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Abstract Booklet

CROSSING
BORDERS
The international conference for the refugee crisis

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UNIVERSITY OF THE AEGEAN

**Petr Agha, Academy of Sciences, Czech Republic, Head of Department
The Art of Dissent**

This paper will explore the ways in which we can re-imagine the law, political subjectivity and our (political) ontologies in connection with artistic interventions in the public space. It will ponder two questions a) whether there is a specific art of the law and b) what roles do dissenting artistic interventions play in the production of meanings. To this end, the paper examines the clash of two orders of representation in the public space, namely art and the law. It will juxtapose art, the law and the lived experience of public space (Lefebvre), with particular focus on street art and various modes of presence / performance in the public space. It will touch upon the issue of the incessant marketization, privatisation etc. of the public space and what role does the law play in upholding this process. It will suggest that (street) art may have the capacity to disrupt the dominant (symbolic) order and pave way to 'reclaiming' the public space by a different public by way of breaking with the police distribution of space (Ranciere)? It will conclude with the discussion of Ranciere's ideas about artistic works, which are according to him 'crucial to today's issues of power and community' and particularly with his discussion of the production of logos as the condition of participation in public deliberations.

**Xeni Alexiou - Anna Micheli - Elena Katseniou - Elena Artemi - Christy Petropoulou,
Departement of Geography, University of the Aegean
Urban landscapes, comamon places of inhabitants and new comers: the case of
Mytilene**

This study presents a transdisciplinary research about urban landscapes, commons and the question of new comers in the city of Mytilene. This research is based on a Lefebvrian consideration of the production of the space like: spatial practices, representation of spaces and representational spaces. The first part of the study, realized during the summer of 2015, shows that the opinion of inhabitants about new comers like refugees - migrants is related to socio-spatial differentiation, urban eco-landscapes typology, gender, age and their previous knowledge and experience. The second part examines the opinion of inhabitants and the new comers about the open public spaces in urban fabric. The public urban space is conceived as a dynamic fluid network which is under constant negotiation and it doesn't belong only to specific communities and collectivities. The third part, is focused on the contested common spaces of acts of solidarity in open structures, in contradiction to reception centers and detention centers. For the purposes of this research, both quantitative and qualitative methodologies have been used.

**Tim Anderson, University of Sydney, Senior Lecturer
Dirty Wars and the Middle East Emigration Crises**

The roots of immigration crises lie in much larger emigration crises, though Eurocentrism does not see it that way. In 2015 the top three sources of asylum seekers in the EU were Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, countries subject to invasions and proxy wars involving several European powers. The numbers of displaced people within and without those countries are far higher than those seeking refuge in Europe. Further, the Middle East wars have been driven systematically by the Washington-NATO plan for a 'New Middle East', not simply by factors endogenous to the region. These refugees are not fleeing oppressive regimes; they run to escape dirty wars backed by the western powers. Evidence makes it clear that NATO countries have backed every single terrorist group in Iraq and Syria, over the past decade. With Iraq and Syria we have seen an aggravation of the standard war-drives-emigration phenomenon. First, the terrorism fomented by NATO and the Gulf monarchies (GCC) has 'blown back', helping provoke further European intervention. Second, disinformation campaigns have driven racial reactions to the target cultures and their emigrants, adding to the confusion over just who is responsible for the crisis. Third, there is fear of terrorists joining the waves of refugees. Fourth, hyper-militarised responses have enhanced European fears of an emigrant threat. In short, the USA and European powers are in large part responsible

for the creation and aggravation of the emigrant crisis, which now presents as a European immigration crisis. Many millions are affected, yet no real solution is conceivable without addressing the NATO-GCC roots of the problem.

Federico Annibale, SOAS

From Volunteering to Political Change

The paper interrogates the divide and the contradictions between the figures of the activist and the volunteer, as they appear in the specific context of the so-called refugee crisis. Using examples from the refugee camp in Calais, northern France, the paper highlights the discrepancies between the "volunteer", as someone not directly confronting the causes which have created the crisis, but only treating the symptoms of it; and the "activist", as someone deeply aware of the causes of the crisis and that uses solidarity work to build political resistance. Through this discussion, the paper questions models of intervention that work with the mainstream and that are work in conjunction with governmental institutions. On the contrary, it suggests that there is a need for a strong political movement which renders governments accountable for their responsibilities in causing the refugee crisis in the first place, and for the restrictive and containing measurements that they have implemented in answering it.

Sonia Anwar- Ahmed Martinez, SOAS

Children of the Crisis as Third Culture Kids?

The paper is sparked by the recently-gone-viral Save the Children video depicting the effects of the Syrian war. The video juxtaposes images of British and Syrian children as they get on with their (very different) everyday life, and, in doing so, it inextricably ties up their lives. Sparked by this reasoning, the paper provocatively juxtaposes literature on so-called Third Culture Kids to the children caught up in the Syrian crisis. As both are examples of 'displaced' populations, the paper attempts this conversation with three purposes. First, it wants to suggest the magnitude of the current migration crisis and of its effects on children. Using insights from literature concerned with the emotional and material realities of (any) migrating children, it uses empirical evidence collected in Calais camps and academic material to illustrate the scale of the current crisis. Second, and strictly related to this, it wants to evidence the radically, and unjustly, different material realities of children born in families residing no more than 3000 Km away. At its broadest, third, the paper wants to contribute to an understudied dimension of the crisis that associated to children's displacement.

Kynthia Arvanitidi, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, PhD Candidate

In This World: Depiction of Migration in Cinema

There is no doubt that migration is one of the burning issues of our contemporary globalized era. Issues of West vs East become again prominent, with millions of immigrants and refugees mostly from the East trying to cross the borders, reach the West and pursue a better life. Terms like globalization, capitalism, imperialism, racism, neocolonial exploitation and economic instability are organically interconnected with the refugee and humanitarian crisis. Against the usual politics of fear that links immigrants and refugees with terrorism and criminality, cinema in several cases adopts the immigrant's point of view in representing the immigrant and refugee problem. A very touching film in the form of docu-drama is *In This World* (2002) by Michael Winterbottom narrating the perilous journey of two young Afghan boys, Jamal and Enayat from the Shamshatoo refugee camp in Pakistan along the so called "Silk Road" to London. During the dangerous journey through Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Italy, France and finally UK Enayat dies while Jamal loses his childhood innocence. The film, addressing issues like the difficulty in border crossings due to strict border policies or the degradation of the refugee life to "bare life" looking only for survival, tries to sensitize the western audience about the inhumane conditions and enormous struggles the refugees have to face. The power of cinema is able to lead to the change of attitudes.

Christos Avramidis, AUTH - Alexandros Minotakis, UOA, Msc

Δελτία της ΕΡΤ στα αραβικά : χειραφετητική πρακτική ή χειραγώγηση;

The coverage of the refugee issue in the media is of particular importance, as it is the main intermediary between the population of the host country and the refugees and immigrants. Given the fact that to date, the majority of Greeks have not come into contact with refugees, their presentation by the media contributes to shaping the image of the "refugee" and the "immigrant", supports or refutes preexisting perceptions, forms new ones and sets the ground for the interaction with the local population. From this standpoint, it is interesting to see that the public broadcaster ERT chose to host a TV show in Arabic, aiming to inform the refugee and immigrant populations about the affairs in the country and help their preparation (for what??). This show has been an important choice that was not welcomed by conservative circles of the Greek society. By analyzing ERT's news shows targeted at refugees, we can study the interaction of state policy with public information and we can also identify the perceptions about the "refugee" behind the formation of these TV shows. Moreover, we can see the way public television addresses refugees and immigrants, and the way it functions to aid the implementation of the government policy, facilitated by the fact that ERT's news show is a media monopoly for refugees and immigrants. We will analyze the news shows for refugees, by focusing on reports on controversial political moments, such as the EU agreement with Turkey, the first refugees being sent back to Turkey and the evacuation of the refugee camp at the Piraeus port.

Hawzhin Azeez, University of Newcastle, Lecturer, Govand Khalid Azeez

The Migrant: between Liberal Capitalo-Parliamentarianism and Democratic Federalism

The migrant issue essentially is a crisis of the count, where an excess extra-structural category enters and distorts the contours and configurations of a structured situation. The vulgar liberal capitalo-parliamentarianism and its parapolitical neoliberal possessive masculinist machinations functions as a Rancierean *La police*. Here the *distribution of the sensible* not only ensures the identification, categorization and taxonomization of politico-ontological categories but also restructuration within the situation. The migrant, the excess ex-sisting multiple has no place in this world. Subjectified, this figure of the Mbembean death-world is either presented as a living-dead or an Agambenean included-for-exclusion figure justifying the full force of repressive state apparatus. Yet in the current epoch where there seems to be no space for subjectivity, no real contradiction and antagonisms within the wider ensemble of relations and mode of production, Rojava as an event occurs. The Rojava revolution, and its democratic confederalist ideals, is a counter hegemonic rupture that unhinges and eradicates the established dominance and norms of the Eurocentric model of statist, capitalist, neoliberal domestic and exogenous socio-political relations. The revolution reclaims the significance of collective action and empowerment of the disposable masses. Resurrecting that transcendental yet buried and hidden universal communalist idea, the Rojava revolution with its emphasis on collective healing and forgiveness re-conceptualizes new forms of communistic belonging, inclusion and unicity through difference. It is in this sense that in Rojava the figure of the migrant lays at the center of revolutionary subjectivity and a re-conceiving of a new post-capitalist world.

Zaruhi Baghdasaryan, Lund University, Master's degree in Middle Eastern studies

"Beyond Human Rights: Being a refugee in the 21st century"

Most of the people living in different parts of the world and having a certain nationality, as a rule take it for granted, as well as the advantages it provides within the framework of international law. However, according to the UNHCR statistics there are more than 10 million people all over the world with no official nationality. Statelessness, as a result of discrimination, redrawing of borders or of any other reason has life-altering consequences on individuals, curtailing their opportunities to study, work and realization of their full human

potential. Recent, refugee crisis in Europe is signified with the rise of the phenomenon of statelessness. In particular, the individual nationality laws of states may cause children born in the families of refugees to become stateless or “denizens” as Tomas Hammar would have described it. By depriving the individual from the rights to belonging to nationality and citizenship and declaring the person as stateless, international law dehumanizes the person and deprives from basic human rights and freedoms, thus leaving him/her in the state of bare life (zoe), in the most unprotected and vulnerable position (Agamben 2008). This paper will aim to examine the overlapping consequences of dehumanization of refugees, addressing it from social, psychological and historico-cultural perspectives, in an attempt to grasp the multifacetedness and complexity of the phenomenon.

