DISPLACED VOICES

A JOURNAL OF MIGRATION, ARCHIVES AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

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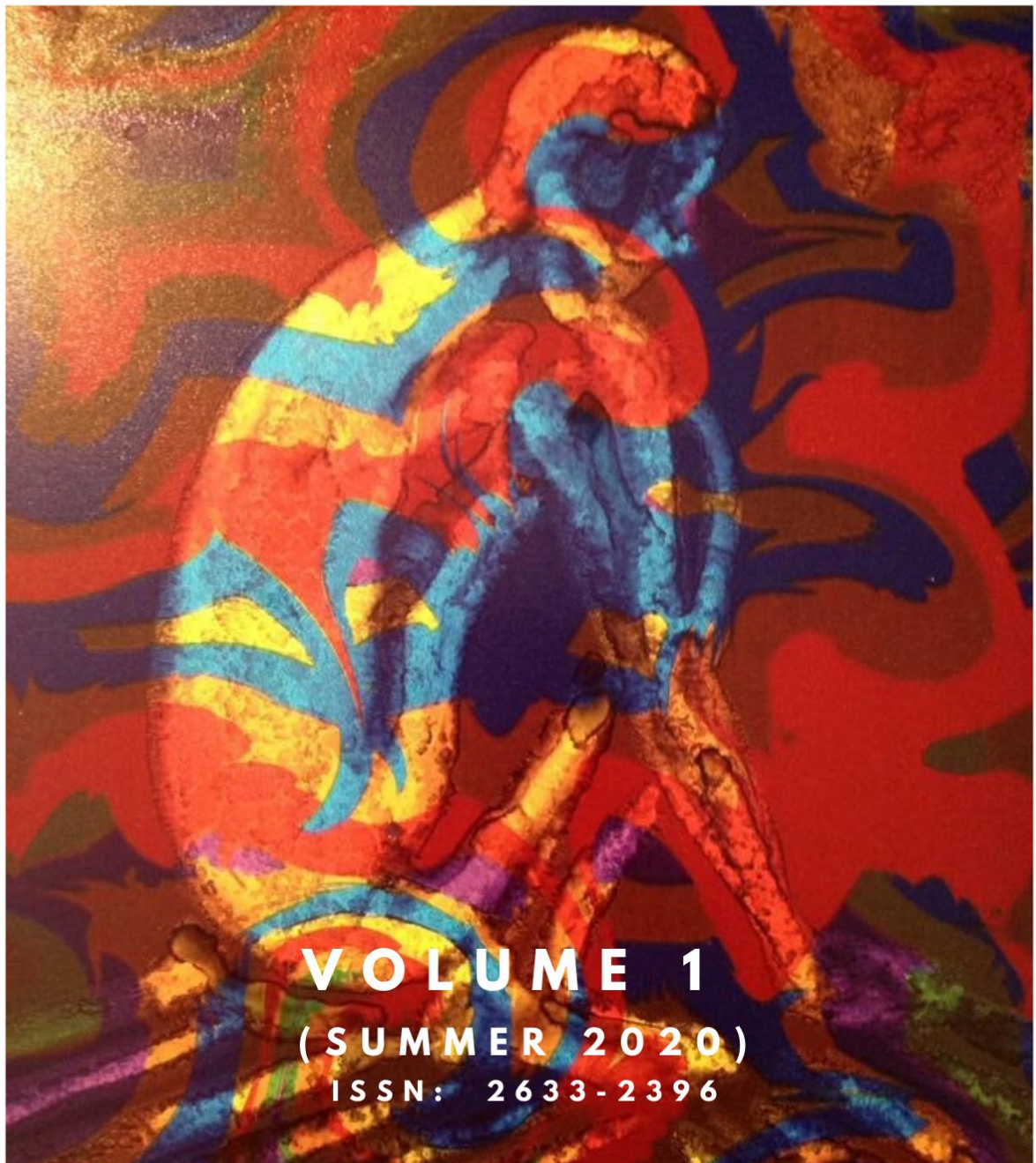
Displaced Voices: A Journal of Migration, Archives and Cultural Heritage.

Volume 1 (Summer 2020).

ISSN: 2633-2396

Displaced Voices is an online journal of the Living Refugee Archive.

www.livingrefugeearchive.org/

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Editorial – Why Displaced Voices?

Paul Vernon Dudman[i]

Welcome to the inaugural volume of our new journal – ***Displaced Voices: A Journal of Archives, Migration and Cultural Heritage***. *Displaced Voices* sits at the interdisciplinary nexus of archival science; refugee and forced migration studies and cultural heritage and is published by the Living Refugee Archive, an online portal managed and curated by colleagues at the Refugee Council Archive located within the University of East London. *Displaced Voices* is committed to the values of open access and all facets of the journal including articles, poetry, multimedia and related content will be made freely accessible to all.

Our aim is for *Displaced Voices* to be a multidisciplinary open access peer-reviewed online journal which aims to encourage cross-disciplinary engagement at the intersection of refugee and migration studies, archival science and cultural heritage incorporating submissions from a range of scholars and practitioners both nationally and internationally. *Displaced Voices* will be published twice yearly, in June and December each year, and will provide an online digital platform for activists, archivists, researcher, practitioners and academics to engage and contribute to issuers pertaining to refugee and migration history, refugee and migrant rights, social justice, cultural heritage and archives. We are very keen to encourage submissions to the Journal from all writers as inclusivity of approach is vitally important in terms of what we hope to achieve with *Displaced Voices*. Whether you are a community activist, a volunteer, a practitioner, a student (any level) or an academic (from PhD students to Professor) we want to hear about your experiences and explore ways we can highlight your voice within the pages of *Displaced Voices*.

Displaced Voices is born out of our ongoing work experience working with archival and oral history collections documenting the experiences of refugee and forced migration issues combined with a growing awareness and impact of cultural heritage issues within this context and the realisation that there was not a publication space availability which adequately represented the intersection of these disciplines, engaging inclusive scholarship within the Journal, and we have chosen to publish Displaced Voices within our Living Refugee Archive online portal as a means of facilitating an independent publishing space encouraging a range of different publishing opportunities including traditional articles, multimedia pieces, poetry and creative writing. We can also utilise the exhibition and

presentation capabilities of the Living Refugee Archive to showcase content in the form of exhibitions, installations, audio and visual materials. Displaced Voices represents a collaboration between the Living Refugee Archive at the University of East London; the Centre for Refugees, Migration and Belonging (CMRB) at UEL; the Oral History Society Migration Special Interest Group and the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) Working Group on the History of Forced Migration and Refugees. We also work in collaboration with the British Sociological Association (BSA) Diaspora, Migration and Transnationalism Study Group and the BSA Activism in Sociology Forum.

Displaced Voices is looking to engage with issues relating to the intersection of refugee and migration studies with participatory archive and oral history methodologies and the role of cultural heritage in in relation to the refugee experience. Broad themes for the Journal will include refugee and migration history; cultural and intangible history, community memory and notions of identity, and the role of archives and oral history in documenting the refugee and forced migration experience. But why start a new journal exploring issues relating to the narratives of displacement?

Our ongoing work with archives of displacement at the University of East London and the need to give agency and voice to the under-documented narratives of migration, has reinforced an understanding that displaced communities continue de be de-historicised in wider historical discourse, which is increasingly in danger from more nationalistic interpretations of our past. The impact of the Hostile Environment, Brexit and now Covid-19 threaten to heighten already negative discourses on displacement issues, engendering further potential barriers for under-documented communities to engage with their past and to reflect upon their own collective memory. It is important therefore they we continue to offer independent and participatory spaces for engagement on these issues. We want to be Displaced Voices to be an open accessible participatory space for multi-modal approaches to storytelling and for the documenting of experiences, in a way that is accessible for both the writer and the reader, whilst attempting to avoid the scenario of displaced voices being written and stylised for a particular audience.

We want to challenge the nations that the only displaced voice that is acceptable, is the one that focuses on a story of trauma and dispossession to engender a sense of sympathy from the reader. We want both our journal and are archival collections to represent a site of agency and empowerment, where communities feel comfortable engaging with the materials that we hold in an open and accessible fashion, where there story

will be listened too and where it can act as a source of inspiration and empowerment for others.

This first Volume of *Displaced Voices* contains an engaging mix of articles and perspectives. At the time of writing this Editorial, we are in the midst both of the unprecedented situation across the world in terms of the COVID-19 pandemic and the impact of both the virus itself and the subsequent lockdowns have had upon our communities and wider society. Whilst at the same time, we are witnessing the response of the Black Lives Matter campaign to the desperately sad death of George Floyd in Minnesota, and what we can only hope is the heightening of some much needed social justice reform to ensure that the curse of racism can start to be eradicated from our societies. None of us are immune from the soul searching that is needed in response to the Black Lives Matter campaign and we all need to go back and re-assess our own practices to ensure that we are enabling the most inclusive version of our society and ourselves, and to ensure we are enabling and empowering the voices of everyone within our communities.

With the issues of the Coronavirus pandemic and the Black Lives Matter movement very much at the forefront, this volume of *Displaced Voices* begins with Nithya Rajan contextualising her experiences of the Black Lives Matter campaign in her article, focusing on *Who is a Refugee,* linking her PhD research on Afghan refugee mothers in India to the solidarity movement in Minnesota*.* Whilst the contribution of Ananymous and Dr. Rumana Hashem's reflects on a conversation undertaken as part of a University of East London Refugee Archives civic engagement project focusing on documenting the experiences of refugees and East Seekers in East London. The conservation style of this article enables both interviewer and interviewee to reflect upon their own experiences and challenges of displacement in the United Kingdom, reflecting on issues of racism, access to healthcare, integration and considering how these reflect the upon responses to the Coronavirus pandemic and Black Lives Matter. Lastly in this section, in an article on `*Weaponizing Fear and Controlling Movement,* Jasmin Lilian Diab explores the intersection of the Coronavirus with/on migration and border crossing, highlighting the complexities of border controls and visa restrictions. The article highlights how undocumented immigrants are the most vulnerable within the current COVID-19 pandemic crisis highlighting how "Migrants have long been scapegoated for the public health concerns of the day." (Diab, 2020).

We wanted *Displaced Voices* to incorporate multiple forms of representation and the multimedia pieces `*Drowning By Numbers'* by Nergis Canefe reflects upon the challenges of how public narratives of migration are shaped by the very audiences they are designed to reach, and how the use

of non-textual storytelling techniques can help situate these narratives in a more ethic context. It explores the politics of representation and the use of narrative and story-telling approaches in non-textual formats, utilising an installation of 26 images, accompanied by a contextual textual essay. Canefe's work reflects on the role of aesthetics in mobilising narratives of survival and in what form these are constructed. The role of narratives and storytelling, and the dangers of focusing on the `trauma' of the displaced is common to several articles in the first volume of *Displaced Voices*. In her artwork and accompanying essay, Canefe' s methodology "is one of engaged story telling via alternative forms of representation." (2020). The Living Refugee Archive also contains an online visual representation of Nergis's work, available via this link at:

http://www.livingrefugeearchive.org/exhibitions/drowning-by-numbers-online-exhibition-by-nergis-canefe/

Four articles by Kiran Khan; Val Harding and Julie Begum; J. Madeline Bass; and Katherine Randall *et al* draw upon some key issues we hoped would be present within this first issue, namely the role of oral history and archival documents in enabling the documenting of community histories and the Voices of often under-represented communities within our Archives to be heard, combined with the ethical challenges of working with difficult narratives, especially in relation to experiences of migration and racism within host communities, and how we as archivists, historians and writers utilise these stories in the telling and retelling of history.

In her article `*Mirch Masala'*, Kiran Khan reflects on whether the acceptance of South Asian cuisine within the UK setting has reflected the wider acceptance of South Asian culture in Britain. Khan utilised oral history recordings from the *Hidden Histories* oral history archive curated by Eastside Community Heritage, and held at the University of East London, to understand the prevalent discourses and experiences of South Asian migrants as an immigrant community, highlighting that whilst South Asian food in the form of the curry was readily accepted into British culture, the experiences of the South Asian community itself told a very different story. Racism towards the Bangladeshi community in East London, for example, was both frequent and normalised.

This is also reflected in the article by Val Harding and Julie Begum focusing on the Bengali music in East London. The Bengali Music and Musicians Oral History project was established by the Swadhinata Trust to help document Bengali cultural history and heritage through music. The project looks to document Bengali culture tin the diaspora through music as a means of documenting community life set against the challenges of racism and multiculturalism. The history of Bengali music in the UK has not been well-

documented, reflecting perhaps of the challenges of acceptability and the cultural appropriation of new musical styles in Britain. Perhaps in a similar fashion to Khan's notes in the adaptation of curry to fit Western tastes, Julie Begum reflects on how new bands like the *Asian Dub Foundation* and *State of Bengal* in the 1970's were able to mix traditional South Asian musical styles with modern dance music as a means of facilitating a new form of cultural engagement with South Asian culture.

In `*Resisting the Trauma Story'*, Katharine Randall *et al* focus on the ethics of undertaking an oral history project with refuges in Southwest Virginia. The articles reflects on the importance of `refugees as curators of a personal archives of stories." (Randall, 2020). The article reflects important methodological issues for archivists and oral historians, challenging us to resist the `reductive trauma narratives refugees are often expected to tell" (Randall, 2020) whilst also challenging the traditional archival framework itself. It explores the ethics of oral history work with refuges and how we can amplify these stories whilst enabling a sense of agency to the storytellers.

M. Jaye Bass, in her article `*Resistance is our Culture'* explores the creation of liberatory spaces and counter alternative narratives through the creation of an archive of Oromo life and transnational solidarity of the Oromo diaspora in Germany. "It demonstrates the power of the archie itself as an active participant in documenting, remembering and supporting the Oromo struggle." (Bass, 2020) Bass reflects on her work with the Oromo Horn von Afrika Centrum (link) founded in 1985 in Wedding, Berlin, as means to document and preserve the Oromo struggle in the face of Ethiopian imperialism.

In `*Identity Artefacts as a Methodological and Pedagogical Tool',* Mary-Rose Puttick discusses the notion of storytelling through the use of "identity artefacts" as a methodological and pedagogical tool, and the storytelling born out of the responses to these objects. Focusing on Somali mothers who attended a Family Literacy class in the West Midlands, Puttick reflects on multi-modal practices "theorising artefacts as embodying diverse aspect: people, stories, experiences, identities, spaces and places feelings and thoughts.

We are also including two poetic contributions: the first a collection of poems and artwork by Sonia Quintero, a poet and activist currently running Newham Poetry Group; and a selection of poem and artwork published by the Hopetowns poetry and creative writing group based London. Both of these provide alternative forms of representation and different creative approaches to self-expression, and we are privileged to also have permission to showcase Hopetowns completed poetry publication and

artwork   via   the   Living   Refugee   Archive   too   at: http://www.livingrefugeearchive.org/archives/hopetowns-poetry-archive/

Lastly we have two in-depth research articles focusing on the ongoing issues in Kashmir. Tajamul Maqbool documents the complex narratives in relation to the exodus of the Pandit community from Indian Administrate Kashmir, reflecting upon the challenges of determining a narrative chronology of events relating to the enforced exodus of the Pandit community from Kashmir. Whilst Inamul Huq focuses on the legacies of Partition and violence in the State of Kashmir and its impact on the communities located there.

We very much hope you will enjoy reading the articles located within this our first edition of the *Displaced Voices* Journal. We are very pleased to have the opportunity to launch this volume during Refugee Week 2020 and we thank our colleagues at Refugee Week UK for their commitment in organising a range of online events this year in what are difficult circumstances. We would be very interested in receiving any comments or feedback that you may have in response to this Volume. If you have any questions or comments, please contact the Editor, Paul V. Dudman, on p.v.dudman@uel.ac.uk

If you are interested in submitting an article to the journal, please contact the Editor in the first instance. Please refer to our website for details at: www.livingrefugeearchive.org/researchpublications/displaced_voices/ and follow us on Twitter at: @DisplacedVoice

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Disorientations on Place and Displacement

Nithya Rajan[1]

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) defines refugees as "A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee their country because of persecution, war or violence".[2]

On 24 March 2020, the Government of India announced a complete lockdown, to stop the spread of the Novel Coronavirus. A country of 1.3 billion people, predominantly rural and urban poor, subsistence farmers, migrant workers, day-laborers, small business owners came to a standstill. Far away in Minneapolis, as I sequestered at home in compliance with social distancing guidelines, my immediate thoughts were about what the lockdown would mean for refugees in India. Most refugees in India, like elsewhere in the world, made ends meet doing informal work when they could find it. The Afghan refugee women that I worked with, many of them single mothers, depended on traditional embroidery work, cooking, and other odd jobs for survival. When I enquired about how they were managing during the lockdown when these sources of income however precarious had been cut off, they assured me with typical resilience that they were okay. Yet I knew that most of them had savings, no access to healthcare, and were outside the radar of non-profits distributing food and other necessities in densely populated urban settlements in Delhi. Refugees were not even eligible for the meagre cash and in-kind assistance offered by the government, as they did not have *Aadhaar* cards or other documentation that could prove their right to state support.[3]

Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so[4]

I feared that refugees, living on the margins of citizenship in India would be the first to feel the socio-economic brunt of the ill-conceived lockdown. However, refugees were not its most visible victims. The unemployment and hunger brought about by the lockdown, announced only hours before it went into effect, forced migrant workers to leave the city in large numbers. With no trains or buses, thousands made the long trek back under the blazing summer sun on foot. Even the local governments' assurances of care and protection did not stop them from fleeing the inhospitable metropolises en masse.[5] With their livelihood gone, the migrant workers who kept chaotic megapolises like Delhi and Bombay functioning, risked everything to return to the places they called home. By one estimate, half a million migrants had left Indian cities by early April.[6] The journey proved more fatal than the virus for some.[7] This exodus of migrants unsettled my understanding of displacement and refugitude and challenged the categories of 'migrant' and 'refugee' that we use in academic and policy

discourse. A cruel combination of State policy and a virus forced these migrant workers into "involuntary" repatriation to their villages, which many had left to escape intergenerational poverty produced by centuries of caste and religious discrimination, and land dispossession and crop failures resulting from government policies and environmental degradation. At the same time, my Afghan friends in Delhi, with "official" refugee certificates, could not leave the inhospitable city because they had nowhere to go. The artificiality of oppositional categories-migrants/refugees, citizens/ immigrants- becomes evident at these times. The devaluation and disposability of these lives, as the government scrambled to safely bring back citizens stuck abroad and prioritized incarcerating political activists and dissenters, was laid bare for all to see.

One of my dearest friends, Gul, a refugee woman I met in Delhi, received her humanitarian visa to resettle in Australia, a few days before the lockdown was instituted in India. Gul's terrace apartment in a refugee neighbourhood in Delhi was the place where most of my "fieldwork" was conducted over endless cups of tea. Gul had lived in Delhi for 7 years, and knew the city much better than most Delhiites. A few days before her scheduled departure, she messaged me- "I was in the metro today and I felt like hugging everyone in the compartment. I will miss India so much." Life in Delhi had not been easy for Gul by any means, but she had a community, a large group of friends who came to her for advice and help. In Australia, she had to go into full quarantine upon arrival. No human contact for 14 days, in a land that was deeply unfamiliar. It was as if the virus wanted to play one more cruel prank on her.

A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group.[8]

On 25 May, I was shocked out of the uneasy ennui of life under social distancing, inundated with news of the pandemic death toll, skyrocketing unemployment numbers and the multiple manifestations of socio-economic distress, by the brutal murder of George Floyd, a Black man by four white police officers. Floyd was murdered less than 2 miles away from where I have lived for the past 9 years- my neighbourhood in one sense. I did not watch the video of Floyd's murder in which he pleaded for breath, even though the air was contaminated with the Coronavirus. I still have not. I prefer to know and remember him as the beautiful, gentle face that adorns nearly every wall and window in Minneapolis today. I was well-aware of the long history of police violence against communities of colour in the Twin

Cities, the defunding of inner-city schools, and the covert racism masked by "Minnesota nice". In my 9 years of living here, I had gone to rallies to protest the police murder of two other Black men- Jamar Clark in 2015, and Philando Castile in 2016. As most Americans with the privilege to stay-at-home fretted about staying safe from the pandemic, Breonna Taylor was murdered by the Louisville police in her own bedroom on 13 March 2020. The news of her murder was lost in newsfeeds inundated with the statistics of the pandemic, presidential drama and sourdough starter recipes.

As I joined socially-distanced protests and rallies at the Minnesota State Capitol, outside government buildings and the police headquarters in the days following Floyd's murder, I was exposed to new spaces and modes of solidarity and allyship with the Black people in my community. The grief and rage that people felt over Floyd's death reignited the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement, and brought attention to ongoing struggles around housing, public schools, prison abolition and transgender rights that Black organizers had been fighting for a long time in Minneapolis and across the United States. The shame that us non-Black folks felt about our apathy and silence, galvanized us to strive to become better allies. People came together to gather resources- food, housing, clothes, mental health, medication- for those who were struggling to access these basic necessities of life; needs that were exacerbated by the pandemic. It was evident that even though we needed to completely overhaul systems and processes of governance rooted in white supremacy, we had enough resources within the community to provide for all. Why had it taken the murder of George Floyd for people to redistribute the resources they had hoarded? Why had we not come together to feed, care and house everyone in our community before when we clearly always had the capacity to do so? Why had we relegated the blame for these systemic failures of care to a State built on white supremacy, settler colonialism and extractive capitalism? There are no easy answers, but the questions are important. This sense of infinite possibility, a collective vision for a future free of the police and other mechanisms of state oppression, a solidarity that crosses national boundaries and differences of race, class, ethnicity, genders, and sexualities, is Floyd's last gift to us. We have an opportunity to make it his legacy.

Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so.[9]

In the BLM protests, and counter protests by white supremacist groups following Floyd's murder, many became unhoused. Perhaps, 'became' is not the right word. According to one report homelessness has increased by

10% in Minnesota since 2015.[10] Black, Indigenous and other people of colour experience homelessness at disproportionately high levels. On 29 May, activists and organizers negotiated with the management of a no-longer-in-use hotel building a few blocks away from where I live, to make it into a sanctuary for the unhoused people in the area. Where do people who are without house/home/community/sanctuary in their own country/state/city/traditional native lands fall in our categories of migrant/refugee/internally displaced? The 200 or so people who live in the sanctuary hotel have been under threat of eviction from the beginning. Many moved out to nearby parks. After community push back against the park authorities posting eviction notices on tents, on 13 June, the Minneapolis Park and Recreation Board department passed a plan committing to let transform parks into a sanctuary for people who are unhoused.[11]

As a refugee studies scholar and an immigrant who has been thinking about questions of home, belonging, refuge and the violence of national borders, I feel disoriented by all that I am witnessing at my various home/s and communities. But disorientation can be generative. It is an opportunity to question, unlearn, rethink and relearn categories and our commitments.

Endnotes

[1] Nithya is a PHD candidate at the Gender, Women and Sexuality Studies department at the University of Minnesota. Her research focuses on refugees in the global south, experiences of women refugees, global refugee livelihood policy, UNHCR in the global south, Afghan refugees in India. Nithya is also a member of the IASFM Working Group on the History of Forced Migration and Refugees: An International Working Group for Archiving and Documentation.

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[8] Ibid, What is a Refugee? Definition and Meaning

[9] Ibid

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[11] Turtinen, M., 2020. Board says homeless can stay in Minneapolis parks. *Bring Me The News*. Available at: https://bringmethenews.com/minnesota-news/minneapolis-park-board-says-homeless-can-stay-there [Accessed June 20, 2020].

"Too black to be Moroccan" and "too Afrikan to be Black-British": A conversation about unsafe lives of black-Afrikan refugees in Britain

Anonymous Immigrant and Rumana Hashem [1]

This is an extract from hours of conversations between the two authors, an Anonymous Immigrant who is an indigenous Moroccan and a displaced black student in Britain, and Rumana Hashem, a displaced sociologist and an unestablished academic in the UK. Both authors are people of colour from the Global South, who experienced immigration control in the UK and regularly confront British prejudice and white supremacy. The authors have known each other since 2014 and have co-worked on a number of projects, including one civic engagement project with asylum-seekers, one higher education programme for refugees, two political campaigns on freedom, secularism, and gender and sex equalities, and one ecological project to save the Sundarbans. Our conversations cut across a range of issues including political, economic and cultural disparities, and politics of humanitarianism, but reflect mostly on displacement, im/mobility, surveillance and border struggles, instability and individual resilience of the displaced, violence and collective resistance, climate poverty, and racial discrimination. For the purpose of the "Displaced Voices" volume for Refugee Week 2020, the extract focuses on resilience of the displaced persons from the Global South and hostility towards Black-Afrikan refugees in the UK.

