan legacy of forced migrations. The paper is part of a larger, monograph-length project on ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia in the twentieth century. The book traces the intertwined trajectories of ideas, practices and policies related to geopolitics, territory, space, demographics and population management in the "Yugoslav lands," from the eve of the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the century through the end of World War II, with a substantive epilogue extending the story into the 1990s and beyond.

BIO: I am a historian of modern Jewish and East European history. I received a Ph.D. in history from the University of Michigan in 2008, after which I briefly worked as an assistant professor of history at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, SC. Since 2009, I have been working as a historian at the Mandel Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, an academic arm of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington. I have authored and co-authored several volumes of *Jewish Responses to Persecution* (published by Rowman & Littlefield), a Museum series of source volumes featuring Jewish primary sources from the Holocaust. I have also published articles, reviews and translations in journals such as *Contemporary European History*, *Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, *Slavic Review*, *American Historical Review*, *Nationalities Papers*, *In geveb*, and others. With Leah Wolfson, I have created [Experiencing History](#), an educational website offering translated, contextualized and historically introduced primary sources from the Holocaust for college teaching in North America. I am currently working on designing a curated collection of sources on the topic of forced migration for *Experiencing History*, and a book project on the history of ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia in the twentieth-century.

Panel 4B: LANGUAGE, ARENDT, AND CONSTRUCTING THE 'REFUGEE'

Claire Launchbury "How am I supposed to talk to you, or with you, or about you?" Transcultural memory border concepts and the refugee

In this paper I want to consider the question Elias Khoury's protagonist asks the Palestinian refugee in *Gate of the Sun* (2006 [1998]: 7): 'How am I supposed to talk to you, or with you, or about you?' By way of preliminary answer, I look at the responses proposed by Hannah Arendt in 'We Refugees' (1943) and Giorgio Agamben's reading of her text (2004). The refugee, for Agamben is a 'border concept' (1995: 117) marking the prototype of a new political community to come once the nation-state and its sovereignty is finally dissolute. In this way, Agamben (1995: 114) argues that Arendt was describing 'a new paradigm of historical consciousness'. The fragility of modern political life lies in the fact that the border between being stateless and state-protected is dangerously thin. Lyndsey Stonebridge has identified how by semantic sleight of hand, Arendt insists on writing 'as refugees' retaining agency that renders her distinct from the bare life of Agamben's homo sacer. The refugee as a shared platform for understanding the traumatic experience and afterlives of both the Shoah and the Nakba is central to the works of Lebanese writer, Elias Khoury. For Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg this is brokered upon a sense of disruptive empathy which they argue might offer a means of articulating an inclusive and ethical bi-nationalism in Israel-Palestine. I suggest that far from making a simplistic analogy of suffering, or administration of roles, the disruptive empathic figure of the refugee functions as a transcultural memory border concept. In literary representation, the utterances of refugees involve sensory confusion, floating between dreaming and waking and seamlessly transferring from

past to present, linking etymologically to the psychological state of fugue. Khoury's texts are composed of tales, legends, cities and exile in which the disruptive central element is configured in situations where some form of perception is hindered (by coma, delusion, hallucination or dissociation) and communication strained. The presence of refugees and the need for their containment highlights something much greater than violence taking place somewhere else, as Michael Rothberg states, 'the figure of the abstract, naked human is not simply an accidental effect of contingent crisis, but is revelatory of aporias in the structure of modern political organisation' (2009: 46). How does the refusal of the literary refugee to be linguistically contained highlight the aporias Rothberg identifies ?

BIO: Dr Claire Launchbury is visiting researcher in French at the University of Leeds and has been studying Refugee Care at the University of Essex and the Tavistock Centre (NHS). She was previously Lecturer in French and Cultural Studies at the University of New South Wales, Australia. She held a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at the University of Leeds and completed her doctorate at Royal Holloway, University of London. Her research concerns expressions of memory in post-civil war Lebanon across various cultural media. She is currently working on two monographic projects, the first concerned with francophone articulations of memory in Lebanon, *Beirut and the Urban Memory Machine* forthcoming with Amsterdam University Press and a second on experimental documentary practices in contemporary visual cultures in the Middle East. Her monograph, *Music, Poetry, Propaganda: Constructing French Cultural Memory at the BBC during the Second World War* was published by Peter Lang in their Modern French Identities series in 2012.

Edmund Chapman 'Language as a homeland in Hannah Arendt's refugee writings'

Abstract: Hannah Arendt's numerous writings on refugees, particularly the Jewish refugees of Europe in the early 1940s, have seen her recognised as a key thinker of the figure of 'the refugee'. As Giorgio Agamben argues in 'Beyond Human Rights', Arendt positions 'the refugee', as a stateless person, as a new kind of subject who breaks down the assumed links between nation-state, 'nationality' and citizenship. The refugee allows for new understandings of our political affiliations without, or beyond, the boundaries of the nation-state. Both in her descriptions of her own experience as a refugee and her wider theorisations of a new kind of 'nationless' citizen, Arendt is resolutely not nostalgic for the 'native' land. However, in an interview published under the title 'What Remains? The Mother Tongue Remains', Arendt affirms that she has never fully left the German language behind. Despite writing many of her major works in English, Arendt seemingly argues for a 'natural', unbreakable link between the subject and their 'mother tongue' that apparently contradicts her separation of the subject and their 'native' land. Reading between Arendt's philosophical arguments and her reflections on her own experience, this paper argues that Arendt describes a way that, for refugees, the 'mother tongue' itself serves as an imagined 'homeland'. Examining the contradictions in Arendt's position – for example, simultaneously insisting that "there is no substitute for the mother tongue" and describing acquaintances of hers who have apparently forgotten their first language – this paper asks to what extent Arendt's description of German-Jewish refugees' relationship to language might be applicable to other contexts, and what it can teach us about the importance of links between migration, 'homeland' and language.

Bio: Edmund Chapman has taught English Literature and French at the University of Manchester. He is currently in discussions around

publication of his first monograph, *Translation, Afterlife and the Messianic*, and is researching a project on links between antisemitism, language and the figure of 'the refugee' in mid-twentieth century Jewish writers including Emmanuel Levinas, Hannah Arendt and Clarice Lispector.

Linda Maeding (Universidad Complutense de Madrid / Universität Bremen) *We refugees*. Conceptual Revisions of "Community" in German-Jewish Exile

The massive expulsion of Jews, antifascist opponents and other collectives from Nazi Germany not only led to the formation of a rich political exile literature, but also to the revision of a very basic concept: the notion of community, which went through a profound crisis in exile.

My paper traces the reconceptualization of "community" in German-Jewish exile by analyzing the texts of three authors: Alfred Döblin, Hannah Arendt, and Vilém Flusser. What is the "common issue" to a community if it is not nationality, not religion nor ethnicity? What is community made of in a world where hundred thousands of displaced persons wander around Europe? By rethinking the concept of community, the mentioned authors –all of them stateless in some moment of their lives – put forward an extraordinarily harsh critique of the most powerful form of community in modern Europe: the nation-state. Instead of reflections on how to *reform* national community, they think about how to *substitute* it. What takes the place of this hegemonic form of communal organization? Although in different ways, all three writers make use of utopian ideas to fill in this void: Their reflections can be read as contributions to "imagined communities" (Benedict Anderson), fueled by their own biographic experience as well as by intellectual traditions.

To illuminate this defiant constellation of thoughts, I will have a closer look at the following texts: Alfred Döblin's collection of "Jewish" essays

Flucht und Sammlung des Judentums (published during his French exile in 1935), Hannah Arendt's short and dense essay *We refugees* (published in English in 1943), and Vilém Flusser's late collection of writings *Von der Freiheit des Migranten* (1994), which marks the transition from exile to migration. They propose different models of living-together: the extraterritorial colony, the supranational European community, or also the radical dissolution of any *heimat*-based community.

Bio: Linda Maeding is an Assistant Professor in German Philology at Complutense University, Madrid and holds a PhD in Comparative Literature. She has also taught at the University of Barcelona and the University of La Habana and currently conducts a DFG-funded research project on Utopia and Imagined communities in German Texts about Latin America at the University of Bremen.

Her research interests include Exile and Holocaust Literatures, German-Hispanic Literary Relations, and Autobiography Studies.

Panel 4C: HUMANISING STRATEGIES IN VISUAL MEDIA: LIMITS AND POSSIBILITIES

Hella Wiedmer-Newman (Hauser & Wirth gallery, Zurich) Unsettled: Narrativity and Documentation in George Drivas's Laboratory of Dilemmas

Since the global refugee crisis became a subject of international discussion in 2015, there have been a number of artistic projects and exhibitions devoted to the plight of refugees, be they focused on the harrowing journeys they make, the turmoil that led to their flight or their reception in their new host countries. In most of these projects — some ostensibly activist, like Olafur Eliasson's *Green Light Project*, others, like Ai Wei Wei's Christo-esque life vests, relying on the unavoidable presence of site specificity and yet others mixing the grammars of documentary and fiction in films such as Gianfranco Rosi's *Fuocoammare* or ... — there has been a strong emphasis placed on exploring individual narratives as a healing empathy-eliciting practice. As long as the members of the audience, so the underlying assumption — most often privileged and educated — can be made to identify with the characters on screen, the sooner they can be rid of their prejudice and galvanized to action.

An alternative genre of representations rely on documentary tropes in works that are not, as such, documentations. George Drivas's *Laboratory of Dilemmas*, which constituted the Greek pavilion at the 2017 Venice Biennale, plays with this two-pronged approach of narrativity and documentation in his complex weave of physical installation, allegory, faux documentary and underlying comments about reactionary populist political rhetoric. In his exhibition, Drivas challenges the notion that stories can reform their viewers, and that the documentary form is always objective by showing us the way powerful narratives are used again and again to vilify refugees since the time of Aeschylus. In reading Drivas's work through its use of allegory and narrativity, and analysing its commentary on the documentary turn, I argue that Drivas has succeeded in making a subtle poetic installation about the refugee crisis that does

not defer to naked didacticism or sentimentality, and which is not fetishizing or voyeuristic in its aesthetics precisely because it thematises the mechanisms of documentation and heuristics.

BIO: I completed my undergraduate studies at the University of Toronto in Art History with a minor in Human Geography in December of 2018 and am now interning at Hauser & Wirth in Zurich. In the summer of 2018 I completed a three-month internship at the Peggy Guggenheim Collection in Venice. This is where I became interested in the representation of the refugee crisis, and discovered the Biennale as a locus of discussions around social justice, human rights and power. Last summer I was one of the recipients of my university's Jackman Humanities Scholars in Residence grant and served as research assistant to Professor Simon Stern, Professor of Law and Literature. In addition to interning I am currently working on two research projects, one [covered by this paper], the other concerning the use of visual paratextual tools in the curation of 'problematic' art.

Nicola Cloete and Claudia Bentel (University of the Witwatersrand) Portraits of Displacement- – Memory and Narratives of South African Indian Communities through the photographic exhibition Proclamation 73

Of the 1.3 million Indians that were shipped out of India as indentured labourers, approximately 153 thousand Indian men and women ended up in the British colony of Natal, with a substantial population remaining by the end of the 19th century (Dhupelia-Mestrie 2007). With this history of indentured labour of Indians in South Africa as the backdrop, this paper investigates the cultural memory transmissions of forced migration through visual narratives and archival materials. The exhibition, *Proclamation 73*, is conceived as a project that constitutes a visual archive related to neighborhoods in Durban that were racially segregated for people classified as Coloured and Indian under the Group Areas Act (an apartheid era law passed in 1950). The project offers an open-access

visual memory-scape of those communities in order to challenge notions of race and place in Durban itself.