Amy Bartholomew, Dept. of Law and Legal Studies, Carleton University, Associate Professor

Reigniting the Right to have Rights in the Twenty-First Century to Demand Democratic Border Politics

Hannah Arendt’s concept of the ‘right to have rights’ was born out of the great crisis of European-produced statelessness in the 20th century where millions were deprived of the ‘right to action.’ Since then, her concept has been parsed by intellectuals. What might she have meant by that elusive formulation? Can it function today as a productive rallying cry and fruitful hint at what is wrong with the current system of borders which is producing the 21st century’s greatest migration crisis even in the age of international human rights? In this paper, I would like, first, to provide a diagnosis of the current conceptual failure of international human rights in the context of mass displacement. That failure, in a word, is state (and regional) sovereignty that is only very weakly conditioned by international human rights norms that are rooted in protection of individuals. Despite the armature of the international system pertaining to refugees and statelessness, states have no enforceable obligation to respond to such mass crises. Second, I will suggest that the ‘right to have rights’ could transcend (or at least relativize) that problem with its insistence on the right of everyone to a place in the world where one’s actions and speech may have influence. Third, I will argue that Arendt provides us with a clue about how this might be made effective with her call for a ‘new law on earth’. This may be read as the desirability of deliberately democratizing borders in a way that would demand the inclusion of migrants’ voices and those of other states in border determination. This is a utopian idea, to be sure. But it may provide a fruitful political/strategic as well as normative/moral response to the injustices that plague both the refugees/migrants/stateless and the states that, due to geography, bear the empirical ‘duty’ to ‘host’ them while ‘old Europe’ and North America shirk their obligations and (in the case of Europe) enter into widely-criticized agreements to insulate themselves from the injustices caused by their imperial actions and from the needs and demands of stateless persons and weaker states alike.

Raluca Bejan, Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto, PhD Student; Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford

The ‘East/West’ divide and Europe’s relocation system for asylum seekers

For the most part of 2015, the states of Italy, Greece and later, Hungary were confronted with an unprecedented inflow of refugees and asylum seekers. The European Commission responded to the situation by invoking a provisional relocation mechanism, a distribution key based on the weighted indicators of GDP (40%), size of the population (40%), unemployment rate (10%) and past number of asylum seekers applications (10%), to transfer displaced persons in need of international protection to other European Union (EU) member states. The plan was vehemently opposed by many Eastern Bloc countries, which voted against the mandatory quotas. Explanations were quickly framed around the culturally backward contexts of these nations, however, less attention was paid to understanding such political reaction(s) as contextually grounded within an unequal and differential positioning that post socialist countries occupy within EU. This paper draws from

the field of taxation policy to critically examine the proposed EU relocation quotas. It uses the notions of horizontal equity and vertical equity to demonstrate how the current relocation scheme is progressive in application, yet flat in impact, since it proportionally equalizes the share of responsibility, without progressively adjusting it to match states' capabilities for relocation (i.e. it does not account for the unequal position of the Eastern Bloc states, as an a priori structured and structuring condition within the Union).

Tony Bunyan, Statewatch, Director

Up against the EU state

This paper will be presented from a civil society perspective. First, it will look at the response of the EU state (the European Commission and the Council of the European Union) to an entirely predictable humanitarian crisis in the Med and then inside the EU. Its failure to act resulted in hundreds of deaths in the Med, appalling conditions inside the EU and an utter failure to provide humanitarian aid on the landing beaches. After 15 months the EU power elite were desperate to reach a "dodgy deal" with Turkey and at a stroke have literally torn up all EU and international treaties on refugees and asylum rights. The "rule of law" no longer holds – mass refoulement and forced returns are the order of the day. Second, it will look at the magnificent response on the ground of civil society, NGOs and local people who from March 2015 onwards came from across Europe and the world to help. This was in contrast to the poor response also of major aid organisations. When the EU finally arrived in Greece it required the "registration" of groups and volunteers (a la Stasi-style) and is planning to revise the law on "facilitation" to criminalise civil society. Third, the EU is trying to seal off refuge routes from Turkey and northern Africa by employing a new Border Agency, NATO and Eurosur. At the same time it is seeking to extend its neo-colonial role in Africa to stop movements north (eg: through the European External Action Service).

Heath Cabot, University of Pittsburgh, Assistant Professor

Tragic Ethics and the Possibility of Radical Action in Asylum Politics

What counts as "radical" in the world of refugee and asylum politics in Europe, which itself has been deeply overdetermined by structural forms of inclusion/exclusion? The exclusionary aspects of asylum politics haunt the work of those seeking to provide assistance to refugees, in a variety of institutional and organizational contexts, ranging from state institutions to NGOs, and now, grassroots solidarity initiatives. Drawing on ethnographic research on asylum in Greece conducted since 2005, this paper will track the shift from NGOs to solidarity initiatives as crucial venues for the provision of aid and care to asylum seekers and refugees. I will argue that this shift must be understood within the ongoing neoliberalization of the Greek state and wider trends toward neoliberalization in Europe. In the context of solidarity work (in which I am actively involved), the fact of "not being an NGO" is seen to be crucial to the forms of moral and political legitimacy and possibility that solidarity presents. However, notwithstanding the crucial differences between these forms of response, I will outline some of the key ways in which NGOs and solidarity initiatives share similar dilemmas. These dilemmas can be characterized in part as "tragic," characterized by the understanding of the self as a constrained ethical actor (Nussbaum 1985; Calabresi and Bobbit 1979). I will ask what these shared dilemmas suggest for understandings of the meaning of the European State under neoliberalism and the possibility for radical action.

Sotirios Chtouris, University of the Aegean, Professor

Refugee Flows and Volunteers in the Current Humanitarian Crisis in Greece

Η προσφυγική κρίση στην Ελλάδα δημιούργησε μια μεγάλη και ξαφνική επίταση των αναγκών που συνδέονται με την αντιμετώπιση κρίσεων σε περιφερειακό και τοπικό επίπεδο. Από τις αρχές 2016 καταγράφηκε η διέλευση από την Ελλάδα προς τη Βόρεια Ευρώπη 860.000 ανθρώπων. Σήμερα, η σταθερή παραμονή προσφύγων ανέρχεται στον αριθμό των 55.000 ανθρώπων που διαμένουν σε καταυλισμούς, σε διάφορα μέρη της Ελλάδας. Οι δομές της Τοπικής Αυτοδιοίκησης και των Περιφερειακών Διοικήσεων βρέθηκαν μπροστά σε ένα

πρόβλημα μίας μεγάλης ανθρωπιστικής κρίσης, για την οποία δεν διέθεταν ούτε το προσωπικό, ούτε τα τεχνικά μέσα, αλλά και καμία σχετική εμπειρία στην οποία θα μπορούσαν να στηριχτούν. Η παρουσία των Μη Κυβερνητικών Οργανώσεων υπήρξε καθοριστική για την αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος, αλλά ιδιαίτερα σημαντική ήταν η συνεργασία εκατοντάδων ανεξάρτητων εθελοντών και αλληλεγγύων πολιτών, οι οποίοι ενεργοποιήθηκαν εκτός των παραδοσιακών κρατικών δομών, αλλά και των δικτύων των μεγάλων οργανώσεων, δημιουργώντας επί τόπου δομές και δίκτυα στήριξης των προσφύγων. Το άρθρο προσπαθεί να καταγράψει τις μορφές συνεργασίας και αυτοοργάνωσης των εθελοντών στην πορεία της προσφυγικής κρίσης, καθώς και την επίδραση τους στην ασφάλεια και στην αντιμετώπιση των προβλημάτων των πιο ευάλωτων ομάδων.

Francesca Coin, Sociology researcher at Cà Foscari University of Venice, Italy
Unveiling Europe

Over the past few years, the critical analysis of de-globalization has been often traced back to Dani Rodrik's trilemma. Rodrik has spoken about an "impossibility theorem" for the global economy according to which democracy, national sovereignty and global economic integration are mutually incompatible and cannot coexist simultaneously. In this paper I consider Rodrik's trilemma as the cause of a double bind which forces countries to choose between the sacrifices necessary for economic integration or national sovereignty. Referring to "double-bind" theory as interpreted by Deleuze and Guattari, I argue that neither option is a complete solution. Rather, the solution lies in unveiling the "despotic signifier" on which such conflicting commands depend.

Mike Cole, University of East London, Professor
"Refugee Crisis" or "Crisis Born of Imperialism"? A Twenty-first Century Antiracist Socialist Solution

In order to conceptualise and effectively challenge twenty-first century racism, it is important to point out that it is not necessarily related to skin-colour. It can be colour-coded, non-colour-coded or hybridist (where colour-coded and non-colour-coded racism are both directed at different members of a given constituency of peoples, or where there is ambiguity as to whether racism is colour-coded or non-colour-coded). In this paper, I begin by contextualising the hybridist racism aimed at refugees in Europe, arguing that debates about immigration are based on racism rather than, as argued by mainstream politicians, on "legitimate concerns". I then examine the geopolitical imperatives of twenty-first century imperialism that led to the current so-called "refugee crisis", in reality a crisis caused by imperialism. While there are degrees of consensus on immigration in party politics on both sides of the Atlantic *in terms of the perceived need to control it*, the right (e.g. Farage in the UK and Trump in the US) have reached new depths in their attempts to legitimise racism. There are, however, signs of a more general political global polarisation. Addressing leftward moves in party politics in the UK and the US (Corbyn and Sanders), I conclude by assessing the possibilities of a twenty-first century socialism, which incorporates the free movement of people, as opposed to neoliberal capitalism, imperialism and racism. Twenty-first century socialism, I argue, must have antiracism (along with the eradication of *all* forms of oppression) at its core, and must be led from below and not imposed from above.

Bram Crevits, School of Arts / University College Ghent, Professor
Open Design course for refugees'. A case-study.