For those of us currently engaged in the Black Lives Movement[2], whether in person activism and protests, or online campaign, writing, and policy advocacy, it is important to appreciate the different experiences of "Black" people themselves. The extract below considers the hard to imagine resilience of black refugees and Black-Afrikans which many Black-British and Black-Americans are yet to know – let alone the white people. In considering experience of an ex-Muslim Black-Afrikan refugee from Morocco in the UK, Anonymous, we discuss how individuals' experience varies based on their ethnicity, nationality, class and legal categorisation as interwoven with "race". This extract uses quotations, derived directly from a completed civic engagement project, called "Democratic Access or Privileged Exclusion: Civic Engagement through the Preservation of and Access to Refugee Archives," where Anonymous was a participant and Rumana was a researcher.[3]

Anonymous gave a 2-hours life history recording to develop the Living Refugee Archive which Rumana has recorded.[4] The discussion was held in

unstructured and open-ended conversational settings, where Anonymous talked about his moving memory in Morocco, and hostility, resilience and subversion which he and other Black-Afrikan refugees experience in Britain. Anonymous was an asylum-seeker, when his life story was recorded in June 2015 before the referendum. He has subsequently been granted permanent residence in the UK before Brexit, but still experiences hostility, poverty, and racial inequality. We revisit his life narrative at this time as hostility towards refugees has increased, as Black and Afrikan refugees have been accused as being illegal,[5] as violence against black people in America escalates fear, and the Black Lives Movement becomes ever more important. The time and space of our conversations are significant because they also relate to four historically important political phenomena, namely the referendum, Brexit, COVID-19 and the ongoing Black Lives Movement in the UK and across the world.

The snippets included here highlight the experience of Anonymous in Britain as a country of sanctuary, and also draws on his lived experience in Morocco as the home country. The medium of our exchanges is primarily English and combined with occasional dialogues in Arabic languages. For the sake of clarity, Britain and the UK have been used inter-changeably. Black is used as a human racial classification and enforced category, while black is the skin colour of an individual. Quotation marks are used for direct quotes drawn from the civic engagement project, where Anonymous was a research participant. [6]

Being black and indigenous in Morocco is a "crime"

Anonymous is an indigenous-born 30 years old black human being from Morocco[7], a country which he describes as "Rich in natural resources, surrounded by beautiful mountains, and ruled by various monarchs. Morocco is located between Algeria and Western Sahara. The Kingdom is a North African country bordering the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean Sea, currently ruled by an Islamic dictator. Morocco's history is complex and full of wars and revolutions." The country was colonized by the Phoenicians, Romans, Arab Muslims, French and Spanish colonizers, but indigenous Moroccans had fought them. Anonymous is "Proud to be a Moroccan because they have refused to accept colonisation". Despite his deep sense of belonging to Morocco, is he recognised as a Moroccan citizen?

" I am 'too black' to be a Moroccan. It is a Kingdom of White-Muslims. Morocco is ruled by a dictator. The country has been destroyed by the Islamist dictatorship. This regime does not see black and indigenous persons as citizens," told Anonymous in response to Rumana's question

about his sense of belonging, recognition and citizenship in Morocco. Indigenous Moroccan's do not get recognition, which made Anonymous an "invisible and subverted individual" in his homeland. His skin colour, and his non-Muslim and indigenous identity are seen as his offences. "Being black in Morocco is a crime". This is why Anonymous had fled Morocco.

Anonymous has moved to the UK from Morocco under religious persecution and extreme racialisation in 2014, and sought asylum as he believed that the human rights standard would be high for anyone in the UK. But he has been proven wrong on this. He has frequently been exposed by prejudice and inequalities relating to 'race' and nationality in particular. Racism and xenophobic nationalism are two of the common experiences that Rumana, too, has faced in the UK. However, the level of racism that Anonymous experiences as a Black-Afrikan asylum-seeker is cruel. Anonymous is not a Black-British. He is an indigenous Moroccan who can be identified from his dress, such as Jillaba, and different hair when he walks on the street. This reminds him about the harassments he confronted in sub-Shahran Afrika, where human rights for "Black" people hardly exists.

Anonymous was 24 years old when he moved in Britain. Although he is fluent in English and has come to the UK with a reputation for his writing and talents, he had little formal education. Anonymous could not complete formal school education in Morocco. The education system in Morocco is corrupt and extremely religious, which made it difficult for an indigenous and non-religious Black-Moroccan to finish his school education. He was forced to study in a Madrasa, which is a form of religious school where Islamic education and Quranic knowledge are taught to everyone regardless of pupil's interests. Anonymous has left Madrasa as he did not want to spend his youth by learning only about the Quran. Leaving school has resulted in his religious persecution. On top of his skin colour and indigenous identity, which were seen as a crime, he has been accused of blasphemy.

 "There is no space for a Black-Moroccan in the Kingdom. Indigenous Moroccans are not valued citizens of Morocco. I am seen as enemy and threat to the Kingdom. My skin colour and indigenous identity were my crimes", stresses Anonymous. But you could hardly protest under the dictatorship of Saadeddine Othmani. Stories of black and indigenous Moroccans are hardly discussed in Morocco. "Everything has been controlled in Morocco, from the politico to economy of Morocco and sub-Saharan Afrika, the dictatorship is controlling everything and forcing many aboriginals from the region to move in the UK". These are common stories

that Rumana has heard from other refugees from Sudan and sub-Saharan countries that she worked with in the civic engagement project and in the "refugees in higher education" programme. What is notable is how Black-people and indigenous Moroccans are excluded and racialised in their home country, and that these experiences are hardly protested or discussed. Morocco and Algeria are often represented by white and Muslim citizens in the West.

What it means to be a "Black-Afrikan" in Britain?

Anonymous fled from Morocco with a hope that he would get education when he comes in the UK. But his experience as a "Black refugee" from Morocco is "depressing and unacceptable". Although he has received a permanent residence permit, recurrent race inequalities, cruel comments on the high streets in London, deprivation and difficulty in accessing higher education, exclusion at work, and experiences of health inequalities relating to "race" in the British National Health System (NHS) have made him vulnerable. Six years on asylum, his search for a safe home, a suitable job, income, wellness and passion for higher education have not ended.

Anonymous finds himself as someone "too Afrikan to be a Black-British in the UK". His experiences are un-heard by most people of Black and Asian Minority Ethnicity (BAME), because their past and his past do not match. For Anonymous there is a "serious issue with British values", which many BAME members embrace, but it is one that Anonymous recurrently confronted since his arrival in the UK. Anonymous is a black Moroccan migrant, who misses his sub-Saharan dress, food, language, and the natural landscapes every day since he arrived in Britain. People in this new country do not recognise the value of his sub-Saharan lifestyle. This state has denied access to his education, health, and work for years, and he has been forced to practice "British value" of what he calls "a name of a joke". His asylum was granted on the condition that he would demonstrate integrity to British values, but not that the Britons would have shown respect to a sub-Saharan man.

Anonymous used to wear Moroccan national dress before coming to the UK and continued to wear that dress in the first months of his seeking asylum here. He noticed soon after his arrival in Britain that the British and European people could not take it easy because "Jillaba is always seen as a religious dress". Although he wore the dress simply because it is "comfortable and warm" and keeps him well in winter, people could not see

the point. "It has nothing to do with the look of a Southern man" or 'the Camel Man'", but people here stared at Anonymous as if he is a "Camel Man". Anonymous says that when people looked at someone in this way he feels "like a monkey in the 'zoo'. There is this perception about certain dress and food in Britain and a meta narrative about how a sub-Saharan Afrikan man looks like." There are stories about their cultural dress code which make life even more difficult for an Afrikan refugee on top of immigration control of the UK Home Office. "These everyday issues of identity politics in the UK are unbearable for many Afrikan and black people with refugee status." Anonymous find it hard to cope with.

Our conversation moves on to orientalism, which Anonymous as a black Moroccan has repeatedly encountered. In his early months of asylum, when he was walking along Oxford Street in London, someone would come and ask: "can I touch your hair,.. ..is this real"? This features a Black-Afrikan man as a stranger and creature to play with. Rumana has also experienced orientalism in the UK which led to a racist attack on her. During her PhD studies, as an international student she would encounter direct violence in London's street for walking silently and on national train for wearing a Bangladeshi dress. She would be approached by drunk white young men on train telling her to leave the train or would pour beer on her face. These experiences of non-British, brown migrant-woman, and Afrikan and black refugee man, show the level of prejudice that the "British values" poses, while these are also causes that connect us and reminds us to resist and unite for Black Lives Movement.

Notably and dishearteningly when an unprovoked attack by intolerant men is launched on a Black-refugee on the street or an Asian migrant-woman on a national train, there would be no one or very few people to stand against such assault. It is this "problem of categorisation", as Anonymous points out. The categorisation is not about legal categories but also socially constructed that puts us at risk. We are not British citizens, and it becomes visible in our appearance. For Anonymous, there is not much to be proud about being British but we know that most Britons are proud about their "Britishness". When a British -Bangladeshi or a Black-British say proudly that "I am a British" it concerns Anonymous about "the sort of prejudice this person might be embracing". The notion of "British values" and "Britishness" automatically discriminates others in the UK, regardless of refugees and migrants. The ongoing Black Lives Movement in the UK needs to address this.

Anonymous points out that British "People take pride for NHS, a health system that does not recognise Black-refugees' health." Anonynous had been denied access to health for 11 months and did not have any health check before his asylum was granted. When he first went to give interview for asylum at Home Office, he mentioned this to the UKBA officer who had asked him about his health and fitness. The officer told him that "It's okay. In his saying there was an expression as if a black Moroccan refugee does not need any health service." [8]

The right to access health, education, and work are reserved for certain groups of people in the UK. The treatment of refugees and asylum-seekers has worsened with the pandemic. Anonymous and other refugees in his home in London have been denied basic support for health and wellbeing. He has not received any attention or support from the NHS and the government, although he was told that he has been infected in the beginning of lockdown. Instead of supporting refugees, the Home Office has insulted people seeking asylum in Britain by offering them just 26 pence increase on their daily rates to help them through a deadly pandemic.[9]

Solidarity is Situated

Despite the dreadfulness of pandemic, there has been growing social solidarity and community support available for people in crisis. Do refugees and asylum-seekers in the UK get included in congregation and community solidarity? Anonymous does not receive any community service. He sees there is a discrepancy and hostility towards black and displaced people even in times of pandemic. The community support is limited and reserved for "community people", not for those who come from another country to remake home in British shore. Apparently solidarity is also situated and community support is restricted in the UK. The support is reserved for UK nationals or community members - people who belong to certain community based on their particular religion. The experiences of both authors in the UK are informed by racism that does not necessarily rely on "race" or only skin colour, but also their nationality and ethnicity.[10]

This conversation spanned around revealing many contradictions in politics of belonging and cultural identities, legal categorisations, social divisions amongst Black migrants and Black British, and the intersectionality between class, culture, "race", religion and nationality which can only be understood through a situated notion of border struggles and identities.

These experiences are similar to some complex narratives of border struggles of migrants and refugees in Calais Jungle and across EU borders as discussed by Yuval-Davis et al. [11] Anonymous see the concept of community as a politics of belonging. For him even the Moroccan community here suffer from some sort of prejudice relating to their British immigration and "Britishness", thus embracing British supremacy if not white supremacy. This is where the fight for Black Lives Movement and refugee rights gets lost.

As non-white, non-British, and a black displaced activist from the Global south, Anonymous experienced complex categorisations within, which many Black and Asian Minority Ethnic communities in the UK do not always see. Even the ongoing Black Lives Movement in the Americas and the UK is yet to fully address this issue of categorisation of "Black" refugees and international migrants. We conclude by appreciating that the recurrent violence against black people can be prevented when all people of colour – regardless of their legal, national, political, and social position – will be united, recognising the Others (who may not belong to the same community and nationality), and working to eliminate the categories such as Black-Afrikans and refugees from the Global South.

Endnotes

[1] Anonymous is the pseudonym of the first author. A pseudonym has been used for the purpose of his safety in a hostile environment. The author was also a research participant in the civic engagement project from where the snippets have been derived, and the data of the original research are sensitive in nature. Therefore, we regard it is important to maintain first author's anonymity . The second author, Rumana Hashem is a political sociologist and an activist-researcher. Her research interests cuts across policy questions on gender, conflict, displacement and migration. Currently based in the department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick, she is also a Research Fellow at the centre for Migration, Refugees and Belonging at the University of East London. She leads an international Working Group for archiving and documentation of History of Forced Migration and Refugees.

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[6] The first version of this narrative was read and kindly proofed by Paul Dudman, the editor of the *Displaced Voices*, who also happens to be a co-researcher in the civic engagement project and the sole curator of the *Living Refugee Archive* (LRA) – an open access site that was being established to document and preserve original life narratives of asylum seekers, migrants and refugees. We are thankful to Paul Dudman for his kind support.

[7] On 12 June 2015, when his life history was recorded for the research project, Anonymous was 24 years old. He spoke fluently and narrated his lived experience in Morocco and the UK.

[8] A detailed version of Anonymous's experience and race related inequalities of health service in the UK is available in this article by Hashem, R. and Dudman, P. (2016) Paradoxical narratives of transcultural encounters of the "other": Civic engagement with refugees and migrants in London, *Transnational Social Review*, 6:1-2, 192-199, DOI: 10.1080/21931674.2016.1186376.

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[10] Our experiences in the UK relates to the arguments made by Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval Davis ((1992) in their book *Racialized boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle*. London, England: Routledge. The arguments that racism and racilaisation do not only rely on people's race or skin colour, that ethnicity cannot be described as identical to 'race', but interwoven with race, and that although both race and ethnicity are categories that are determined by the possession of criteria of entry, the markers for racial and ethnic groups are different, are reflected in our lived experiences in particular in the UK.

[11] See for details in Yuval Davis, N.,Wemyss G., and Cassidy K. (2019) *Bordering*. London: Polity Press.

On Weaponizing Fear and Controlling Movement: Scaremongering and Migration amid Coronavirus

Jasmin Lilian Diab[1]

Introduction

As governments and public health officials struggle to prevent the Coronavirus from developing into the most deadly global pandemics of the twenty first century, they have been tasked with yet another pivotal intersection which cannot be overlooked: the impact of the virus on migration and border crossing. With the resort to border closures, airport closures, travel restrictions, and prohibitions on arrivals from certain areas are among leading policy responses, migration has once again proven to be at the centre of the world's policy and human rights concerns.

The national, regional and international pressures to contain and isolate the virus continue to escalate; however, in an international system where millions of people cross borders every single day, completely sealing off one country's borders with its neighbours is almost unattainable. The World Health Organization has been clear on its stance that unmitigated travel bans from affected areas will hardly ever achieve their goals.[2] It has insisted that protectionism will solely disrupt social and economic ties, and do very little to halt an airborne threat or truly serve the interests of public health.[3]

On Using Old Tools for New Threats

The threat of a pandemic spilling over into travel restrictions and border closures is hardly a new phenomenon or policy approach. Fear of H1N1 in 2009, Ebola fever in 2014 and Zika virus in 2016 have each prompted calls for tighter restrictions on cross-border movements in a range of countries.[4] Yet applying border controls to the spread of disease has proven to have little chance of 'halting' the *real* threat.

The first obstacle this measure faces is a practical one. Actual comprehensive screening is close to impossible to properly execute on such a mass scale if one is merely to consider the sheer volume of traffic at airports and ports of entry and the fact that disease detection tools (such as forehead thermometers being used today for instance) are of limited effectiveness. On multiple cases, they have flagged some who are not infected while entirely missing those who are. On another quite logical note, the first line of protection against communicable disease which is 'physical/social distancing' from others, is the very precaution undermined by these long screening queues.

The second obstacle is undoubtedly the complexities of border controls and visa restrictions. Targeting nationality, for instance, may be a direct tool in the realm of public health, but can prove to be unlawfully selective and unjust. For example, a given

state banning Iranian asylum seekers, fails to account for those who may have been living in closed camps in Turkey for years and have had absolutely no recent contact with Iran. Moreover, passengers boarding a plane are screened against criminal and terrorist databases, but airlines do not have systems in place to verify even basic information that would allow individuals to be traced should they become infected.

Simply put, these measures concurrently target some who are not a threat, and miss those who are. These realities have nonetheless put international and legal frameworks to the test, prompting everything from the U.S. and Canada's Safe Third Country Agreement, to the Schengen Agreement to defy their very value system with regard to border management and policy. In an unprecedented step, the U.S.-Canada border has been closed off to non-essential travel.[5] Austria and Germany, have begun imposing checks on vehicles arriving from Italy, contributing to a broader debate about the future of the Schengen area which is already strained by the emergency border controls of the 2015-2016 migration crisis.[6]

In the United States, the COVID-19-related travel ban imposed by the Trump Administration is more *severe* than any measure undertaken by the government within the context of containing a public health threat. Never before has a U.S. administration pursued such a comprehensive travel ban, vetting individuals even before they get on the place when they apply for visas.[7]

Collateral Damage

In addition to failing to achieve their public health goals, these measures may also lead to unintentional painful outcomes. Heightened screening have incentivized travellers to evade detection for instance by masking symptoms or lying about recent travel not deter travel from outbreak zones such as in Lebanon where the protracted majority of cases were detected in, and spread by, travellers who initially lied about their travel history.[8] This is particularly worrisome due to the fact that ultimately, the only real advantage states have in a public health emergency is people being willing to come forward and reveal their symptoms. Also, enacting blanket travel bans could potentially incentivize more unnecessary travel from an outbreak zone in order to evade these restrictions. Under the Trump Administration's current restrictions, Chinese nationals can only apply for visas to the United States from another country;[9] this could incentivize unnecessary travel to a country such as Japan for instance.

The overwhelming attention closing borders currently garners, is taking public attention away from where it is better spent: measures that actually work to stop the spread of disease. Symbolic responses that make headlines may give a general sense of "false confidence" that ultimately backfires if states miss a crucial period for targeted interventions that do work.

At this critical stage, states are tasked with maintaining the delicate balance between finding a way to respond to legitimate public concerns without scaremongering, and repairing an already dwindling public trust. And while the urgency of containment often

sparks an ultimately nationalist approach coupled with an instinct to think of national security interests, the solution to complex transnational challenges must by necessity be an international one. Rather than directing their focus inward and on protecting their own citizens, states need to rid themselves of this mindset because of the nature of the crisis at hand. It is only through international cooperation that national security can be achieved, and this virus lays a foundation for a mindset which might ultimately shift the political game as we know it.

Undocumented Immigrants are Most Vulnerable

Ideally, and in alignment with basic human rights principals, immigration status should certainly not inhibit anyone from accessing potentially life-saving medical treatment. Policies that make it increasingly difficult for people to access this type of care puts everyone at risk.

The reality of the matter is that immigration policies might potentially intensify the health crisis. Take the United States for instance, where the Trump Administration instituted a "public charge" rule which went into effect February 24, 2020, that makes immigrants ineligible for residency or citizenship if they rely on government benefits or are deemed likely to use them in the future.[10] This has led masses of individuals in immigrant communities and mixed-status families to avoid pursuing certain health benefits that they are legally permitted to use. They fear jeopardizing their own or family members' immigration status and future standing in the country. Under the rule, officials are authorized to deny green cards to immigrants if they currently use or might use government benefits. This new "rule" puts forth concerns about its potential impact on relief efforts.

Concerned about the immigration consequences of accessing emergency services and with hardly no options for working from home, undocumented and immigrant communities are the most vulnerable and at the highest risk of infection and death from the Coronavirus. Their likelihood of living in some of the most crowded quarters, suffering from pre-existing health conditions, and experiencing cross-cultural information barriers can make these groups more vulnerable, and subsequently more neglected.[11]

Moreover, it is not the mere fear of detention and deportation. Undocumented populations generally lack health insurance.[12] Uninsured people are subsequently, less likely than those with coverage to seek care, and when they do, expensive medical bills are likely to be financially beyond their means. Lack of health insurance also discourages people from seeking preventative care, which makes them even more vulnerable to COVID-19 if underlying health issues have gone unaddressed.[13]

As the Coronavirus rapidly spreads across borders and into our communities, a growing danger is the threat of the virus infiltrating jails, detention centres and refugee camps. These people simply cannot exercise social distancing at all. The healthcare system in these settings is already miserably inadequate, and the spread of the

pandemic will only worsen it. Furthermore, immigration attorneys, aid workers, humanitarian organizations' staff as well as even volunteers are concerned that they might unintentionally carry the virus into these settings.

These fears have prompted Iran recently released a reported 85,000 prisoners in an effort to contain one of the world's deadliest Coronavirus outbreak outside China.[14] Lebanon has further passed a draft law to release prisoners from their infamous Roumieh prison who have served their time but failed to pay their due fines.[15]

Scaremongering and Weaponizing Fear

Harsh measures currently undertaken in the name of "containing the spread of Coronavirus" are often goldmines for broader aims such as reducing undesirable migration and restricting the movements of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants alike. Greece and Hungary have announced their refusal to accept asylum seekers for one month.[16] President Trump has announced he is closing the U.S.-Mexico border.[17] And on multiple accounts, governments have exploited public health concerns to accelerate other "plans". Greece for instance, has leveraged fears about the spread of Coronavirus to justify its controversial plan to build "closed" camps for asylum seekers who reach Greek shores.[18]

Political entities who lobby *against* migration are taking the opportunity to draw a link between asylum seekers, refugees and the virus outbreak, even if there is no evidence to support this. Italy's former Minister of Interior and far-right politician Matteo Salvini, traced his country's outbreak of Coronavirus, without foundation, to the docking of a rescue ship with 276 African migrants in Sicily.[19] The Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orban also went as far as to speak of a "certain link" between the spread of the virus and unauthorized migrants.[20]

Migrants have long been scapegoated for the public health concerns of the day – as even in 2020, it is consistently evident that racism is alive and well. And once more this trend is not new. Cholera was nicknamed the "Irish disease"[21] in the 1830s just as Trump attempts to name Coronavirus the "Chinese virus" in 2020.[22] Nationalist politicians across Europe and the Americas have found they can score *easy points* by casting the blame for their own incompetence on the "other," and by instilling moral panic for political gain. Just as it often is in politics, it is safe to day that fear is being weaponized. The Coronavirus does not need a visa, nor does it need the permission to enter a state, its jails, hospitals, schools or its refugee camps. We put our international community's health at risk if we do not create a safe environment for those who are potentially affected to come forth and get treatment. Building a wall or instilling a travel ban, as time have proven, does little to stop the spread of people, as well as the spread of the virus.

Endnotes

[1] Jasmin Lilian Diab is a Research Associate at the Political Economy of Health in Conflict, Global Health Institute, American University of Beirut.

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`Human Interest Stories': An Aspect of the History of Refugees and the Refugee Regime

Peter Gatrell[1]

Reckoning with Refugeedom Project

It would be unthinkable for any humanitarian organisation to solicit donations and gain support for their cause without dramatizing human need. This is a widespread practice in the field of refugee relief and by extension the operation of the international refugee regime. No website or newspaper advert is complete without a 'human interest' story, pinpointing the suffering of individual refugees. A major intergovernmental organisation such as UNHCR, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, advertises its presence by offering supporters and prospective donors a dramatic vignette or compelling 'human interest' story that foregrounds the distress of refugees. Stories can help to sustain public interest and trigger generosity at times of emergency. At the same time, they serve to highlight the success of aid agencies.

This is not a recent development, and we do not maintain that there is anything unusual in the use of 'human interest' stories per se.

Our research, as part of the AHRC funded project 'Reckoning with Refugeedom: Refugee Voices in Modern History, 1919-1975', explores how refugees wrote to and petitioned various authorities across the globe and throughout much of the twentieth century. Through extensive and ongoing archival research we have established that refugees consistently petitioned the humanitarian and international organisations tasked with their care, often telling and re-telling their life-stories in their efforts to gain aid and assistance.

Given this wide diversity of refugee voices, we have been led to ask why and how it was that only certain of these stories were collected, packaged, and distributed to the public as 'human interest stories' in fundraising campaigns? Who selected stories for circulation, and according to what criteria? And how did refugees respond to the appropriation of their life stories in this way? Through an academic research article, currently in draft form, we hope to explore historical issues around the supply, demand and ownership of refugees' 'human interest stories'.