As an example of the potential visual narratives can offer, we suggest that the photographic exhibition, examines the legacies of cultural memory associated with this past and offers a contemporary mapping of the relationships and networks that have existed and extended through the end of colonialism, the rise of apartheid and into democratic South Africa.

We argue that the exhibition offers an intimate engagement with the family photograph, which allows for the making and unmaking of histories of race, place, memory, value and belonging. We examine the curatorial methodologies; the family photographs as object of memory, and the value of personal archival production for extending and revisiting discussions of forced migration and the consequences of these histories of displacement. Theoretically this paper draws on the intersection of notions of forced migration, post-memory & cultural memory to produce a visual analysis informed by approaches to portraiture and photography.

BIO: Dr. Nicola Cloete is a senior lecturer and Head of department of History of Art & Heritage at the University of the Witwatersrand. Her recent research examines the memory politics in representations of slavery in post-Apartheid South Africa. She is the recipient of a Harvard South Africa Fellowship for 2011 where she conducted research on feminist methodologies and memory politics. Cloete's research areas include Slavery in South Africa, Gender Studies, Memory Studies, Cultural Studies, Critical Race Theory, Visual Studies, Post-Colonialism. Cloete currently teaches undergraduate courses in Film, Visual and Performing Arts studies and postgraduate courses in postcolonial theory, feminism and visual culture.

Claudia Bentel is a post graduate student completing her Honours in History of Art at the University of the Witwatersrand. Memory, the diaspora and the archive are ongoing research interests in her work, with a focus on notions of homeness and the imaging of this in portraiture. Her

experience in curating, research and writing in the arts has led her to pursue her interests through the post-graduate degree courses. She has worked at David Krut Publishing and The Famous Idea media house as a researcher and writer. She is currently completing her Honours dissertation in pursuit of a Masters Degree to follow.

Mirna Solic (University of Glasgow) Re-humanisation of suffering: parallel histories in Igor Čoko's photoessay *Trapped: Hell is Around the Corner* (2017)

The media images of the refugee/migrant crisis along the Balkan route has led to political destabilisation across the continent. In Britain, UKIP used one such image in order to accumulate support for leaving Europe by inciting fear and anxiety. In the image, Nigel Farage poses in front of a poster featuring a large group of migrants moving through a non-descript place, captioned "Breaking Point: the EU has failed us." Devoid of any reference to exact space and time, such visual representation of the crisis corresponds to what Susan Sontag described as the equalising power of the camera, turning the photographed into objects of commodification (1977:10). In the world predominantly accessed through such images, is it possible to re-humanise the represented? I will address this issue with the example of the work of Igor Čoko, a Belgrade-based photographer, who recorded the experience of Middle Eastern migrants trapped in abandoned warehouses of the Serbian capital on their way to Western Europe. In his photoessay *Trapped: Hell is Around the Corner* (2017), Čoko goes beyond stereotypical media representations of forced migration. First, he focuses on individuals' bodily language, suggesting communication as the main element of re-humanisation. Secondly, because of its visual narration stretching beyond a single photographic shot, the genre of photoessay allows viewers to reflect not only upon photographed people, but also on locations. This is additionally reinforced by the lack of captions which, as Roland Barthes argues,

restrict interpretation of the visual sign and diverts attention from what he calls “pure image” (1977:271). On the background of the story of forced migration, the representation of location unveils rapid changes to urban spaces and social structures of a post-socialist city transitioning to capitalism, yet still carrying a visible burden of its own war-related trauma of the 1990s. In this way, the forced migration of 2017 is localised within a concrete space and time in opposition to Farage’s spaceless and timeless poster. As I argue, forced migration during the latter half of this decade is now seen against the background of another war, the Yugoslav one, and its ongoing social and cultural legacy.

BIO: Dr Mirna Šolić is a lecturer at the University of Glasgow, where she teaches Comparative Literature. Her research interests include travel writing studies, migration studies, text/image studies, and representations of city-space in literature and on film. Her recent publications include her upcoming monograph *In Search of a Shared Expression: Karel Čapek’s Travels and Imaginative Geography of Europe* (in press, 2019). She is currently preparing an article on migrations and cinematic construction of imaginative geography of Croatia in the films of the 2000s. In 2018 she organised a two-day event “Memories and Experiences of Migration: The Balkans and Beyond” (7-8 November 2018), which focused on the impact of memory and personal experience on our understanding of political and social upheavals, and linked experiences of migration and displacement resulting from two wars and two different geographical and historical periods, the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s and the on-going wars in Syria and the Middle East in general. Her upcoming projects on migrations include University of Glasgow ArtsLab-sponsored event “Meeting Points: Migration and Displacement Across Arts and Humanities” (8 May 2019). Together with Doru Pop, she is also an editor of a special issue on “Poetics of the Borders: Meeting Points and Representational Border-Crossings in Contemporary

Panel 4D: CONTESTING AND CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES IN FRANCE/ALGERIA

Emmanuelle Comtat (Grenoble Alps University) Inter-generational transmission and representations of the colonial experience inside the French settler community of Algeria

In the two decades which followed the Second World War, the system of values of the French ruling elite had changed completely on colonization. Insufficiently prepared for this change in perspective, many former settlers (the so-called Pieds-noirs) felt betrayed by a Republican regime which had previously encouraged them to colonize Algeria. They kept on supporting with conviction and being proud of colonial experience. As a result, they were stigmatized by French public opinion until today.

This contribution is focused on inter-generational transmission and representations on colonization. Now integrated into French metropolitan society, we propose to analyze how the Pieds-noirs' descendants view the colonial legacy and the Algerian war of decolonization. Which kind of narratives was produced in this group of former settlers and descendants? What do they want to know about the experiences of their parents and grandparents in Algeria? Do they have specific claims in link with the colonial past? Does the colonial legacy have any impact on their political behaviors and opinions now in postcolonial France (the support for the extreme right wing party of Marine Le Pen)?

We also want to know how do descendants' attitudes towards colonization differ from those of the Pieds-noirs? Is their system of values different from their parents? How do their attitudes also differ from those of the majority of French population which condemn colonization? Which were the roles of republican state school and of mass media in the transmission or in the condemnation of values on colonization? Are they pulled and dragged by each side? Based on series of semi structured interviews with former settlers and descendants, and on quantitative

group surveys, this proposal seeks to determine the extent to which the attitudes of Pieds-noirs and their descendants reveal specificity and continuity linked to the colonial experience of the European settler community.

BIO: - has a PhD in Political Sciences (Sciences Po Grenoble – France, 2006).

- is a Lecturer in Grenoble Alps University (France) since 2014. (Before: Lecturer in Sciences Po Grenoble, 2007-2013). Has been an Associated researcher in LARHRA-CNRS (Rhône-Alpes Laboratory of Historical Research - CNRS France) since 2015.

Sahra Rausch (University of Giessen) “That which the Jews asked for, the Harki, like other victims of history, are calling for today”. Holocaust Memory and Emotional Discourse in the Harki's Claims for Recognition and Compensation

In the 1990s, comparisons to the Holocaust turned into a practice initiated by postcolonial memory carriers to claim recognition and reparation for their 'stories of suffering'. The sons and daughters of the Harki – these former auxiliary troops in support of the French army during the Algerian war that had to flee the country with the end of the war – were therefore not alone when they decided in 2001 to take legal steps against France to qualify colonial crime a crime against humanity. This article argues that the globalized Holocaust memory not only created a commemorative template but also established a distinctive order of feeling which marginalized memory groups must reference to find a voice in official memory politics. First, the paper examines the Harki lawsuit of 2001 and its related media reporting to subsequently turn to the publication of the report “To the Hakis, an acknowledging France” which states, for instance, the integration of seven Harki into the “Legion of Honor” in 2018. Whereas the analysis of the 2001-lawsuit suggests the production of emotional asymmetries which hinder the recognition of

colonial crime with regards to the Holocaust, the analysis of 2018 shows that the 'belonging' to the French 'nation' could nonetheless be established – even though declaring colonial crime a crime against humanity failed. Considering the discursiveness of the displayed feeling orders in its diachronic evolution also pinpoints the potential to transform colonial as well as Holocaust memory.

BIO: Sahra Rausch is a doctoral candidate at the International Graduate Centre for the Study of Culture (GCSC) at Justus-Liebig-University in Giessen and at the History Department of Sorbonne-Panthéon in Paris. Sahra graduated in Political Science at the Otto-Suhr-Institute at Freie Universität Berlin. Before that, she studied Social Sciences and History in Erfurt, Berlin and Lyon. In her PhD project she is focusing on emotions in postcolonial memory politics by integrating a comparative perspective on Germany and France. Her main academic interests are the fields of postcolonial theory, emotion research and memory studies.

Fiona Barclay (University of Stirling) Fraternity in French Algeria: (post-)colonial conceptions of republican citizenry.

The exodus of European settlers, or *pied-noirs*, from French Algeria following independence in 1962 has served as a founding myth for the repatriate community. Their experience of displacement as a direct consequence of French policy, has been remembered as an instance of betrayal, and as evidence that, despite their history, they were the victims of decolonization. The contested memories and claims of suffering relating to the Algerian War have seen the emergence of what Benjamin Stora has referred to as a 'victim one-upmanship' between competing groups with sharply opposed experiences of colonialism and its aftermath. The result has been a calcified and reductive memorial landscape which over the course of five decades has become increasingly polarized.

This paper traces the construction of some of the *pied-noir* discourses of victimhood, in order to understand their origins and causes, and so to potentially tease out more productive modes of understanding. It does this by examining the narratives developed by the *pieds-noirs*, whose post-war campaigning has produced a distinctive discourse of betrayal and nostalgia. By examining key literary texts from the 1950s and 1960s by Camus, Péguy, and Martinez, the paper will argue that the roots of the *pied-noir* predicament lie in the model by which they conceived of their relation to the metropole, a model which was directly linked to republican notions of citizenry but which was ultimately exposed by de Gaulle's policies as being illusory. It argues that the consequences of this realization have shaped the ways in which the *pieds-noirs* have performed their memory and identity as a group, which is both French and colonial, since decolonization.

Bio: Dr Fiona Barclay is Senior Lecturer in French at the University of Stirling. Her work examines the postcolonial relationship between Algeria and France, with a particular focus on the European *pied-noir* settler community. She is the author of *Writing Postcolonial France: Haunting, Literature and the Maghreb* (Lexington, 2011), and editor of *France's Colonial Legacies: Memory, Identity and Narrative* (UWP, 2013). She is currently working on a monograph on representations of the *pieds-noirs* as part of a two-year AHRC Fellowship.