The 'Open Design course for refugees' was a special initiative at the School of Arts Ghent (Belgium) initiated in Spring 2016 to grant access to refugees and asylum-seekers at the institute. The proposed paper analyses benefits, challenges and contradictions of the project, as well as explores plans for its short- and long-term continuation. Open Design not only offers effective design methods and accessible (free) tools, it is also an ideal vehicle for conveying, understanding and debating issues of diversity, citizenship, intercultural competencies. The course model is aimed at fostering advanced cultural integration of

refugees, both by providing knowledge and skills and by creating a platform for cultural exchange. Course method is based on peer-learning and co-creation, and builds upon the existing expertise of the participants. The course frames technology, its use and its design, as culture. The particularity of the curriculum is that it starts from and offers an (theoretical) in-depth cultural contextualisation of Open Design and open culture. We strongly believe this is crucial, and highly emancipatory. This is seldom done in 'traditional' contexts of maker-communities or co-creation. Continuation: The paper suggests an iteration process for testing and refining the course model and the educational resources. It proposes an innovative and effective operational model by promoting and facilitating collaborations between fab labs, maker communities or citizen initiatives and institutes of higher (arts) education. This can release unused (educational) potential, while both supporting refugee integration and local communities.

**Eleonora De Mojo, University of Palermo, Phd in Cultural studies
Borders of CIVIS OECONOMICUS**

Who is the civis today and how we can define the contemporary civitas starting from the fact that the global world is full of visible and invisible borders, which in turn produce different forms of half-citizenships, incomplete citizenships, interrupted citizenships and of course non-citizenships. The plastic imagine of the overflowing of these subjectivities undressed of any formal status, is doubtless the imagine of all the refugees massed on borders of all the western "fortresses", asking to cross and to rebuilt a new life far away from war and poverty. In their denied claiming is written the differential inclusion imposed by the European labour market and by the government of life imposed by contemporary capital. But migrants aren't the only subjectivities involved in this contemporary process of citizenship transfiguration. If we have a deep look inside the suburbs of global cities we'll find, as Balibar says, uncountable forms of semi-citizenships, free zone by formal law governed by subalterns and controlled by informality. The only "rationality" which governs this big social confusion are market's laws, and more in general, economy. That's the reason why I'm working on an inedited anthropological and philosophical figure, which I named civis oeconomicus, helpful to analyse all the multiple changes of the paradigm of modern subject-citizen and its relationship with labour market, economy, debt and financialization. Civis oeconomicus faces explicitly the more famous figure of homo oeconomicus to prove that the relationship between person and market always create collective structures and political figures and has always written and determinated during all the history the borders of formal acts of citizenship. Neoliberalism has raised this trend in norm and nowadays the conquest of citizenship is nothing more than a business investment.)

Serdar M. Değirmenciöğlü, Professor of developmental/community psychology, Doğuş University

As Syria Walked By: Nojin's Arrival on Lesbos

Meet Nojin Mustafa, a 16-year-old girl from Kobane. She arrived on Lesbos on 4 September 2015 and now lives in Germany. Her story illustrates an exodus. Syrians from all social segments arrived in Lesbos in 2015: It was as if Syria walked by as the world watched. Nojin and her relatives travelled through Turkey to make the dangerous crossing by sea on a rubber boat. But Nojin's story is very different because she arrived on Lesbos on a wheelchair. She suffers from cerebral palsy and, as such, she is unable to walk. Now meet a community psychologist from Turkey who happened to be where she arrived. He became part of her story and followed her using mobile messaging. Now meet the locals who responded to the exodus with their own means and with ethical commitment. Nojin and company later managed to travel to Athens. Nojin completed her journey on a wheelchair, pushed by her sister, her cousin and other refugees. A photographer captured her arrival on Lesbos and UNHCR quickly brought attention to her story. Nojin helped others because she spoke English and could translate for others. Her story was covered by major news agencies, and was featured in a major show where the host used her example to prove Europe

should be open to refugees. Nojin's story offers a series of questions: What is the role of a social scientist in the so-called "refugee crisis"? Or when Syria walks by?

Afra Dekie, Independent Scholar, Social Worker

Blending research, social work and activism in migration studies; an effective strategy for social change?

When researching displacement (particularly when focusing on irregular migration), scholars are often confronted with various forms of injustice, exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, and (state) violence towards displaced people as a result of restrictive immigration policies and politics. Witnessing such forms of injustice may not only have a personal impact on scholars, but also compels them to reflect on and to make clear their own position and role, within academia, but also and particularly within society. This is often a challenging task, notably when migration studies' scholars choose to use research as a tool to make visible and to criticize such unjust immigration policies and politics, as well as to strive for social change through action research. Another strategy, though not very common, is to combine academic work with social work and activism. Such an integrated strategy can be effective in facilitating research activities (in gaining access and understanding) as well as enhancing actual social change (even if only on a small scale), yet this also involves different challenges and risks, e.g. finding a balance between different positions, roles, practices and expectations, and the difficulty of having to deal with, oftentimes, a certain skepticism towards academic research by both social workers (NGO's) and activists. This presentation discusses the advantages, and challenges and risks of such an integrated strategy by drawing on personal experiences of blending academic research, social work, volunteerism, and activism (in Brussels, Athens, and Dunkirk).

Marta Della Libera, SOAS, University of London, Postgraduate Student

Sex with the other: anxieties and representations of gender in Europe during the refugee crisis.

In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks witnessed in Paris in November 2015, a radicalization of the tensions in the matter of asylum seekers and integration has re-emerged. This same anxiety has risen with renewed force just a few weeks later, when newspapers reported that an unspecified number of men "of Middle Eastern and North African appearance" (Connolly 2016) - sexually assaulted a thousand women during the New Year's Eve festivity in Cologne (Richards 2016), in what has been eventually described as "a mass sex attack" (Internazionale 2016). The case has unfolded a new aspect of this particular tension. A general mood of hysteria with reference to a homogeneous and unified Islamic culture, considered incapable of respecting women, has suddenly risen again. Just like Muslim women have suffered for centuries from the male domination in their countries, it has been said, now it was the freedom of the European ones to appear at stake. In this context, the female body has been used as a battleground for claims of modernity, civilization and power over the Middle Eastern menace in a variety of ways. The present essay provides an account of the use of gender stereotypes and dynamics in the context of recent migration to Europe. It shows how women's bodies are placed in post-colonial political and racial discourses, considering the media as pivotal actors in the construction of a vicious cycle in which the discourse on female honour gives legitimacy to a growing closure in the dialogue about and with the other.

Orestis Didimiotis, University of Athens, PhD Candidate

Radicalizing Democracy in Schools

Recent data have documented a re-emergence of nationalist, racist and xenophobic discourses and practices throughout Europe, taking in some instances threatening forms and calling for effective democratic initiatives, particularly addressing education. If we consider the anticipated fact that thousands refugee and immigrant children will attend Greek and other European schools in the coming years, this call becomes even more urgent. How can

education contribute to nurturing active democratic citizens and strengthening democracies to be better able to stand up against barbarism and to bridge social divides? It is clear that raising awareness of the plight of refugees and the social aspects of migration or even teaching about democratic ideals and human rights, although essential, are not sufficient. For, the enlightening content of school knowledge risks being inactivated, if student engagement in the educational process is not promoted. This paper highlights the need to go beyond intercultural education and conventional pedagogy and argues for a more radical conception of democratic education influenced by the work of Jacques Ranciere (1991, 2004), whilst also providing insights from the ongoing project «Δημοκρατική Παιδεία» – a grassroots initiative of political scientists, artists and educators with the aim to promote and radicalize democracy in schools. Democratic education cannot be simply defined in terms of content but mainly in terms of a recasting of forms. What is at stake is the reorganization of relations within school, meaning introducing new forms of speech and activity that challenge the distribution of allotted roles and the sensible hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion (Lewis, 2013). At the heart of this process lies the breach with conventional identities and the expansion of meaningful student involvement (e.g. Fletcher, 2005) in school life through activities that engage students as partners in school change, extend the participation of pupils in what and how they learn, reinforce self-management and solidarity.

Dilar Dirik, University of Cambridge, Sociology, Graduate Student

A Hundred Years of Violence: Refugees between Nation – States, Statelessness and Freedom

One hundred years after the Sykes-Picot agreement, which divided the Middle East along European colonial interests, the region is left in a ring of fire through war, ethnic and religious conflicts, neo-liberalism, imperialist policies, displacement, environmental catastrophes and extreme patriarchal violence. Promising modernity and progress, the capitalist and authoritarian project of the nation-state has brought nothing but violence and destruction to this region, once home to the first civilizations of the world. If the Armenian genocide was one of the first massacres committed to homogenize the diverse Anatolian region in preparation of the nation-state undertaking, the Turkish state – one of the most militant followers of the French-model nation-state - continues this legacy through its overtly racist, mass murderous campaigns on Kurdistan today. In a time when drone warfare, foreign military invasion covered as “war on terror”, and economic exploitation had already wounded and weakened the region, the meaningful freedom desires of the people in the “Arab Spring countries” were once again hijacked by authoritarian forces - more bloodshed followed and left entire generations without home, hope, and future. On top of that, not unlike the monopolist, patriarchal, authoritarian premises of the nation-state, the self-proclaimed Islamic State began committing indescribably traumatic atrocities, resulting in a spectacular demographic change and irreversible human damage in the region. Through artificially drawn nation-state borders and global war policies, the peoples of the Middle East have been stripped off their right to a life in dignity and self-administration and have become refugees in their own lands for more than a century. It is time to rethink the ways in which we see self-determination, politics, and freedom in this global catastrophe. In an era of the nation-state that relies on neo-liberalism, racism, violence, and sexism, how can the peoples look each other in the eye again? This contribution examines the nation-state as an enemy of the peoples and introduces Democratic Confederation as an emancipatory paradigm of radical democracy, ecology, and women’s liberation with the potential to bring about meaningful peace and true self-determination.

Nouran El-Behairy, Hamburg University, MA graduate

Burden or Brothers? Representation of refugees in non-Western media

Refugees are without a doubt the defining factor of this century. Media acts for the most part as the only source of information about refugees to the public who mostly have no

means of contact with refugees. Studies of refugee representation in the media showed that they are almost always framed negatively, however, most studies came from Western countries and that's not where the majority of refugees are. This study examined the coverage of refugees in non-Western media, using Syrian refugees in their biggest refugee host per-capita, Lebanon, as an example. Findings came almost identical to studies on Western media; refugees are othered and portrayed as an official issue while elements of solidarity like Arab nationalism and shared history were almost non-existent. Lebanese media followed three distinct themes. 'Lebanon can't be alone' theme emphasizing international responsibility for the refugees. 'The collapse of Lebanon theme' focusing on the threats posed by Syrian refugees and Syrians as 'bogus partners in misery' theme that highlights ways Syrian refugees cheat to overcome the miserable conditions they share with their impoverished hosts. The study suggests that the reason for these representations may stem from Lebanon's attempts to push the international community to uphold their responsibility towards Lebanon and the refugees dictated by official and implicit deals. Another reason is political influence trying to scapegoat the refugees for Lebanon's problems.