Our current focus is on how three key players in the international refugee regime – the League of Nations, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration, and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees – engaged in these practices. We hope to widen the lens by taking into account a number of non-governmental organisations. Our aim is to shed light on the historical precedents of a now widespread strategy in humanitarian fundraising.

We are well aware that our case studies are partial and selective. As such, if any readers of *Displaced Voices* have insights or expertise they may be able to offer on this topic, we would be keen to engage with them at the drafting stage.

Further Details

Reckoning with Refugeedom: -
https://reckoningwithrefugeedom.wordpress.com/

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[1] Peter Gatrell is a Professor of Economic History at the University of Manchester, and Principal Investigator for the Recking with Refugeedom project.

Drowning by Numbers
Nergis Canefe[1]

Contextual Essay

This essay is a curatorial take on the representation and reception of displaced and disposessed populations trying to escape life-threatening conditions in the Middle East and North Africa through sea voyages across the Mediterranean and Aegean seas during the past decade. It is written in the style of narrative politics. It explores how the definition of a public audience shape and are shaped by the very politics of representation. In particular, it addresses how the use of narrative and story-telling approaches in non-textual formats situate the events in question under a different ethical and political light.

With this work, I do not claim to produce a 'resistance narrative' per se, though the effect I seek in engagement amounts to a form of normative mobilization that underlines the common humanity of experiences of death and disappearance. In this regard, the images that accompany this essay are essential for shaping the collaborative production of a text into a political act regardless of the actual local setting of the audience/observer (O'Neill, 2008). Providing an in-depth understanding of the 'governance' of recent mass migration attempts [here the word 'attempts' must be underlined] at continental, regional and national levels through cross-national comparative research or to critically analyse governance practices, enhancing Europe's migration governance capacity and policy coherence of its member states and 'third countries' is the background against which this hybrid genre of presentation was put together (De Genova, 2013). However, these themes do not represent its priorities.

Although narrative accounts have long been recognised as a key component of discussing individual and mass trauma, there has been little critical investigation of how such narratives are constituted and mobilised, and with what consequences (Mayer 2014). An analysis of the politics and possibilities of narratives of survival reveals that these narratives could create a desired albeit imaginary conversation with the researchers, policy makers and the public at large. Here, my focus is not on the specific stories of individuals, though they are most valuable, but on the form, function and effects of survival as well as death narratives as a highly circumscribed kind of storytelling. There are assumptions and areas of tension which compel a more critical and perhaps daring approach to the way this genre is operationalised in forced migration studies. I believe normally alien, non-

academic forms of intervention such as art would allow us more space to reconsider the by now normalized death and disappearance of the dispossessed populations. Possibilities offered by stories told via other communicative formats, spaces and practices could help us further develop the main implications of a radical theory of aesthetics suggested by Theodor Adorno and Ranciere in the context of the complex relation between political and aesthetic encounters, and could highlight the role of materiality in political contestation through establishment of shared meanings deliberated by aesthetic inventions.

The political theory of aesthetic engagement subscribed to here traces what has been violently erased from memory and history, and, asks how this erasure could be inscribed into new possibilities for remembering, accounting, and engagement. In current discussions of vulnerability and resilience, both negative and recuperative readings tend to operate at a level that externalizes aesthetic engagement. However, the relational character of politics and art offers us the possibility of putting forward the idea of political intersubjective alliances. The oscillation between loss and transformation, political aesthetics has to approach any artistic practice in the context of resistance to the given (Edkins 2011). As such, transformative artistic practices can offer resistance to art's appropriation by the politics of modernity and contemporary neoliberalism (Ziarek 2014).

As to the perception policies, practices and humanitarian responses to the current refugee crisis exemplified by the increasing death toll of the displaced peoples resulting from their deadly voyage to cross the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas leave much of the story untold. The notable efforts to achieve harmonization between Austria, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Sweden, UK, Turkey and Lebanon and Libya often resulted in further fortification of the borderscapes of Europe.

The roles, relationships, and strategies of both state actors and civil society institutions in problem solving and service delivery concerning the survival of the dispossessed across the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas are best described as in constant flux. The involvement of community organizations, grassroots groups, and local-level institutions of civil society and advocacy bodies, as well as unsung individual heroes saving lives, is widely discussed in existing research which has tended to conceptualize these interventions through a series of oppositional dialectics, such as co-optation versus resistance. They produce a variety of scholarly narratives that are politically engaged by strategically displaying the multiple roles played by a diverse

set of actors and institutions. Each study applies their own interpretive frameworks to local needs, conditions, and suffering of asylum seekers, sans-papiers and non-status people in order to negotiate politics of forced migration on the ground.

This essay narrates the biopolitical control practices across the borders of Europe from a different stance. Though its subject matter falls squarely within the study of borders and biopolitics, the diverse surveillance mechanisms used to control the borderzones (Topak, 2014) in order to monitor, intercept, apprehend, and ultimately to push back migrants and block their passage to Europe at all cost, its methodology is one of engaged story telling via alternative forms of representation. Constant surveillance marked by the inner logic of exclusion does not always yield death and disappearance. However, when it does, especially at the bottom of the deep blue waters of ancient seas, the proportions of these losses are nothing less than epic in the tragic sense as far as the glorious history of the European civilization is concerned.

The forms of 'grief-activism' commemorating those who have perished while on the move, and in the waters surrounding Europe, as well as at the continent's physical border barriers or inside its detention centres ideally should amount to more than contestations of death. They must invite us to clearly mark the differential distribution of vulnerability and an accompanying politics of division, abandonment and necropolitical violence, all of which provide the foundation that border regimes thrive upon. Judith Butler's notion of 'grievability' (2004, 2009) and Jacques Rancière's proposition of an 'impossible identification' (1992) as a form of politics, attempts to form solidarities via the articulation of precarious moments of loss in the language of a desired collective mourning must make exclusions bare. A transformative engagement with an accounting of encounters with death and ultimate loss, however, cannot create a community 'beyond borders' *ex nihilo*.

The series of paintings accompanying this brief essay are inspired by real stories of migrants and refugees continuing to die by drowning in growing numbers as they attempt to cross into Europe through the Mediterranean and Aegean seas. The *raison d'etre* of these works of art is not to re-examine the issue of 'dying to live' or to draw renewed attention to these deaths and disappearances in relation to biopolitics of citizenship (Vaughan-Williams, 2017). This is already done amply and ably by scholarly work on the growing mobilization around refugee and migrant deaths and disappearances along Europe's borders. Solidarity with migrants, refugees

and their families in response to these deaths is an integral part of political struggles for greater rights at a global scale. An examination of struggles around rights of the dead suggests that they can be transgressive of the logic of modern citizenship.

This installation is a testimony to the fact that the practice of art as a creative and critical form of human engagement could be conceptualized as part of research on human suffering. Questions about the purposes of artistic and scholarly inquiry and the institutional and political influences that shape each of them are not categorically separate. Notions of arts-informed research, and practice-based research are comparable according to the forms, agencies and actions that are part of the theoretical, structural, interpretive and critical traditions informing both. Art is a multidisciplinary endeavour that is open to the re-envisioning of political engagement as a transformative practice. In this installation comprised of a curative essay and accompanying artworks, paintings are specifically employed as a framework for theorizing practice. The kinds of questions raised by relating to the images as an act of engagement, and looking closer and giving time to decipher the bare reality of loss can contribute to advancing a more complex, nuanced, and productive discourse on displacement and dispossession (Pezzani and Heller, 2013).

In Judith Butler's terms, asking the question of "what it means to become ethically responsive, to consider and attend to the suffering of others, and, more generally, which frames permit the representability of the human and which do not" constitutes only the beginning of genuine engagement and not an end in itself (2004). Combined with Pierre Bourdieu's concept of social suffering (1999), which is experienced both personally as well as within structural inequalities and power relations as a positional aspect of living, or dying, the concept of suffering must be thoroughly reconsidered in the context of forced migration studies. Furthermore, loss is to be examined not just as a flat reading of physical death, but in relation to the severing of communities, the losses of social recognition and attacks on human dignity. The complex concept of suffering, in which loss accrues more loss and is re-experienced in concentric circles, is to be openly discussed. Perhaps the heaviest of all kinds of suffering is when it happens in silence. Drowning at the depths of a deep sea, surrounded by kin and strangers alike, all holding onto a brief hope of remaining alive, is an incontestable sign of injustice. However, it is also a relational category that could potentially draws attention to the co-implication of the way in which certain types of exclusion and oppression are rendered politically invisible by being normalized as corporeal dispositions. This is a stark form of

embodied domination, in which the focus remains on the silence of the dead.

What remains behind is photographic images of symbolic violence indicating accommodation of oppression via lost or discarded bodies, thus yet again undermining the capacity of the dispossessed for agency in so far as individuals are rendered unable to act out their own desires, dreams, and visions even as they keep drowning. The role of accounting for the dead and other calculative practices in the context of mass exodus across the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas must rely on document analysis and interviews with key participants, determination of numbers and body counts. But how to account for the suffering that is a continuum, and to how to account for the things that were witnessed by the dead? The dead body counts' represent a 'moral economy' that is cleansed of any understanding of social and political conflicts that lead to the denial of the very basic human need for recognition and regard even of the dead (Mbembe, 2013). We must consider developing a distinct 'ontology of recognition' in forced migration studies that can mitigate the staunch objectivism of body counts and quantification of loss in numbers (Brown 1995, Fraser 2001, McNay 2007).
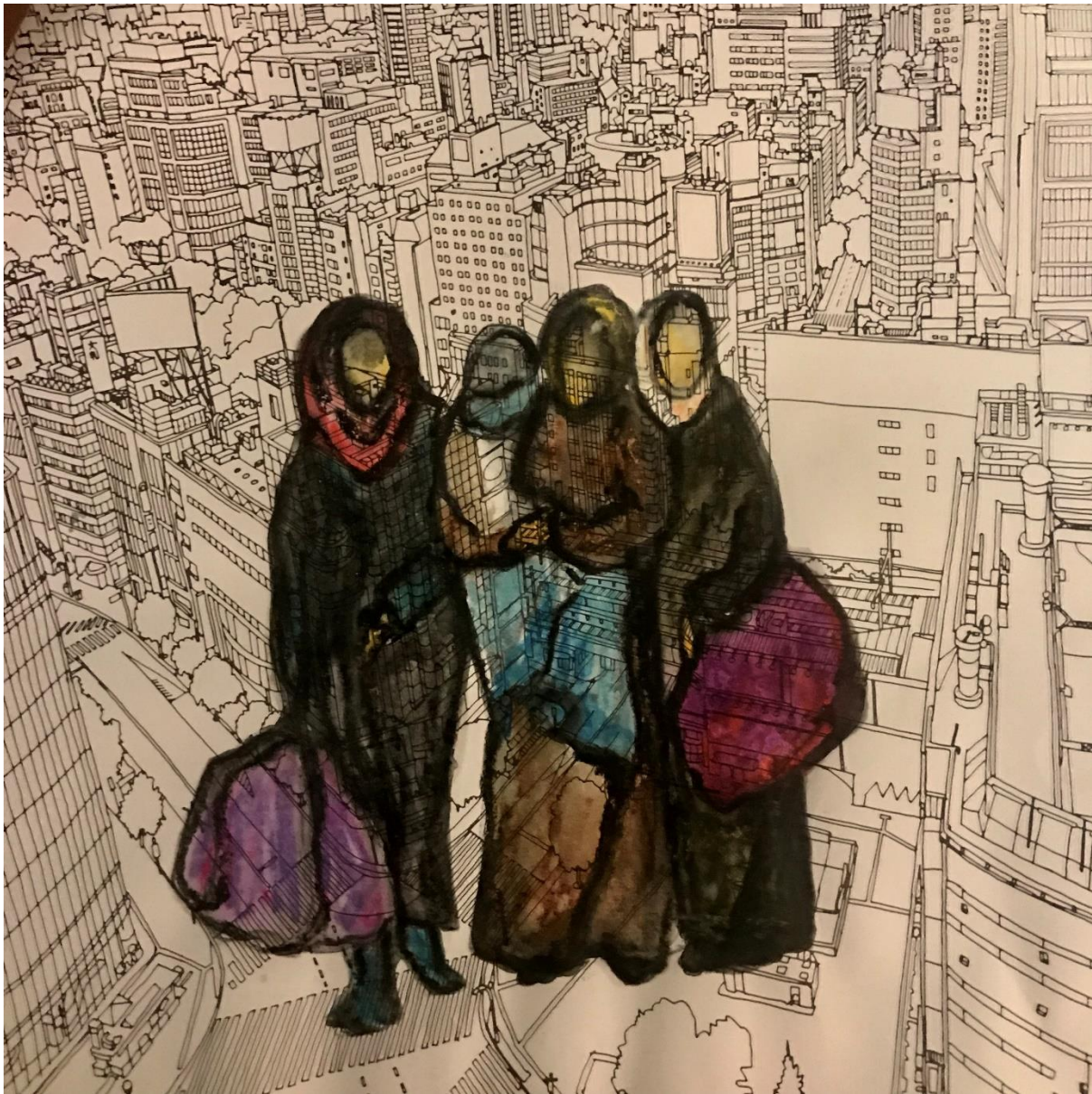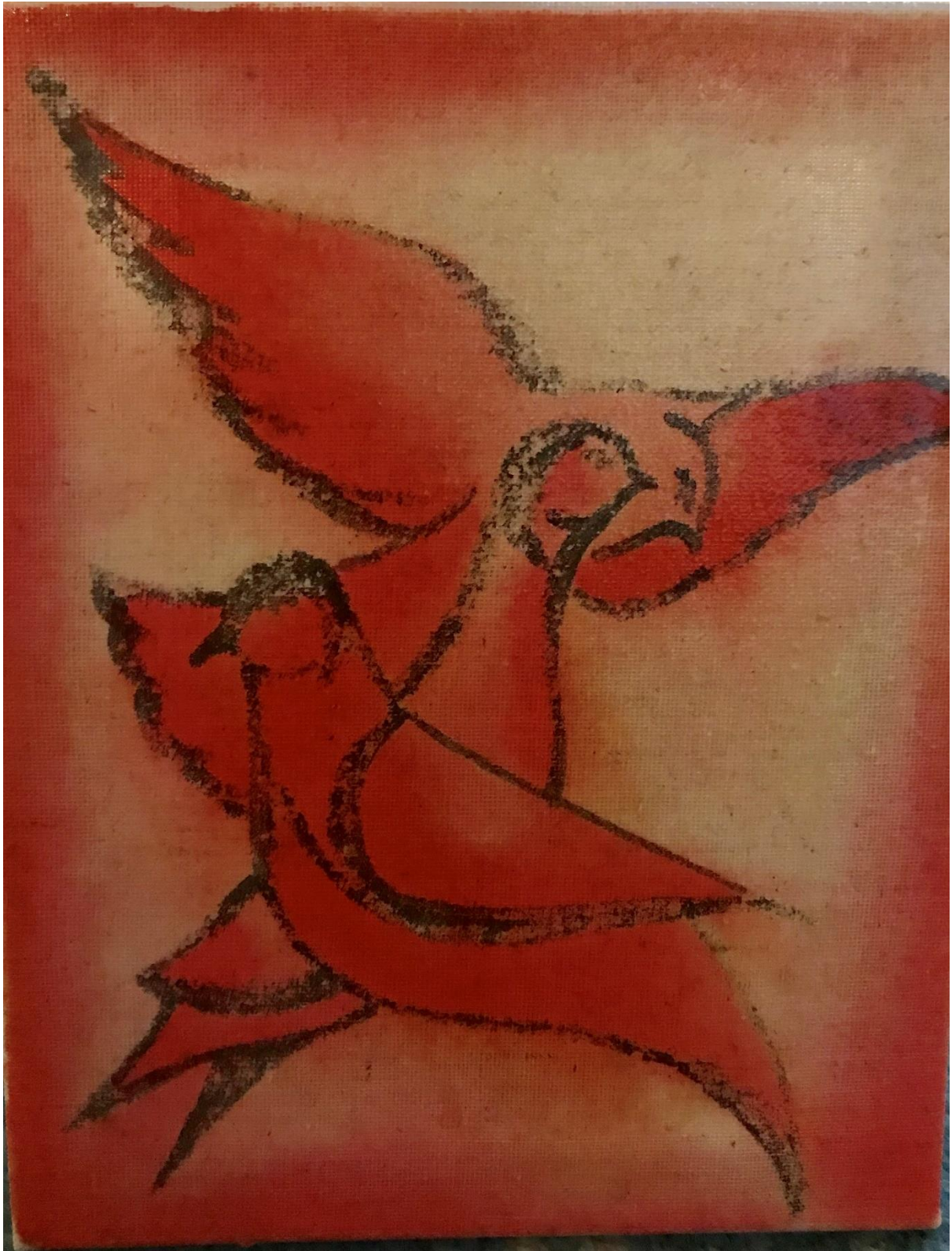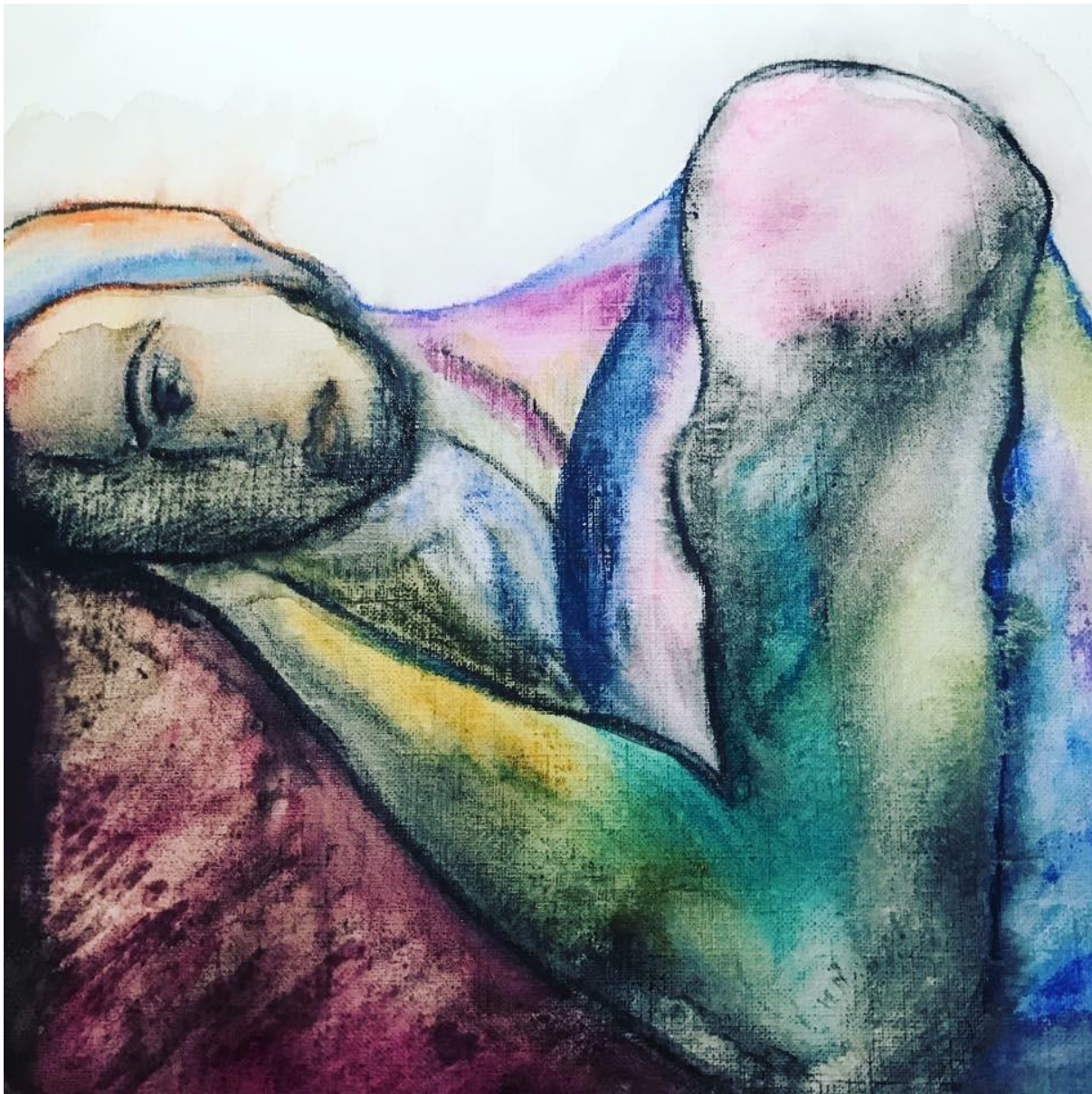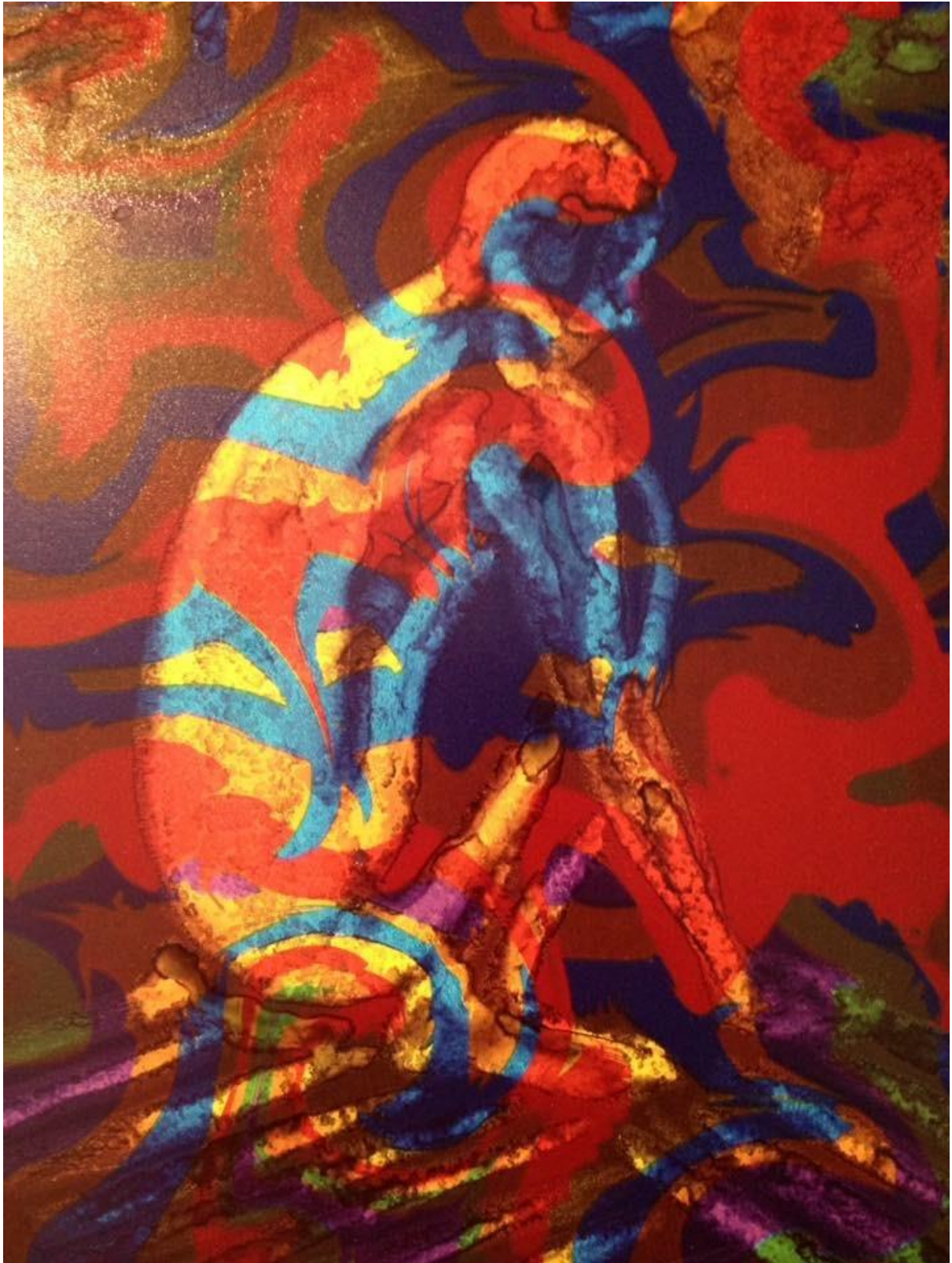
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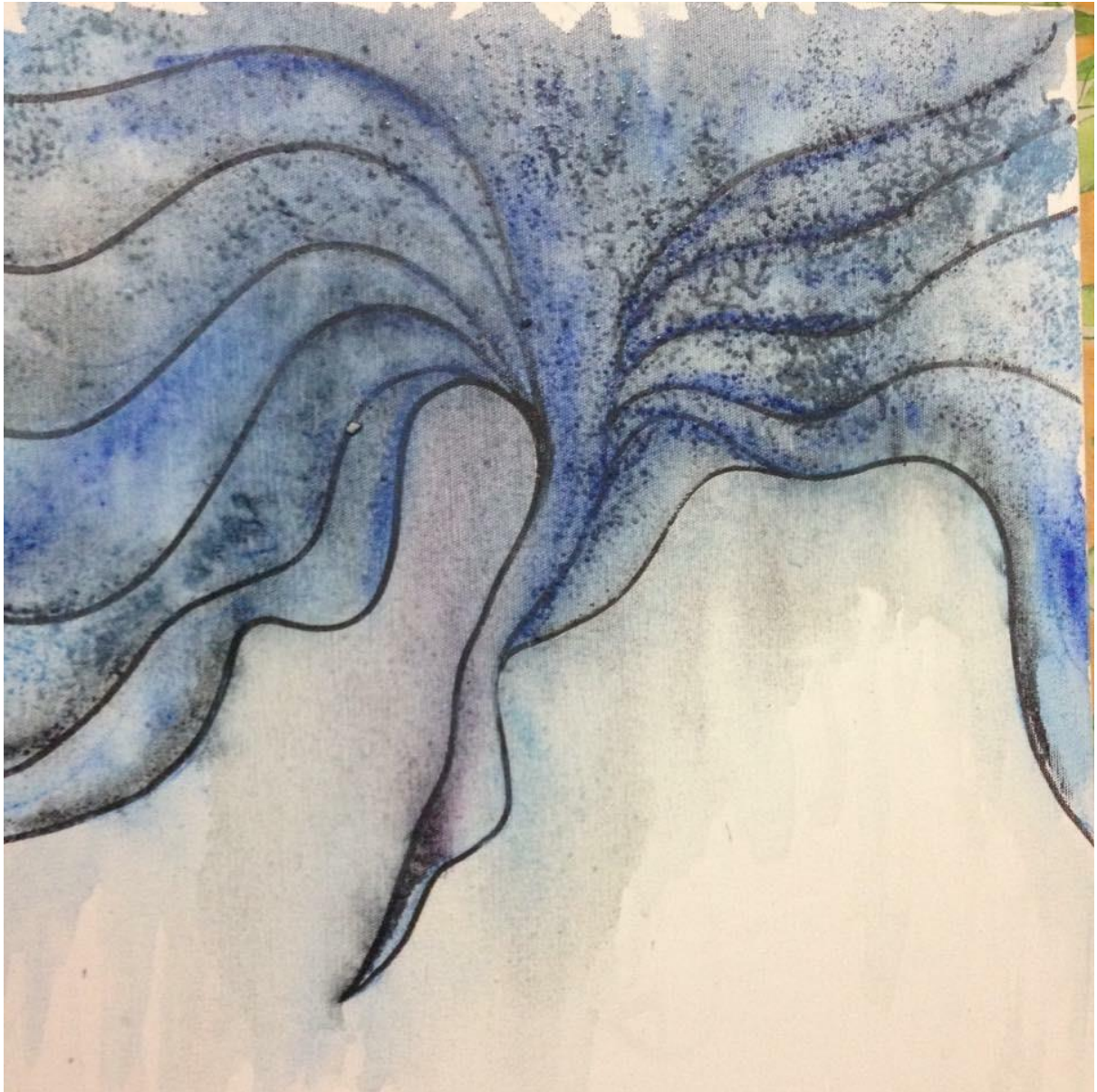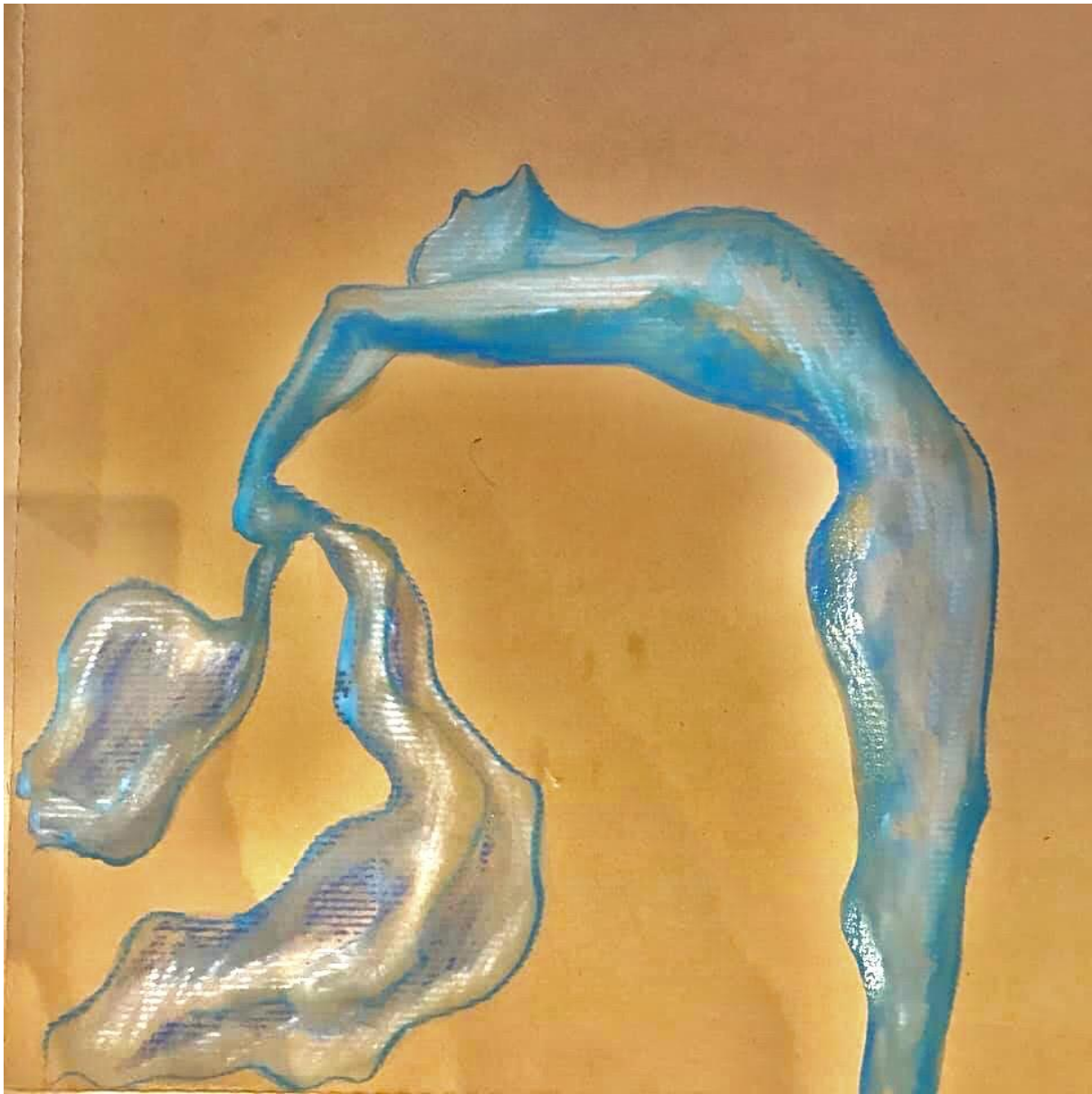
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Identity Artefacts as a Methodological and Pedagogical Tool
Mary-Rose Puttick[1]

