

Panel 28: **Migrations across the Mediterranean: Popular Uprisings, Imperial Legacies, and the Right to Move**

Friday 18, 11.15-13.15, Coro di Notte

Convenors: **Linda Herrera** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), **Peter Mayo** (University of Malta)

Discussant: **Linda Herrera** (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign)

Just five years ago in 2011 the Arab uprisings erupted as popular movements for “bread, freedom, and social justice.” After a short-lived period of optimism, the region is currently experiencing a massive movement of people fleeing poverty, persecution, and violence and the many effects of a cluster of failed states. Migration has been occurring largely within national borders and to neighboring countries in the region. More recently, the direction has been shifting across the Mediterranean, the pathway to Europe. People from all walks of life, but especially youth and young families, are embarking on the perilous sea and overland journey. The purpose of this panel is to investigate the migration issue from the two sides of the Mediterranean with a particular focus on children and youth, human/citizenship rights, and memory, and their implications for educational policy, social policy, and global governance. As the crossings of refugees across the Mediterranean have been increasing exponentially in the past three years, the spectre of colonialism is returning to haunt Europe with a vengeance. The European Union’s fortress policy with respect to denial of visas and travel opportunities is compelling immigrants to pursue some of the most hazardous routes to flee their country and reach Europe. Given these sets of conditions, this panel aims to: Examine the issues of refugees in Europe from a social policy perspective, taking into consideration issues around education and legal status; Reevaluate questions and definitions of “citizenship” and “global citizenship” and push further ways of thinking outside the nation state model; Highlight the stories of the migrants themselves, situating their lives and struggles in larger political and geopolitical contexts; Contribute to understanding, and to be able to contribute to solution at policy level to the human tragedy of mass migration, with a focus on the Mediterranean (European Union and the Middle East and North Africa).

Paper givers:

- 1) **Stefano Fogliata** (University of Bergamo), *Between rejections, discriminatory borders and shifting identities: Palestinian Refugees fleeing Syria to Lebanon*

After being forced out of their homeland decades ago in the aftermath of 1948-Nakba, Palestinian refugees have nowadays found themselves stuck into the Syrian civil war and they have been fleeing Syria with the same rate and dynamics of people from their host society. Being- unlike Syrian citizens- stateless, Palestinians in Lebanon are subjected to a combination of “internal” and “external” factors that turn into denial of rights, discriminatory borders and arbitrary detentions. This paper probes how, while causing additional obstacles, a previous collective experience of displacement serves as a social and cultural resource in the “lived experience” of refugees. This aspect will be crucial in the

attempt to re-elaborate their collective memory and individual identity as Palestinians in the Middle East, reorienting aspirations and trajectories of life through new and perilous migration routes toward Europe. This inquiry is informed theoretically by political anthropology and methodologically by biographical and field research with Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and Syria.

2) **Ruba Salih** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London), *Exile as radical democracy. Palestinian refugees and the fallacies of the nation-state*

In 1985 Palestinian intellectual Mahmud Darwish wrote an essay eloquently titled: The madness of being Palestinian[1]. In that essay Palestinians are defined as a superfluous nation. Darwish wonders why are Arabs murdering Palestinians? His answer is that 'sectarian wolves' have taken over the country and turned Palestinians into a mirror of the 'scandal of the nation'. This paper conveys the ways in which Palestinians, once the scandal of the nation-state, are powerfully turning into its critical consciousness. Most refugees are openly contesting the opposition between the right to return to Palestine and right to rights in their country of residence and expose the fallacies of the discourse of 'rights' as prerogative of the nationals. They also powerfully de-sacralise, confront, ridicule or sarcastically engage with mainstream notions of 'citizenship' 'return' and 'rights', which they see as bio-political tools of control and management in the background of flawed grand narratives of rules of law, state and sovereignty. Painfully freed from an entrapping nationalist rhetoric, Palestinian lived experience of exile can be seen as a springboard for a chaotic, yet radical, political project of democracy rather than of nationalism.

3) **Peter Mayo** (University of Malta), *Adult education and migration: a southern European perspective*

The increase in migration to the Mediterranean from sub-Saharan Africa and MENA has posed important challenges to the educational systems of receiving countries both in terms of formal education provision and the curricula and styles of teaching involved as well as adult education both for inclusion and relocation, as well as a means to foster inter-ethnic understanding and combating racism. This presentation will commence with analysis of the migration issue in its broader sense, highlighting its neo-colonial, neoliberal and indigenous aspects before indicating some of the ramifications for education. The concern is with the role adult education can play in the fostering of inter-ethnic solidarity. Strategies to pursue will be provided with respect to pedagogy of social difference, attaching importance to the social relations of education and content issues. The approach will combine political economy with cultural analysis. It is argued, even drawing on our home country's case, that this process is abetted by political parties, including traditionally left wing parties, who are reluctant to engage in international working class solidarity measures for fear of losing electoral votes, in an age characterized by economic precariété and feelings of vulnerability experienced by autochthonous workers.

- 4) **Jinan Bastaki** (School of Oriental and African Studies, London), *The Legacy of the 1951 Refugee Convention and Palestinian Refugees: Multiple displacements, multiple exclusions*

Under the 1951 Refugee Convention, Article 1D singles out those who are receiving aid from UN agencies. This clause only applies to – and arguably has only ever applied to – Palestinian refugees receiving aid from UN Refugee and Works Agency (UNRWA). While the UNHCR provides guidance for how to interpret this clause, national courts have frequently interpreted this clause in conflicting ways. This is ironic as Article 1D was introduced in order to afford Palestine refugees heightened protection. More than 60 years after the initial refugee crisis, how does this provision affect displaced Palestinians today? As UNRWA operates in five main areas and serves over 5 million registered refugees, any refugee seeking asylum outside of these areas in a state that has ratified the Convention is subject to this clause. This is particularly relevant to Palestinian refugees from Syria, as reports have shown that they are being blocked from entering Jordan and Lebanon. This paper will explore the current interpretation of Article 1D in the European Union, and how this may affect Palestinian refugees fleeing areas of conflict for a second or third time.

- 5) **André Elias Mazawi** (University of British Columbia), *"Vernaculars Of Power" And The Lives And Work Of Teachers In Contexts Of Human Displacement*

The presentation focuses on the work of teachers in contexts of wars and human displacement across the Mediterranean basin, in refugee camps, among (un)documented migrants, and in contexts of state collapse. How do teachers engage and negotiate what Goodson (1997) refers to the “vernaculars of power” in conflict-ridden contexts, particularly when the territoriality of the nation-state, its supportive regulatory mechanisms and its bases of power weaken or collapse?