Panel 5A: THE (FORMER) SOVIET UNION AND DIASPORIC IDENTITIES

Elise Westin (University of Adelaide) Ukrainians as Survivors and Refugees: Attending to Trauma in Lesa Melnyczuk's *Silent Memories*, *Traumatic Lives* and *Holodomor: Silenced Voices of the Starved Children*

The twenty-first century has seen a remarkable turn towards the study of trauma in migrant literature, especially when this literature recalls experiences of forced migration and genocide. This turn has been attended to by a large number of scholars, some of whom are second generation survivors of genocide. Lesa Melnyczuk, a second generation survivor of the Ukrainian Holodomor, has dedicated her academic career to understanding the experiences of Holodomor victims who were exiled from their homeland, eventually settling in Western Australia. Melnyczuk's *Silent Memories*, *Traumatic Lives* attends to the need for research on the long term effects of the Holodomor on its victims by viewing the Ukrainian experience through two frames: Ukrainians as survivors and Ukrainians as refugees. By framing Ukrainians as survivors, Melnyczuk is able to explore the trauma associated with being a survivor, including feelings of guilt, shame and fear. Many Ukrainians who experienced the Holodomor, for various reasons, have been living under a "code of silence" that has further exacerbated this trauma. On a related note, by framing them as refugees, she ventures into the politics of being a survivor of a contested genocide. Citing the United Nations' Geneva Convention, Melnyczuk argues that the Holodomor was indeed genocide, and that while those who fled were not officially recognised as refugees, they should be considered as such. Her more recent text, *Holodomor: Silenced Voices of the Starved Children*, takes a step back and allows Melnyczuk's interviewees to speak for themselves. The text is heavily weighted towards women's testimonies, addressing a need for greater attention to the voices of women in Holodomor literature. Taken together, the texts demonstrate the extent to which the trauma turn is

able to contribute to studies of collective persecution like the Holodomor.

Bio: Elise Westin (née Lopez) is currently a PhD Candidate at The University of Adelaide, writing a dissertation on the development of Holodomor discourse in the West. The dissertation examines how Holodomor discourse has been shaped by the political interests of certain émigrés and how this has impacted on the construction of identities of new generations of Ukrainians in the West. Her approach is cross-disciplinary, incorporating linguistic, sociological, literary and anthropological theories. Her most recent publication was *Text-Based Research and Teaching: A Social Semiotic Perspective on Language in Use*, co-edited with Dr Peter Mikan.

Laurie Manchester (Arizona State University) Is It Important How One Returns Home? Whether Released Émigré Manchurian Russians Forcibly Taken to the Gulag in 1945 and Manchurian Russians who Voluntarily Repatriated after Stalin's Death Formed a Single Community.

In 1945 the Red Army liberated Manchuria from Japanese occupation. Manchuria at that time was home to the largest population of Russian émigrés in the world. In the coming months Soviet officials seized roughly 10,000 emigres. A few were executed. The majority were sent to Gulags in the U.S.S.R. Most were men. Their ranks included prominent intellectuals, individuals who had worked, either voluntarily or involuntarily for the Japanese, and those who had belonged to émigré political organizations. After Stalin's death in 1953 those who survived the Gulag were able to contact their families in China. Until then their families had known nothing about their fate. By 1956 almost all forced repatriates from China had been released. In 1954 Manchurian Russians were given permission for the first time since 1935 to repatriate to the Soviet Union. Approximately 100,000 did. A minority repatriated to join husbands who had survived the Gulag; some wives of repressed emigres emigrated to capitalist countries. The majority of those who

repatriated did so either because they, or younger members of their family, were gripped by patriotism, by a desire to live and work in their war torn historic homeland.

Despite the fact that they repatriated for drastically different reasons, most repatriates from China formed informal communities during the Soviet period. After 1991 these communities formed official organizations, which in turn published newsletters and journals. Repatriates from China argued that they were the “real” Russians, distinct from “Soviet” Russians because they had been raised in an anti-communist diaspora which preserved pre-revolutionary traditions. To determine how unified repatriate Russians are, my paper will compare and contrast the interactions between involuntary and voluntary repatriates as well as their attitudes toward concepts of home, nostalgia for émigré China, Russian Orthodoxy, patriotism, communism, and Russians from China who chose to emigrate to capitalist countries. These attitudes are expressed in thousands of unpublished letters written in both the Soviet and post-Soviet periods and hundreds of memoirs published since 1991.

Bio: Laurie Manchester is associate professor of History at Arizona State University. She earned her PhD from Columbia University and has been the recipient of research fellowships from institutions such as Fulbright, the Woodrow Wilson Center, the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research and Harvard University. Her publications include the prize winning book *Holy Fathers, Secular Sons: Clergy, Intelligentsia, and the Modern Self in Revolutionary Russia* which examined the self-fashioning in personal texts of a particular group of educated Russians. Her current research interests focus on ethnic return migration, national identity, and diaspora culture. She is presently writing a book titled *From China to the U.S.S.R.: The Return of the “True” Russians* which is based on work in 20 institutional archives in the U.S. and Russia, a myriad of family archives, and over one hundred semi-structured oral interviews with Russians born and raised in China.

James Casteel (Carleton University) Narratives of Victimization among Post-Soviet Migrants in Germany

Since the late 1980s over 2.3 million Russian German Aussiedler (re-settlers) and over 215,000 Russian Jewish quota refugees have settled in Germany as part of the larger wave of migration from the countries of the former Soviet Union. This paper will explore the different ways that organizations and individuals that represent Russian Germans and Russian Jews in Germany have invoked memories of forced migration and used them to situate themselves in Germany’s changing politics of memory. Memory, or the ways that people use the past to provide meaning in the present, plays a prominent role in constructing identities, particularly among diaspora populations. In part, this commemorative work contributes to the politics of recognition. The German public, which tends to view members of both groups simply as ‘Russians’, knows little about these migrants and their history. Providing knowledge about their experiences in the Soviet Union is thus seen by many representatives of post-Soviet migrants (as well as by government officials) as a means of contributing to their acceptance and integration in German society. In addition, the narratives that are told by each group are evidence of different paths of incorporation into this society. The memory politics of post-Soviet migrants not only shape how members of these groups understand and interpret their past, but also inform their responses to contemporary political concerns.

After a brief discussion of the different histories and experiences of emigration to Germany of these two migrant communities, this paper will turn to the larger issue of how organizations that represent these communities are finding a place in the changing patterns of German memory politics, in which since 1989 both the crimes of Nazism and the crimes of Communism have been debated and at times conflated. The paper will apply a transcultural approach to the understanding of memory – an approach that is fitting for this case in which encounters

between different memory cultures are re-shaping the memory regime of the Berlin Republic. Although migration is central to the histories of both groups, in public commemorative activities, Russian Jewish organizations tend to embrace an identity as migrants whereas Russian German organizations' narrative of victimization and ethnic understanding of Germanness precludes any identification as migrants (a term that in German often invokes the connotation of foreignness). Thus, the migratory experiences of Russian Germans and Russian Jews are conveyed in very different ways and with opposing assumptions about how their histories relate to those of other migrant groups in Germany. This paper argues that the memory politics that are conveyed by organizations and other actors has influenced these communities' responses to recent political debates on refugees.

BIO: James Casteel, a historian by training, is Associate Professor at the Institute of European, Russian, and Eurasian Studies and in Global and International Studies at Carleton University in Ottawa, Canada, where he also serves as Program Director for Migration and Diaspora Studies. He is the author of *Russia in the German Global Imaginary: Imperial Visions and Utopian Desires, 1905-1941* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016). His current research project explores the role of memory in processes of migrant incorporation among post-Soviet migrants in Germany since the late 1980s.

Panel 5B: REFUGEE AND RELOCATION POLICY IN WW2 AND AFTER

Aslı İğsız (New York University) Rethinking Post-1945 in the Present: Forced Migration at the Intersections of Culture, Race, and Biopolitics

Post-1945 era refugee integration scholarship and debates offer key insights to consider the crisis-ridden present, especially from the perspective of the management of alterity and mobility. Given the magnitude of atrocities of the Second World War, one might have expected that the underlying racialized logics, repertoires and archives of knowledge that contributed to the atrocities in the first place, such as eugenics and biopolitics, would have been effectively put into question by the institutions established to find solutions to the postwar crises. An overview of the 1950s' international management of alterity and related liberal cultural politics spearheaded by UNESCO, however, demonstrates a more complicated picture. Post-1945 demographic policies enforced assimilation and mass "transfers" of minorities—widely deemed to bring instability and war to Europe and beyond. It clearly mattered which groups' numbers were to be regulated. As a legal milestone in the international management of difference via forced migration, the 1923 exchange of religious minorities between Greece and Turkey constituted a reference point for such policies. Informed by the principle of segregation, the 1923 exchange is organically related to other cases that operate with the same logic: the construction of walls, apartheid, partitions, and forced migrations. This paper addresses how after the Second World War, some former fascists, eugenicists and social scientists from Europe collaborate with their counterpart in Turkey and beyond to address the post-1945 refugee crisis with references to the 1923 exchange. Against this backdrop, the paper explores how UNESCO's humanist politics developed a regime of visual culture, focusing on how racialized thinking, demography and culture have been intertwined. The paper ultimately attempts to rethink the implications of this past in the present, where Turkey and Greece are

again at the forefront of yet another human displacement en masse, and raises questions about narrativization of forced migration and historicism.

Bio: Aslı İğsız is Assistant Professor of Culture and Representation in the Department of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at New York University. Her research interests are transregional and situated at the intersections of political violence, cultural politics, and politics of representation, with a critical eye on the implications of the past in the present. Her first book *Humanism in Ruins: Entangled Legacies of the Greek-Turkish Population Exchange* (Stanford University Press) was published in 2018. She is currently working on a new book manuscript on the notion of civilization in relation to visual culture and capitalism, and an article on the humanism of Julian Huxley, a eugenicist who was UNESCO's first director general.

Rebecca Viney Wood (University of Manchester) 'What are you going to do about the Chinese refugees?' The Lesser Known History of the UNHCR and Yunnanese 'Refugees' in Post-Independence Burma, 1953-1954

Whilst much is known of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR's) early history in Europe, very little attention has been paid to its attempts at expanding its mandate in Asia in the early 1950s. This paper investigates the virtually unknown history of UNHCR involvement with a group of 'refugees' who fled from Yunnan province to newly-independent Burma alongside defeated Chinese Nationalist forces in 1949. In 1953 the UNHCR regional representative Aamir Ali recommended assisting with the transfer of Yunnanese 'refugees' to Taiwan at a moment when they represented an increasing source of instability in Cold War Burma. This paper aims to shed light on the complex dynamics of a case in which the UNHCR did not ultimately take material or legal action, and which has subsequently been left off the official UNHCR record. In discussing this 'near-miss' of refugee assistance, this research seeks to contribute to a growing historiography which

locates refugees and those responding to displacement into broader socio-political context. Drawing on a variety of archival resources, including the UNHCR and International Committee of the Red Cross archives in Geneva and the British National Archives in Kew, this paper highlights the centrality of Asia in the post-war development of migration response and the heterogeneity of mentalities which greatly influenced the timing and likelihood of assistance. This paper argues that the seemingly insignificant case of Yunnanese 'refugees' in Burma actually bears important lessons about the forces which shape how and when 'refugees' are perceived, assisted or forgotten.

BIO: Rebecca holds a BA (Hons) in International History and Politics and an MA in Modern History from the University of Leeds. After completing her MA, she worked as a policy advisor for an NGO in Brussels and as a human rights observer in the West Bank. Returning to academia in 2015, Rebecca completed an MA in Humanitarianism and Conflict Response at the University of Manchester, following which she was awarded an ESRC NWDTC Studentship with the Humanitarian and Conflict Response Institute (HCRI). Her PhD project investigates responses to displacement in historical and comparative perspective, focussing on the interwar 'Nansen era' and the first ten years of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Ryan Madden (Oregon Tech) Aleut Relocation during World War II in Alaska

In June of 1942 World War II came to the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska. As a diversionary tactic the Japanese military invaded two islands and bombed the American military base at Dutch harbor. After six months of fighting American forces managed to remove the Japanese military presence from the islands. However, the impacts of the War were not over for the Aleut people. Aleuts were taken, sometimes with only hours warning, from their homes and relocated some 1500 miles to

Southeastern Alaska. This presentation will chronicle the experience of Aleuts during their relocation and will focus on the journey, housing, food, relations with other Alaska Natives, relations with officials, the role of the sealing industry, the return to the Islands, and the consequences of the relocation. The research for this presentation induced oral histories along with government and military documents.