Abstract

Mary-Rose is currently writing up her doctoral research: 'Reimagining family literacy: exploring the pedagogies of migrating mothers in third sector spaces'. This two-year pedagogical ethnographic study took place in two third-sector organisations in the West Midlands, with an experimental pedagogical space established in each. Three perspectives were explored: the researcher/teacher; third sector practitioners; and refugee and asylum-seeking mothers from Somalia, Afghanistan and Kurdistan. The research is underpinned by a postcolonial feminist framework, and approaches literacy from a social practice perspective, that is the being and doing of literacies. The mothers' presented visual, sensory, and oral methods to represent their socially and historically situated experiences of motherhood, migrancy and literacies. This included using symbolic objects as 'identity artefacts'. The research aims to understand the experiences of migrating mothers in third sector spaces and to expand ways of knowing about teaching and learning beyond government-funded contexts.

Introduction

This article centres on two aspects of storytelling: firstly, the use of symbolic objects as a methodological and pedagogical tool which I have named 'identity artefacts'; and secondly, the storytelling which was generated from the identity artefact of Zeinab (pseudonym), one of the mothers in my family literacy class at a Somali community centre in the West Midlands. I used identity artefacts as part of my postcolonial feminist methodological approach for my doctoral research, in which I was both a voluntary teacher and researcher at the Somali centre. The overall aim of the research was to explore a 're-imagining' of family literacy provision in the third, or voluntary sector; a sector in which educational provision is open to all as opposed to government-funded sectors where access is restricted according to migration status. As part of this re-imagining I aimed to foreground the voices of the Somali mothers and to explore the pedagogies which emerged from their experiences. The family literacy class had no pre-established curriculum or pedagogical planning. I set out to establish two experimental pedagogical spaces to explore the literacies and pedagogies which emerged collaboratively, as far as possible led by the Somali mothers.

Methodological Choices

With regards the mothers' stories, I considered different visual forms in order that the mothers could choose the visual format that they wanted to use, such as photographs or objects, as a stimulus for talking about something that they chose to share. I was influenced by the work of Pahl and Rowsell (2010) who have progressed thinking in literacies to encapsulate multimodal and artefactual practices, theorising artefacts as embodying diverse aspects: people; stories; experiences; identities; spaces and places; feelings and thoughts. Artefacts in literacy learning bring the outside world in and open the student's world to the teacher.

My methodological approach was also deeply inspired by the work of Maori researcher Linda Tuhiwai-Smith. In approaching my analytical approach in the use of symbolic objects for storytelling with the Somali mothers, I kept in mind the following words from Tuhiwai-Smith (1999: 51):

> For the indigenous world, Western conceptions of space, of arrangements and display, of the relationship between people and the landscape, of culture as an object of study, have meant that not only has the indigenous world been represented in particular ways back to the West, but the indigenous world view, the land and the people, have been radically transformed in the spatial image of the West. In other words, indigenous space has been colonized.

At the heart of my methodological approach was a commitment to interrogate my own position as a white woman, from an economically privileged western country. Equally important was a commitment for a carefully considered, ethical approach to my analysis in order not to privilege my own interpretations and reading of the artefacts over the mothers'. Drawing on Tuhiwai-Smith's terms, I wanted to avoid colonising the Somali mothers' world view. Yet, I did want to do some further independent exploration of the artefact in order to interrogate its positioning in a more globalised 'post' colonial framework.

Zeinab's Artefact

With Zeinab's permission, I chose one of her artefacts for this article because it speaks of both her personal and political memories and it also acted as a stimulus of learning and reflection for me. In sharing their artefacts, the mothers' stories were all recorded in Somali, and translated into English later.

Zeinab
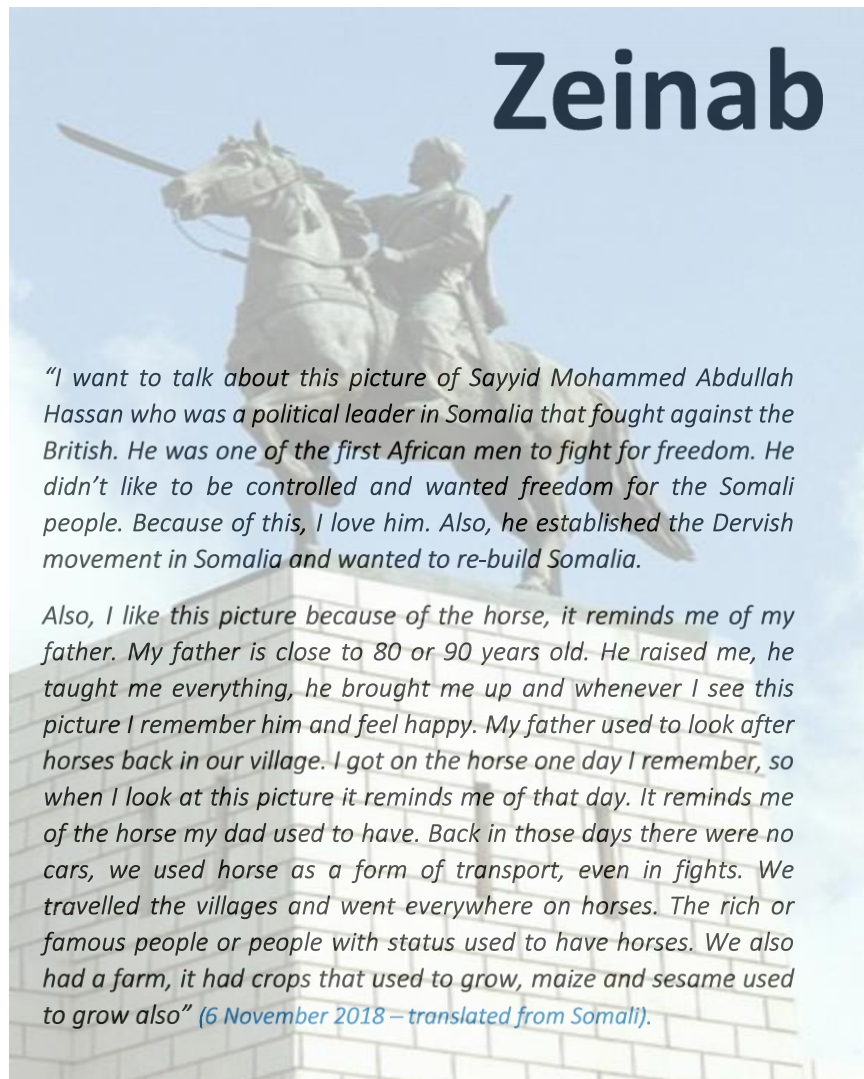
"I want to talk about this picture of Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassan who was a political leader in Somalia that fought against the British. He was one of the first African men to fight for freedom. He didn't like to be controlled and wanted freedom for the Somali people. Because of this, I love him. Also, he established the Dervish movement in Somalia and wanted to re-build Somalia.

Also, I like this picture because of the horse, it reminds me of my father. My father is close to 80 or 90 years old. He raised me, he taught me everything, he brought me up and whenever I see this picture I remember him and feel happy. My father used to look after horses back in our village. I got on the horse one day I remember, so when I look at this picture it reminds me of that day. It reminds me of the horse my dad used to have. Back in those days there were no cars, we used horse as a form of transport, even in fights. We travelled the villages and went everywhere on horses. The rich or famous people or people with status used to have horses. We also had a farm, it had crops that used to grow, maize and sesame used to grow also" (6 November 2018 – translated from Somali).

Zeinab posted a photograph to our class WhatsApp group of a statue constituting a man upon a horse, brandishing a sword. Although at first perplexed, I then connected the unfamiliar image I was looking at with the familiar recognition of it as a political statue. Throughout mine and Zeinab's relationship her passion for historical knowledge was evident. Colonisation and Somalia's battle for independence had emerged at different times as pedagogical focal points, in which Zeinab was always the teacher. Whilst I did not recognise the man in the statue, I smiled as I anticipated my next history lesson.

Through Zeinab's dialogue, I sensed the adoration and high esteem she holds for this man, Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassan, referring to her love for him. Her words are emphatic, referring to his actions in freedom fighting and what this figure represents for Somalia as a nation in terms of freedom and strength; powerful lexis which I felt affected the atmosphere in the room as she spoke of him.

Zeinab used the image of the horse to recall memories of her own childhood and particularly of her father and speaks of the feelings for him this image evokes, with a strong recollection of one particular day in her life. Zeinab's dialogue gives some insight into, what Stuart Hall (2017) refers to as 'routes' rather than 'roots', including her knowing of the world: growing up in a rural locality; the important presence of animals in her childhood; the strong influence of her father as an educator; and her historical and political knowledge of Somalia's independence.

As a white British-born woman, the image stirred in me uncomfortable emotions towards my national history which I had not fully acknowledged before, even more so as I held such respect for Zeinab. Somalia's history, inseparable from the 'West's' colonial past, through my eyes, became present in the room. I sensed that the way Zeinab spoke of this leader brought his legacy temporally closer.

Through further reading I discovered that Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassan was a leader in the Dervish movement, who died around 1920, and was referred to as the 'Mad Mullah' by the British. In 'post-colonial times' he was celebrated as a national hero of Somali, with his poems learnt in school and his statue erected in Mogadishu on his favourite horse Hiin-Faniin (Hoehne, 2014: 2). The statue was destroyed in the 1990s and sold for scrap metal, and, due to its purpose as a pan-Somali national symbol, was unable to be resurrected following the start of the 1991 civil war (Roble, 2014). However, a bronze replica of the statue now stands in Jigjiga, the Somali Region of Ethiopia; a story which holds its own complicated political history (Roble, 2014).

In approaching Zeinab's artefact, and in consideration of my own position, I returned to Hall's (2017) work regarding the continuous presence of the *post*colonial as a radically evolving configuration of power, institutions and discourses in new forms. In this regard, the very existence of the statue itself required interrogation; as a symbol of both memorialisation and national independence following British/Italian colonisation in Somalia. I sensed a paradoxical postcolonial air in this knowing.

The essence of political statues is for memorialisation and to evoke feelings; I therefore viewed Zeinab's artefact as a deeply personal evocation. I read the style of the statue itself as connotating the historical tyranny of the west. I interpreted the image as the viewer standing in the shadow of the statue on its highly raised plinth, which itself contemporaneously stood in the shadow of colonialism in its new forms. New forms comprise globalisation, which some refer to as the 'global colonialism' based on the historical structure of capitalism (Banerjee & Linstead, 2001) and, more
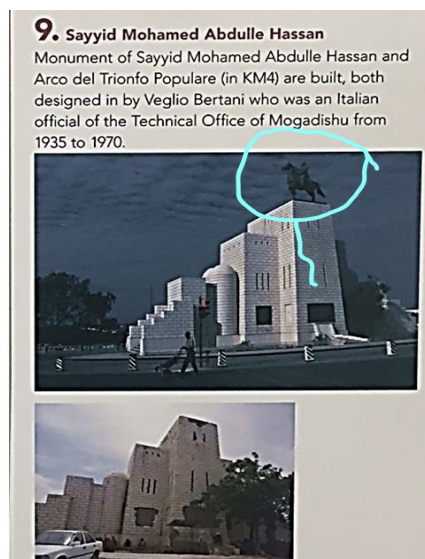
specifically in Somalia, what Ejiogu and Mosley (2017: 1) refer to as the 'postcolonial wave of new terrorism on the African continent'. With the knowledge I had learnt from Zeinab, in addition to my wider reading, the statue stirred feelings in me of injustice and a continued haunting of the presence of western powers.

`An Artefactual Re-encounter'

Just over two months later, I encountered the statue once more. Following Zeinab's history lesson, the image of the statue, as well as Sayyid Mohammed Abdullah Hassan's name, was imprinted in my mind. In February 2019 I sought out an exhibition, 'See My Dunya', in my home town of Manchester.

As I followed the historical timeline around the exhibition space, Zeinab was constantly in my mind and I found myself wishing she was there to see it for herself. My attention was immediately drawn to a recognisable image. My recognition and knowledge of the statue became entangled with different feelings of people and places. I had a powerful sense of imagining what it would be like to look at this image in its actual physical form in its original time and place. I also felt gratitude towards Zeinab, who had orchestrated the statue's presence in our Family Literacy class in Birmingham. These feelings were entangled with nostalgia of the statue's presence in an exhibition which also centred on the Somali community in an area of Manchester that I had taught in for several years. This was a coming together of what Leander and Ehret (2019) refer to as 'affectively charged associations' in pedagogical spaces. I was excited at the thought of sharing the experience with Zeinab and the other mothers in the class. I was also overcome with a feeling akin to a child wanting to impress their teacher. I sensed that the traditional teacher/student roles had certainly reversed in this moment. Utilising Freire's (1970) terms, this event importantly reframed the traditional teacher-student relationship to that of 'student-teacher' and 'teacher-student'.

My experience at the exhibition also responds to Gutierrez's (2008) conceptualisation of a pedagogical third space, consisting of hybrid learning zones in which home and school are bridged through the sustaining of hybrid language and educational practices. The learning I had gained from Zeinab in the class was realised in this outside space. The exhibition became a learning zone in which I was able to draw on the language and resource of Somali culture and history, combined with my experience of the Manchester Somali community, in a way I would not have been able to if I had seen the exhibition in another time and place.

9. Sayyid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan
Monument of Sayyid Mohamed Abdulle Hassan and Arco del Trionfo Populare (in KM4) are built, both designed in by Veglio Bertani who was an Italian official of the Technical Office of Mogadishu from 1935 to 1970.

Photograph in 'See My Dunya' (copyright) exhibition, Manchester Central Library, UK – February 2019

Notes from my teaching/research journal

Sharing the exhibition photographs with the mothers on WhatsApp – 9 February 2019

From a Foucauldian perspective, the heterotopic learning space can be viewed as 'an encapsulation of everything and everywhere'; 'a kind of hieroglyphic site' (Soja, 2004: x). The messiness of *post*colonial relations emerged across different spaces: Zeinab's identity artefact in the classroom in Birmingham; the outside learning space of the Manchester exhibition; and the sharing of the image of the statue from both Zeinab and I on the virtual WhatsApp space. Zeinab's identity artefact became an agent of dynamic learning and community memory across these hybrid learning spaces, making the *post*colonial both present and affecting. It also opened up space for uncertainties and negotiations, stories and memories, which have important implications for the being of doing of teaching and learning in the *post*colonial family literacy classroom.

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"Resistance is our Culture." An Archival Exploration of Oromo Diaspora Organising

M. Jaye Bass[1]

Abstract

The Oromo people of the Horn of Africa have been engaged in a struggle for liberation and justice since their colonization by the Abyssinian Empire in the 1880s. Despite, beyond, and against this discursive violence, Oromo people have been creating liberatory spaces and alternative stories of Oromo life. In this article I explore resistance writing and organizational materials created by members of the Oromo diaspora in the 1970s and 1980s. This archival collection, housed in Berlin, Germany, shares a story of transnational solidarity. It also demonstrates the power of the archive itself as an active participant in documenting, remembering, and supporting the Oromo struggle.

Article

As a historian or archivist, you may find Oromia on a map, but only if you know how to look, what pejorative to search for, which nation-state boundaries and blockades cage it in. The Oromo history has been erased, misnamed, and displaced from the Ethiopian archives for centuries. The lifeways and freedom of the Oromo people have been under attack since the Abyssinian colonial incursion of the 1880s, and the implementation of a feudal-land system by His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie (the King of Kings, the Owner of Slaves, the part-time Genocidaire)[2]. For those born and bred on imperial histories and the narrative regime of the Abyssinian Empire, the Oromo are described as newcomers, ungrateful heirs to the empire of the King of Kings. But what Haile Selassie didn't know in the 1960s, what Mengistu and the fascist Dergue regime chose to ignore until they were overthrown in 1991, and what Ethiopia's current leader and ruling regime do not seem to comprehend, is that the Oromo archives have remained attentive, alive, witnessing, writing, and sharing their struggle. Generations worth of Oromo stories can be found in the interstices of Abyssinia's imperial stories, the gaps in the maps, the translations of oral histories stored away on shelves, and in the hearts, minds, and words of the Oromo people at home and in the diaspora[3]. The Oromo struggle is not of the flesh, it is not a political or legal squabble, it is of the roots[4] and the bones[5]. The roots run under water, over bridges, and across borderlands. In these archives they wrap around the foundation of resistance and build it up.