James Ellison, Loughborough University, UK, Research student
'Solidarity not narcissism!' Social media and freedom of movement struggles in Calais, France.

This paper examines the use of social media, as a tool for mobilising solidarity, within freedom of movement struggles in Calais, France. After spending several months in the Calais Jungle and engaging with the civil society response to the border crisis through the establishment and maintenance of social media networks, I will assess and critique the fundamental contradictions that arise when activists use social media to mobilise and respond to crisis. After the shocking portrayals of people dying in the Aegean, specifically the image of Alan Kurdi and in response to the situation in Calais a huge wave of grassroots solidarity began to arrive in city. Autonomous volunteers and collectives started mobilising material support and aid, mostly through social media networks, in an effort to feed, house, and clothe those stuck on the North French coast. However, these emerging networks of solidarity had neither strategic nor prefigurative goals. Their use of social media sites, particularly Facebook, contained no desire to challenge the dominant and hegemonic narratives (or platforms) that can affect long lasting political change. As a result, many groups failed to confront their own privilege and latent forms of oppression. In the age of social media it is necessary to leave behind the narcissistic narratives of gratification that can be produced by solidarity. In so many ways, the civil society response to the border crisis has been overwhelming but solidarity is meaningless if it is simply self-congratulatory. Instead, freedom of movement struggles need to build lasting networks of support to resist the border.

Zohra Faize, University of Ottawa, Master's Candidate in Criminology Program
Detention Experiences of Asylum Seekers in Canada: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Globalization has shrunk the globe and expanded the mobility privileges of certain populations; while simultaneously, the movements of other populations, such as those in the Global South, have been restricted. Global South communities, who are predominantly racialized and economically disadvantaged, are subject to strict border control policies resulting in their marginalization and criminalization when trying to cross international borders. Using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis as a theoretical framework and methodology, this research explores the effects of tight border control practices on asylum-seekers including children; with a specific focus on detention experiences in Canadian prisons and immigration Holding Centers. The preliminary results of interviews with 8 participants confirm the violations of human rights that stem from the detention practice. Further, child participants also report that they find immigration detention to be a stressful

and a confusing experience, often resulting in feeling of shame and guilt after their release into the community. Finally, this research will illustrate the global trends in securitization of borders and criminalization of migrants by summarizing and condensing the existing literature in the subfield of Criminology known as Criminology of Mobility, present the gaps in the Criminology literature, and argue that criminologists should extend their critical gaze to border studies in order to accumulate empirical data on the impacts of tight border control practices on those who are targeted.

Andrew Finlay, School of Social Sciences and Philosophy, Trinity College Dublin, Lecturer

Undoing the Master's Tools

This paper is concerned with the notion of 'dis-identification'. Originating in the work of Althusser then Foucault, the notion of dis-identification was initially developed in the context of queer theory (Butler 1993 and 2006; Esteban Muñoz, 1999, Medina 2003). It has subsequently been used to characterise a broad range of practices including the destruction of identity documents by migrants (Papadoupolis et al 2008), anonymous forms of activism and the wearing of masks by activists (Newman 2016, Holloway 2002). For Newman and Holloway such practices of dis-identification are understood as 'a symbolic rejection of the whole logic of recognition and therefore identity politics'. Neither Newman nor Holloway reject identity politics outright. Certain exceptions are allowed: Holloway notes the importance of context, Anderson allows the rights claims of indigenous peoples, the 'struggles of undocumented migrants in liberal societies'. He also exempts 'certain religious and ethnic minorities living under theocratic and authoritarian regimes' (2016:30). The latter concession alerts us to one of the difficulties of a politics based on dis-identification: it underestimates the extent to which the modern state as such is a racial state. It is not just authoritarian regimes that 'dominate through the power to categorize differentially and hierarchically, to set aside by setting apart' (Goldberg 2002: 9). This is what makes it so difficult to translate the logic of dis-identification into an effective political project. Some of these difficulties are explored in the context of the conflict in Ireland, the tactics used by the British and Irish states to pacify the Island and recent political developments.

Myriam Fotou, Department of International Relations, LSE, PhD Candidate

Xenophobia business: migratory controls in the intersection of the ethical and the political.

With the number of migrants having globally at least trebled since the 1960s, an increasingly repressive and militarised narrative concerning migratory fluxes is being established. This involves the closing down of borders, violent push backs, stricter acceptance policies by host states, higher quality surveillance apparatuses and a recurring announcement of better and harsher measures aiming to eliminate global movements of individuals. The obscure connection of border agencies, such as Frontex with weapons and security equipment manufacturers, the launch of EUROSUR, the flourishing market for private companies offered by fence constructing between USA and Mexico, Greece and Turkey and other parts of the world come to underline the absence of any ethical considerations in this highly securitised picture. If the ethics of hospitality – the welcome of the stranger – is implied in all humanitarian debates regarding migration and border-crossing, why then has there recently been so little reflection on hospitality when it comes to migratory controls? This paper seeks to address this lack while it explores the insights that the ethics of hospitality offer in order to deal with the figure of the stranger and alienation in the current politically and economically averse climate of an interconnected and changing world, arguing for a new theoretically-informed understanding of hospitality.

Kostas Fourikos, MA in Communication and Media Studies, University of Athens

Live together, fight together! Refugee crisis and collective forms of mutual aid and struggle: the counterexample of City Plaza

The refugee crisis has become synonymous to the authoritarian border and migration policies in Europe and to the imposition of a system of mass detention, deportation and exclusion from the right to asylum for the refugees arriving in Greece and other European countries. At the same time, significant social movements have emerged. These movements focus on initiatives of self-organization of everyday life and of common struggle for locals and refugees demanding the opening of the borders, defending at the same time the right of housing inside the cities, with a guaranteed access to health care, education and all social services. In this paper we will examine the different assessments and political responses to some issues that we consider fundamental regarding the demands and practices of social movements in Greece and the other European countries on the grounds of the refugee crisis. Political parties and workers unions, solidarity networks and self – organized, occupied accommodation spaces, conventional and unconventional forms of political participation are in the center of interest in this debate. What happens when such small self-organized communities "replace" the State which is deliberately absent? How could we describe their regulatory framework and their relationship to more traditional forms of struggle? Could the consequences of the entrapment thousands of people be solved through such initiatives and how the state itself treats them? These are some of the questions that we will attempt to answer, with particular focus on City Plaza, one of the biggest and most discussed examples of such an effort across Greece.

Eirini Gaitanou, King's College London, Doctor of Philosophy

Solidarity practices: starting from the case of the Stone Building in Piraeus port

In the Stone Building of the port of Piraeus, where thousands of refugees have been living during many months in the almost total absence of the State, the place has been organized through a solidarity assembly. The people participating declared having no relationship with the State, the government and the various NGOs, proposing a different, horizontal way of functioning, based on the principles of democracy and self-organization of both the refugees and the solidaires. Having participated in the project, we will first present its major stakes, its political context and logic, its diversity with respect to the official structures, and its subsequent targeting by the State and the official volunteer organizations. We will also develop the various benefits of such a structure on the daily lives and living conditions of the refugees. In the second part of the paper, we will examine the contradictory features of such a project which presents one major complexity: it is neither developed in the broader context of a State intervention, nor is completely independent of it. Contrary to both State-led voluntarism, and to emancipatory projects (occupations etc.) which are posited almost fully outside the scope of the State, this project has undertaken the responsibility, and the risk, of intervening in an independent way, without aiming at substituting the responsibility of the State, both exploiting resources, demanding from it to fulfill its responsibilities towards the refugees and denouncing the various anti-refugee policies. We will examine the various potentials and limits of such a complex political choice.

Stratos Georgoulas, University of the Aegean, Associate Professor

Refugees and State corporate crime. Lesbos case,

The previous summer we experienced a real humanitarian crisis, a situation that could have led to an unprecedented tragedy. Apart from that we experienced a policy of a state crime, a violation of human rights. According to Amnesty International report for Greece (2015-6) "the dramatic increase in arrivals of asylum seekers and irregular migrants on the Aegean islands pushed an ineffective first reception system beyond breaking point...allegations of torture and other ill-treatment and excessive use of force by police persisted. Moreover there have been reported incidents on state- NGO –corporate crime. It has been conscious choice of the Greek government to replace the welfare state with a "benevolent" civil society. In all the above, money is too much and procedures are opaque. It is conspicuous that the refugee issue management tested a new way of how the state was operating, in

accordance with the neoliberal alliance of *political* and *economic oligarchy* with *racism* and, sometimes, *fascism*.

Cemile Gizem Dinçer, Middle East Technical University, PhD candidate
Between Activism and the "Field": Production of Knowledge in the time of Border Crises

Since 2015, the world has faced the highest human displacement after the WWII. While Turkey has been a destination and transition country for migrants since the 1990s, its migratory patterns have changed after it has had more than 2 million Syrians in the past four years. Both the latest EU-Turkey agreement and a number of negotiations between countries within and outside the Europe showed how migrants have become an object of analysis, attracting the attention of the academy, civil society, media and national/international politics. While a remarkable body of knowledge on migration has been produced, this knowledge is organised around a so called "refugee crisis". However, activists remind us that what is in crisis is not 'refugees' but borders. At this critical juncture, establishing a bridge between activism and production of knowledge has become all the more important in order to challenge existing discourses on migrants and reshape border politics. Following the discussions above, this paper aims to discuss how to create strong relations between activism and the production of knowledge with a critical approach. As being an activist in the field of migration and a PhD candidate working on the subject, I ask: How one can perform both the role of an 'activist' and a 'researcher'? What are the political and ethical responsibilities of an activist researcher? How do we produce knowledge differently depending on how we situate our-selves in relation to migrants – as researchers, as their political allies, as activists etc.? These methodological questions will contribute to the discussion on theoretical concepts such as migrant, refugee, and border.

Konstantinos Gousis, MA in Political Theory and Philosophy - School of Political Sciences at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Postgraduate student
Terrains of Struggle against Fortress Europe: Acts of Citizenship and Human Rights Obligations as Spaces of Resistance.