Bio: Dr. Madden has his Ph.D. from the University of New Hampshire in American History, a master's degree from University of Vermont and a bachelor's degree from UC Davis. He is the author of a book on the history of Alaska as well as numerous articles on Alaska Natives.

Dr. Madden is a former History Professor at Western Washington University, Sheldon Jackson College, and Linfield College. Currently, he is the General Education coordinator for Oregon Tech's Portland-Metro campus and is member of Oregon Tech's Social Science faculty. He teaches Globalization and the PNW, Introduction to Film, US History Survey courses and Pacific Northwest History

Nawang Choden (Jawaharlal Nehru University) Forced Migration and the Plight of the Chakma Refugees in Arunachal Pradesh: "Citizenship" a bone of contention

The present paper explores one of the most persistence and continuous events of social and political exclusion in the history of modern South Asia. The case of Chakma refugees is unique. The Chakmas in Arunachal Pradesh originally came from the Chittagong Hill Tracts of the then East Pakistan. They have been forced to flee their home due to a developmental project which led to the submergence of their home followed by the religious persecution of this community by a Muslim majority country i.e. Pakistan. In the process, a large number of refugees and displaced people are born. The Chakmas have been uprooted and resettled in the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh in the 1960s.

The case of the Chakma community is unique because Arunachal Pradesh is a protected state under the Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation, 1873. According to this Act, every individual visiting Arunachal Pradesh needs Inner line Permit (ILP) as it is a protected area. However, despite these limitations, the Chakmas have been strategically relocated in this area.

The forced migration of the Chakma community have implications at a different level and raises critical questions about exclusion, belongingness, citizenship and various rights which comes with it. The presence of Chakmas in Arunachal and their demand for Indian citizenship has become the major bone of contention between the natives of Arunachal Pradesh and them.

The denial of citizenship rights to them has become the primary cause of tension amongst various social groups and politicians as well as the All Arunachal Pradesh Student's Union, the main body spearheading the movement to drive out the refugees and foreigners from the state. Examining the nature of citizenship within this context may help, to further uncover how the concept of citizenship is both understood and used today.

BIO: Nawang Choden is a third-year PhD candidate at the Centre for the Study of Social Systems (CSSS), School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Her research interest includes citizenship, refugee, and migration.

Panel 5C: THE DEHUMANISATION OF MIGRANTS AND THE LANGUAGE OF OTHERING

Stella Chewe Sabi (University of KwaZulu-Natal) The Plight of Immigrants in South Africa: Understanding the “Makwerekwere” Syndrome – A Human Rights Challenge

Post-apartheid South Africa has witnessed an increased influx of immigrants, with an estimated 600 illegal immigrants crossing the borders of South Africa on a monthly basis; the highest on the continent of Africa. The inflow has attracted anti-foreigner feeling among the locals. The 2011 national census report by *Statistics South Africa*, indicates that over two thirds of the estimated three million legal immigrants are from other African countries. (Im)migration, remains a complex phenomenon driven by complex interactions of economic, social and political determinants. These complexities necessitate various ways of conceptualizing immigration, internally and internationally. In South Africa, the common phrase for international immigrants is ‘*Makwerekwere*’, which has become a psycho-social syndrome mostly by poor and unemployed black South Africans to exclude African immigrants’ socio-economically and politically. The rationale for such exclusionary-linked-xenophobia is rationalized on the basis that African immigrants (predominantly blacks) compete with the natives for scarce resources; public services and opportunities (such as infrastructure, medical care, education and housing, informal trading opportunities, and employment); and promote criminal activities and the use of drugs. Between 2008 and 2018, South Africa experienced four major waves of xenophobia, owing to growing intolerance towards foreign nationals. While Xenophobia is not South Africa’s state policy, African foreigners, regardless of their immigration status, live in constant fear of negative perceptions of them by the public and state. Against this background, this article through a review of relevant literature, probes the plight of immigrants in South Africa, the ‘*Makwerekwere*’ syndrome in the context of Xeno-Afro-Phobia. Likewise, it assesses the implications of xenophobia for human rights and South Africa’s development agenda, and

South Africa’s role and responsibility to address the intolerance, as a constitutional democracy and party to several international human rights agreements.

BIO: Dr. Stella Chewe Sabi is a Ph.D Graduate in Food Security (African Centre for Food Security) School of Agricultural, Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, South Africa. She holds a Master of Social Science degree and an Honours degree in Policy and Development Studies from UKZN. Her research interest is social justice, food security, and policy analysis.
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Peter Arnds (Trinity College Dublin) Making Monsters out of Myths: Animal Metaphors in Populist Discourse on Forced Migration

My paper examines the cultural history of deeply rooted phobias that tie certain animal metaphors (wolves, insects, rats, etc) to migration, territory, and biopolitics, and analyses how dehumanizing metaphors in current populist discourse reflect cultural anxieties about the migrant as ‘alien’ Other. The wolf metaphor in particular has found increasing use in the media, from attention-grabbing headlines (*Donald Trump supporters tell immigrants ‘The wolves are coming, you are the hunted - as race hate fears rise*, The Independent, 9 Nov 2016) to articles on ‘lone-wolf’ attacks (*We Must Track and Trap Lone Wolf Terrorists*, The Observer, 25 Nov. 2014). As wolves are once again entering Central Europe, sparking heated debates as to whether they should be protected or hunted down and driven away, some right-wing populist groups have likened them to the new surge of migrants, labelling them both as trespassers, parasites, and as un-reformable.

This trend in current populism of employing metaphors for the purpose of dehumanizing its targeted groups is not a new phenomenon. We do not

need to go all that far back in the history of persecution of undesirables to see how such metaphors have contributed to genocide, if we think of Nazi ideology labelling Jews and other undesirables as typhoid spreading rats. In our current political climate, as toxic discourses are being mobilized, the use of discriminating language to compare immigrants to animals — the recent misnomer of migrants ‘swarming’ into the UK (Elgot 2016), or as ‘animals that slice and dice beautiful teen girls’ (Gupta 2017) — are sinister reminders of that connection (cf. also David Shariatmadari, “Swarms, Floods, and Marauders: The toxic metaphors of the migration debate”, *The Guardian* 10 August 2015).

Migration studies needs to interact with fields it has traditionally not had much contact with, such as world literature, myth studies, and biology. Through an interdisciplinary approach that brings these fields together I will discuss how the current populist use of animal metaphors in support of a “migrant as threat” narrative is rooted in a literary history of migration, exile, and political violence, how these metaphors are yet again appropriated by nationalist groups, but also how biodiversity and multiculturalism can conceptually merge to offer alternative models of sanctuaries.

BIO: Professor Peter Arnds has been Head of the German Department and also of the Italian Department and the Director of Comparative Literature at Trinity College Dublin. He has held visiting positions at the University of Kabul, JNU Delhi, and the University of Adelaide. His publications include monographs on Wilhelm Raabe, Charles Dickens, Günter Grass, and *Lycanthropy in German Literature* (Palgrave Macmillan 2015). He has published numerous short stories and poems, and his novel *Searching for Alice* is forthcoming in Dalkey Archive Press (2019). Prof. Arnds is a member of the PEN Centre for German Writers Abroad and of Academia Europaea. Currently, he is working on a large research project in the Environmental Humanities, a study of wolves and how their perception in cultural history impacts xenophobia and discourses of migration.

Eva Kourova (Glasgow Caledonian University) Out of place and becoming dirt? The case of Roma people in Glasgow

In this paper I explore how negative biopolitics create a perception of Roma people as dirt and as “being out of place”. The concept of cultural pollution (Connor, 2011) allows me to demonstrate how they became perceived as ‘improper’ in a place they have occupied for centuries. The notion of the ‘improper’ is developed out of the writings of Roberto Esposito. I then follow the post-1990’s developments in Central Europe to argue that its trajectory is based on Roma exclusion. Focusing on the Hungarian case (Dosa, 2009) where Roma became perceived as inferior through civilising efforts of Westernisation of the region helps me make this case. The paper then traces the link to Western colonisation to argue that this hardens the notion of Roma as being non-European – and subsequently “out of place”.

The analysis moves to examine how forced migration to the West resulted in further stigmatization and produced the Roma as a ‘straw man’ – “a person without substance or integrity”. This I argue is a result of biopolitics of purity that evoke a notion of existential crisis whilst concealing its normative intolerance to difference. Here, Turner’s (1969) concept of ‘synchronic inferiority’ is used to demonstrate how Roma disadvantage is perpetuated.

It is also argued that a simple presentation of negativity fails to challenge inequality. In line with critical-philosophy of Agamben, Esposito and Kristeva, I argue that change is not contained in the detailed understanding of how people are disadvantaged but how the exploitation of the system’s caveats allow life to erode “totalising” forces of systemic power contained in negative biopolitics. Here I introduce my case study which identifies escape routes for Roma from stigmatization in Glasgow.

BIO: Eva is a Doctoral student at the Glasgow Caledonian University. Her research is interdisciplinary and examines possibilities for development in the governance of Roma people in Glasgow. Eva is in her 3rd year of her PhD research. Prior to the PhD, Eva completed a work-based master's degree at the Caledonian University on Citizenship and Human Rights.

Her interest in researching the field of alternative Roma governance stems from her 10-years work experience with the Roma community in Glasgow where she experienced various equivocal forms of engagement with this disadvantaged community.

Her PhD aspires to address some of the current problematics of engagement practices with Roma people in the locality through analysis of its affirmative potential. **Contact details:** Eva Kourova, eva.kourova@gcu.ac.uk

Panel 6A: IMAGINING HOME: FROM YERKIR TO HEIMAT

Ayşenur Korkmaz (University of Amsterdam) No Place Like Home: 'Yerkir' and the ex-Ottoman Armenians in Soviet Armenia

This paper addresses the experiences of Armenians displaced across the Ottoman/Russian borderlands into the Russian imperial territories of Transcaucasia during of the First World War. These refugees had fled violence on the Caucasus front and the genocidal policies of the Ottoman authorities; over the course of the war many of them experienced multiple displacements and followed complex trajectories across and beyond Transcaucasia. By the end of the war, this territory was home to more than 300,000. In the years that followed these refugees were unable to return to their former homes and, for the most part, became citizens of the Soviet Republic of Armenia established at the end of 1920.

Over the last five years displacement in the aftermath of the Armenian Genocide has become the focus of intense attention from historians of humanitarianism and human rights (Watenpaugh 2015; Tusan, 2017 Cabanes, 2014). This scholarship has focused to a great extent on responses to Armenian displacement and the actions and agendas of humanitarian actors. Much less, however, has been said of the way Armenians experienced displacement. Similarly, while existing scholarship has focused on Armenian displacement in the Middle East, the fate of Armenian refugees in the Russian Empire/Soviet Union remains understudied.

As Gatrell (2013) has argued, the voices of the displaced are often difficult to trace in archives which reflect the power and priorities of states and/or international organisations. This paper therefore examines the limits and possibilities of the collections of the Armenian and Georgian National

Archives and the records of international relief organisations for understanding how Armenian refugees understood and responded to their predicaments. It draws on a texts (petitions, surveys, letters) and images scattered across these archives, bringing them together with published biographies in order to consider how Armenian refugees made sense of their displacement and negotiated the various 'relief' interventions which were enacted on their behalf.