Though the Oromo struggle began in the Oromo homeland in the Horn of Africa, movement against, despite, and because of Ethiopian governance has built a strong, global Oromo diaspora. This diaspora founded the Oromo Horn von Afrika Zentrum [6] (as is its proper German name) in 1985, becoming a staple for the international community in Wedding, Berlin. It is a local safe space, an anti-racism activist hub, it provides services to immigrants and refugees from all across the globe, and in a quiet back room, with a window facing the courtyard, are its archives. There are copies of Mao Tse Tung's greatest hits, Julius Nyerere's Crusade for Liberation, cookbooks, translation guides, and best of all, an archive of the Oromo struggle of the last 50 years. These archives continue to witness, remember, and take notice, bringing the shadows into the light. It takes a particular labour of love to collect and archive the experiences of a people living across oceans and continents; sending and receiving documents, organizing, scanning, and classifying histories. You can feel this love in each carefully bound book.

There are copies of *Oromtitti*, the women's voice, the Oromo Liberation Front's publication *Oromia Speaks*, literacy guides published when the Qubee, the Oromo script was in its infancy, records of the Eritrean liberation movement, and journals like *STORM: the Somali, Tigray, Oromo Resistance Monito*r. In self-published pamphlets and carefully photocopied packets there is a story of a liberation fight that for many has not yet ended. In this way the archive bears witness, and keeps an eye on these movements. The Journal of the Union of Oromo Students in North America shares a letter written by the Oromo Liberation Front General Chairman in support of their first council. It reminds the diaspora to share their stories, to remember "that the Oromo nation has something in the past, does something in the present, and also has something to do in the future for the well-being of humanity" (1978:15). The archives are not static documentarians or note-keepers, they carry the weight of those who remember and record, and the worlds they inhabit.

The archive is patient, attentive, a trustworthy source. The archive takes notes, tracks correspondence, patches together a scrapbook of international movement. In 1983 *Sagalee Oromo*, the voice of the Oromo, shared solidarity letters written by members of Oromo organizations in the diaspora from across the globe, coordinating messages from discordant places. The North Americans remind readers "that resistance is our culture," and the Saudi Arabian Workers place this resistance back home, remembering how "the woods and valleys of Oromia has always been the barracks of our patriots." From these home-grown barracks to a

transnational resistance movement that continues to fight, it is with the archives permissibility and care that we can read this story. Empires and their bureaucratically enforced nation-state counterparts love documentation, they function and govern life and death through paperwork. The archive knows this, and follows its protocol; it records, documents, graphs, and lists each crime of the state, and each new hope for Oromo futures. You may follow Audre Lorde, and ask if the master's tools will truly be able to dismantle the master's house[7]. How are these paper battles a force against the powers of the Ethiopian state? Oromo resistance writers know that the master's tools carry the stench of death, and the master's house was "ensnared" together by "force and violence" (*Waldaansso* 1978). Thus the Oromo archive alone may not destroy the imperial house but it is the foundation for a new one, each journal a brick, each poem cement.

The Oromo archives bear witness and they bleed; their stories are connected to a network that is larger than its life, than the lives of the thousands of *Gootota Oromo*, Oromo martyrs. "On the one hand suffering and pain on the other, resistance and struggle are the legacy of an Oromo woman to her children." (*Oromtitti* 1979). The Oromo aren't my mother's people; I am not their child. I read the legacy but I will never live it. And yet it speaks to me, and I hear it. The walls do not need to talk, because they are humming, and buzzing, and alive with this history. The writers of *Kara Walabumma* feel this life-giving power and refuse to be silenced: "Arrests may continue, tortures may get worsened; yet, no force can hinder our people's determined will for freedom" (1984:17). It is because of the archive that we can revisit these words 35 years later, while arrests continue, and torture gets worse.[8] It is because of this archive that it is known, despite the continued struggle, that "every rising sun over the horizon of [Oromia] comes with new hope" (*Sagalee Oromo* 1977:12).

Even after the fall of the fascist regime in 1991 and the rise of the modern republic, the Oromo liberation struggle is far from over. The news coming out of the region is shady, shadowy, buried in the margins, a sub-point and footnote in the story of the new Prime Minister and his peace prize[9]. But the archive has always been a skilled reporter, she has spent generations watching and bearing witness, singing before she was writing and remembering (and re-membering[10]) when others forgot. The archives are ever-evolving in this way. So I gently scan these pages, offer my meagre technological skills as thanks, a small contribution to the shared struggle. As a Black American, I have my own erasures and ignorances to contend with, and my life history has also been mapped out by empires and violence

outside of my control. I come to this Zentrum, to the archive, humble and ready to learn, and I walk away each time more humbled, with much more to learn. The force and violence that ensnared the empire together and allowed for its oppressive tactics has also created a transnational, diasporic, rooted, and routed[11] culture of resistance. Engaging with the struggle's most patient witness and listening to the stories she tells carries this culture on into the future.

Endnotes

[1] M. Jaye Bass (she/her) is a Migration Studies doctoral student, currently studying at the Free University Berlin. For more information about the work of the Oromo Horn von Afrika Zentrum, see their website: http://www.oromo-deutsch.de/

[2] For a succinct overview of the Oromo struggle under different Ethiopian governments see Mohammed Hassen, "Conquest, Tyranny, and Ethnocide against the Oromo: A Historical Assessment of Human Rights Conditions in Ethiopia, ca. 1880s-2002"

[3] I understand the archive to include oral sources, memories, and lived experiences as much as formal documents and written sources.

[4] The Oromo word for root is the same as the word for vein (hiddi). When I describe the Oromo as rooted in their lands, you can understand this quite literally. It is their lifeblood

[5] During the Oromo Protest movement the slogan "Lafti keenya, lafee keenya hin buqqanu" – "Our land is our bones, we will not be dislocated" was used

[6] The Oromo Center for the Horn of Africa, in English. For more information, see their website: http://www.oromo-deutsch.de/

[7] Lorde, Audre. 1984, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle The Master's House."

[8] See recent Amnesty International report:
https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/02/ethiopia-vendor-killed-musician-injured-after-police-attack-opposition-supporters-in-oromia/

While many reports of violence are disputed by the government, they continue to engage in oppressive tactics, like the latest communication shutdown:
https://www.voanews.com/africa/rights-group-condemns-internet-shutdown-ethiopia-points-threats-coronavirus-spread

[9] See the open letter written by current Oromo Studies Association President Dr. Begna Dugassa: https://www.oromostudies.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/OSA-March-Letter-to-PM.pdf

[10] The notion of re-membering, follows Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (2012)

[11] I borrow the notion of roots and routes from Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic,* and Fred Moten's discussion of the same theme in *Stolen Life* (2018).

Resisting the Trauma Story: Ethical Concerns in the Oral History Archive

Katherine Randall[1], Katrina M. Powell[2], and Brett L. Shadle[3]

Abstract

This short article presents an oral history project undertaken with refugees resettled in Southwest Virginia. From this project has emerged an understanding of refugees as curators of a personal archive of stories. A birth-to-present oral history approach can resist the reductive trauma narratives refugees are often expected to tell, yet oral historians and archivists must also be aware of the story told by the archive framework itself. The authors explore the ethical challenges of amplifying oral histories from refugees in a way that inspires action without centering the trauma story, and leave readers with questions for reflection.

Article

In the fall of 2016, in the midst of the largest global refugee crisis on record, our university town of Blacksburg, Virginia, USA welcomed its first refugee newcomers in over a decade. Shortly following their arrival, the current presidential administration's infamous "travel ban" was signed, severely restricting the ability of many Muslim refugees to enter the United States. Each subsequent year has seen a dramatic reduction in resettlement numbers in the US, with a 2019-2020 admission ceiling of only 18,000 (before the COVID-19 crisis shut the resettlement program down entirely). This federally sanctioned anti-refugee sentiment, combined with the needs of a refugee community close to home, has prompted many of us at Virginia Tech to reflect on our responsibility--both as community members and as researchers--to push back against hostile discourse regarding refugees in the United States. Where are opportunities for intervention? How might we use our expertise to offer a counternarrative, especially in an area of the US that is politically conservative?

With these questions in mind, our research team, with a collective background in forced migration and displacement studies, has used oral history methodology to gather stories from newcomers resettled in the Appalachian region of Virginia. Along with the gathering of stories, we have experimented with two methods of making this archive of stories visible. First, we have hosted community workshops for displaced persons and other community members with the goal of making a collection of stories and documents that is largely kept private. In these workshops we provided workbooks with questions such as "What makes a place home?" and "What are your memories of home?" that could be answered with text, pictures, or even verbally with a neighbor. We had photo printers available, as well as Polaroid cameras on-site, in order to print and develop photos of family, friends, and home to be inserted into the workbook. Though some

participants shared elements of these workbooks with us, generally the stories compiled within them were kept only for personal use and record-keeping.

Second, we have launched *In Place*, a podcast designed to bring an oral history archive into a public, more accessible space. After gathering interviews, our team frames them with narration that provides more background into the issue being discussed. It is this project that has prompted us to consider more of the ethical issues of oral history archival work, specifically the part of that work that considers a public audience. In the Trump era, and particularly in a geographic region of the United States that is largely conservative, our research team has had many conversations about the ethics of not only gathering stories, but also the making public-- and even amplification--of those stories in an effort to persuade listeners toward specific attitudes or actions regarding newcomer populations. We have felt the responsibility of framing these stories in an appropriate way, and look to *Displaced Voices* as a place where we might have ongoing conversations with other researchers and community members about best practices in oral history publication.

As a research team concerned with both what narratives *are* (a representation of identity) and what narratives can *do*, we focus on the responsibility researchers have in collecting these histories. We see a story, itself, as an archive: a repository of information pertaining to an individual's life, curated by memory and used as a representation of their life. This is what makes the collection of oral histories so compelling. Unlike other forms of interviewing that may only ask perspectives about a certain time or event, our oral history methodology is informed by a "birth-to-present" approach (Mayotte and Keifer, 2018) and is an opportunity to learn from the personal curator of this story-archive what information is most important to them in relation to their lives as a whole.

Considering autobiographical storytelling as an act of curation allows us as researchers to consider how storytellers make rhetorical choices in their oral histories depending on their audience and purpose. As O'Connor (2015) notes, the majority of refugee accounts that gain traction in Western countries are those which follow the expectations of the "trauma story"-- the familiar trope of refugees as victims of violence, trauma, and oppression. Further, the trauma story is what forcibly displaced persons are *expected* to tell, and tell repeatedly, in order to gain access to the designation of "refugee" and subsequent asylum. Thus refugees are familiar with adapting their personal story to Western expectations (pp. 4-5). And, as Nikunen (2019) adds, a focus on victimization subsequently makes it "difficult...to speak from a refugee position without being drawn into the discourse of deservingness" (p. 154). Because refugee identity is built on

the telling of stories--in particular, telling the right story, with the appropriate amount of expected trauma, to the right government or agency official--these reductive stories then become the public perception of refugee identity (Maalki 1995, Powell 2015).

Since certain parts of an individual's life archive are presented to certain audiences for certain purposes, collecting a robust oral history can push back against the reduction of a forcibly displaced person to the most traumatic parts of their story. Previous research has found that, because the "refugee" label is associated with non-agential status, a recognition of pre-conflict identity can help avoid reducing refugee-background individuals solely to an identity of deficit or humanitarian need (Kyriakides et al 2019). And because such a reduction often means the refugee label comes with social stigma and negative stereotypes (Ludwig 2013), we also ask ourselves, "When is a refugee no longer a refugee?" This question informs how we contextualize stories, particularly in our public-facing podcast. After all, an institutional archive also tells a story: What is its purpose? What information is relevant? What key moments or events does it capture? Just as a refugee tells a certain story in order to access political identity and safety, often the purpose of collecting the oral histories of displaced persons is to sway a public or influence a policy decision. And just as the story a refugee tells to a government official must be one of sufficient trauma, there is a temptation in an oral history collection to foreground "the refugee identity," with the trauma both implied and made explicit, to achieve a certain response from an audience. Thus the role of the oral historian and archivist is not only to collect or document experiences, but to recognize how these experiences are *framed*--what story the archive itself is telling.

The role of such an archive, then, should be to support the rights of refugees and migrants without the presentation of such individuals as Refugees or Migrants, either to be pitied for their loss or praised for their resilience but always with a proper and fixed identity that makes them Other. One of the goals of our research team has been to figure out an accessible, ethical way to make an archive of oral histories visible--to bring the archive to spaces where they might influence public and political attitudes--without relying on the tropes of the trauma story that risks making the refugee identity one of permanent deficit. Yet as we continue in this project, many concerns remain about the ethics of such work, including a few major questions that remain a point of discussion among our team:

1) How can an archive of refugee oral histories resist an essentialized and static refugee identity?

2) If such an archive is a tool for political and social persuasion, how can refugee stories be framed to resist the trauma story while also demonstrating why refugee support is needed?

3) What are the risks of making a refugee oral history archive available to a potentially hostile public?

We hope that by extending these questions to other researchers and community members, we can collectively find an ethical path forward as the global displacement crisis remains ongoing.

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Mirch Masala: British Interactions with South Asian Culture from 1960 to 1990

Kiran Khan[1]

Introduction

"Chicken Tikka Masala is now a true British national dish… because it is a perfect illustration of the way Britain absorbs and adapts external influences."- *Robin Cook, 2001*.

In 2001, British Foreign Secretary: Robin Cook, stood true to his name and expressed the importance of food, acting as a reflection of multiculturalism within British society. Cook insinuates British acceptance of South Asian cuisine was reflective of their integration with the South Asian community. The assumption that the two were linked suggests that food is symbolic and therefore discussions surrounding food are often linked to external factors, particularly relating to race (Stajcic, 2013). I aim to identify the extent to which Cook's statement is true. Did Britain welcome South Asian cuisine with open arms? And was this hypothetical acceptance indicative of a wider embrace of the South Asian community? To answer these questions, I will assess white British interactions with South Asian culture during a period where the South Asian presence in Britain was rapidly increasing. The 1960s saw the 1962 and 1968 Commonwealth Immigration acts, followed by the 1971 and 1988 Immigration Acts in the subsequent decades, clearly illustrating immigration was a hot topic during this period.

White British Interactions with South Asian Cuisine 1960-1990

As London was a hub for the South Asian diaspora during the indicated period, I will analyse *The Illustrated London News*, an easily accessible, digitised newspaper (Striking-women.org, 2013). The newspaper industry aimed to reflect the perspective of its target audience (Robinson, 2019), hence, exploring presentations of 'curry,' within this paper highlights the way that white Londoners interacted with South Asian cuisine. During my archival investigations, I searched for articles with the term 'curry,' during the period 01/01/1960-31/12/1990, to gain an insight into the social commentary surrounding South Asian cuisine in London at the time.

Margaret Costa's article: *Dining Out,* recommended a Pakistani restaurant in Soho called 'The Ganges.' During the 60s and 70s, Costa was a popular food writer who often wrote newspaper articles endorsing up and coming restaurants and exciting new recipes (Tovey, 1990). Costa described 'The Ganges' as "something quite different from those Grubby, friendly little places… where you can find instant, cheap filling and totally uninteresting curries" (Costa, 1968). Here Costa is referring to the 'curry houses' which became commonplace in Britain by the late 60s, when Costa wrote this piece. These 'curry houses' were an integral part of British culture as 'going for an Indian,' became the Friday night norm for many working-class white

Britons across the country (Buettner, 2008). The description of the 'curry house' as 'grubby' and 'cheap' highlights that the South Asian cuisine consumed by most British people was considered subordinate to the "unique repertoire of authentic dishes," offered at 'The Ganges' (Costa, 1968).

Costa reinforced this point two years later in her article *Shezan,* which endorsed yet another Pakistani restaurant. She stated that in "Pakistani restaurants … cooking is far removed from the agreeable nosh of the curry houses" (Costa, 1970). The use of the adjective 'agreeable' in combination with Costa's earlier article, implies that the kormas and chicken tikka masalas which became commonplace within 'curry houses' across Britain, were sub-par to the seemingly 'authentic' cuisine offered by Pakistani restaurants. On the surface, this may appear to champion South Asian cuisine, however, Costa's praise of Pakistani food acted as a simultaneous belittlement of the Bangladeshi cuisine which was far more established throughout Britain.

Whilst these dishes were indeed designed to cater to British taste buds, the implication that they were subordinate to the 'authentic' Pakistani cuisine of 'The Ganges,' and 'Shezan,' is indicative of the reluctance to embrace South Asian culinary culture in its entirety. On one hand, Costa's encouragement of 'authenticity' suggests a shift towards South Asian food consumed by Asians, therefore signifies that Britain was moving towards bridging the culinary gap between the two communities. However, by doing so, Costa synchronously undermined the dishes curated by Bangladeshi migrants to cater to their British customers, the dishes which created a unique faction of South Asian cuisine. This faction, for the most part, introduced Britain to the culinary world of South Asian cooking. Naben Ruthnum (2017) presents the convincing view that 'curries' by their very nature are designed to cater to the taste buds of those who consume it, hence it has always been an everchanging dish. I adopt this view in my assessment of Costa's articles, and therefore consider her rejection of the dishes found in 'curry houses,' to act as a wider dismissal of South Asian cuisine.

Costa was not alone in this inadvertent shunning of South Asian food. In an article written by Tim Beaumont in 1979 titled "Indian Ethnic, Indian Experimental" (Beaumont, 1979). Beaumont spoke favourably of one Asian chef, Mr. Ali Ashraf, who trained in classic French cooking. Ashraf married "the ideas of two classical cuisines," creating new hybrid dishes (Beaumont, 1979). Here, Beaumont is complimentary of Ashraf's adaptations of classic Indian dishes which is reinforced in his description of Ashraf as a "master of his craft" (Beaumont, 1979). Whilst Ashraf's new dishes may be almost unrecognisable to the 'curries' found in India or Pakistan, when using Ruthnum's understanding of 'curry,' they fall into this category. Beaumont implying that these dishes are something 'other' than their traditional namesakes highlights his inability to grasp that South Asian cuisine is

adaptable in its nature. Thus, rejecting South Asian cuisine in its entirety by overlooking its long history of adaptations. This lack of understanding is again reaffirmed with his recommendation of Patak's spices. Beaumont states: despite them being "made in Lancashire (they) are authentic" (Beaumont, 1979), suggesting these spices were somehow 'more worthy' of consumption due to their apparent authenticity. This further fed into the notion that the Indian food which was commonplace in Britain was somehow inferior.

Overall, by the 1970s there was a shift in the way that white Britons viewed South Asian cuisine. The dishes that were made popular by Bangladeshis throughout the 1960s, were an integral part of British culture. Despite this, the 1970s saw a clear sense of caution which came with the appropriation of 'curry' into British culinary culture. A caution to accept that these new recipes were truly Indian caused a frenzy of recreating an "authentic" version of an ever-changing cuisine, which is evidently impossible. The hesitation in accepting it for what it was created a barrier in welcoming South Asian cuisine in its entirety, indicating that Robin Cook's earlier statement was less of a reflection of the British psyche, but rather an exaggeration.

White British Interactions with South Asian People 1960-1990.

When assessing British responses to South Asian culinary culture, it is vital to consider British interactions with other elements of South Asian culture, and by extension, South Asian people. Only when comparing the two, can we identify whether Cook's earlier statement is reflective of multiculturalism, or appropriation. To obtain the most accurate understanding of the experiences of South Asian migrants, it is vital to assess their own recollections of their past. The oral history interviews preserved by the UEL Refugee Archives are crucial here, as they hold interviews with members of the South Asian community. These are vital in showcasing the South Asian perspective of their treatment when they arrived in Britain. Therefore, these interviews are necessary to assess and understand the prevalent discourses surrounding the South Asian immigrant community in Britain during 1960-90.

Throughout these interviews, South Asians reflect on how they endured high levels of violence, primarily in the form of racism. This indicates that South Asian culture was only accepted on British terms; South Asian food was embraced, whereas the people were not. The interviews conducted by the Eastside Community Heritage project highlight these themes (CADG, 2007). This project interviewed current and ex-residents of the Brick Lane area to promote and record local history in East London for the documentary 'The Changing Face of Brick Lane.' In 60% of these interviews, themes of violence and racism are found, highlighting that the reception from the white British was far from welcoming. One interviewee, Ismiah, arrived in Brick Lane from Bangladesh in 1969 and recalled that

there was "a lot of fighting there" (Ismiah, 2006). When pressed for further comment by the interviewer, who asks: "was the fighting very bad? The racism?" Ismiah responds with: "not regular, not enough, every couple of weeks" (Oral testimony from Ismiah, 2006). Ismiah's dismissal of the racism, as being irregular, despite occurring fortnightly is indicative of how commonplace racist abuse and violence was for many of the South Asians that migrated to Britain during this time.

The argument that racism towards the Bangladeshi community was both frequent and normalised is supported by the interviews of two unnamed interviewees from the Eastside project. For the purposes of this article I will from now on refer to them as Interviewee A and B. Interviewee A states that when he arrived in Brick Lane there was "a lot of violence in that area, attacks" (Oral testimony from unnamed Interviewee, 2006). When the interviewer asked: "what kind of attacks?" he responded with: "often for money, they took money from us because we are foreigners" (Oral testimony from unnamed Interviewee, 2006.). Here it is evident that South Asians in the area were targeted due to their foreign status, emphasising the problem of racial harassment within the area. This is seconded by Interviewee B, who spoke of the racism they were faced with when they arrived in Tower Hamlets in 1977. They noted that this was a huge problem then, but "now, for maybe 12 years more, it's fine" (Oral testimony from unnamed, 2006). The discourse within interviewee B and Ismiah's interview mimic one another as they downplay the issue of racial harassment by writing it off as 'fine' and infrequent. The dismissiveness of this racial violence is indicative of how racism was part of the social norm during this period, suggesting that the white British response to immigrants was largely negative. This is further supported by the fact that public surveys revealed: four out of five members of the British population felt that "too many immigrants had been let into the country" (The National Archives, 2003). A sentiment that only grew worse with the implementation of the 1968 Commonwealth Immigrants Act which differentiated between 'belonging' citizens and 'non- belonging' ones, with preference being given to those 'belonging,' due to having a parent or grandparent that was born in the UK (Callaghan, 1968).The implementation of the act provides an explanation of how racism became so normalised for Ismiah and Interviewee B, as ethnocentric and xenophobic rhetoric derived from the law which is designed to shape the attitudes of those who follow it (Crenshaw, 2010).

Through assessing these interviews, it is clear that during the 1960s to 1990s the South Asian community were habitually faced with racism and violence. The normalisation of this abuse highlights that the British population did not 'absorb and adapt external influences,' as Cook suggested in the quote at the beginning of this article. Instead, it conveys that Britain rejected South Asian immigrants in the most aggressive ways, whether that be through racial attacks, or through the implementation of legislation which favoured white immigrants to those of other ethnicities.

This is not to overlook the more subtle rejections administered by the media which masqueraded as embracing South Asian cuisine whilst simultaneously disparaging the most popular form of South Asian food in Britain. When these factors are looked at in combination with each other, it clearly shows Britain was far removed from the multicultural haven which Cook described.

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Bengali Music and Musicians in the UK Oral History Project
Valentine Harding and Julie Begum[lxiv]

Introduction

Music plays a vital part in the life of any community. Stories of everyday life, of home, of belonging, or of being apart (e.g. through migration), and stories of emotion, love, tragedy, beauty, and philosophical ideas, are all told through music and song, and identities and memories are held in the experience of music.

In 2016 we set up an oral history project at the Swadhinata Trust aiming to document multi-generational experiences of Bengali music in Britain. Our collection of oral histories and interviews is a collaboration between the Swadhinata Trust and the British Library Sound Archive. The Swadhinata Trust is based in East London and is a secular group that works to promote Bengali history and heritage amongst young people. To date we have collected thirty interviews and various musical recordings that can be found on our website ([https://www.swadhinata.org.uk/a-history-of-bengali-music-and-musicians-in-the-uk/)](https://www.swadhinata.org.uk/a-history-of-bengali-music-and-musicians-in-the-uk/). Our focus is not intended to be solely on London, although that is where most of our interviews to date have taken place, but we hope to include a wider area in due course.

Oral history is all about learning from others, and bringing to life the voices of people who might not otherwise be heard in their own voice. Thompson writes that " the oral historian comes to the interview to learn: to sit at the feet of others". (1988:11)

All of us who work on this project are volunteers. To date there have been four of us. These include, Valentine Harding, Julie Begum (Chair of Swadhinata Trust), Ansar Ahmed Ullah, and Mike Sherriff. Julie and Ansar are themselves from the British Bangladeshi community, and so bring to this project their own first hand experiences of migration and music in the community. Valentine is of white British origin and worked in the Bangladesh Refugee Camps in 1971, and as a part-time musician took an interest in Bengali music, and has been studying Indian and Bengali music for some years now in London. Mike, also of white British origin, spends much of his time in Bangladesh, and is a fluent Bengali speaker and sings Bengali songs.