This paper aims at a critical engagement with Giorgio Agamben's position that concentration camp is the *nomos* of modern law. Agamben stresses the fact that every time refugees represent not individual cases but a mass phenomenon the question is always transferred in the hands of the police and both international organizations and the single states have proven to be absolutely incapable of dealing with it according to the Conventions on human rights. While there are many strong points in this analysis, such an approach is theorizing the defeat and defends a pessimist argument that misses actual spaces of resistance and activism of the excluded. The first part of this presentation builds on a growing critical literature that goes beyond formal definitions of citizenship and "legal – illegal" dipole and focuses on 'acts of citizenship' through which subjects transform themselves into citizens. Through these theoretical tools we can rethink political subjectivity and examine unconventional forms of immigrant political participation (immigrant strikes, hunger strikes, self-defense teams, riots, justice campaigns etc.). The second part of the presentation poses the question if legislative frameworks, which become more and more exclusionary, repressive and consistent with the politics of Fortress Europe, are still a terrain of struggle. Based on my experience in the asylum procedures as a member of Appeal Committees (Ministry of Interior Affairs) that examine and decide appeals against first instance decisions concerning asylum seekers, I'll critically reflect on the role of human rights practitioners during the refugee crisis putting emphasis on the EU-Turkey deal and the fundamental challenge it poses to human rights obligations and procedural issues.

Frances Grahl, SOAS, Centre for Cultural, Literary and Postcolonial Studies, PhD candidate

One among thousands: narrative representations of individual humanity in the 'Refugee Crisis'

The paper is concerned with the analysis of the multiple narratives constructed around the 'refugee crisis' in Europe. It is particularly concerned with the ways in which the relation between individual stories and the collective or mass shared story is conceptualised and portrayed. How does following one story or one person on a migratory journey or representing a personal/ individual response to the 'crisis' counter or confirm public opinion and reception? The paper answers this question by setting in conversation academic work concerned with the functions and reception of constructed narratives, recent commentaries appearing in UK and European media, and published chronicles or autobiographical writings.

Andrej Grubacic, Professor and Chair of the Anthropology and Social Change Department, California Institute of Integral Studies

On Exile and Mutual Aid

This talk will focus on confrontation between two utopias. The utopia of liberal modernity is focused on ordered imagination of a bordered world founded on territoriality of the modern nation-state. The utopia of anarchist modernity is focused on exile, mutual aid, and invention of people without the state. This non-state utopia was elaborated in the exciting translational interplay of influences between Russian, Japanese, Chinese, Turkish, Latin American, Egyptian and Balkan anarchists during the long 19th century—the so called "century of migration." I will examine the significance of this radical temporal and spatial imagination for the contemporary non state, mutual aid based movements.

Producing the common and reproducing the life

Raquel Qutierrez, Producing the common and reproducing the life

Moira Hille, Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, University Assistant/Lecturer, PhD-in-Practice candidate

Cruising Crossing Commoning

I would like to propose a thinking about *commons* or *commoning* together with cruising as a queer methodology and crossing as epistemology. Queer cruising itself is already based on the idea of commonly produced spaces and times, and as a practice that negotiate rules instead of resting on preexisting sets of laws. In my understanding of commoning, multiple layers of rule and power relations cross each other, and commoning is not just a space where differences do not mark conflicts, but a space where the negotiation of inequalities and agencies mark the utopian. In my paper I will cruise stories of the ocean as life-enabling, as mysterious, as powerful. As uncanny, opaque, nebulous. As Borders, deadly and destroying. While cruising as a term has its origin in colonial movements and in the dutch word for to cross, it became popular to describe leisure trips on sea. In my paper I use cruising and crossing from a queer and postcolonial perspective to analyze their methodologies in regards to commoning and coming together. Crossings stand against the segregation of knowledge, they "summon subordinated knowledges that are produced in the context of the practices of marginalization in order that we might destabilize existing practices of knowing and thus cross the fictive boundaries of exclusion and marginalization" Cruising points to the instability and fluidity of things and communities. It has the potentiality to conceive of the political in an alternative way, i.e. in its organizational instability.

Matthias Hinkelmann, Free University of Berlin, Germany, Political Sciences, Undergraduate Student - Eleonora Roldán Mendávil, University of Hamburg, Germany, Political Sciences, Graduate Student

Post-migrant identity formation and anti-racist resistance in contemporary Germany

While in contemporary Europe identities are once again hegemonically defined within the narrow lines of nations and races, it is the young generations of the (post-)migrant working class that embody the limits and wrongs of these static ideologies: The position of these communities as reserve labour force, as alleged scapegoat for the social deficiencies they themselves are mostly affected by, and as the constantly asserted danger for German demographic integrity, place (post-)migrant individuals amidst the most dominant social contradictions of contemporary Germany. Situated in a society largely polarized between liberal, anti-racist universalism and regressive, racist ethnocentrism, two positions likewise grounded in the affirmation of capitalism and the state, (post-)migrants are equally reduced to an alleged Otherness. We argue that these social and seemingly contradictory discursive conditions constitute a social totality of exclusion that, in order to be solved, call for radical politics and new identity formations, that need to ground on the shared experience of and resistance to the material root of migration, nationalism and racism: class oppression and capitalism. Deriving from historic experiences of (post-)migrant organizing in Berlin, we will hence explore current (post-)migrant identity formations emerging within the 2nd and 3rd generation of migrants in Berlin from a dialectical materialist point of view, in order to theorize windows for future anti-racist and anti-capitalist resistance through cross-migrant-community organizing.

Natasha Howard, London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine, Lecturer - Elham Rafiqhi- Shoba Poduval - Helena Legido-Quigley

National Health Service (NHS) principles as experienced by vulnerable migrants: a qualitative study of rights, entitlements, and civil-society advocacy

Recent British NHS reforms, in response to austerity and alleged 'health tourism', could impose additional barriers to healthcare access for non-European Economic Area (EEA) migrants. This study explores policy reform challenges and implications, using excerpts from the perspectives of non-EEA migrants and health advocates in London. A qualitative study design was selected. Data were collected through document review and twenty-two in-depth interviews with non-EEA migrants and civil-society advocates. Data were analysed thematically against the NHS Principles. The experiences of those 'vulnerable migrants' (defined as adult non-EEA asylum-seekers, refugees, undocumented, low-skilled and trafficked migrants susceptible to marginalised healthcare access) able to access health services were positive, with healthcare professionals generally demonstrating caring attitudes. However, general confusion existed about entitlements due to recent NHS changes, controversy over 'health tourism,' and challenges registering for health services or accessing secondary facilities. Factors requiring greater clarity or improvement included accessibility, communication, and clarity on general practitioner responsibilities and migrant entitlements. Legislation to restrict access to healthcare based on immigration status could further compromise the health of vulnerable individuals in Britain. This study highlights current challenges in health services policy and practice and the role of NGOs in healthcare advocacy (e.g. helping the voices of the most vulnerable reach policy-makers). Thus, it contributes to broadening national discussions and enabling more nuanced interpretation of ongoing global debates on immigration and health.

Rosalba Icoza, ISS

Decolonial Feminism, Border Thinking and Vulnerability in Global Politics

This paper seeks to critically ponder border thinking as one that sits in an embodied consciousness and in understanding what happens when key "self-ascribed privileges of the West knowing subject are laid bare". With the help of Maria Lugonis (1992) powerful interpretative analysis of Gloria Anzaldúa's (1987) *Borderlands* this presentation will consider the epistemic contribution of a border thinking as an embodied consciousness in which dualities and vulnerability are central for a decolonization of how we think about the geo and body politics of knowledge, political economy and of course, gender in global

politics. In particular, the presentation will consider the state of vulnerability that carries to un-learn the epistemic privileges of interpreting and representing the world and/or to refuse accepting them as the only possibilities to think/sense global and international politics. In so doing, the reflection is driven by the following questions: Is this un-learning a possibility of knowing otherwise? For whom and for what purposes?

Panagiotis Ignatiadis, Praxi Network, Technology Consultant

Social innovation(SI) in smart specialization strategies

(RIS3): Solutions for cross-border migrants?

RIS3 is about the selection of a few investment priorities based on a process of entrepreneurial discovery to identify promising areas for specialization. They could contribute by identifying areas of activity that are not currently being considered by economic agents operating under traditional innovation models. RIS3 builds on current regional economic specialisation and mobilises talent by matching RTD+I and business needs and capacities. Introducing social innovation components into RIS 3 strategies would help highlight ways in which current RTD+I strengths could be used differently to stimulate innovation. A Social innovation approach can help identify new areas of activity, which can feed into new, albeit related, areas of specialisation. The development of new goods and services with a Social innovation approach would have to incorporate the notion that some user groups might be hard to reach, for example because they lack financial resources or because they are socially excluded. How social innovation (SI) can fit to Greek Smart specialization strategies to tackle migrant flows and mitigation strategies?

Ioanna Iliadi – Xanthi Tsourouni - Myrsini Dogani – Athanassios N.Samaras

Games of Terministic Control or the Instrumental Actualization of Events? Defining Immigrants in the Pre- and Post- Paris Terrorist Attack Era in the Aegean News Sites

Focal point of this paper is the mediated rhetorics of immigration and its interconnection with the rhetoric on European identity and the impact that Paris terrorist attack upon it. Aim of this paper is to examine: the framing of the influx of immigrants through the Greek islands; the construction of rhetorical borders through competing narratives of immigration; the uniformity in the public vocabulary surrounding immigration and to what extent it has merges with the vocabulary surrounding Islamic terrorism; the rhetorical actualization of fear, risk and threat argumentation in this rhetorical process and finally the impact that a critical event, like the Paris terrorist attacks, have upon the aforementioned rhetorical processes. The research focuses upon the content of eleven Aegean news sites situated to Greek islands (chiosnews.com, chiosopinion.gr, lesvosnews.gr, lesvospost.com, politikalesvos.gr, dimokratiki.gr, emprosnet.gr, rodiaki.gr, limniakifoni.gr, i-samos.gr, samiakonvima.blogspot.gr). This choice allows us to examine the newsmaking process of domestication (integration of events into the local angle) of the events within the perspectives of the local communities which are at the forefront of the immigrant problem. What is the effect of such close proximity with the immigrant influx? How local Aegean news sites negotiate the meanings produced the EU official rhetoric as well as the Greek ethnocentric perspective? The content of the news sites is examined for three months (October – December 2015). Qualitative content analysis and grounded theory are employed. The analytical tools include: terministic control, persuasive definition, fear appeals and framing.