Bio: Ayşenur Korkmaz is a PhD researcher at the University of Amsterdam, European Studies. She worked on the Islamized Armenians of Diyarbakir and Sasun in 2015 during her Master's degree at Central European University, Nationalism Studies. In 2015-2016, she taught world history courses at Sabancı University, History Department in Istanbul. She published articles on the Armenian genocide, Hamidian Massacres, and the lives of Ottoman Armenian intellectuals in the 19th century. Korkmaz's current doctoral research at the University of Amsterdam explores the post-genocide articulations of the Armenian homeland (Ergir/ Yerkir) and genealogy. It examines the sense of rootedness and socio-spatial attachment among Armenians who had fled their homes during the genocide and sought refuge to the South Caucasus which later became their 'new homeland,' Armenia.

Sossie Kasbarian (University of Stirling) Refuge in the 'Homeland' – the Syrians in Armenia

This paper looks at the contemporary case of Syrian Armenians taking refuge/ migrating to Armenia. The Syrian Civil war has led to the worst humanitarian crisis of the century. Among these are Syrian Armenians, previously numbered around 90,000, many of whom have (been) relocated to Armenia. From the outbreak of the violence in 2011 the

wealthier among them started setting up alternative (temporary) homes in Armenia, with the idea that they would return to Syria once things had died down. Since then, increasing numbers of Syrians have had no choice but to move to Armenia, many in desperate situations.

This paper looks at the different local, national and international actors involved with dealing with the Syrian humanitarian crisis in Armenia. It engages with their discourse, narratives, policies and practice, and crucially how these are being played out on the ground. The chapter is based on field research in Armenia in November 2016, and subsequent follow up research. It looks at how international organisations like the UNHCR as well as diaspora institutions like the Armenian General Benevolent Union (AGBU) are tackling the Syrian refugee crisis in Armenia. It also situates these activities in relation to how the Armenian government is dealing with the Syrians. In addition, the paper examines the crucial role played by local civil society groups set up by Syrian Armenians in Armenia.

The Syrian Armenians are the latest significant wave of diasporan Armenians seeking refuge from troubled homes. While it is yet unclear how many of these refugees will stay in Armenia long-term, this paper also addresses the problematic concepts and realities of diasporan 'home', 'homeland' and 'return', within the Armenian state and society.

Bio: Sossie Kasbarian is Senior Lecturer in Comparative Politics at the University of Stirling. Sossie's research interests and publications broadly span diaspora studies; contemporary Middle East politics and society; nationalism and ethnicity; transnational political activism; refugee and migration studies. She is co-editor of the journal *Diaspora- A Journal of Transnational Studies*. Her current work is a comparative study of the

different trajectories that transnational communities in the contemporary Middle East embody and enact, focusing on the Armenian diaspora.

Jana Nosková (Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences)

"Family treasures" – artefacts as agents of remembering/memories of the forcibly displaced Germans

Almost three million people of German origin were forcibly expelled from Czechoslovakia after World War II. In our paper we deal with memories connected with forced displacement and relating processes and their transmission in three-generation families. The choice of families was based on the oldest generation's personal experience with the forced displacement after World War II. According to Karl Mannheim, we see the members of the oldest generation as specific generation ("generation of experience" – Erlebnisgeneration). A family is understood as a specific social frame (Maurice Halbwachs) in which communication about the past takes place.

In our paper we focus on memories that thematise material artefacts. We do not ask only which artefacts are important for and which appear in the process of remembering of forced migration after World War II and which stories are connected with these artefacts, but we also ask questions about functions of these stories and about ways of transmission of these stories in three-generation families. We are interested in the way, in which the artefacts function as impulses and sources of family narrations, how they activate remembering and how stories connected with them function as means of canonisation of events and history and how they contribute to building of family memory, it means in which way the follow-up generations came to terms with the experience of the oldest generation.

Our analysis is based on biographic and oral history interviews with three-generation families of forcibly displaced Germans that were collected in Germany in 2017 and 2018 during the project “Mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups” supported by the Czech Science Foundation.

Bio: Mgr. Jana Nosková, Ph.D. is a researcher in the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences. In her research she focuses on history and culture of Germans in the Czech Republic in the 20th century, on re-migration processes, and collective and communicative memory. She focuses on using oral history and biographical method (several projects and research for her doctoral thesis about Czech re-migrants from Volhynia in the Czech Republic). In the last three years (2016–2018) she has been the main investigator of the research project “Mechanism and strategies of generational transmission of family memory in the selected social groups” that dealt with transmission of memory in families of forcibly displaced Germans in Germany and of German minority in the Czech Republic.

Barbara Kurowska (Foundation Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation, Berlin)
Postmemory and Constructions of ‘Heimat’ in Oral Histories of Children of German *Vertriebene*

The state-funded Foundation Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation, Germany, is currently building a documentation center on forced migration in Berlin. Most donors contributing objects, photographs and documents to its collection are German *Vertriebene*, refugees or their descendants. The Foundation launched an oral history project in 2013 to capture their stories. Several interviews have been recorded with representatives of

the second generation, giving insights into their unique perspective on their family histories.

The donation of objects or archival material to a museum is frequently the result of an intergenerational dialogue: objects and their stories are passed on from one generation to the next and deemed worthy of musealization. Familial transmission of memories is inherent to the process of establishing a collection such as that of the Foundation. Analyzing oral histories of the descendants of German *Vertriebene*, this paper looks at constructions of ‘heimat’ and the meaning ascribed to their parent’s homeland. While projected nostalgia is predominant in some narratives, others struggle with identifying with their parents’ stories, perceiving them as members of the generation of perpetrators, guilt over German atrocities overshadowing the loss felt by refugees and *Vertriebene* after World War II. This paper furthermore looks at questions of methodology in recording oral histories of the second generation and the use of photography and objects to help generate oral histories.

BIO: Barbara Kurowska

2007 M.A. in International Relations, University of Wrocław (Topic: “Reparations Politics: A Case Study of the Herero Demands towards Germany”)

2008-2012 Interviewer and researcher for the oral history project of the Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Since 2013 research associate and oral history project coordinator at the Foundation Flight, Expulsion, Reconciliation, Berlin

Panel 7B: TRAUMA, EXILE, AND SICKLY BODIES

Yu Wang (University of Toronto) *Between Rescue and Trauma, Dialogue and Monologue: Scholarly-Rescuee Memoirs of the Holocaust in the 1980s*

The rescue of Jews in the Holocaust emerged as an independent body of literature in the 1980s, largely due to the devotion of scholars who took Holocaust rescue as a manifestation of altruism. The result is a dialogical narrative pattern of Holocaust rescue that often involves a scholar, the rescuers, and the rescuees. The scholar functions as the author in early Bakhtin's theory, holding the conversation together with a coherent pro-social ideology.

Noticeably, many of these scholars were self-acknowledged rescuees. However, few of them wrote their own memoirs or lengthily described their own pasts as examples of altruistic rescue. What were their rescue experiences in light of the altruistic model they established? What happens to the dialogical quality in a scholarly-rescuee memoir where the two identities of rescuee and scholar collapse into one?

One example I look into is *Dry Tears* (1984) by Nechama Tec. As a leading American sociologist on Holocaust rescue in the 1980s, Tec was a paid-rescuee in Poland during the Holocaust. Hidden by two Christian families consecutively, Tec was abused by the first and never succeeded in transcending the purely commercial relationship with the second. In terms of narrative, Tec's memoir adopts the character-bound focalization of a small child, who is even more vulnerable and helpless than her actual age (11 in 1942). Meanwhile, the child-narrator has the insight of a sociologist who analyzes her paid-helpers sociologically and rationalizes their behaviors.

Instead of distinguishing the mingled narrative voices of the adult-remembering-self and the child-self, I suggest that an alternative way to naturalize the narrative is to understand the memoir as a simultaneous

carrying on and working through the childhood trauma. Reliving her childhood trauma in writing, Tec comforts her inner-child by equipping her with the ability of comprehension that her child-self desperately needed but never obtained.

BIO: Yu Wang is a Ph.D. candidate in the collaborative program of Comparative Literature and Jewish Studies in the University of Toronto. She is interested in first-person narratives, critical theories, Holocaust literature and memory culture. Her dissertation focuses on rescue narratives of the Holocaust in the late 1970s-1990s, discussing how ethical concerns are manifested in the narrative form of rescue literature and distinguish it from the dominating trauma narrative of the same period.

Caroline D. Laurent (King's College London) "Presque malgré nous, nous commençons de nous établir en ces lieux où nous n'avions pensé que passer": Migration and Embodied Silence in Franco-Vietnamese Literature

In recent Franco-Vietnamese literature, the involuntary migration of male characters is portrayed in all its complexities: as both wanted and then forced and endured because of war and changing politics, migration becomes an open wound that is hidden under a veil of silence. These quiet fathers refuse to transmit their history to their children in order to hush a desire to wander back, an impossible return; the refusal to tell perdures and is imposed on them through disease, as if this silence comes to be embodied. The external becomes internal, transcribed into the body. In her 2014 novel *Voyageur malgré lui*, Minh Tran Huy tells the story of a daughter, Line, that tries to connect Dromomania and the case of Albert Dadas, Samia Yusuf Omar (an athlete who represented Somalia at the 2008 Olympics Games who died in the Mediterranean Sea in 2012) with her father's migration from Vietnam to France and his subsequent travels because of work. She links this impulse to wander to an internal sentiment of dislocation, exile, and trauma. In *Le Silence de mon père* published in

2016, Doan Bui also recounts the quest of a daughter, herself, to understand her father's silence and almost misplaced presence. She unearths her father's story thanks to and despite a stroke that has rendered him physically unable to speak. Both authors depict a forced migration which places fathers into spaces of in-betweenness characterized by silence and, ultimately, a possibility of storytelling, albeit indirect. The experience of external movement becomes an internal one, a trauma that is buried and which constantly creates porosity between places, between experiences, between the outside and the body.

BIO: Caroline D. Laurent completed her PhD in Romance Languages and Literatures at Harvard University in September of 2016. Her dissertation, entitled "The Words of Others: Remembering and Writing Genocide as an Indirect Witness," examines literary representations of the Holocaust and the Rwandan genocide by indirect witnesses. She argues that these indirect witnesses-writers develop a poetics of memory that represents genocide in all its intricacies and complexities. Moreover, she shows that this literature opens memory up, allowing events characterized by violence to illuminate one another and create bridges through the connections they form. Caroline D. Laurent currently teaches Literature for both the Department of English and the Department of Comparative Literature at King's College London in England.

Greg Kerr (University of Glasgow) Witnessing and attestation in the 'blanche prison' : exile in the work of Armen Lubin

This paper proposes to explore the legacy of exile and trauma in the work of Chahnour Kerestedjian (1903-1974), an Istanbul-born writer and member of the Armenian diaspora. Kerestedjian emigrated to France in 1922 following the Armenian genocide. Consigned by chronic tuberculosis of the bones to long stays in French hospitals and sanatoria, his poor health rendered him unfit for military service, thereby obstructing his attempts to secure naturalisation in his host country. In the years

following his arrival in France, the writer adopted a French-language poet-persona, Armen Lubin, in whom the horizons of poet, invalid and stateless person would increasingly come to intersect.

'La poésie, la vraie, ne circule que sous le manteau. On a beau dire et beau faire, elle refuse de marcher en plein jour' ('Poetry, real poetry goes about only under cover. You can do or say what you like, it refuses to walk in the light of day'), declares the poet, underscoring the link between his own condition as undocumented exile or *passager clandestin* (to borrow the title of one of his collections), and the precarious status of the poetic genre itself. The privileged mode of poetry is, thus, for Lubin, ultimately that of attestation, as a form of utterance in which the writing subject is placed in a relation of uncertainty to his own foundation or origins, and to the legitimacy of his speech.