Background and Context

Bengali music in the UK has a long and rich history. There has been an Asian presence in Britain for 400 years, and music has inevitably played a part in this presence. There are records from the mid nineteenth century of

various musicians from India who earned a living in London as street performers and performers in public houses. One such record from 1895 describes a regular meeting in the back of a dilapidated public house in the East End of London where working-class Indian residents and others gathered regularly to listen to an Indian sitar and tambour player. This group was likely to include lascars and seamen who worked on British owned ships, many of whom were from the region of Bengal in East India (nowadays Bangladesh), and life in the UK for them would have been extremely difficult and hard. (Visram 2002:65). Others followed throughout the first half of the twentieth century, and many were also seamen working for the Merchant Navy. (For oral histories of these migrants see Adams (1987) *Across Seven Seas and Thirteen Rivers*)

In the mid twentieth century, in the 1950s/60s and 70s, Bengali migrants to the UK faced many barriers. Both Julie Begum and Mahmudur Rahman in their interviews describe their experience of the gradual emergence of music that hitherto had been kept hidden behind closed doors because of the racism faced by people in Britain. It was not until the UK began to embrace multi-culturalism in the late 1970s and 80s, in London through organisations such as the Greater London Council and Inner London Education Authority, that Bengali music could be more openly celebrated and practiced.

Since then, there has been a prolific growth of music making. We now have classes and community learning, and plenty of concerts and musical venues, such as the *Rich Mix* in Bethnal Green, *Kobi Nazrul Centre* and *Brady Centre* in Whitechapel, and the annual *Baishaki Mela* in Tower Hamlets. There is now a younger generation growing up and learning the music of their cultural origin, and producing a fusion of music that reflects their Bengali and British backgrounds.

Our project aims to demonstrate the life of music in the community. This project is not so much about the music itself, although that is important, but about people who make music, and what it means in their lives.

We have deliberately not targeted many well-known performers, star artists, or emerging artists, although some of them are included. Neither is it research that focuses on typical examples and genres of music. But it is a review of the culture that surrounds music, the influences of migration, and community involvement in music. We have also involved interviewees who are not from the Bengali community but who have been influenced by Bengali music. The project is inclusive of all Bengali music whether this is from Bangladesh or West Bengal in India. Originally, before Partition in 1947, Bengal was one province, and these two areas share a common language and cultural heritage.

It is important also to note that the history of Bengali music in the UK has not been as well documented as some other post-colonial diasporic communities (Quader 2019), and we hope that our project will go some way towards providing such historical documentation.

An Outline of the Oral History Collection To Date.

Our oral history interviews go back to memories from the 1970s onwards in the UK, and prior to that memories of music back home in Bangladesh. There are two interviews given in Bengali language, Mahmudur Rahman (Benubhai) and Himangshu Goswami. These are translated in the audio summaries that accompany each interview. Both these interviewees felt more comfortable speaking in their mother tongue, particularly in the case of Mahmudur Rahman who describes his life during 1971 and the Bangladesh War and his participation in a troupe of musicians singing Freedom Songs. In contrast, other of our interviewees from a younger generation born in the UK speak English as their first language.

It is worth emphasizing here that language was a major issue in the struggle for the independence of Bangladesh. Prior to 1971 West Pakistan rulers attempted to repress the use of Bengali language in the region (at that time East Pakistan). In 1952 police murdered four students during protests at Dhaka University calling for Bengali to be recognized as an official language, and this became a trigger point in the fight for Independence. Known as the "language martyrs" the day of their murder, February 21st, eventually became globally marked by UNESCO as World Mother Tongue Day.

Amongst those interviewed who were people who migrated to this country, either as children or adults, there is often an expression of the hardship of psychological adjustment to living in the UK. For some who were practicing musicians or students of music back in Bangladesh and/or India there was a period of time on arrival here when they could not find their voice and found themselves unable to express themselves through singing or music in the way they did back home. For example, interviewees Moushumi Bhowmik, Nadia Wahhab and Alaur Rahman describe this feeling of alienation and disconnection, and how they overcame it. This was often a gradual process, and one only achieved through the encouragement of friends and family.

Mahmudur Rahman was living in Leeds in the 1970s and 80s, and describes how he was involved in setting up a community Bengali music class with the help of a local authority community worker. They were unable to attract anyone to the community centre where the class was to be held. It was only after he opened the doors of his own house and invited people in for tea and socializing along with a music class that he began to attract the

local Asian community, who only felt safe to practice and learn the music of their cultural origin within the sanctuary of a local home.

Julie Begum describes how for many of the second generation of Bengali people born here, like her, in the 1960s and 70s, Bengali music was not easy to access. It was a hostile time with racial violence and harassment. There was a turning point in the late 1970s when young people and community organisations got together to resist racism. Music became more important at that time as a mark of cultural identity. Julie's experience of enjoying music that represented her cultural heritage started when she was a teenager with the *Asian Underground* that included bands such as *Joi, Asian Dub Foundation,* and *State of Bengal*. These bands mixed traditional music with dance music to create a new sound. This was Julie's first experience of hearing music from her South Asian/Bengali background fused with her British identity, which no one had previously played or heard, being presented in a way she and her contemporaries could relate to. Asian and British culture was brought together. There was solidarity amongst British young people, especially in urban areas like inner London. For the first time, it was OK/Cool to be Asian.

Many of our interviewees are practitioners of the music of traditional Bengali songwriters such as Rabindranath Tagore (*Rabindrasangeet*), Nazrul Islam (*Nazrul Geeti*), and Hasan Raja, and also North Indian Classical music. North Indian classical music is interwoven in the traditions of folk and modern Bengali music. The region of Bengal itself has been home to many classical musicians such as the renowned artists Ravi Shankar, Ali Akbar Khan and their Guru, Ali Akbar Khan's father Allaudin Khan. From a historical perspective we have also included the history of Gauhar Jaan, who was the first Indian musician to be recorded in Calcutta in 1902. The theatre group *Mukul and the Ghetto Tigers* produced the story of Gauhar Jaan in 2018, and the writer of this play, Tarun Jasani, and Theatre Director Mukul Ahmed, are included in our interviewees

The two-way flow of music from Bengal to the UK and back is the backbone of this exploration into Bengali Music and Musicians in the UK and the culture that surrounds music. We therefore see musical developments in Bangladesh and West Bengal themselves as an important dimension. This collection includes two interviews from the younger generation in Bangladesh that demonstrate exquisitely how musical developments take place, and how progress and change is important to the younger generation currently living in Bangladesh who are developing their own genre of folk and rock fusion. (See interviews with Jawad Chowdhury and Mohammed Mobassish Choudhury).

Conclusions

The participants in this collection represent many aspects of the life of Bengali music in the UK: from 1971, and the Bangladesh Independence struggle, to migration, teaching and learning in the UK, present day songwriting and musical composition, the annual *Baishaki Mela*, and theatre. The Bangladesh War of Independence highlighted the significance of language and culture, and 1971 plays a significant role in community life and identity today. Migration to the UK further emphasized the need for cultural identity.

The various styles and genres of Bengali music are a part of an important aesthetic heritage to be valued by music lovers, Bengali and non-Bengali alike. Members of the Bengali community in the UK have also created or co-created new musical expressions, which now form a part of British 'mainstream culture', although, as noted above, not always as well recognized as the music of other diasporic communities. In addition, there are projects such as the *Grand Union Orchestra* led by Tony Haynes that has incorporated Bengali and Indian music in its repertoire with the assistance of *tabla* player Yousuf Ali Khan (see interviews of both). Finally, we see our project as contributing to a history of music in the UK for the benefit of all citizens, and for the promotion of intercultural dialogue and exchange between communities.

Music is a path by which we all get to know each other whatever our backgrounds, a path where we cross boundaries, integrate, and enjoy and celebrate our lives. We are conscious that our collection to date is only a beginning, and our research will continue, and this collection will be added to over the coming months and years.

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[lxiv] Valentine Harding and Julie Begum are both members of The Swadhinata Trust.

Poems and Artwork
Sonia Quintero[1]

Welcome Wind

Welcome wind
sometimes cold, sometimes warm
welcome the empty space
that brings me the memory of old abysses.

Welcome this silence that echoes, that rumbles in my heart.
Welcome the wind that reminds me of the wings I have.
Welcome the emptiness that reminds me
of old pains and falls.

Welcome the silence that reminds me:
I'm alone,
but alive.
Welcome to this cave
where the wind blows
and the rain wets me.

Welcome to my concert
of crazy joys;
to my cries, to my tears.
Welcome to my dance that doesn't control my soul
and heals old wounds.

Welcome everyone to this day
in which life is given to death
and I find myself scared.

I understand that my soul is eternal.
That your game couldn't break it,
neither the indifference of this cold city.

Welcome everyone to my sacred refuge
that smells like fire, like wet grass.

Welcome to my theatre where I do not cry
and I laugh alone like an insane one.
Welcome the wind that raises me, lifts me,
takes me far, lighter.

In a silence that intoxicates me,
into a void that makes me falls in love.

Welcome wind!
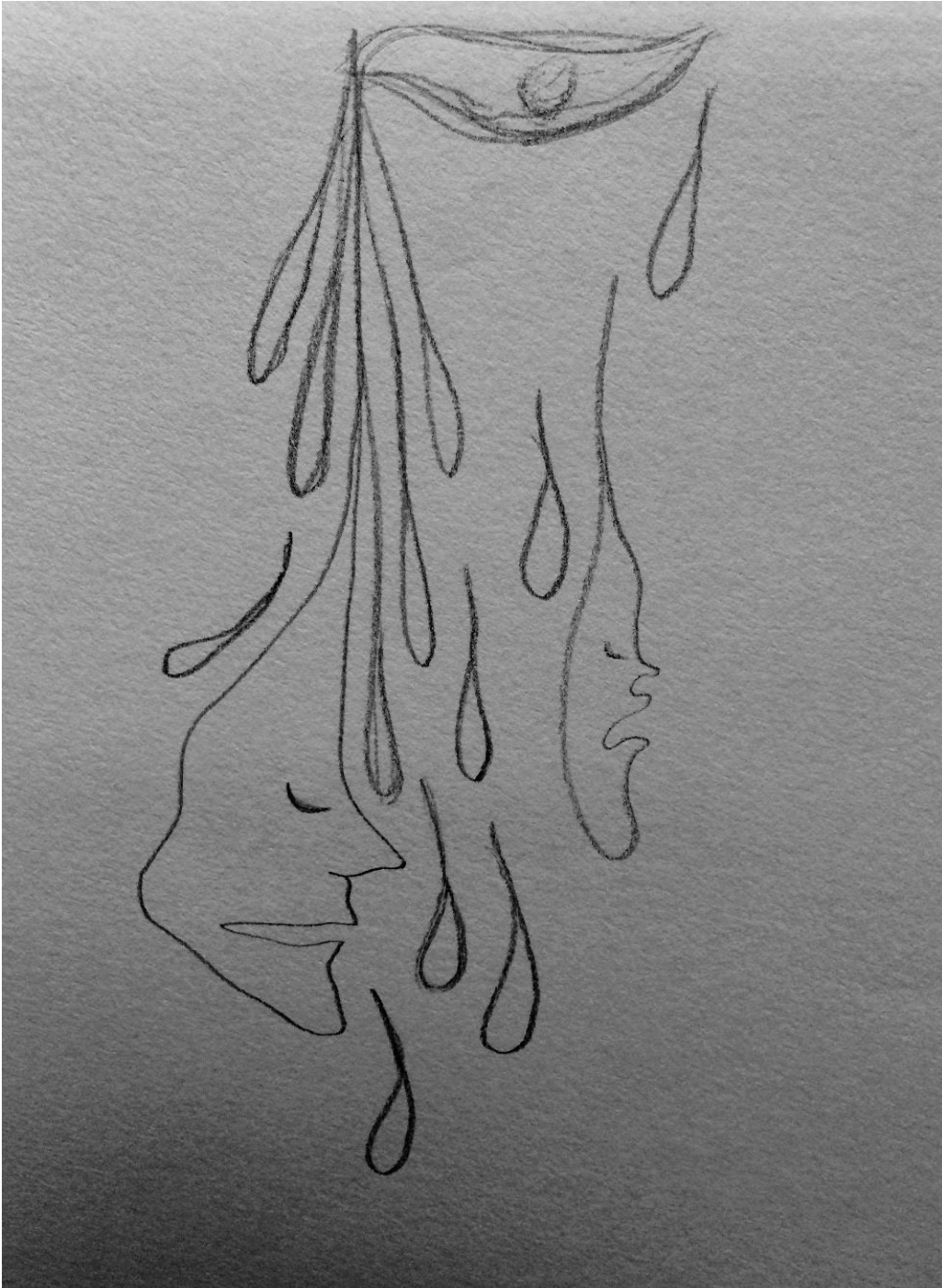
I See Poets

I saw poets where others saw failures

I saw pens and paper where others saw chaos

I saw through the eyes of Cupid himself

I saw you and then I loved you

Because

I see the wings of humming birds whispering sonnets that only you could hear

I see privileged creators where others see losers

I see eternal souls where others see shadows and bodies

I see hands, magic hands transforming paper and ink into art

I see your hands

I see them like birds in the desert

I see them circling baron lands to discover what others cannot imagine.

I see you and I still love you.

I see poets...
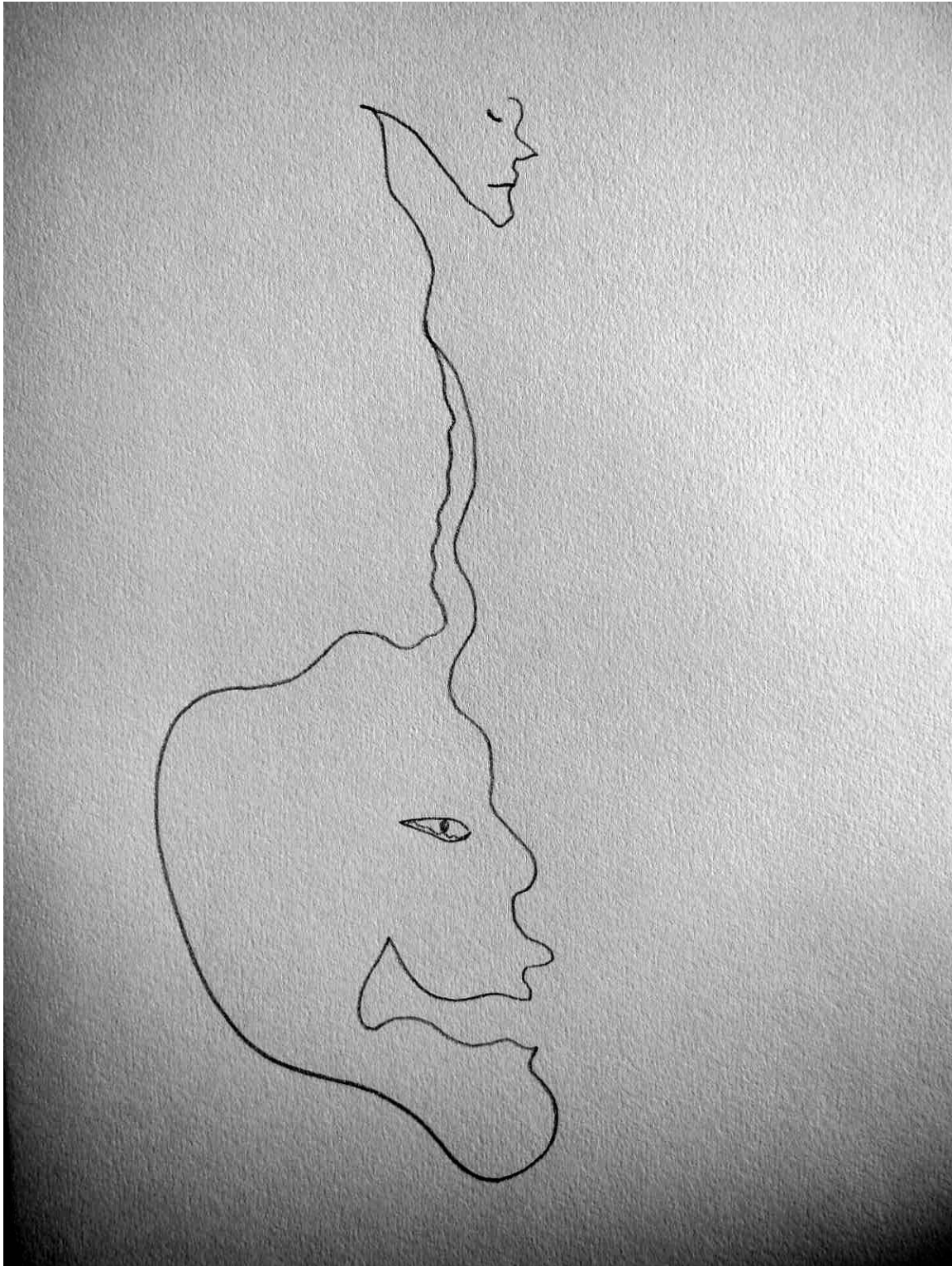
A Selection of Poetry Curated from HopeTowns `*Past, Present and Future: From Sudan and Syria to London With Love'* Publication.

Abu Michel, Marwa, Mohammad Abdallah, Mohamed Sami, Siddig, Mohammad Sa'id, and Nagat.

Abstract

A curated selection of eight poems taken from Hopetowns - a community of refugees and volunteers. Hopetowns have recently undertaken a creative writing project and included here are a curated collection of poems, stories and memories as part of our creative writing project, which formed part of the Hopetowns `*Past, Present and Future: From Sudan and Syria to London With Love'* Publication.

The full `*Past, Present and Future: From Sudan and Syria to London With Love'* publication along with the individual poems and stories are also available as part of a curated exhibition on the Living Refugee Archive, available at this link.

Poems

My Homeland Syria Through My Five Senses by Aby Michel.

Every morning I have homemade foul and drink coffee with Arabic sweets

I see a busy marketplace outside my house, where people go to work and children go to school.

There are beautiful trees and parked cars.

I kiss my mother's and father's hand every morning before going to work.

I hear the sounds of water from the pond, the flowers drink this water.

I also hear the sounds of birds signing in my garden.

I smell the scent of flowers from my balcony, beautiful roses, orange carrots, cloves and jasmines.

By Abu Michel.

Home by Marwa.

My name is Marwa. I lived in Kasti. I lived

with my family. I had three sisters. There is a

large market in our city, and 10 mosques.

The White Nile was there.

There were many people in the big fish

market. I would go to holiday every 6 months.

By Marwa.

My World Turned Upside Down by Mohammad Abdallah.

One day my whole world turned upside down and from there

my crazy life started, because from then everything has been going

downwards. There are times when I ended up homeless with no food.

I did not know where to go; we started moving from one place to

another. I felt like I lost my mind and moved from one country to another,

everywhere I went I faced crazy people like the police and politicians.

They took me to prisons and detention centres; I travelled through 5

countries, 6 police stations, 7 detention centres and eventually I ended up

in the United Kingdom.

I didn't know what to do, even still – to this day – I do not know

what I am doing.

By Mohammad Abdallah.

What Is My Name by Mohammad Abdallah.

What is my name?

Who am I?

Where did I come from?

I was born in the middle of nowhere, some people call it a village but I call

it a little paradise because there are so many things and so many places like

mountains, forests, rivers and many wild animals and farms.

A lot of fields with different kinds of fruits that belong to no one but

belong to everyone around there.

I used to jump in the trees like a little monkey, I was an extremely

happy little boy but suddenly everything blurred and I found

myself somewhere – I don't know where.

Can someone explain to me where I am?

By Mohammad Abdallah.

London Life by Mohamad Sami.

I live in Lindon, in the mornings I see a lot of street lights

and a lot of transport like trains and taxis, people also use

bikes for transport too.

My house is not far from the train station, it's very busy

all day, lots of people use the train because its faster than

the buses. It comes near my house, so it's very noisy.

On the weekends I sometimes go to visit my friend and

make some Sudanese food, I like the library to go to read

and use the internet, and do exercise in the gym.

I went to Big Ben and The London Eye, the first time I

saw the London eye I thought it was BIG. I went inside and

its beautiful. I've seen a lot of London and I'm very happy.

There are a lot of universities and colleges here, when I

came to London my English was very bad but now it's better

than before. I want to go to College to study English more.

I go to Hopetowns English Class every Sunday, it's a

very good class and the teachers are very good, and the

staff are nice and friendly.

In London there is free health care, this is very nice.
There are GP's, Hospitals and Ambulances and the staff
are friendly. Healthcare is good.
In the future I want to improve my language and study
more. Try and be good at everything.
Thank you to all the staff and teachers at Hopetowns
class.
By Mohamed Sami.

I Feel Like Someone Else by Siddig.

When I first came to London, I didn't speak any English,
because I didn't finish studying at school. I started college to
learn the English language.
When I started college, I couldn't talk with the students
because my English wasn't good and they spoke well. I started
ESOL from beginner's level and now I am on Entry 2.
In college the students are so funny because we all make
a lot of mistakes but they are friendly. After two years, my
English is better and I understand when people are talking.
I feel like someone else when people are talking and alone
because I don't speak English and I don't know anyone here.
In London there is a smell that is different from my country,
and a lot of types of drugs and alcohol.
I hope I get a good education and a job in the future.
By Siddig.

Until My Dream Come True by Mohammad Sa'id.

Life over here is safe and that makes me feel confident to continue my

dreams until they come true.

There are opportunities to study here, you can study whatever you would like

to study and you can be successful as well, if you work hard, nothing is impossible.

In the UK you have the freedom to practice your religion and your culture

as well.

I continue my dreams until they come true.

By Mohammad Sa'id.

Earth Poem by Nagat.

There are lots of animals and above in the sky

there are lots of stars, like the sun.

Earth is where we all live.

Lots and lots of countries and continents.

There are people, cars

in a beautiful down town.

Lots of angels looking down on us.

There are trees, bees.

Humans are all the same.

By Nagat, 8 years old.

Online Archive

An online archive containing all the poems and creative writing from the Hopetowns publications *Past, Present and Future: From Sudan and Syria to London* With Love is available on the Living Refugee Archive. Please visit: http://www.livingrefugeearchive.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/Past-present-future-poetry-pdf.pdf

About Hopetowns

Hopetowns provides an oasis of hope and friendship for refugees during difficult times, bringing an end to the isolation and encourage self-empowerment and leadership.

The London-based Hopetowns project emerged from the solidarity and support structures of the Calais 'Jungle' camp in northern France. Spearheaded by one of the former Calais camp community leaders, Hopetowns aims to support the successful integration and well-being of refugees into British society, by starting at the early stage of an individual's asylum process.

Since February 2018, Hopetowns has been working to achieve its aims through concrete solutions to everyday problems intertwined with a welcoming atmosphere and emotional support. Our current programme has seen great success and widespread interest among refugees in London, with many of our classes having been attended by up to twenty-five students at a time.

Narrating the Pandit Exodus: A Study of Indian Administrate Kashmir
Tajamul Maqbool[1]

Abstract

The rigging of the 1987 elections in Jammu and Kashmir Legislative assembly led to huge unrest among the youth and it gave rise to the armed struggle and consequently led to the forced migration of Kashmiri Pandit community. There are different views about the pandit exodus in Kashmir. There were few who held Jagmohan responsible for the exodus. Some people said Pandits left on their own because of the frightening situation in the Valley. Such people naturally emphasized how sponsored armed militancy destroyed peace and ruined communal harmony. A few said Kashmiri Muslims did nothing to prevent the Pandit exodus, although many felt the majority community was itself scared and it was impossible for them to stop the exodus. In this regard, the paper aims to provide different narratives to the Pandit exodus.