Feyzi Ismail, Senior Teaching Fellow, SOAS South Asia Institute

Imperialism, the refugee crisis and the EU

The growing links between the EU and NATO, institutionalised in the early 2000s through the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP), the Lisbon Treaty and other agreements, must be understood in relation to the role of the EU as part of a wider imperial project of endless war. It is no accident that the refugees fleeing to Europe, in what is the worst refugee crisis since the Second World War, are mainly from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq – the

major targets of Western intervention since the start of the War on Terror. The EU response to the refugee crisis has involved presenting the crisis as originating outside the borders of Europe, which has facilitated further securitisation and militarisation of its borders: it rescinded Operation Mare Nostrum, which was designed to bring refugees to safety on the shores of Europe, and initiated programmes to prevent refugees fleeing warzones through military action, including Operation Sophia in the territorial waters around Libya. In the process, it has allowed 2,861 migrants thus far to die in the Mediterranean, according to the International Organisation for Migration. This is testament to the EU's role not only in aligning itself with imperialist powers but also with big capital, as it has played a major role in imposing austerity within the borders of Europe. While wages decline and conditions are undermined for European workers, those refugees who make it to Europe become the most vulnerable of the working classes, all of which helps promote the competitiveness of European capital. But new forms of solidarity are emerging and also new possibilities of resistance across various sectors of the working classes, in Europe and beyond, demonstrating that refugees must not only be framed as victims but as agents.

Loïc Jaeger, MSF

Protection of the People on the Move vs protection of the borders

The world currently faces its largest global displacement crisis since World War II, with approximately 66 million people currently displaced due to conflict, persecution and untenable conditions in their home. Whilst foreseeable, Europe is still reeling in shock from the sheer numbers of refugees and migrants – approximately one million – who have crossed its borders in 2015. It will be remembered as the year in which Europe catastrophically failed in its responsibility to respond to the urgent needs of assistance and protection of hundreds of thousands of vulnerable people. Not only did European countries collectively fail to address the urgent humanitarian and medical needs of refugees and migrants arriving at external or internal EU borders, but the European Union's deterrence and anti-immigration policies developed over the last 15 years - further strengthened in 2015 and 2016 - increasing the demand for migrant smuggling networks and pushing people towards ever more dangerous routes which jeopardise their health and lives. These policies have largely contributed to the patterns of the reception crisis we witnessed: those desperate to come to Europe are forced to cross the sea and southern EU countries fail to respond to their needs. Facing razor wire fences, closed borders and intimidating soldiers and police forces from Turkey through most of the Balkans; highly dangerous sea crossings to Italy or Greece; squalid and inhumane reception conditions; hospitality in sub-standard camps; thousands of men, women and children fleeing conflict and desperate conditions then face another obstacle course. The European Union and its Member States have organised countless meetings, conferences and plans throughout 2015 and 2016. Despite this, most States have been unwilling or unable to provide assistance to the refugees and migrants who make it into the European Union but rather came up with a plan to further undermine the refugees' right by signing the EU-Turkey deal, using financial and political exchanges to outsource their responsibility, establishing a very bad precedent for the rest of the world. MSF has been witnessing the disastrous results of such policies on the people, treating the physical and mental traumas and trying to protect their lives and dignity, going as far as carrying out sea rescue operations

**Jerrold Kachur, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada, Professor
Defensive Nationalism and the Limits of Tolerance and Solidarity: Left-liberalism and Lessons from Canada on Class and Nation.**

The Syrian refugee crisis provides an opportunity to explore the "unresolved conflict between the goals of eliminating inequality among nationality groups and imposing the strong central authority of the state" (D'Encausse 1992). The Soviet government idealized class solidarity, advocated erasing ethnic differences, and utilized the Party as the instrument for unification under Stalin's principle: "National in form; socialist in content." Drawing on Lenin, Gorbachev attempted federalization as part of a triple revolution: glasnost

(democratization), perestroika (marketization) and korenizatsiia (indigenization). The revolution seemed to flounder on perestroika but actually died because of weaknesses arising from korenizatsiia and ethnic chauvinism. Yeltsin took Russia out of the stillborn federation (Suny, *The Revenge of the Past*, 1993). In 1991, the USSR collapsed into 15 republics. In 1989, the East Bloc countries had also renationalized their states. From 1989 to 1993 Yugoslavia collapsed. In 1993, Czechia and Slovakia split. No doubt, Slavic forms of substantive communism were in disarray with new complexities regarding East Asian and Latin American versions of socialism. This paper explores the "national question" regarding approaches to freedom of movement and ethnocultural discrimination and unresolved tensions in anti-colonial critiques of Western imperialism and Eurocentrism. As well, it examines the deeper dark side of "neoliberal multiculturalism," where ideas and policies are transferred from Anglo Saxon settler states that either marginalized, cleansed, or exterminated their own indigenous populations to European states that understand their own historical formation as based on the territorial defense of their blood and soil as the indigenous inhabitants now expected to support the settlement of foreign communities that have a very different way of life. Finally, it calls for rethinking the principle "Freedom of movement for all?" given a better understanding of American imperialism and neo-colonial capitalism and for the progressive possibilities for defensive nationalism in Europe. In light of a failure of the historical reality to accommodate different kinds of national communism or to unify a mosaic of fundamentally different ways of life in the communist orbit, what might Left strategists learn from Anglo-Saxon regimes and left-liberal responses to the crisis, in this case, Canada under the Trudeau Liberals. Except for a few nasty exceptions, the principles of liberal multiculturalism, social justice, representative democracy and human rights seemed to bind Canadians in a common regard for the Syrians as had happened in the past with the major refugee migrations of the Chileans and Vietnamese. Canada's response sharply contrasts with the larger scale xenophobia, racism, and anti-Muslim sentiment expressed against stronger state support for foreign nationals and ethnic minorities in the US and Europe.

**Αθανάσιος Καθαμάτας, Θεολόγος Καθηγητής στο Πειραματικό Γενικό
Λύκειο Μυτιλήνης Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου / ΔΕΑ Ιστορίας ΑΠΘ /
Θεολογίας ΑΠΘ - Νάσος Κολοκυθός, Μαθητής, Πειραματικό Γενικό
Λύκειο Μυτιλήνης Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου**

Προσφυγιά και μετανάστευση. Προς μια κοινωνία ετεροτήτων. Θεολογική θεώρηση.

Σε μια εποχή που το παγκόσμιο τοπίο αλλάζει με ταχύτατους ρυθμούς, πριν καν μάλιστα συνειδητοποιηθεί από μεγάλο μέρος των ανθρώπων του πλανήτη μας, η ανάγκη να μελετηθεί το προσφυγικό και μεταναστευτικό φαινόμενο είναι επιτακτικές. Κι αυτό διότι ζητήματα αλληλεγγύης, ανθρωπιάς από τη μια μεριά και ξενοφοβίας από την άλλη, καθημερινά έρχονται στο προσκήνιο, φέρνοντάς μας αντιμέτωπους με μια πραγματικότητα όπου η πολιτισμική ετερότητα μπορεί να αποκτήσει σοβαρό περιεχόμενο, αν ιδωθεί από τη σκοπιά της ομαλής και ανεκτικής συμβίωσης με τον άλλο, τον διαφορετικό από εμάς· εκεί, δηλαδή, που μια κοινωνία ετεροτήτων, θα στοχεύει όχι στην απαξίωση και στην απανθρωπιά, αλλά στην ανοχή, στη φιλοξενία και στον αναστοχασμό ότι ο άλλος, όσο πολιτισμικά διαφορετικός κι αν είναι – εδώ, οφείλω, με έμφαση να σημειώσω ότι η συνύπαρξη είναι βασικό συστατικό του βίου της ανθρωπότητας, γι' αυτό και η θεολογική συνεισφορά στο ζήτημα αυτό είναι άκρως σημαντική - πάνω απ' όλα είναι συνάνθρωπος.

**Ozan Kamiloglu, Birkbeck, University of London, Associate Lecturer
Can the immigrant speak?**

After Gayatri Spivak's seminal paper, probably it is timely to ask the same question again, this time in Lesbos: Can the immigrant speak? Is there any common language between the immigrant and the host? How do the activist talks with the immigrant? This paper will focus on two points; on the one hand it will try to analyse how the activist speak with the migrant, which will be a critique of rights oriented speech, particularly of human rights. It will try to

analyse how after 70ies the social movements became more and more bounded by the developing human rights discourses, and these discourses provide the only acceptable narrative to those who wants to be audible by the hegemonic powers and people of the western nations. Secondly, it will look at how we are speaking with the immigrants, now. Some short clips including the last Amnesty campaign and some other short films by activist that are trying to propose we can communicate will be point of discussion. Finally, the paper will focus on the condition of change: equality. Can we, activists see the immigrant as our equals, comrades? Can the society see? And again connected with this can the immigrants see her/himself as an equal with us? In this perspective, the works of French philosopher Jacques Ranciere on equality will give the main theory to structure a radical equality that can change the relationship of the host and the immigrant, and is necessary condition of listening to each other.

Lena Karamanidou, Glasgow Caledonian University, Visiting Fellow

The discursive governance of the Syrian refugee 'crisis':

Securitisation, dehumanisation and the erosion of protection in the political discourse of the European Union

This paper explores how European Union institutions have discursively constructed the Syrian refugee 'crisis' and legitimated policy responses towards it. Drawing on the concept of discursive governance (Cox and Beland 2010; Korkut et al 2015) and Critical Discourse Analysis, I analyse official press material issued by the Commission and the Council between January 2012 and June 2016. I argue that their discourses both securitised and dehumanised refugee flows. First, the governance of the refugee 'crisis' exemplifies the long-established securitarian objectives of keeping refugees outside the borders of the EU. Between 2012 and 2014, the emphasis was on external and neighbourhood policies as a way to contain refugee flows in Turkey, Jordan and Lebanon. While the admission and protection of Syrian refugees was initially promoted by the commission as a 'desirable' solution, policy preferences soon shifted towards the explicitly securitarian aims of controlling borders and preventing refugee flows into the Union. Secondly, while a humanitarian discourse is frequently present, the discursive responses of the Commission and the Council have essentially dehumanised refugees by constituting them as security threats, and eroding their right to access refugee protection in accordance to international and EU law. In essence, the political discourse of EU institutions suggests power differentials and an absence of solidarity among member states, and a reliance on existing securitarian discursive and policy repertoires which have significantly undermined political solutions involving long-term protection.