Drawing on essays by Jacques Derrida and Paul Ricoeur, and collections such as *Le Passager clandestin* [*The Clandestine passenger*] (1946) and *Sainte patience* [*Sacred patience*] (1951), this paper will show that a central preoccupation of Lubin's poems is to 'watch over' a weakening of the act of utterance, as if the condition of detachment and watchfulness in which the poet found himself by dint of genocidal trauma, statelessness and a chronic, life-long medical condition made him especially receptive to language's own malaise.

Bio: I am lecturer in French at the University of Glasgow. My research is in the area of nineteenth- and twentieth-century French-language poetry. I am the author of *Dream Cities: Urban Utopia and Prose by Poets in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Legenda, 2013) and in 2016-17, I completed a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Individual Fellowship entitled 'Poetics of Statelessness in Twentieth-Century France and Europe', at the Analyse et Traitement Informatique de la Langue Française research laboratory, part of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Nancy, France.

Panel 7C: MIGRATION AND MELANCHOLY

Asha Varadharajan (Queen's University, Canada) "Gimme Shelter": Identity, Habitation and Affect in Narratives of Migration

In 2016, when 'the refugee crisis' preoccupied public consciousness, I was in Halle, Germany. A chance encounter with Gundula Schulze Eldowy's exhibition of photographs, *Home is a Distant Land*, and Shaunak Sen's documentary, *Cities of Sleep*, precipitated a crisis of its own in my assumptions about the refugee condition. Eldowy's images capture the twilight of the GDR—the defunct machinery of the State and its citizens trapped between inertia and renewal—forcing me to ponder the meaning of displacement in relation to the misfits *within* rather than only at the borders of city spaces. Sen explores the effects of internal migration in 'robust' States such as Modi's India. He depicts Delhi's homeless in the grip of a pervasive sleeplessness while resting in empty cages in zoos or under bridges. Eldowy and Sen's meditations resonated in surprising ways with a speech, also in 2016, by Deputy UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Kate Gilmore, who refused to differentiate between rights for "people on the move" from rights for those "who have no movement whatsoever," generating a related set of questions: "What does it mean to be, or to remain? (Malkki 1995: 515) rather than move or abandon? How would thinking "the refugee" *with* rather than against "the citizen" challenge the alignment of belonging with the fulfilment of rights and the protection of the State?

I want to look at vignettes of displacement that delineate historical repetition and transition in the notion of habitation and that appear anomalous in relation to the construction of 'the refugee' or the characterization of 'refuge'. If Eldowy made me recalibrate identity by rendering indistinct the plight of refugee from that of citizen, Sen made me redefine habitation by blurring the boundary between the sanctuary of refuge and its precarity. Both evoke a familiar but seldom appreciated form of habitation, that of denizen, encompassing the alienation of both refugee and citizen. I add to their visions Minette Walters' *The Cellar*,

Samuel Selvon's "Obeah in the Grove", and Aki Kaurismaki's *The Other Side of Hope*. These artists, writers, and auteurs alter prevailing conceptions of the outcast, the dispossessed, and the abandoned to create subjects who are repositories of dignity, menace, spirit rather than mind, and who inhabit bodies in rhythms of contemplation, sleep, ecstasy, rage, idleness and industry. My paper, by differentiating *among* citizens and remaining attentive to such subjects and bodies, seeks less to valorize displacement or celebrate transplanted identities—to bring refugees into the fold—than to allow their exile to unmoor us.

Asha Varadharajan is Associate Professor of English at Queen's University, Canada. She is the author of *Exotic Parodies: Subjectivity in Adorno, Said, and Spivak*. Her writing and public speaking engage the broad sweep of postcolonial, cosmopolitan, global, secular, rights, migration and development debates. Her most recent essays appear in *The Puritan, Cultural Studies, College Literature, Kunapipi, University of Toronto Quarterly, TOPIA, CSSAAME, and Modern Language Quarterly*. She has contributed chapters to books on human rights, biopolitics, and intercultural discourse. Her most recent essays appear in *The SAGE Handbook on The Frankfurt School* (2018) and *Decolonization and Feminisms in Global Teaching and Learning* (Routledge 2018). The most fun she has had writing was while composing her chapter on Eric Idle for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. The most chuffed she has been lately was when her students nominated her for the W.J. Barnes award for excellence in undergraduate teaching.

Angus Sutherland (University of Edinburgh) Aus freien Stück oder unter einem Zwang? On migration and fatalism in W.G. Sebald's early prose works

The four protagonists of W.G. Sebald's second work of prose fiction are, significantly, identified by a past participle, just as were and are the *Vertriebene*. They are not *Emigranten*, though they were recast as *The Emigrants* for Michael Hulse's English translation, nor even *Auswanderer*, but instead, *Ausgewanderten*, those who have emigrated. Their migrant status, then, is marked by a peculiar and difficult mix of irrevocability and volition.

Following the example of Borutta and Jansen's *Vertriebene and Pieds-Noir*, this paper will focus less on the origins and forms of migration, and more on its consequences. This paper will take *Die Ausgewanderten* as its primary point of reference, though will also draw on Sebald's early efforts at what Mark Anderson described as feuilletonistic writing. For instance, in one essay published in 1986, the year in which appeared *Nach der Natur*, his first major piece of 'creative' writing, Sebald suggested that ours is a species engaged in increasingly desperate, self-destructive and futile attempts to escape a life which is already condemned [*ein bereits verurteiltes Leben*].

In this light, the acts of suicide and self-harm of the *Ausgewanderten*, apparently committed as a distant consequence of their various histories of 'unfree' movement, as Borutta and Jansen put it, are also consequences of a more general, not to say ancient, malady. This would seem to invite a radical sympathy between readers, those compelled to migrate, and a so-called 'free' migrant of the order of the Sebaldian narrator (who closely resembles the author himself), though it also suggests a concurrent fatalism at the heart of Sebald's narrative works, which could risk dampening any sense of urgency as regards contemporary crises, including (though not limited to) mass 'unfree' migration.

Bio: Between completing my Masters in Literature at Georgetown University in 2012 and commencing my PhD at the University of Edinburgh in 2016, I spent the intervening years in roles as various as a tutor of academic English at *Universität Martin Luther* in Halle and a shepherd in the Scottish Borders. I now divide my time between studying W.G. Sebald and working as an academic skills adviser at Edinburgh Napier University, where, amongst other things, I am working to establish the institution's first peer learning programme. I am also putting the finishing touches to a translation of an early essay of Sebald's, which I will soon submit for publication.

Dr. Nélide Elena Boulgourdjian (National University of Tres de Febrero and University of Buenos Aires) The Armenians in Argentina: forced immigration and the reconstruction of the community associations.

The Armenian presence in Argentina originates at the end of the 19th century, with the arrival of the first Armenians from the Ottoman Empire, in search of better life opportunities. However, massive immigration took place at the beginning of the 20th century, as a result of the massacres of Cilicia (region located on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in present-day Turkey) of April 1909 and, particularly, of the Genocide of the Armenian population, between 1915 and 1922 during which 1,500,000 people died. Many of these survivors dispersed to different parts of Europe and America, in search of refuge; others remained in countries of the Middle East, waiting for the improving of situation; nevertheless, when in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, which ignored the Armenian claims, emigration was definitive. In Argentina, that year was the highest migratory balance.

This traumatic process brought about profound changes in the individual and community level among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire and determined a break with that past but at the same time, a need to rebuild their lives in other destinations. An important aspect to face the uprooting

was the reconstruction of the associative life in the new places of implantation.

This paper focuses on two fundamental issues: a) the arrival of the Armenians to Argentina from the massive immigration of the early twentieth century and b) the Armenian network of associations, established in Buenos Aires as a result of forced exile, observed from a historical approach but also its projection to the present. The constitution of these associations will be studied, from their origin and evolution, the exogenous and endogenous factors and the tensions that conditioned them.

BIO : Professor of History, Faculty of Philosophy and Literature, University of Buenos Aires; - Diplôme d'études approfondies (DEA), École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris ; PhD on History and Civilisation, École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris; 2008. Dissertation: *Armenian associations in Buenos Aires and Paris: between tradition and integration (1900-1950)*

- Chair of Armenian Studies, Faculty of Philosophy and Literature, Buenos Aires-UBA
- Senior-Researcher in MA, National University of Tres de Febrero:

Field of Research: Armenian diasporic communities, forced migration, migration policy; Genocides and the Armenian Genocide. She is author of numerous articles, books and book chapters of her specialty She is member of professional associations: *Society for Armenian Studies*, The University of Michigan-Dearborn; International Associations of Genocide Scholars; *International Network of Genocide Scholars*; *Association Internationale des études arméniennes* (AIEA).

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Panel 8A: CONNECTIONS AND COMPARISONS IN TRANSNATIONAL MIGRANT WRITING

Agata Joanna Lagiewka (National University of Ireland in Galway)
Memories and 'connectedness' of Migration Experiences in Contemporary German Narratives

Germany and Austria have experienced changing attitudes towards migrant groups and refugees throughout the 20th and 21st century with differing reception and public discourses. This paper examines how fictional representations convey, imagine and represent current refugee experiences, termed as the *2015 refugee crisis* in a global context. The recent events of forced migration from mainly Syria and Afghanistan have led to social and political challenges in Germany and Austria, oftentimes disregarding individual voices on the experiences of individuals and families affected by movement, integration and commemoration. Established authors with experiences of forced migration who arrived as refugees contribute to the formation and negotiation of community identity and multidirectional memory in times of predominantly negative medial narratives of refugee generalizations.

Personally affected by exile and transmitted trauma, Jewish German writing authors Olga Grjasnowa (*Gott ist nicht schüchtern*, 2017), Jula Rabinowich (*Dazwischen: Ich*, 2016) and Vladimir Vertlib (*Viktor hilft*, 2018) draw attention to individuals in form of 'connective' narratives that interface with previous refugee and migration events. All three authors publicly engage on current refugee debates in Germany and Austria and address their concerns of shifting attitudes and changes in the political landscapes.

Rabinowich and Vertlib have been committed to assist refugees in Austria for several years as translators and volunteer helpers in refugee centers and Grjasnowa has learned from her husband's first-hand accounts about the precarious situation of Syrian refugees and their families. Having experienced individual and familial migration as former refugees, they respond with fictional displays about the impacts and struggles of current

refugee movements to the European Union. They question dominant public discourses and intertwine personal experiences with fictional accounts from liminal positions that would otherwise remain unheard of.

BIO: Agata Joanna Lagiewka is a Hardiman-Scholarship PhD candidate at the National University of Ireland, Galway at the School of Languages, Literature and Cultures with a previous research fellowship at the Wirth Institute for Austrian and Central European Studies at the University of Alberta in Edmonton, Canada. She is writing her PhD-thesis on transcultural and transgenerational Jewish female German and English literature in the context of migration.

Margaret Ravenscroft (Nottingham Trent University) Doorframes as Frameworks: Constructing Liminal Identities for Forced Migrant Women in *Exit West*

The importance of place in the forced migrant's narrative is central; it marks out temporality, progress and pitfalls. More importantly, the forced migrant's story *is* one of place. It is of leaving one place that is no longer viable for one that, while unknown, is hopefully more so. It is about the journey along the way and the specific sites and responses of struggle, resistance, kinship and performance enacted.