Introduction

After 1989-armed conflict in Kashmir valley, the place became insecure to live for many communities and consequently they left the valley for the reasons of security. Many Muslims migrated to Pakistan occupied Kashmir and settled there in refugee camps. These refugee camps became the space for both providing the relief to displaced people and for organising insurgent groups with the aim fighting in Indian Occupied Kashmir in the name of Kashmir Jihad-freeing Kashmir from the rule of India. The other communities of the valley which include Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs and other Hindus in general migrated to Jammu, Delhi and other parts of the country, where most of them settled in the camps established by the government at Jammu (Robinson, 2013). The two major communities of Kashmir-Pandits and Muslims started blaming each other for their sufferings. Both communities suffered a lot but in different ways. The Kashmiri Pandits suffered from the agonies of exile while the Muslims have been living in a prison which at times turns into a torture cell for them. The

Kashmir Pandits who migrated from the valley were welcomed by the whole country where as the Kashmiri Muslims had no such choice as they were viewed as suspicious and were easy fodder for the security forces. Hence any discourse that blames either community for the wrongs suffered by each of them is inimical to reconciliation and will not only increase alienation between the two but the two will also lead to further victimization of both communities (Ahmad, 2016). Different organisations, NGOs and people have different views about the displacement in Kashmir valley. A monthly magazine-Kashmir Ink in its March 2016 edition tried to examine the root causes of the migration of Kashmiri Pandits. In this regard they interviewed most of the members of the Pandit community, civil societies, NGOs and people from different ideologies and their opinions were published in the sixteenth issue of the magazine which was published in March 2016. The different views provided by different people about displacement are divided into following sections.

From Kashmiri Pandit's Point of View

Sanjay Moza who is the General Secretary of Panun Kashmir- an organisation of migrated Kashmiri Pandits, is of the view that the targeted killings of his community members forced them to leave the Kashmir. The main reason he has given for their migration is the killing of his cousin Anil Bhan who was shot dead by gunmen. However, Moza is of the view that Kashmiri Pandits should be resettled back in Kashmir but in separate townships in order to prevent history from repeating itself (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

Sanjay Tickoo is the Chairperson of Kashmir Pandit Sangharsh Samiti-an organisation of Pandits who did not migrate in 1990 has an interesting story to tell. He says that it is the fact that in 1989 there were many significant changes in the valley. The state government collapsed, thousands of people were participating in pro-Azadi marches and people used to listen to BBC and Radio Pakistan and it were believed that the Azadi is approaching.

Tickoo makes an interesting statement by saying that it is known fact that Kashmiri Muslims were Pakistanis and Pandits Indian as it proved when the latter left the valley and sided with India in 1990. He believed that the Pandits did not migrate due to any security threat but to save the honour and chastity of their women folk. He raises two important questions regarding the migration of Pandits. First the migration could have been prevented had the majority community taken out a solidarity march against the killing of Pandits and had the religious clerics intervened. On the other hand, he adds, "history stands witness to the fact that had the Muslims wanted, they could have killed all the pandits in Kashmir in 1947. But that did not happen as we Kashmiri have a very close-knot society" (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

Civil Societies View on Displacement

Hameedah Nayeem is the Chairperson of the Kashmir Centre for Developmental Studies, a prominent civil society group, has a different perspective on the displacement in Kashmir valley. She blames the government for the exodus of Pandits. She argues that there is no doubt that a fear psychosis prevailed in Kashmir during 1990s and there were political killings too. She argues that the first killing of the 1990s was that of a political worker Muhammad Yusuf Halwai, who was a Muslim by faith. She is of the view that it is a fact that besides Muslims, few Pandits were also killed. She blames the then Governor Jagmohan for the displacement of the Pandits. She says that the Governor capitalised the fear psychosis and asked the pandits to leave the place temporary and they will be resettled back in valley after the situation becomes favourable. Hameedah blames the Governor for his Hitelarian designs as there were several massacres of Muslims during his tenure.

Regarding the returning of the Pandits, Hameedah is of the view that the Pandit community has every right to return but she is against settling them in separate townships. Further she says that there are thousands of

Muslims living in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir which were forced to migrate in 1990 due to exchange of firing and shelling between the Indian and Pakistani armies and have every right to be resettled back in Valley (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

From Government's Point of View

Wajahat Habibullah was a bureaucrat and served in Kashmir during 1990s and has something to say from state's point of view. He says,

> "In early 1990s, slogans started reverberating from the mosques that people who do not support the Kashmir movement should leave. Slogans and selective killings triggered panic among the Pandits, and they requested their friends as well as the security forces for vehicles to facilitate their movement. The Pandits moving in the vehicles of security forces created an impression that the government was facilitating their migration from the valley. But the fact is that during that period, administration in Kashmir had broken down and there was no government in place" (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

Wajahat further says that the government later discovered that the slogans from the mosques were not raised by the people, but tapes were being played on loudspeakers. The slogans did not create fear psychosis only in the Pandit community but in Muslims too. The members of the Muslim community who owed alliance to mainstream parties were forced to flee from the valley as well. Recollecting one incident Wajahat says, "that when he was posted in Anantnag district of the valley, a group of people led by the brother of a senior separatist leader approached me that why the government is not doing anything to avoid the Pandit migration. The group also told the Wajahat that they came to know from the secret sources that the Pandits were leaving because the government was planning to finish off the Muslims". For this Wajahat says "that he assured the group that the government had no such plans and suggested them why the Muslims are

not making small groups and visit the areas where Pandits live and reassure them that nobody would harm them". After meeting the delegation, Wahajat says, "that he called upon the Raj Bhawan and spoke to governor about the meeting and suggested him to appear on the TV and make an announcement that the Muslims of south Kashmir have decided to reach out to the Pandits to assure them that no harm would be done to them but the governor did not appear on TV that day and the message could not go out to the People". Regarding the return of the Pandits, Wajahat believed that the Pandits should be allowed to decide on their own. He says that many Pandits have returned to valley and are living in mixed neighbourhoods. He suggests that the government should provide them special incentives to set up industries and business in Kashmir as idle sittings in the separate townships could not provide them enough to make ends meet. However, he argued that their return should not be linked with giving them state jobs as many of the migrants after getting jobs in valley managed to get them transferred back to Jammu or other districts (Malik, 2016).

Saifuddin Soz in his book, "*Kashmir: Glimpses of History and the Story of Struggle*", describes that he was offered credible evidence to assert that the mass exodus had occurred because of Governor Jagmohan, who had been appointed on 19th January 1990 for the second time, though it prudent to organize the exodus for two reasons: one, that way alone Pandits would feel safe and secure and further sectarian killings would be stopped; second, he would be able to deal with the situation better where stringent laws to curb militancy were already in force and these laws could not be used freely on a mixed population. Many believed this approach was not ethically sound and he had faltered. Some people suspected that he had been sent to Kashmir to teach the Muslims a lesson. In fact, Jagmohan's dispensation was greatly flawed because of his perception on things, particularly, for the fact he treated the crisis in Kashmir, broadly as a law and order situation created by members of the majority community. It was

the design of the dispensation from the time he was appointed in January 1990 till he was removed in May the same year. He had thought that his strong methods would work, and he would be able to restore peace within a short time. Even after his removal, a situation of chaos remained on the ground which got deepened by the day and more lethal laws like the AFSPA (enacted on 6 July 1990) had to be imposed (Soz, 2018: 182).

Pro-Freedom Organisations Point of View

The different factions of the pro-freedom groups blame the government for the exodus of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley in 1990s. The most important groups of pro-freedom include Hurriyat conference led by Geelani and Mirwaiz Umar Farooq, JKLF headed by Yasin Malik. These groups argue that the Pandits are part and parcel of the Kashmiri society and nobody can stop them from returning to their home land, but they are against settling them in separate colonies. With regard to their return and rehabilitation Geelani argues, "We are in no way against the return and rehabilitation of the Pandit community in the Valley but the Indian government and its policy makers want to play a very dangerous game under its grab and they not only want to divide the Kashmiri society on religious lines but they also want to harm the freedom struggle of the Kashmiris" (State Times,2016: May 05).

Yasin Malik who heads his faction of JKLF is of the view that the Kashmiri society is a mixture of both Hindus and Muslims, and they have been living in harmony for centuries and the sudden exodus of the Pandits was a hard blow to the society. He is of the opinion that the Pandits should return to their native places and should live within their communities to maintain the age-old harmony and is against the settlement in separate colonies. He says, "We will not allow the government to build separate settlements for Kashmiri Pandits. This is an Israeli ploy and RSS has taken inspiration from that. They want to create walls of hatred here, spread fire and divide the people"(The Tribune, 2015: April 08).

When it comes to the migration of Kashmir Pandits the name of Farooq Ahmad Dar alias Bitta Karate crops up. He was the former militant and now heads his faction of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. To Indian state and rightist Pandit outfits he was the main force behind the Pandit exodus. While talking to a reporter of Kashmir Ink, Bitta Karate responds to allegations of playing a key role in driving out Kashmiri Pandits. He claims that he never killed a Pandit and was compelled to confess by the security forces by being subjected to third- degree torture. He holds the then governor Jagmohan responsible for the Pandit exodus. He argues that they had picked up guns against injustice and no against the Pandits and after leaving the armed struggle they are committed to the Kashmir cause. Regarding the return of the pandits, he is of the view that the Pandits are part and parcel of the Kashmiri society but like others he is against settling them in separate colonies. He believes that any move to settle them in colonies can lead to a Gaza-like situation in Kashmir (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

Role of Media in Articulating the Forced Displacement in Kashmir Valley

Media has been considered as the fourth and important pillar of the democracy after Legislature, Executive and Judiciary. There may be operational distortion in the latter three pillars of the democracy, but the fourth pillar-Media remains the only hope for the development of a country by taking active part in the democracy. It keeps the public informed about the happening around the world and has much influence on the minds of the people. Though the media has been able to highlight various issues of concern but many at times it has been criticised on the grounds of playing a biased role. Sometimes the national security or national interest becomes obstacle in delivering the duties of media. As far as the role of media in highlighting the issues of displacement in Jammu and Kashmir is concerned, it has been much criticised rather than praised for delivering its duty.

The media, be it national or local has been alleged of playing a biased role while highlighting the issues of conflict-induced displaced people in Kashmir Valley. The media has been dominated by a section of people who find it easily accessible. The conflict in Kashmir valley was given a shape of communal violence between majority Muslims who were alleged for the exodus of minority Hindus. The Kashmir Pandits got much publicity as compared to other displaced communities of the valley (Jamwal, 2004). There were other communities like Muslims, Sikhs and non-Kashmiri Hindus but they were neglected by the media. There were Muslim families who had a communist ideology suffered at the hands of militants, army and state supported groups like Ikhwanis. One member of these displaced families argued, "We proved we believe in an undivided J&K and also disproves the stereotype that only Hindus are suffering in my state". Not only the media began to ignore the other displaced groups or the genuine displaced in the camps, but it created strains and made divisions within the Kashmiri society (Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (CRG), February 2004).

Media also marginalised those Pandits who stayed back and did not migrate and Muslims whether they migrated or not. Apart from the migrants from valley, there were people who migrated from Doda, Rajouri, Poonch and from all along the Line of Control but these people did not receive much media attention as compared to Kashmiri Pandits. Sanjay Tikoo while giving an interview to a local monthly magazine 'Kashmir Ink' talks about the role of media. He says,

> "The Indian media is playing a negative role vis-a-vis the return of the Pandit to the valley. Recently, a news channel ran a story on Nadimarg massacre, and they sought my comments on it. I told them that if you are running a story on Nadimarg, run a story on the Gawkadal massacre too". "The media should act as a bridge rather than add fuel to the fire" (Kashmir Ink, 2016).

About the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits, the media made conclusions such as majority Muslims forced the minority Hindus to leave the valley without questioning the basic threat which the whole valley faced. The 'Kashmiriyat' (composition of different cultures and ethnicities) which was the hallmark of the Kashmiri society for centuries disappeared within the days, nobody questioned that. The national media presented it as a Hindu-Muslim conflict, and some argued that the displacement of Pandits happened due to their large presence in the government jobs. The local media blamed then Governor of the state Jagmohan for the exile of Pandits. The media never tried to know the background of the displacement but acted like handicapped. Sometimes there was biasness in the reports of the media and other times, the media was occupied by a certain group of people who were either in politics or easily accessible to media (Jamwal, 2004).

For other displaced communities such as people displaced from the districts of Doda, Rajouri, Poonch and from along the border, the media did not show the same courage as it was visible during the displacement of Kashmiri Pandits. The displacement of people from these regions was generally generated by the government, so media paid a deaf ear to these displacements. One more reason for their negligence is that these people were illiterate and had no elite background and thus were inaccessible to mainstream media. Overall, the media has not been able to articulate the displacement of people across the valley. Sometimes the media has been stopped from doing their duty in the name of national interest or national security and at other times the media viewed the Kashmir conflict from one side (Jamwal, 2004).

Conclusion

It becomes clear from the above different perspectives that the Kashmiri society as whole has suffered being it the militants or by the hands of Indian security forces. As far as the internal displacement in Kashmir is concerned, different people with different ideologies look the phenomena through their

perspectives. They blame each other or government and militants for their suffering. Who was the responsible or was there any conspiracy in the displacement of the Pandits? "There is a need to have an impartial probe into the Kashmiri Pandit exodus. A team comprising members of both the communities must revisit 1990 and unveil the conspiracy" says Sanjay Tickoo. Some Pandit members like Sanjay Tikoo sees the exodus of Pandits as a conspiracy. According to Tikoo something happened in New Delhi around March 15, 1990. Haday Nath jattu, a Pandit leader called on his father and told him to leave Srinagar by March 17, as the Jawahar tunnel, which connects Kashmir with rest of India shall be closed after the said date (Din, 2016). It is a reality that the exodus has taken place but what really triggered it is a mystery.

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Partition and Legacies of Violence: A Study of Kashmir Conflict
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Abstract

The Partition of 1947, the clashing set of images, memories and the horror of violence that erupted in the Indian sub-continent. The roots and reasons may vary in the circumstances of identity, religion, ideology and so on, but for the sub-continent, it was a trauma as well as a triumph in so many ways. It was indeed the final victory of anti-colonial struggles, the birth of new independent and separate states and granted the citizenship of a new sovereign republic. While on the other side it has changed narratives of sub-continent. The legacies of violence, displacement, refugees, rape and kidnapping from both sides created the narratives of rupture, which are still alive in terms of border skirmishes, conflicts either intra, inter or sectarian created a new wave of violence in the sub-continent. The question arises, how partition had kept the state of Jammu and Kashmir on the threshold and from seventy years, the people of Kashmir are on the liminality. Stuck in the middle of violence from 1947, Kashmir had seen nothing, but repression and genocide from both sides. After Partition, it became one's Integral part (Atoot-Ang) and Jugular vein (Shah Rag) of another. It is remarkable, that the Kashmir remained unsolved and continues to bleed for both India and Pakistan both politically, economically and religiously. The audit of this paper is to present a broad framework of Kashmir conflict, through the outlook of partition. Besides that, the paper will also cover the legacies of violence that have roots in the partition, which are negligible in the sub-continent.

Introduction

In the year of 1947, the Indian sub-continent witnessed both trauma and triumph in terms of Independence from the clutches of the British Empire. Whilst on the other side, the division of Indian-Subcontinent (India and Pakistan) and creation of borders existed in the same era, came to be known as Partition, which not only separated people but created a notion

of violence against each other. Large scale massacres, mass migration and communalism were accompanied with Partition. It has been estimated that 18 million people were displaced from both India and Pakistan (Talbot & Singh, 2009:2).

Partition remains one of the memories of human tragedy, which cannot be wiped clean so easily. The scars of the Holocaust and its ramifications can be felt in every sphere. The partition was not the only displacement of masses, but it was also the bifurcation of land, creation of borders between regions that flowed culturally into each other. It was also a *'batwara'* of geographical boundaries, properties, assets and most definitely a division of hearts too (Arora & Dhawan, 2010:10).

The partition that marked the establishment of India and Pakistan was a civil war between Indian National Congress (hereafter INC) and Indian Muslim League (hereafter IML) that was signalled in the Lahore Resolution of March 1940. On the other side, Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus also demanded the partition of Bengal and Punjab on the basis of language and for the preserving of cultural uniformity (Pandey, 2001). However, Partition invalidated the one nation theory propounded by INC and also repudiated the two nation theory of IML, because people from both sides were affected before and after Partition. This division did not solve either the problems of Muslims or the anguishes of India. However, it entrenched communalism in the politico-religious consciousness of the people (Arora & Dhawan, 2010:11).

The transfer of power to the two dominions of India and Pakistan was a reaction of imperial statecraft to religious conflict, which crossed the provinces of Punjab and Bengal along with Muslim/non-Muslim lines. Over seven decades, the effects of Partition continued its impact on both the states of India and Pakistan in terms of an uneasy dialogue, the unfinished business of partition and the dispute of Jammu and Kashmir that makes them distant neighbours. History had witnessed that in the post-cold war era so many European countries like Germany were united in 1989, Korea

and Ireland also turned from hard to soft associations (Talbot & Singh, 2009:3). However, India and Pakistan have moved further apart from each other due to the conflict of the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Kashmir on the eve of Partition

Nahi Kuch Subha-o-zunnar ke phande mein girai, wafadari mein sheikh-o-brahaman ki aazmaish hai (quoted from Noorani, 2016).

The origins of the Kashmir conflict lies in the partition of British India in 1947 (Yousuf & Najam, 2009:1503). From the partition, the state of Jammu and Kashmir becomes an unresolved conflict between the world's largest democracy (India) and its neighbour (Pakistan). The two countries fought three wars (1947, 1965 and 1971) on the Kashmir issue. The uncertainty and lack of any conclusive resolution to the political dispute have left the population of the state of Jammu and Kashmir divided and uncertain about their future.

Kashmir has a Muslim majority population and was variously ruled by central and west originating Mughal-Afghan dynasties. In the nineteenth century, the British claimed it from Sikhs after the defeat in the first Anglo-Sikh war and British imposed an indemnity on the Sikh government. The Sikhs were not in a position to pay the demanded sums towards the British and gave Kashmir, Jammu, Ladakh and Baltistan. The Hindu Maharaja Gulab Singh (Dogra) stepped in and agreed to pay the indemnity of seventy-five lakh rupees towards the British in the Treaty of Amritsar[2] (Kaul, 2010:43, Dewan, 2008:133). Thus, the valley of Kashmir witnessed the Dogra rule from 1846-1947. During the period, the people led a miserable life and were treated as slaves. The imposition of heavy taxes, capital punishment and the constant terror was created by the Dogra's against Kashmiri Muslims (Ahmad, 2010).

On the eve of independence in 1947, there were five hundred and sixty-five princely states[3] in colonial India and each were given choice to merge either with Pakistan or India (Dewan, 2011). Kashmir was one of the largest

princely states and its Dogra ruler Maharaja Hari Singh of Kashmir wanted to remain independent and refused to accede to either nation. According to the Indian Independence Act 1947, adopted by British parliament concluded a four points formula for the division of Indian sub-continent. The fourth point reads out that princely states have the right to decide their fate by keeping in view the aspiration, geographical and other factors while taking such decisions (Bhat, 1981:15). According to such conditions, Kashmir was a Muslim majority state ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh (A Hindu). Both India and Pakistan wanted to grasp Kashmir because of its strategic location and geopolitical importance. However, geographically, economically and demographically, Kashmir was touching the aspirations of Pakistan. (Bhat, 2017: 285). While on the British side, Lord Mountbatten was doing his best to accede Kashmir to India. Taking the proposal before Maharaja with the option to join India or Pakistan, the Viceroy of Free India conducted his first meeting with the ruler of Kashmir. Maharaja Hari Singh refused the proposal and said: "I do not want to accede to Pakistan or either India, I want to remain independent" (Bhat, 1981:17). After the failure of Viceroy and the increasing bitterness between Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah, Mahatma Gandhi visited Kashmir on 1st August 1947 and it has been said that Gandhi mission was to persuade the disobedient Maharaja to accede to India. Gandhi arranged a meeting with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lord Mountbatten and Nehru prior to his departure and the sequence of events which followed his arrival in Kashmir clearly lay bare the political motives of his visit (Bhat, 2017:289).

After the return of Gandhi, the political and administrative set up in Kashmir changed by removing the Prime Minister R. C. Kak who was replaced first by Thakur Janak Singh and then by M C Mahajan as the new Prime Minister, who was a member of Radcliffe commission[4], Arya Samaj as well as having harsh attitude towards Pakistan (Bhat, 2017:289). After the appointment of Mahajan, the relation of Kashmir comes closer with Pundit Jawaharlal lal Nehru and Sardar Valliabhai Patel and on the request of Nehru, Sheikh

Abdullah was released from jail (Chopra, 2002). Prior to his release, there were clashes between the Dogra army and Muslims in border areas and an exchange of ideas by Mirwaiz Mohammad Yousuf with Pakistan leaders. Soon after his release, the issue of accession to India or Pakistan assumed serious dimensions as Pakistani leaders (Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din, Habib-ur-Rahman, Miss Nasira Sadiqi and Dr Tasir) came to Srinagar and negotiated with Sheikh (Bhat, 1981: 20). Speaking at a rally in Srinagar (Hazaribagh) sheikh declined his support to neither India or Pakistan. However, he openly condemned the formula of *Two Nation theory* and believed that religion and politics should be separated. Later on, his speeches and press conferences were wrathfully anti-Jinnah and full of praise for Nehru and other Congress leaders (Bhat, 2017: 290).

It is remarkable that the majority of people were the followers of Sheikh Abdullah's vision of Kashmiriyat (Secular) and its party leaders desired accession to India. Jinnah, who understood the hypocrisy of Sheikh and dilemma of Maharaja proclaimed that the question of accession entirely depends on the choice of the Maharaja and people of the state had no right to criticize his decision. The offers from both sides, political restlessness in various parts of state forced the Maharaja to sign a Standstill Agreement[5] with both domains (Dewan, 2008:146).

By signing the agreement, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir detained the famous leaders of both AIMC and National Conference (NC), which infuriated the internal atmosphere of the region. Later, this atmosphere had taken the communal shape in the Jammu region. There were Hindu/ Muslim riots. Due to these riots, the Muslim peasantry in Poonch, who were facing atrocities from the hands of Maharaja also revolted in the same period. The newly elected government of Pakistan founded it an opportunity and send their troops in tribal format to help the Muslim peasantry (Dixit, 2002). By October 1947, the tribesmen capture the several towns and massacred many civilians and advanced to capture the capital of valley (Husain 2009: 1008).

The Instrument of Accession

After signing the standstill agreement, the Indian government tried to favour the politics of Sheikh Abdullah and efforts were made that Kashmir should be merged with India. The failure of the Viceroy, communal riots and the increasing bitterness between Maharaja and Sheikh Abdullah forced Gandhi to visit Kashmir on 1st August 1947. Some scholars argue that Gandhi mission was to persuade the disobedient Maharaja to accede to India and to release Sheikh Abdullah from detention. He further advised the maharaja to handover the political power to the Sheikh and assume the role of a constitutional monarch (Dewan, 2008:154). It has been argued that Gandhi arranged a meeting with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Lord Mountbatten and Nehru prior to his departure and the sequence of events which followed his arrival in Kashmir clearly lay bare the political motives of his visit (Bhat, 2017:289).

Gandhi's visit to Kashmir had a great influence on the people of Kashmir. He first made the Maharaja responsible for all internal disturbances and stated that the treaty of Amritsar which gave the authority to Maharaja to rule Kashmir is a sale deed that is lapsed with the lapse of paramountcy. He further criticised Jinnah and said sovereignty belongs to the people not to the ruler (Puri, 1993:11).

The Maharaja was in a panic and sought assistance from the other princely states like Patiala. The ruler of Patiala sends his infantry battalion to help the forces of Maharaja Hari Singh. However, these forces were inadequate to drove the raiders out. Therefore, the Maharaja appealed to the Indian government for military assistance (Sum, Moorthy & Benny, 2013). The viceroy of India, Lord Mountbatten received the request from maharaja and within no time, he called for a meeting with Jawahar lal Nehru, Sardar Patel and it was decided that through the instrument of accession, the military assistance would be provided to the ruler of Kashmir (Dawson, 1994). However, there are different views among the scholars regarding the *instrument of accession*[6]. The question arises that who and where this

document was prepared. Most of the scholars are of the view that it never happened. The British scholars like Wolpert and French, Alaister Lamb and Victoria Schofield state that accession never happened. According to Karan Singh, the son of Maharaja Hari Singh recalls that the attack by Tribals supported by Pakistan forced the Maharaja to sign the instrument with India.