Mina Kazemi, SOAS

Crossing borders through activism

Fear-mongering messages about migrants and refugees are spread by the media. Fabricated links to terrorism, leave the public fearful that disempowered newcomers are susceptible to radicalisation. We, activists attempt to take action: debunk these myths among the general public, and protest our government's bitter, stringent policies. Yet could it be that our activism accentuates the divide between the active subject/activist and the recipient/refugee? Are we truly promoting values of social activism, solidarity? We need to be activists together. There should not be a divide between the donor and recipient –that is charity. Instead, migrants and refugees need to be given the platform to be part of the change; they need to be given the stage to tell their stories in authentic form. Can they be empowered and given the platform to speak out? As described by Tomilson and Egan (2002, p.1025), identity is constructed through conversations; and "the nature of identity constructed within a new society is dependent upon the kinds of conversations in which refugees are able to participate, with whom they engage, and the nature of the discourses drawn upon these conversations". What sort of programmes can be put in place to question people's assumptions and overturn the forces that lead to displacement and austerity? The

identity of a refugee is socially constructed and can shift. The discourse that affirms the capability and autonomy of refugees represents a form of resistance to the dominant and prevailing societal rhetoric that 'subjugates' refugees as dependent and demanding.

Φιλιά Κυπρίζογλου, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου Ρόδος, Υποψήφια Διδάκτωρ Η μεταναστευτική πολιτική στην Ελλάδα από το 1990 ως σήμερα

Η κινητικότητα των ανθρώπων στην εποχή της νεωτερικότητας, ανέκαθεν ήταν αντικείμενο «πολιτικοποίησης». Στις περιόδους μεγάλων μαζικών μετακινήσεων, οι μετανάστες ήταν υπόδειγμα νεωτερικού ανθρώπου που εξέφραζαν την πολιτική πεποίθηση του φιλελευθερισμού, ότι το άτομο πρέπει να είναι ελεύθερο να πράξει αυτό που ποθεί, να ακολουθήσει τον αυθορμητισμό του, ελπίζοντας ότι τα προκύπτοντα αντιθετικά συμφέροντα θα συνδιαλληλαχθούν μεταξύ τους και θα εξισορροπηθούν από τις δυνάμεις της αγοράς. Στα τέλη του 19ου αιώνα αναδύεται η άλλη όψη του μετανάστη ως υπερβολικά ελεύθερου, και κατά συνέπεια επικίνδυνου, περιθωριακού και ξένου. Όσο μειώνεται η πίστη στις δυνάμεις της αγοράς και ανέρχεται ο παρεμβατισμός στην οικονομία τόσο μεγαλώνουν και οι φωνές κατά των μεταναστών. Στην Γαλλία εφαρμόστηκαν συμβόλαια εργασίας και διμερείς συμφωνίες, στην Μ. Βρετανία του 1960 ο Enoch Powell εγείρει, με επιλεκτικό τρόπο, φωνές κατά των μεταναστών από χώρες της Κοινοπολιτείας, οι οποίες οδηγούν στο κλείσιμο των συνόρων μετά την πετρελαιοκή κρίση του 1973 και σιγοκαίει μέχρι σήμερα την μεταναστευτική πολιτική του firm but fair(αυστηρό αλλά δίκαιο), όπως περιέγραψε χαρακτηριστικά η Θάτσερ το σύστημα των αυστηρών ελέγχων στα σύνορα και των καλών φιλετικών σχέσεων (race relations) στο εσωτερικό. Το φαινόμενο της μετανάστευσης στην Ελλάδα εμφανίζει διάφορες ιδιαιτερότητες σε σχέση με το παγκόσμιο φαινόμενο- απόρροια των γεωγραφικών, κοινωνικών και ιστορικών ιδιαιτεροτήτων που χαρακτηρίζουν την χώρα. Η Ελλάδα εντάσσεται στην κατηγορία εκείνων των χωρών όπου, μέχρι τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1970, υπήρξαν χώρες προέλευσης μεταναστών, για να εξελιχθούν σε χώρες υποδοχής μεταναστών, από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1980 και έπειτα. Ταυτόχρονα όμως και μέσα στις συνθήκες της κρίσης, καταγράφεται μια έντονη τάση «διαφυγής εγκεφάλων», δηλαδή μετανάστευσης μορφωμένου, υψηλά ειδικευμένου εργατικού δυναμικού, προς τις χώρες της Δυτικής Ευρώπης και ιδιαίτερα τη Γερμανία. Η παρούσα κατάσταση που βιώνουμε σήμερα, με την υποδοχή τεράστιου όγκου μεταναστευτικών ρευμάτων, είναι συνέχεια αντίστοιχων σε πυκνότητα και ένταση ρεύμα αυτών που διήλθαν από τον ελληνικό χώρο, κατά τα μέσο-βυζαντινά χρόνια ή κατά την διάρκεια της Τουρκοκρατίας. Τάσεις που επιμένουν στη μακρά ιστορική διάρκεια, διότι αυτές οι πτυχές είναι που παραλείπονται από τη σχετική δημόσια συζήτηση του φαινομένου. Το παρόν κείμενο επιχειρεί να αναδείξει την θεσμική δομή στην ελληνική δημόσια διοίκηση, η οποία αποτελεί την κεντρική αρτηρία που τροφοδοτεί την πολιτική που ακολουθείται σε ζητήματα μεταναστευτικής και προσφυγικής χάραξης στην πορεία ενός άβατου δρόμου. Η μεταναστευτική πολιτική της Ελλάδας, μέσα από τους διαμορφωτές της από το 1990 μέχρι σήμερα, είναι μια διαδρομή που συναρτήθηκε με τις πολιτικές παγώσεις και την εξουσία πίσω από αυτές. Ταυτόχρονα οι εξελίξεις στην Αφρική, στην Ασία και στην Μέση Ανατολή, τοποθέτησαν την Ελλάδα, λόγω της γεωγραφικής αλληλίας και γεωπολιτικής της θέσης σε πρωτόγνωρα επίπεδα πολυπλοκότητας, εγείροντας το ζήτημα της μετανάστευσης, ως χώρα υποδοχής μέσα σε μια περίοδο τεράστιας οικονομικής ύφεσης. Η εισδοχή μεταναστευτικών ροών, ως τομέας διαχείρισης και εφαρμογής της δημόσιας πολιτικής από τις χώρες υποδοχής παρουσιάζει ασαφή και αβέβαιο χαρακτήρα. Οι ενδιαφερόμενοι κοινωνικοί και πολιτικοί φορείς μεταβάλλονται συχνά και γρήγορα. Επίσης εξελίσσονται ραγδαία τα στοιχεία του φαινομένου (αριθμός μεταναστών, προέλευση, κατεύθυνση, στρατηγικές εισόδου στην χώρα υποδοχής) και αντίστοιχα αλλάζουν οι στόχοι της μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής. Το εν λόγω κείμενο εγείρει ερωτήματα σχετικά με τους τρόπους διαχείρισης της μεταναστευτικής πολιτικής μέσα σε μια εποχή με δυσεπίλυτα οικονομικά, κοινωνικά και πολιτικά προβλήματα που έχουν επακόλουθο, τις ορδές ανθρώπων που έχουν πλέον κατακλύσει πολλά μέρη της Ελλάδας, αλλά και την πολιτική του «τείχους» που αποφάσισε να σκιάσει η Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Οι επιπτώσεις των πολιτικών που

ακολουθήθηκαν οδηγούν σε έναν λαβύρινθο χωρίς να μπορεί κανείς να εντοπίσει το μίτο της Αριάδνης.

Iossif Konstantinou, Ministry of Education, Primary education teacher, PhD Social Anthropology

Migration, family relations and communication at a distance: refugees in Greece

Since the outbreak of the civil war in Syria and the continuous conflicts in other countries in Middle East, but more intense today, thousands of Syrian, Afghan and Iraqi refugees have fled across the border to Turkey, Lebanon and Greece, heading to Europe. This movement has accelerated dramatically recently causing changes in migration policy in Europe and initiated debates among governments, institutes and media. In their effort to 'escape' in the West, it is noticed that hundreds of thousands of middle class and well-educated refugees and immigrants from the Middle East and Africa heading for Europe use media technologies as essential tools that provide communication with their families, friends and relatives in homeland or in other countries in Europe in order to share experiences, news and photographs. They also use digital tools, such as web portals, mobile phones, instant messaging, social networking sites and webcam to get information and travel advice, including GPS coordinates for smuggler boats and recommended routes. It is recently reported that migrants are heavy users and even early adopters of new communication technologies and especially of mobile phones (Madianou and Miller, 2012). Thus, the rise of global migration, the consequence of family separation and the growth of digital technology have created an unprecedented demand for communication at a distance. This proposal focuses more closely on the daily use of social networks and the photographic representation that refugees offer of themselves to their relatives and digital friends. In order to understand the self-presentation, this paper, based on an ethnographic research, aims to examine the accompanying narratives do refugees construct for themselves through the display of photo galleries on Facebook, the reason they edit these photos and the comments they pursue from their online friends. How do they explain their own narratives and the comments they get for family members and online friends? What sense of 'self' is presented via the visual storytelling media of Facebook? Is a photograph about what someone sees or about what individuals want others to see?

Dimitris Koros, Democritus University of Thrace, Department of Social Administration and Political Science, Dr of Correctional Policy

The madness of working as a human rights lawyer in times where rights are (treated as) useless

Working in the field of human rights is an intriguing and very satisfying job. Using your university degree in order to aid those in need, those who have left their homes to escape war, hunger, prosecution etc., against a legal system favoring social exclusion, against racist practices from the state or private actors, is indeed considered a good working position for lawyers in Greece, especially when the current crisis is deepening the impoverisation of this professional group. The paper will discuss the experience of working in the field of refugee law, and will attempt to criticize the state and EU policies concerning international protection and the management of the refugee population, within a refugee crisis that has deteriorated the visibility of a frightened state in a constant despair. The current refugee crisis is approached as a situation compressing human rights, creating an everyday dystopia which you can resist only in a day to day basis, and using as a guide the unreasonable dignity of these people. Human rights are critiqued within a foucauldian analysis of power relations and are approached as a strategic codification of the points of resistance, important as they are for the development of practices of freedom, towards a justice approached in terms of social struggle.