My work, therefore, positions critical-textual analysis of place as fundamental to the task of reading and responding to the journeys, experiences and identities of forced migrants. More specifically, it turns to 'everyday' places as unassuming and unassumed locations of potential agency for forced migrant women – persistently mis- and under-represented figures in academic, development and cultural discourses.

This paper focuses on two twenty-first century representations of forced migrant women occupying diverse contexts (post-9/11 Afghanistan and an imaginary, unnamed location of civil crisis), but who are nevertheless

connected through their gendered negotiations of one specific everyday place: the door. Turning to literal and metaphoric doorframes as sites of transition, mobility and in-betweenness in Pakistani novelist Moshin Hamid's *Exit West* (2017) and Iranian filmmaker Samira Makhmalbaf's *At Five in the Afternoon* (2001), this paper argues that we may locate uniquely transformative and everyday border spaces for female protagonists Nadia and Noghreh. This understanding enables us to read forced migrant women's liminal identity constructions and explore the many ways that the doorway symbol propels and enriches nuanced character development. By engaging with borders and thus transitions, both women perform identity in ways that are submissive, subversive, mobile, intersectional and ambivalent, ultimately locating them as complex, as agentic – and as deserving of being read as such.

BIO: Margaret Ravenscroft is PhD student in English, Communications and Philosophy at Nottingham Trent University, working thesis: 'Building Space, Building Selves: Reading "Everyday" Places to Locate Agency in Contemporary Narratives of Forced Migrant Women'. She holds an MA in Aesthetics of Kinship and Community from Birkbeck, University of London, and a BA in English Literature and Spanish from North Park University (Chicago). Margaret's professional background is in architectural communications and her work on representations of race and gender in the built environment has been published in industry press.

Gintarė Venzlauskaitė (University of Glasgow) Difficult way home. The narratives of return of Lithuanian diaspora of 20th century displacements

Born out of mid-20th century turmoil as incipient victim dispersal, Lithuanians are a good example of modern diaspora whose lives largely revolved around dreams and strategies to return to the homeland. However, the issue, meaning, and actual experiences of homecoming were much more complex in practice. Over the course of five decades of the Cold War, the possibilities to visit or return to Lithuania were first

limited by the very reason the dispersals occurred (the shifts in political regime) and were later dictated by the dynamics of the bipolar world order. Return was scarcely a feasible option until after Stalin's death, and even then, it manifested in different ways to those relocated across the Atlantic and those deported behind the Urals.

Unsurprisingly, return persistently stands out as a definitive reference in family and personal stories and memories of the affected. It is somewhat considered an occurrence that closes the troubled circle of an exile's life story. However, even though serving a significant milestone, homecoming did not necessarily always constitute "happy ending". Instead, while returning was closing some chapters, it was very often opening much greater rifts than physical distance ever could.

The most important issue was the discrepancy between the vision of the longed-for homeland and the reality of it after the return. In many cases, realization of this disparity became the reason to reassess the possibility of permanent repatriation and instead continue life outside Lithuania. The research fieldwork conducted in the US, Russia (Siberia), Lithuania and Latvia demonstrated that return often transformed and extended to sometimes unanticipated scenarios and new meanings of exile to victims, and even more so to their descendants. Therefore, this paper explores if/how the subjects themselves negotiate and interpret the experience of visits and repatriation since it provides an important key to understanding Lithuanians' overall relation to the lost home and land, both literally and metaphorically. In addition, return as a category helps to address anatomy and development of grand (and small) narratives that help explore multivocality, representation as well as memory of Lithuanian displacements and diaspora.

BIO: Gintare Venzlauskaite is a PhD candidate at the University of Glasgow, Central and East European studies. Her interests by and large encompass history and socio-cultural developments in postsoviet/communist states,

the legacy of turbulent 20th-century events on affected societies, aspects of collective memory, cultural trauma, as well as related identity formations. Having researched different dimensions of historical representation and oral histories regarding political repressions in Lithuania in her BA, MSc and MRes projects, she is currently continuing with an extensive inquiry of multi-layered and multivocal narratives of displacement in post-soviet and post-war Lithuanian diaspora residing in the Russian Federation and the United States.

Andrea Meixner (Stockholm University) Saša Stanišić's novel *Wie der Soldat das Grammofon repariert* as a narrative of identity construction in and after exile

Much has been written about migration and matters of migrant identity, not only in the field of social sciences, but also in literary studies. Taking into account sociological views on 'identity' as a continually developing product of social interaction as well as of ongoing self-positioning and -narration¹, I would like to examine how a fictional character's personal narrative, his concepts of home and belonging are intertwined in Saša Stanišić' 2006 novel *Wie der Soldat das Grammofon repariert*².

I am particularly interested in the process of gradually redefining both a personal notion of 'self' and a social sense of 'belonging', which Stanišić implements in his young protagonist's tale: We witness how Aleksandar, a young adult living in German Ruhrgebiet, recollects his childhood and flight from Višegrad during the Bosnian War, followed by his later experiences as a more and more settled exile in Germany and his decision to finally return to Višegrad. This journey 'home' is described as an attempt to come to terms with his past, facing both happy and traumatizing childhood memories. It is also a search for ways of telling his own story consistently despite the cracks in his increasingly fragile net of references and projections. A narrative about narratives itself, the novel

takes a fascinating perspective on how identity is constructed through narration, while at the same time taking a closer look at challenges that come with narrating a migrant self which has no single fixed place but is constantly oscillating (and torn) between a number of times and spaces of reference.

BIO: Dr. Andrea Meixner works as a lecturer in the German department at Stockholm University since 2018 and also represents the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in Stockholm/Sweden. Her main research focus is on contemporary German literature that deals with mobility and migration, and she is especially interested in concepts of identity and (social) space in literary texts.

Panel 7B: REPATRIATES OR REFUGEES? DECOLONIZATION AND FORCED MIGRATIONS TO BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND PORTUGAL

Claire Eldridge, (University of Leeds) “Repatriates, migrants, evacuees, the destitute, the dispossessed, they’re a bit of everything”: *Pieds-noirs, harkis* and “refugeeness”

In July 1962, French colonial rule in Algeria came to an end. That summer, while Algerians celebrated their independence, almost a million inhabitants of the former colonial territory felt compelled to leave their homeland and make their way across the Mediterranean to France. This migratory wave contained a diverse array of religions and ethnicities including the European settler community, 120,000 naturalised Algerian Jews, and some 60,000 *harkis*, Muslim auxiliaries who had fought with the French during the War of Independence (1954-1962). The one point of commonality was that, in the eyes of the law at least, they were all French, making them “repatriates” rather than refugees.

Yet, as this paper will show, there was often a sizeable gap between the letter of the law and actual treatment, certainly in the case of the *harkis*. Furthermore, not fitting the international definition of a “refugee” did not stop the men and women forced to migrate from experiencing many of the practical and emotional impacts normally associated with refugee status. Nor did it stop some within the *ped-noir* and *harki* communities from staking claims to “refugeeness” for strategic and political purposes.

Focusing on the reactions of the state and the French public, as well as the *pieds-noirs* and *harkis* themselves, this case study allows for reflection on the categories of “refugee” and “repatriate”, including the circumstances and factors that inform such definitions. It will also consider the consequences of such categorisations not only for the postcolonial French

nation, but also for the wider international community at a time when the “refugee problem” was increasingly conceived of in global terms.

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Biography: Claire Eldridge’s work is centred on the interplay between empire, memory and migration in the context of the historical relationship between France and Algeria. She is the author of *From Empire to Exile: History and Memory within the Pied-Noir and Harki Communities* (Manchester: MUP, 2016). Her current research explores the histories and memories of European ‘settler soldiers’ from Colonial Algeria who served in the French Army during the First World War.

Christoph Kalter, (Free University of Berlin) Moving borders, forced migrations? Portugal’s *retornados*, the (post-)imperial nation, and refugeeness

The establishment and control of legal, administrative, cultural, and racial borders between metropole and colonies within each empire was part and parcel of European imperialism. So was the constant negotiation of these borders, which were fundamentally disputed and in flux. This malleability of imperial borders became salient one last time when they were disappearing through the process of decolonization. After World War II, as colonized territories in Asia and Africa headed for and then actually realized their independence, imperial borders were replaced by new national borders. Or, rather, both coexisted and overlapped for some time as people moved in massive numbers across them. In the process of this “unmixing of people” (Rogers Brubaker) that came with decolonization,

five to seven million European settlers migrated to their respective metropolises.

Using the example of Portugal, this paper analyzes the link between moving borders and moving people at the time of decolonization. Between 1974 and 1979, some 500,000-800,000 settlers left the Portuguese empire in Africa, notably Angola and Mozambique, as these former colonies became independent nation-states, and sought refuge in mainland Portugal. Officially and colloquially labeled as *retornados*, i.e. returnees to their imperial metropole, the settlers opposed this label and instead claimed to be *refugiados*, i.e. refugees that were driven out of their homelands. Based on government documents and Portuguese media, but also on the archives of the UNHCR which got involved in the legal definition of their status, my paper traces this dispute over words. It shows why it matters for understanding processes of post-imperial nation-building, but also how it can complicate notions like forced migration and “refugeeness”.

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Biography: Christoph Kalter is a Lecturer in European History from a Global Perspective at the Free University of Berlin. He is the author of *The Discovery of the Third World. Decolonization and the Rise of the New Left in France, c. 1950—1976* (Cambridge: CUP, 2016). His current research project is entitled ‘Postcolonial People. Migration and Decolonization in Portugal’. Christoph loves languages and photography. Once in a blue moon he tweets on the Global Sixties or postcolonial Europe under @chrkalter on Twitter.

Becky Taylor, Reader in Modern History (University of East Anglia) “The Hungarian refugees were a national political asset: the Anglo-Egyptians a considerable liability”: or what made a good refugee in 1956?

The autumn of 1956 saw two simultaneous and world-shaking events, the uprising of Hungarians and their subsequent crushing in a Soviet invasion, and the clandestine invasion of Suez by joint British, French and Israeli forces. Among these events’ many after aftershocks were the movements of refugees caused by the political unrest and violence: 200,000 Hungarians, or two percent of its population, left within a matter of weeks, with just over 20,000 coming to the UK; while in Egypt the 7,000 strong Anglo-Egyptian population, facing ‘unpleasant conditions’ in the aftermath of the invasion, left for Britain. Both these groups arrived into an often cold and gloomy Britain between November 1956 and January 1957. The Anglo-Egyptians, although not speaking English, but Spanish, Italian or Arabic and often of Maltese origin, were not technically refugees, but rather British citizens of one of its former colonies. By contrast the Hungarians, although ‘aliens’, enjoyed both the full support of the British government and the UNHCR’s full backing as refugees, despite significant numbers of them having used temporary opening of the border to leave for economic reasons. Despite the Anglo-Egyptian’s status as dispossessed British citizens of empire, it was not they, but rather than Hungarian ‘freedom fighters’ who captured the public’s imagination, eliciting an outpouring of donations, offers of hospitality and voluntary activity which drove their reception and resettlement programme. The Anglo-Egyptians by contrast, relied almost exclusively of government finance, and, associated as they were with the bungled invasion attempt, were seen as something of an embarrassment.

In this paper I explore what their reception and treatment at the hands of both the public and the British state can tell us about what it meant to 'be' a refugee in mid-1950s Britain, at a time when refugees now enjoyed protection under the Refugee Convention, and where the Cold War seemed to be intensifying and the crumbling of the British empire was becoming more and more of a reality.