According to Balraj Puri that Sheikh Abdullah considered the Pakistan aggression as an attack to the freedom, identity and honour of Kashmir. To merge Kashmir into Indian union, Sheikh were further supported by Jawahar lal Nehru and Gandhi (1993:13). In the introduction to *Sardar Patel's Correspondence*, Durga Das observes that the Sheikh Abdullah and Maharaja shared and worked in their own way for the similar objective of independent Kashmir, but Pakistan invasion left them no choice (1945). Sheikh Abdullah was of the view that India protected the Azadi which includes identity, autonomy and dignity, while Pakistan tried to enslave the Kashmir and it was Kashmiri leadership, who defended their decision to accede to India (Puri, 1993:14).

Legacies of Violence

Partition and its narratives of rupture mark importance in both countries. However, the fate Jammu and Kashmir remained on liminality. Various scholars justified the Indian occupation of Kashmir with the advancement of tribal invasion that was fully supported by Pakistan. However, the genocide of Muslims that occurred before three days of tribal invasion and 10 days before the instrument of accession is unforgettable in the entire literature.

History reveals that entire British India was in turmoil, with religious factionalism between Hindus and Muslims except for Kashmir, which stood for harmony (Baker, 1994: 19). However, trouble came to the province of Jammu by communal violence. The Dogra's started to drive out Muslims from Jammu region (Anderson, 2012:70). The relations between Hindus

and Muslims began to grow uneasy, as some parts of the state were flared with communal violence (Sarila, 2005:347).

Poonch Revolt

In 1947, when Maharaja Hari Singh was stuck in the middle, unable to decide the future of the state of Jammu and Kashmir. Besides his reign of terror was always against Muslim subjects. In April 1947, Maharaja removed the Raja of Poonch and imposed heavy taxes on the people, who hesitated to pay. The Maharaja used force to realize the taxes from the people and resented the people against the Maharaja Government (Dewan, 2008: 147).

The people of Poonch were well trained in arms and during the Second World War, Maharaja sends them to help the British. After the return, Maharaja ordered them to return their weapons to the state and later on, these weapons were distributed among Dogra's and Sikhs. The inhabitants of Poonch resented with an armed revolt which was crushed ruthlessly by the Dogra troops. Villages were burnt, women were molested in terms of rape of abduction in the revolt (Bhat, 2017:293). It has been argued that the people of Poonch demonstrated in favour of Pakistan, and the Maharaja used martial law to crush the pro-Pakistan sentiments (Dewan, 2008: 147 & Sarila, 2005: 347).

Jammu Massacre

The genocide of Muslim in Jammu region remained secret and there is no official figure of the death toll. According to William W Baker, Maharaja not only ordered the local people of Poonch to lay down their arms, but his order was for all Muslims of the state to voluntarily turn over all their weapons to his police. When his order was resisted, the Muslims, who were five lakh in number. Among them, two lakh were murdered and the rest fled for their safety to West Pakistan (1994: 21).

A large number of killings occurred in Udhampur, Kathua and Reasi areas of Jammu province. It has argued that the Right Wing Hindu party RSS

played a key role in the Jammu massacre, who were aided by armed Sikh-Hindu refugees of Mirpur and Kotli (Naqvi, 2016). Village after village was burned, ethnically cleansed, thousands were displaced and women were raped and abducted (Dewan, 2008: 148 & Naqvi, 2016). The Poonch uprising and Jammu Massacre shaped the future of the state to a greater extent. Both these events started within the dominion of the state boundary and ended in involving newly separated countries in a significant manner (Bhat, 2017: 293). Kashmir was untouched beside having a majority of Muslims. The people of the valley shouted Hum Kya Chahte… Hindu/Muslim/Sikh Etihad (Dewan, 2008: 148).

It is remarkable that the Muslims of Poonch had historical, geographical, familial, ethnic, economic and religious links with North Western Frontier Muslims (Bhat, 2017:293). They came out in support and crossed the border into Kashmir to help their fellow Muslims, which came to be known as tribal attack/Invasion (Baker, 1994:22). By October 1947, the tribesmen capture the several towns and massacred a large number of civilians and advanced to capture the capital of valley (Husain, 2009:1008). To crush the rebels from the state the Maharaja sought assistance from the State of India and the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to send troops in Kashmir on the condition that the state should accede to India. Finally, it was October 26, 1947, when the Maharaja Hari Singh agreed to sign the Instrument of Accession to India and kept a condition that Kashmir should be permitted to have its own constitution (Dewan, 2008:153).

The tribal invasion eased the way for the accession of state of Jammu and Kashmir and resembles the treaty of Amritsar. Both the agreements included the desire of the ruler and the wishes of people were not determined. However, after accession, the Indian Prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru reaffirmed the people of Jammu and Kashmir would be the right to determine their own destiny (Plebiscite) has not even been fulfilled even after the lapse of seventy years (Bhat, 2017:294 & Baker, 1994: 23).

The Intervention of the United Nations in Kashmir Conflict

The accession with India did not end the uncertainty over the final status of the Jammu and Kashmir for mainly three reasons: (a); the accession was a subject to a reference to the people of the state: (b); the issue becomes internationalised as it was referred to the United Nations Security Council for a peace settlement: (c); a war has to been waged to clear the state of invaders (Puri, 1993:15).

The Indian Viceroy Lord Mountbatten visited Lahore on 1st November 1947 and negotiated with Jinnah. At the meeting, Mountbatten proposed a UN-sponsored plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. However, Jinnah rejected by stating that the presence of the Indian army and Sheikh Abdullah being in power, the people would be frightened to vote in favour of Pakistan (Puri, 1993:16). Jinnah put forward a proposal which states that both governors-general would issue a joint declaration calling for a ceasefire (Korbel, 1954). Jinnah put the condition that if the tribesmen did not follow the orders, the armies of both countries would take collective action against them and later the governors-general would take control, enforce demilitarization and organise a plebiscite (Birdwood, 1956).

India rejected the proposal of Jinnah, and Nehru responded that we are ready, but when peace, law and order have been established, there should be a referendum in Kashmir, which should be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations (Sum, Moorthy & Benny, 2013:161). Besides that, India presented a proposal before the UN stating that Pakistan should compel first against the raiders out from Kashmir as soon as possible (Rehman, 1996). However, both countries showed aggressiveness and bilateral efforts failed to resolve the Kashmir issue. India, within no time, took the issue to the United Nations Security Council (Puri, 1993, Menon, 1956).

India made a direct appeal to UNSC on 1st January 1948 and wanted to draw attention of the council of the threat to international peace and security "owing to the aid which infiltrators consisting of nationals of Pakistan and of tribesmen from the territory immediately adjoining Pakistan

on the northwest, under directions from Pakistan for operations against Kashmir, a state which has acceded to the Dominion of India and is part of India" (Puri, 1993:16, Sum, Moorthy & Benny, 2013:161 & Dixit, 2002). The Government of India also requested the UNSC to call upon Pakistan to put an end immediately the assistance which is an act of aggression against India. If Pakistan does not comply to do so, the Government of India may use force in self-defence to enter Pakistani territory to take military action against the infiltrators (Ibid).

It is noteworthy that India logged the complaint under chapter VI rather than VII of the UN charter. Chapter VI deals with specific settlement of disputes, while as chapter VII deals with threats to peace and acts of aggression. Basically, India wants negotiations, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, Arrangements or other peaceful means of their choosing (Puri, 1992:17). Here the question arises that why India choose chapter VI rather than chapter VII. The question also paves the way to other doubts that there was something fishy in the sending troops to Kashmir and justifies that it was only for help. On the other hand, Pakistan portrayed the issue as India-Pakistan rather than Kashmir issue before UNSC, which got more attention in the eyes of the world (Dawson, 1994). Due to their earlier mistake, India felt that UNSC was more interested in examining India's action in Kashmir rather than looking after Pakistan's aggression (Ibid).

Initially, the Security Council passed a resolution on 17th and 20th January 1948 calling both countries to refrain using military might and to seek a peaceful solution. Besides that, the resolution 1948 states whether Kashmir belongs to India or Pakistan. The resolution also made a provision for a three-member United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) to go to Kashmir and investigate the issue closely (Wirsing, 1994) The Security Council adopted another resolution 726 on 21st April 1948 and this resolution mentions the formation of UNCIP and the proposal of the plebiscite. Moreover, the resolution also recommended that Pakistan should

secure the withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals and that India should progressively withdraw its forces to the minimum strength required for the maintenance of law and order. The resolution also suggested that a coalition cabinet is formed in Kashmir, representing all political groups and that Plebiscite Administrator is nominated to ensure free and impartial plebiscite (Sum, Moorthy & Benny, 2013:162).

On 13th August 1948, the UNCIP passed its first resolution 995 (Ibid). According to this resolution, the UNCIP appointed by the security council proposed to determine the future status of Jammu and Kashmir in accordance with the will of the people (Puri, 1993:17). Besides that, both parties should agree upon issuing the ceasefire order within four days. The Commission would appoint Nations Military observers for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) to supervise the ceasefire; troops withdrawals and the territorial evacuation were to be administered by the local authorities under the observation of the Commission (UNCIP, 1948).

After the resolution, both countries put their objections before the Security Council and after modifications, the proposal was presented to both countries on 11th December 1948. In this resolution, it was stated that the question of accession of Jammu and Kashmir should be decided through the democratic method by holding of a free and impartial plebiscite (Korbel, 1954). After accepting the revised resolution, both countries suggested a ceasefire line. The ceasefire line came into effect on 1st January 1948. The Commission later reaffirmed its revised proposal in a formal resolution 1196 of 5th January 1949. Through this, the UNCIP reconfirmed the legal status of the government of Jammu and Kashmir (Puri, 1993:18).

One of the UN mediators, Sir Owen, visited the Kashmir and observed both sides. He submitted his report to the UNSC on 19th September 1950, in which he suggested some methods of allocating the Kashmir Valley. He suggested the partition of Kashmir between two countries keeping view the sentiments the importance of geography in fixing the borders. This proposal was welcomed by Bhartiya Jana Sangh (BJS) leader Balraj Madhok by

saying that Dixon's proposal appeared to be eminently reasonable and practical. However, the proposal was also rejected at the end (Puri, 1993: 19).

On 14th March 1950, the Security Council passed Resolution No. 80 by which it appointed United Nations Representative in India and Pakistan (UNRIP). The resolution also provided for the termination of the UNCIP which was wound up by 1st July 1950. Again, on 30th March 1951, the Security Council, through its Resolution No. 91, decided that the United Nations Military Observer Group for India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP) which main functions were to observe and report, investigate complaints of ceasefire violations and submit its finding to each party and to the Secretary-General shall continue to supervise the Ceasefire in the State (Dawson, 1994).

In the meantime, India held elections in Kashmir in 1951 and formed a constituent assembly to further integrate the state. To publicly defence India's action, Nehru said in a press conference on 11 June that no country had any business interfering and that the Indian government would tolerate no nonsense about Kashmir. The election of an assembly was seen in Pakistan as a step toward consolidation of India's hold on the state (Rahman, 1996).

In 1953, both India and Pakistan started interchanging their position on the issue of the plebiscite in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, The Sheikh, who once was a strong supporter of Indian Union demanded the Plebiscite. The Indian government dismissed him from power and was put into detention. Later, the Indian government avoided the implementation of its commitments. In 1957, the Home Minister of India Pandith Govind Ballabh Pant visited Kashmir and declared that the state was an integral part of India and there is no place for a plebiscite to determine its status afresh (Puri, 1993:20).

Both countries blamed each other over the possession of Kashmir and the conflict translated into war, which broke out in 1965. The UNSC had to again interfere and passed resolution number 211 on 20th September 1965 and resolution number 214 on 27th September 1965 and demanded ceasefire and withdrawal of troops back to the position before 5 August 1965 (UNSC, 1965). However, the conflict was settled by the intervention of the Soviet Union resulted in signing the Tashkent Declaration in 1966[7] in which both parties agreed to restore status quo ante and to resolve the outstanding issue by negotiation.

In 1971 both countries once again meet each other in the war, when India supported East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) for its independence. In 1972, an agreement was signed, and both countries decided to end their conflicts bilaterally and this agreement came to be known as the Shimla Agreement[8] (Singh, 2011: 12). Due to the renewed hostilities between India and Pakistan in 1971, UNMOGIP was tasked to observe developments pertaining to the strict observance of the ceasefire of 17 December 1971 (United Nations Military Observer Group in India and Pakistan (UNMOGIP, 1971).

After the Shimla Agreement, the dual nature of Sheikh Abdullah sowed the seeds of secessionism among the people of Kashmir. In 1975, he signed the Kashmir Accord[9], which strengthened the hands of India and control over legislation in Kashmir. In 1977, the Congress party withdrew its support to Sheikh Abdullah and in return, he demanded plebiscite and independence from India and strengthened the seeds of sentiments alive in the people of Kashmir (Pandita, 2003). In the 1980s, Islamization and rigid elections of 1989 paved the way to armed rebellion and used similar brutal methods as the Maharaja used in 1947 to suppress the revolt.

Conclusion

Historically, before the existence of nation-states of India and Pakistan, the people of Kashmir have been mobilising themselves against subordination,

injustice and oppression, whether it ware Afghans, Sikhs or Dogra's. After partition, the state of Jammu and Kashmir remained everyone's priority, which not only partitioned the state into two parts but also created a feeling of hatefulness among both the countries. The Maharaja supported India nor Pakistan and voiced for the third option of independence of the state. It was a tragedy that the relations of maharaja and Sheikh were not good and serious effort were made by Nehru and Jinnah in gaining the state by playing religious card. Both of these countries fought on Kashmir and merged the wishes of People of Jammu and Kashmir. One claims it an integral part, while other one calls it jugular vein. In reality, what the state of Jammu and Kashmir wants, nobody is ready to listen to it. The real cause of all the bitterness, suspicion and bloodshed that have characterized the Kashmir conflict is the uncompromising battle between India and Pakistan that traces its roots int the partition of 1947.

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Endnotes

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[2] The treaty of Amritsar was signed on March 16, 1846 between the British and Gulab Singh Dogra. Under this

Treaty, Kashmir came under the direct control of Dogra's from 1846-1947. This treaty is considered not only illegal, but it is immoral in nature. This treaty made Gulab Singh owner of Kashmir which was supported by British military (Baker, 1994:10).

[3] These states were self-governing units, smaller in size, ruled by Hindu, Muslim and Sikh ruler with pretensions to royal states. These states collectively covered 45% of the land mass of Indian Sub-continent and constituted a major pillar of British rule in India (Wani & Suwirta, 2013:183).

[4] Radcliffe commission was also known as "Boundary Commission" which comprised both members from Hindu and Muslim community. It was headed by British Jurist Sir Cyril Radcliffe (Baker, 1994: 20).

[5]The Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir signed a still stand agreement with Pakistan on August 12 in an exchange of telegrams. The main objective of this agreement was to ensure those services which existed for trade, travel and communication would carry on in the same way as they had in British India. However, India did not signed the still stand agreement as it was against the will of people. (Dewan, 2008: 146).

[6] The instrument of Accession that was signed by Maharaja Hari Singh gave the dominion legislature powers to make laws in the state with the respect to the matters concerning defense, external affairs, communication and ancillary matters. There was a provision in the agreement that the state of Jammu and Kashmir would be made by the free will of the people until law and order should be restored (Dewan, 2011).

[7] The Tashkent agreement was signed immediately aftermath of the second war between India and Pakistan in 1965. It was signed between Lal Bhadur Shastri and Muhammad Ayub Khan under the mediator of Kosygin of Soviet Union. Under this agreement both countries agreed to exert all efforts to create good neighbourly relations and settle their disputes through peaceful manners (Gopalan, 2007).

[8] The main features of Shimla agreement are that both the countries should respect each other's territorial integrity, sovereignty, political independence and non- interference in each other's internal affairs. Besides that, both countries lay emphasis on cooperative relationship with special focus on people to peoples contact and uphold the inviolability of the line of control (LOC) in Jammu and Kashmir (Shimla agreement, July 02, 1972).

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[9] This accord was signed in 1975 between sheikh Abdullah and Indira Gandhi (Pandita, 2003).

Paul Vernon Dudman[1]

Dzhangal the book was launched to coincide with an exhibition and installation of the photographs by the photographer and author Gideon Mendel held at Autograph in London between 6th January and the 11th February 2017. The title of this book, "*Dzhangal*" relates to a Pashto word meaning 'This is the forest", which apparently is the origin for the Calais refugee camps becoming known as the `Jungle.'

Dzhangal, by the photographer Gideon Mendel, and published by GOST books in 2017, constitutes a collection of photographs, framed on an absorbent black background, of objects collected in the Calais refugee camps, known as the `Jungle,' during multiple visits to the camps during 2016. Collected after the southern part of the `Jungle' camps was bulldozed and burnt by the French police in 2016, many of these objects are burnt, turn, unusable, damaged beyond repair, eerie fragments of a life, a past, a journey of hope, desperation and despair .... a burnt check shirt (page 4) or a smock top with lace trim (page 9). Fragments of a life and an experience many of us will have the luxury never to experience, of hopes, fears, and the search for a safe and secure life in Europe. Burnt scraps from children's books (page 25) and toys reinforce to us the passive reader of these images, that up-rootedness through war, climate change and politics impacts us all, and highlights the brutality of these conditions, especially for children who have been forced to flee their homeland and find a home in a refugee camp.

The account by `Africa on page 14 documents segments of the experience of a journey from Africa to the Calais `Jungle':

"It was big trouble when I came here. I can't believe this is Europe? Where is humanity, where is democracy? I think, because we have come here, we are not human beings; we become animals, a new kind of animal. A new kind of animal that has developed at this time. It's known as `refugee.'" (`Africa', p.14)

The narrative accounts included in *Dzhangal* are adapted and drawn from the *Voices from the Jungle: Stories from the Calais Camp* book published by Pluto Press in 2017 (ISBN: 9780745399683). *Voices from the Jungle* is a compilation of work by 22 authors who were living in the Calais refugee camps between 2015 and 2016. The writing formed a part of the `Life Stories' accredited university short course, developed and run on three occasions by members of the Centre for Narrative Research at the University of East London, led by Professor Corinne Squire.   Additional

writing was also undertaken as part of the Centre for Narrative Research's `Displaces: Multimodal narrative photography' workshops delivered by the author of *Dzhangal*, Gideon Mendel, and Crispin Hughes.

Included within the book is poetry by Babak Inaloo (page 34) and by `Mani' (page 44), combined with an account by Shaheen Ahmed Wali, (page 58). A selection of these testimonies are also available online as part of a Voices from the Jungle archive located on the Living Refugee Archive, established by Dr Rumana Hashem and Paul Dudman during a project to document living narratives of migration as part of an ongoing civic engagement project documenting migration in East London, and available at: http://www.livingrefugeearchive.org/voices-jungle-testimonies/ These testimonies are open access and enable access to reflections, creative writing and life history narratives from the Calais `Jungle.'

Photographs within *Dzhangal* are grouped into sections, including clothes, children's toys, daily objects like chairs and utensils, although no section indicators are included in the book, with just a very short basic description of the item photographed and the date collected in the camp. It therefore encourages the reader to engage with the objects selected and to start to interact with them, and to consider the wider context of each item. Why was it chosen? Where exactly was it found? Who it may have belonged to and where did it come from? This lack of context to the images helps to reflect the transient nature of the Calais `Jungle,' and the dehumanising nature of the experiences that these objects bare witness too. The quest for humanity, safety, security and the hope for a better life, reduced to a selection of burnt fragments and tattered remnants of a normal life. A double page spread on pages 30-31 includes a depiction of forty-eight tear gas canisters collected during visits in May, September and October 2016, reinforce the shocking conditions many of the residents of the camp were forced to endure. Whilst a collection of decorated tear gas canisters, collected on the 28 October 2016 (page 63) testify to both the police brutality within the `Jungle' but also to the resourcefulness and resilience of the camp residents, turning a symbol of oppression into an art form – a representation and narrative of their journeys and experiences, allowing their voices to be heard through art whilst turning a symbol of oppression into a symbol of hope and agency.

All of these images, including metal chair frames (Pages 28/39) and a children's bicycle (page 41), a collection of burnt and rusty kitchen utensils (page 57) burnt by fire and rusted by the elements, no longer fit for their intended purpose, but a stark reminder of the conditions within the camp and the personal and domestic nature of the camp. *Dzhangal* concludes with two short contextual essays, `Forensics (photography in the face of failure)' by Dominique Malaquais (pages 73-74) and `A Planet Without a

Visa' by Paul Mason. Mason chooses to focus on the political and economic climates in which the `Jungle' can be situated, mixing statistics highlighting the economic need of Western economies and the need for migrants to help counter-act an ageing workforce and decline in birth rates, mixed with the growing hostility of host populations to new arrivals "and the political sickness of xenophobia and racism' (Mason, p. 77), and the dangers of right-wing nationalism and the increasingly restrictive border controls indicative of the `hostile environment.'

"Refugees are not just treated like dirt in the asylum systems of the West. They are forced to live in dirt. Their possessions become mixed in the dirt, just as they are amid the charred ruins of that pop-up Troy, the Calais Jungle." (Mason, p.79).

Some of the most poignant photographs are of children's toys, including `Olaf the Snowman' (page 10); a `teddy in Pyjamas' (page 13) or the burnt remnants of a knitted soft toy (page 12). The photographs are inter-dispersed with selected narratives and writings from residents of the Calais camps, whether as individual life histories, poetry or creative writing. One-off workshops were undertaken with residents of the Calais camp utilising multimodal narrative methodologies to enable participants to reflect upon and tell their own stories and life history narratives. "The project involved visual storytelling workshops in which participants were asked to create visual stories about themselves, their journey or their life in the refugee camp." (Esin, 2017).

From the failures of Globalisation and neo-liberal economic systems in the West, Malaquais chose to focus on the rationale for the forensic approach to Gideon Mendel's photography in *Dzhangal*. There is no commentary in the book from the photographer himself, so it is left to Malaquais to contextualize the photography and the approach of Mendel in his choice of material and subsequent visual representation. Malaquais chooses to reflect upon the forensic approach of Mendel.

Malaquais initially chooses to reflect on the ethics and dangers of undertaking photography in difficult situations by highlighting the sheer abundance of photographers and media that were in evidence in the Calais camps. The endless stream of images in the Western media and online and the de-humanization of the refugee as so many of these photographers focused on the refugees themselves. She quotes one interaction with Mendel during a Christian procession within the `Jungle' in Many 2016. Mendel is confronted as he prepares to document the possession, "You fucking photographers! You come here and take our photographs and you tell us it is going to help us, but nothing changes. The only person it helps is you." (M., p. 73).

Malaquais uses her essay to argue in favour of Mendel's attempts to "de-aestheticize the encounter with refugee bodies" (p.74) through his forensic approach in avoiding his gaze away from the refugee body to the remnants of their existence from the southern section of the camp bulldozed and burnt as part of a "slum clearance" by French police. From the perspective of an archivist, it is interesting to reflect upon Malaquais's discussion around the notions of western traditions of collection and the role of objects as evidence.

"The process of compiling physical evidence to account for "others", making "sense" of their difference, and, thereby, of the collector's power to examine, name, bracket and administer, has a long and violent history." (Malaquais, p. 74).

Mendel's realisation that many of those resident in the Calais camps did not want to have their photographs taken, partly due to a fear of being recognised, and partly due to an inherent distrust of the motives of those seeking to take their photographs, enabled Mendel to focus his work on reflecting their humanity by documenting the damaged objects he found in the camp.

"I set about forensically photographing these found objects as if they were precious archaeological artefacts that might help us to make sense of the complex relationships and politics of the place." (Mendel in Miller, 2018).

Through his utilisation of this approach, Mendel was able to collaborate with MOLA on the Dzhangal Archaeology Project, focusing on the life histories of the objects themselves, "their use, re-use, and eventual destruction and the wider political and economic context that led to their being and eventual disposition in the camp." (Janet Miller, MOLA, 2018).

It will be interesting to see how this forensic approach to the objects photographed for *Dzhangal* is developed as a potential methodology for helping to document the refugee experience through an object-driven approach. One of the major reasons for establishing the *Displaced Voices* journal was to help encourage exploration of new and alternative methodologies for engaging with archives and cultural heritage in their broadest sense as a means to better represent the narrative experiences of those who have been displaced and to re-assess best practice, and to facilitate new approaches to multi-disciplinary engagement and the cross-pollination of knowledge and cultural heritage co-production. I think the role of archaeological methods to the forensic assessment of these objects can only add to our knowledge and understanding of life within camps like the `Jungle' and I will continue to follow this approach with interest.

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Endpages