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Biography: My work is centrally concerned with the relationship between minority and marginalised groups in Britain and their relationship with the state and wider society. I am currently completing a monograph on refugees arriving in Britain in the twentieth century, and am co-editor of the [Refugee History](#) blog with Lyndsey Stonebridge and Hari Reed.

Panel 7C: BIOPOLITICS, BORDERS, AND MEMORY

Siobhan Brownlie (University of Manchester) Discourses of Memory and Refugees/Asylum Seekers

This paper is based on an inter-linked series of seven case studies that I undertook for a monograph about memory in relation to contemporary discourses by and about refugees and asylum seekers primarily in the UK context. The material for the seven studies is the following: the BBC documentary *Exodus – Our Journey to Europe* about the 2015 refugee crisis; *Voices of Kosovo in Manchester*, an oral history project undertaken in 2016 by Kosovar Albanians who fled Kosovo for England in 1999; *Listen to our Voices!* (2018), a collection of poetry and stories by women asylum seekers in Greater Manchester that resulted from a volunteer project I did with them; 133 debates on the topic of refugees that took place in the British House of Commons and House of Lords between 2013 and 2017; the ‘Refugee Tales’ project that involves a walk across the south of England, theatrical performances, and tale telling by well-known British writers as part of campaign to end indefinite immigration detention in the UK; a comparison of contemporary refugees’ stories (*Refugee Stories, Are We Safe Yet?*) and writings by second and third generation immigrants (*The Good Immigrant*) in the UK; and a film (*Lilting*) and short stories and novels (*The Boat, Lame de fond, Héroïnes, The Refugees, The Sympathizer*) written by members of the 1.5 generation of the Vietnamese refugee diaspora in Australia, France, the UK and the United States. With reference to this large body of material, for the paper I will undertake a Foucauldian-inspired study of the discursive formation of ‘memory and refugees/asylum seekers’. This involves examining patterns and relations between institutional sites of emergence of the discourse, possible subject positions, enunciative modes, the formation of objects and concepts, the formation of themes and theoretical strands, and the functions of the discourse with respect to power.

Bio: Dr Siobhan Brownlie is a Lecturer at the University of Manchester, UK. She is programme director of the Masters in Intercultural Communication. Siobhan has a keen interest in the fields of Memory Studies and Refugee Studies. She is currently completing her third monograph entitled *Discourses of Memory and Refugees: An Exploration of Facet Methodology*.

Jeannot Moukouri Ekobe (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) The persistence of borders in the age of increasing migration: Toward an unequal right of Movement

Theoretical attempts for the construction of a sense of belonging beyond the nation have been various since Kant’s project of perpetual peace. From Jürgen Habermas’ constitutional patriotism to the idea of a Weltinnenpolitik (World domestic policy) (Ulrich Beck) and also the transnational project of Lüdger Pries, the list of conceptual Framework reflecting on the emergence of Post-/Trans-nation is endless.

However, the reality of borders in the age of increasing Globalisation puts into question the proclamation of the Post-/Trans-nation by some scholars. While borders are invisible for some, in such a way that their back-and-forth movement beyond national borders appears as self-evident, others experience borders as a dystopic narrative. For them borders mean humiliation, reject, expulsion, trauma, arrest and death.

The present article analyses the persistence of borders and the failure of the postnational/transnational project. On the basis of a theoretical discussion around the concepts of *circulation*, *biopolitic* (Foucault), and *necropolitic* (Mbembe), the article suggests that the unequal right of movement beyond national borders is the consequence of a cynical interplay between biopolitic and necropolitic.

Bio: Jeannot Moukouri Ekobe is a Phd candidate at the Graduate School Language and Literature Munich -Class of Literature- Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. In his Phd Thesis: *Nationalliteratur im Zeitalter der Transnationalisierung* (national literature in the age of transnationalism) he analyses how authors with migration background go through national and symbolic borders, in order to integrate into the national literary field in France, Germany and Great Britain.

Piera Rossetto (University of Graz) On the 'tangible' effects of 'invisible' migrations: narratives of Jews from Arab-Muslim countries to Italy

By the end of the 1960s to the mid-1970s, some thousands of Jews were still living in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Their presence in the region, however, was almost put to an end by events that destabilised the entire area. Since the 1950s, Jews already started leaving the countries where they had been living for centuries and many of them chose Europe to start a new life because they were citizens of a European state or because they considered themselves as “Europeans” in terms of cultural and linguistic affiliations.

Aim of the paper is to explore the issue of forced migrations of Jews from Arab-Muslim countries which took place in the second half of the 20th century and to take stock of how this complex history is now recalled, narrated and performed. In particular, we intend to consider how these migrations exist in different spaces and at different levels: different spaces include the national and the global, the political and the legal; and different levels encompasses a macro, meso and micro level (each case study will elaborate a specific level).

This paper concerns identity and memory constructions at a national and local level, through the study of the settlement of Jewish communities from different Islamic countries in Italy, and in particular in Milan. This

installation has contributed to the reshaping of the Jewish community and Judaism in Milan.

BIO: Piera Rossetto holds a PhD in Social and Historical Anthropology (EHESS Toulouse) and in Languages and Civilisations of Asia and North Africa (Ca' Foscari University of Venice). Her main research interests are the memories, identities and cultures of Middle Eastern and North African Jews. She is currently Hertha Firnberg Post-Doc research fellow at the Centre for Jewish Studies – University of Graz (Austria). Her current research project deals with the impact that Jewish migrations from North Africa and the Middle East towards Europe between the 1950s and 1970s had on contemporary European Judaism. Email: piera.rossetto@uni-graz.at

Panel 7D: NARRATIVES OF FORCED MIGRATION FROM LITHUANIA (1940–1958)

Eglė Kačkutė (Vilnius University) Representing Historical Trauma through Intimate Family Narratives

At least 130 000 people were deported from Lithuania to Siberia between 1940 and 1953. In a country of about 3 million people, this meant that few families have not been touched by this experience. During the run up to and shortly after the declaration of Lithuania's independence in 1990 and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union, Lithuania witnessed a deluge of deportee memoirs the horrors of which gripped the country. Raw, explicit and shocking, those accounts are survivor narratives. Nearly three decades later, the second and third generation of survivors of the Stalin repressions, that is to say, the post-memory generation, tell their parents and/or grandparents' story through art. Those artefacts are very few and are typically visual rather than narrative. This paper focusses on two works by Lithuania born artists, a short animated film by Giedrė Beinoriūtė and Gabrielė Baltrušaitytė, *Grandma and Granpa* (2007), and a graphic novel for young adults by Jurga Vilė and Lina Itagaki, *Siberian Haiku* (2018). Both works draw on family stories the artists were told when growing up. The aesthetics of both works gesture towards what Marianne Hirsch calls a "form of repair" (*Family Frames*). This aesthetics comes in sharp contrast with the artistic approach of the United States of America born writer, Rūta Šepetys, the author of a best-selling novel, *Between the Shades of Gray* (2011) and the United States of America born film director Marius A. Markevicius who put the novel to screen (2018). Drawing on Hirsch's notions of mobile and monumental memories, the paper is asking what impact the differing aesthetic qualities of the narratives of forced migration that was part of the Soviet repressions have on current memory discourses in Lithuania and beyond.

BIO: Dr. Eglė Kačkutė is Assistant Lecturer in French and Migration Studies at Vilnius University.

Her research interests include comparative contemporary women's writing, transnational literature, motherhood, migration, and Lithuanian diaspora. Her monograph *Svetimos ir Savos (Strange and Familiar)* on identity in contemporary British and French women's writing closely examines the work of Trezza Azzopardi, A.L.Kennedy, Marie NDiaye and Marie Darrieussecq. Her current project 'Motherhood and Migration: Between Languages, Cultures and Identities' is a study of migrant mother's perspective in transnational women's writing. Her latest publication is 'Relational Aspects of Migrant Mothering in Nathacha Appanah's *La Noce d'Anna* and Ying Chen's *La Lenteur des montagnes*' with the *Crossways Journal*.

Laima Vincė Sruoginis (Vilnius University) Questions of Identity in North American Lithuanian Writing

After the second Soviet occupation of Lithuania in 1944 roughly a third of Lithuania's population fled for the democracies of the West. While living in displaced persons camps in the Allied territories of Germany and Austria, Lithuanian writers and poets organized literary evenings, edited literary magazines, created their own journals and presses, and published their books. This literary activity continued throughout the Cold War period as the refugees emigrated to North and South America and Australia. American and Canadian descendants of these refugees continue to write about Lithuania's cultural and diaspora trauma, however, in English. In an attempt to document how individual trauma plays out within the context of cultural trauma, this paper analyzes the experience of cultural and individual trauma as expressed in Lithuanian diaspora literature. This paper applies the tools of trauma theory and cultural theory. This paper will explore questions of identity confusion in the diaspora, how cultural trauma plays out in the lives of individuals, and

how that is depicted through literature written by Lithuanian-American/Canadian writers.

Laima Vincė Sruoginis is a doctoral student at Vilnius University. She is writing her dissertation on how cultural trauma is expressed through individual narratives in Lithuanian- American/Canadian writing. Laima Vince Sruoginis earned an MFA in Creative Writing from Columbia University and a second MFA from the University of New Hampshire. She has published a novel and five works of literary nonfiction in addition to literary translations, three anthologies, and five plays. Twice Laima Vince Sruoginis has been awarded a Fulbright grant. She has also earned a National Endowment for the Arts award in Literature.

Žydronė Kolevinskienė (Vytautas Magnus University) Representations of WWII in Lithuanian Diaspora Women's Writing

WWII, the Soviet occupation, and the tragic post-war years are the themes contemplated in literatures of Central European countries and languages, including Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Polish. At the end of WWII, two thirds of Lithuanian writers fled to the West. As a result, Lithuanian postwar literature (1945-1958) written in exile is more prolific and richer in its representations of the war and its aftermath, the loss of the native land and the coming of the "red plague."

The paper focuses on four Lithuanian language literary texts published in Chicago (USA): Nelė Mazalaitė's (1907–1993) novel *The Harvest Time* (1956), Birutė Pūkelevičiūtė's (1923–2007) novels *Eight leaves* (1956) and *The Ninth Leaf* (1982) as well as the poem in prose *Autumn of Revelation* (1990). The novels selected for analysis are some of the very few narratives that thoroughly and unflinchingly represent the full range of Lithuanian women's war and migration experiences from the female perspective. They stand out for their artistic rendering of distinctively female experience during particularly difficult circumstances and political,

social, and cultural upheaval. Mazalaitė's and Pūkelevičiūtė's texts vividly convey the war and its aftermath through biblical motives of the Apocalypse. The appearance of the Angels of the Apocalypse in the works by both authors is associated with betrayal of their homeland and guilt. By shedding their traumatic experiences, the women portrayed in these novels transcend stereotypical images of femininity. The theoretical underpinnings of the paper can be found in the postcolonial theory and feminist criticism. A postcolonial and feminist reading of these novels reveals the heroines' need to create false identities by donning different masks. The paper argues that the individual traumatic experience turns into collective traumatic memory.

Dr. Žydronė Kolevinskienė is Associate Professor in Lithuanian Literature and Diaspora Studies at Vytautas Magnus University and President of the Lithuanian Comparative Literature Association. Her research areas include narrative analysis, contemporary Lithuanian writing, women's writing, Lithuanian diaspora literature, comparative literary studies, and feminist criticism. She has published widely on contemporary Lithuanian women's writing in Lithuanian and international academic journals. She supervises BA and MA papers in Lithuanian Philology. Her latest work, the monograph *Their Own Voices* (2019), focuses on women's writing and the literary canon in Lithuanian diaspora 1950-1990.