Anthi Kosma, ETSAM, UPM (Sparin), PhD, member of investigation group Hypemedia
Take the initiative: making communities though the art of everyday life.

Lack of reaction and difficulties to take initiatives on behalf of many social groups are some of the features of the crisis. The article searches the difficulties, the importance and the possibilities in creating action fields for marginalized groups such as migrants, homeless, unemployed etc. How in a place-based and marginalized lifestyle globally connected information, technology and resources can serve as an initiative for a change though the art of everyday life? Taking initiatives and decisions from the simplest to the most complex can create communities and give sense where apparently there is no meaning. Action through cooperation and creative jobs may ensure an elementary cohabitation, the maintenance and the further strengthening of the members of a community. Creative processes in everyday life as a way to construct communities able to survive, support and react in the oppression and exploitation that the current social situation. Through different examples from Idomeni to an autonomous project in Sparta the need to "take the initiative", actions and rituals in everyday life are examined as ways to overcome local circumstances and improve quality of life. Self-creation collectively and thus autopoiesis individually through art and art of everyday life are examined as fields of resistance and ways that can give sense in the era of extreme capitalism. How to design to complex or even simple situations within complex systems? Be present through action. The art of making objects, relationships, communities as a way of coexistence, of creating a common place, a place that will allow members to seek for their future, to dream and to design, to take initiative and responsibility for our own future.

Χρήστος Κουρούτζας, Υποψήφιος Διδάκτορας, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου
‘Όψεις Κοινωνιολογίας του Θανάτου: Από το «υγρό νεκροταφείο» στους «τάφους των αριθμών».

Ποια νεκρά σώματα «αξιίζουν» την ιδιότητα του πολίτη ή και του ανθρώπου και άρα το «πιστοποιητικό θανάτου», το θρήνο, το πένθος, τη νεκρώσιμη τελετή και την αξιοπρεπή ταφή κ.λπ. και ποια έναν «αριθμό» - *«Άγνωστος 511 ή Άγνωστος 25/08/2015»*; Πώς οι πολιτικές «διαχείρισης» της διέλευσης των συνόρων από ανθρώπους «χωρίς χαρτιά» μετατρέπονται σε θανατοπολιτικές; Υπό το πρίσμα της Κοινωνιολογίας του θανάτου και της Κριτικής Εγκληματολογίας, η όλη προβληματική εκκινεί από τις πρακτικές επιτήρησης και ελέγχου των συνόρων στο πλαίσιο της βιοπολιτικής για τις ζωές που είναι *«ανάξιες να βιωθούν»*, η οποία μετατρέπεται σε θανατοπολιτική και ο θάνατος τους «δεν αξίζει το πένθος και το θρήνο» και ούτε αποτελεί έγκλημα, *«οφείλεται σε πνιγμό στη θάλασσα»* και *«αμέλεια κινδύνου»* και όχι σε *«βίαιο θάνατο»* όπως θα ίσχυε για έναν «πολίτη». Στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος, τίθενται τα νεκρά σώματα των ανθρώπων «χωρίς χαρτιά», τα οποία προσλαμβάνονται ως τόποι πολιτικής διαμάχης, εγγραφής κυρίαρχων κανονικότητων κ.λπ. Η όλη προβληματική εκκινεί από το «υγρό νεκροταφείο» της θάλασσας του Αιγαίου, συνεχίζει στις πρακτικές «διαχείρισης» των νεκρών σωμάτων «χωρίς χαρτιά» και το θάνατο του «άλλου», του «ξένου», του «απόβλητου» ή και του «επικινδύνου» (με όρους ασθένειας) και καταλήγει στους «τάφους των αριθμών», στο πλαίσιο της πολιτικοποίησης του θανάτου. Τα ανωτέρω ζητήματα διερευνώνται με τη χρήση των ποιοτικών μεθόδων έρευνας και ειδικότερα: α) συμμετοχική παρατήρηση σε νεκροταφεία, β) ημιδομημένες προσωπικές συνεντεύξεις σε συνοριοφύλακες και ιατροδικαστές, γ) ανάλυση αρχειακού υλικού σε πιστοποιητικά θανάτου και ιατροδικαστικές πραγματογνωμοσύνες.

Jitka Kralova, SOAS

Student organisation and activist networks: supporting migrants and refugees

In which ways can volunteers establish a communication network in order to coordinate and share strategies for organizing and effective help across different countries? The paper examines the role and significance of student movements in communicating and tackling the current refugee and migrant 'crisis' to the wider public. In particular, it discusses practices of self-organization of refugee communities and the ways in which volunteers can support them in doing so.

Niki Kubaczek, transversal texts and Academy of Fine Arts Vienna, editor, student, activist

The potentiality of encounter: questions on the precondition of a broad political anti-racist movement

Departing from the present racist intensification in Vienna and elsewhere, i want to discuss the preconditions of a broad anti-racist movement: Therefore i would like to reach back some years, where in 2012 people in their asylum process were protesting for their rights by squatting first a park and then a church in the middle of Vienna. Frustrations were high when mass media stopped reporting on the protest and no changes in the asylum law were realized. What was less visible was the multiplicity of social relations that emerged from the many encounters at and around the „Vienna Refugee Protest Camp“: connections that helped some to arrive or continue their journey a bit faster than the border regime would like it to happen and that helped others to denaturalize the form of the nation state in the sphere of their un/imaginary. How can we think about commons exactly not as a hidden universality that only has to be exposed, but rather a result of conflictual encounters, negotiating difference against forces of hiding it but also against logics of victimizing or romanticizing it: in other words, how can we understand the precondition of the coming struggles exactly in the practices of listening, that recognize the sometimes very radical differences at stake, and answering them not with essentializing but with a mobilization of the very means – material as well as affective – necessary for a good life for everyone and for a common struggle for that very aim?

Guillermo López Varela, Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades "Alfonso Vázquez Pliego" BUAP, Professor Researcher

Social violence against Central American migrants and the Expansion of Capital in México. State crime and immigration.

Organized violence takes many forms across Mexico, Central America, and South America, and is perpetrated by many actors. In Mexico when massacres against central american migrants or acts of mass terror penetrate the media's silence, violence throughout the region is generally presented as random and inevitable, linked to bad apples in security forces, armies of dehumanized gang members, or corrupt mafias. Our proposal is to examine how organized violence in the region operates and is shaped within a broader context of capital investment and corporate activity, especially in the extractive industries. We expect to highlight cases from countries where cooperation in the US-led drug war has been tightest, particularly Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Colombia. We are examining the connections between violence and the expansion of capital in Mexico, Central, and/or South America. Our interest is to collectively contribute to a growing body of work that insists that we must find new approaches to 20th century notions of war and conflict in order to understand and articulate the connections between various forms of state and non-state violences and the expansion of capitalism.

Vicki Macris, Lecturer in the sociology of education, educational policy studies and curricular studies

Selective Philoxenia Revisited: The Plight of the Refugees in Greece

This paper revisits the concept of philoxenia (hospitality) – a return to an earlier paper – at a present time when Greece has been the port of entry for refugees into the EU, and particularly through the island of Lesbos, which has arguably been hit hardest by the yearlong refugee crisis in its tourism sector, as Greece continues to suffer from its worst socioeconomic crisis since the Great Depression. *The paper has twofold purpose.* First, it seeks to interrogate the discourses of “philoxenia” and “xenophobia,” by examining how these two notions relate to Greece’s responsibility toward the recent arrival of refugees. While the notion of philoxenia in the tourism industry has always been used to promote economic growth in Greece, since Greece has largely relied on the hospitality and tourism industry, at the same time, a separate discourse of xenophobia and xenoracism has

implications for the changing concept of "Greekness" and what "Greekness" means today in terms of Greek identity. Secondly, the paper will examine the implications for citizenship within a politically charged climate of terrorism and closing of the borders to refugees in the EU. I will initially scrutinize some of the underlying causes of disparities and forms of discrimination that plague Greece today and look at how deepening sentiments of xenophobia, that dominate the *political, social, spiritual and educational spheres that tend to work against, or limit the processes of taking effective action to combat such sentiments.*

Δημήτρης Μάντζαρης, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Μεταπτυχιακός Φοιτητής
Χώροι και Κέντρα Κράτησης Προσφύγων και Μεταναστών : Η περίπτωση της «Παγανής» στη Λέσβο, ως χώρος «ετεροτοπίας» και άσκησης βιοπολιτικής εξουσίας κατά τον Μ. Foucault.

Η παρουσίαση αναφέρεται στο κέντρο κράτησης μεταναστών στη θέση «Παγανή» της Λέσβου, ειδικά για το διάστημα 2007 ως τον Οκτώβρη του 2009, οπότε και έκλεισε. Η «Παγανή» ήταν ένας χώρος παλαιών αποθηκών, που διαμορφώθηκε σε κέντρο κράτησης μεταναστών το 2003 με μέγιστη χωρητικότητα 250 ατόμων. Το μελετώμενο διάστημα η αύξηση των εισερχόμενων ροών μετέτρεψε το χώρο σε «αποθήκη» ανθρώπων, των οποίων ο αριθμός ξεπέρασε κάποια στιγμή τους 1.600, μεταξύ των οποίων πολλές γυναίκες και παιδιά. Προσεγγίζοντας τη λειτουργία του χώρου, χρησιμοποιώντας ως θεωρητικό εργαλείο την έννοια της «ετεροτοπίας» που εισηγήθηκε ο Μ. Foucault, επιχειρούμε να δούμε, τους λόγους λειτουργίας του κέντρου, τις συνθήκες που διαμορφώθηκαν για τους μετανάστες που κρατήθηκαν εκεί το κρίσιμο διάστημα 2007 ως 2009, τη στάση του επίσημου κράτους, της αστυνομίας, της τοπικής κοινωνίας της Λέσβου, τις ευρύτερες αντιδράσεις στην Ελλάδα και στην Ευρώπη σχετικά με το κέντρο. Τεκμηριώνεται η ιδιαιτερότητα του χώρου αυτού σε σχέση με άλλους Ειδικούς Χώρους Παραμονής Αλλοδαπών στην Ελλάδα. Τέλος στα πλαίσια της εργασίας αυτής εξετάζεται η Παγανή ως παράδειγμα χώρου άσκησης βιοπολιτικής εξουσίας με βάση την προσέγγιση του Μ. Foucault.

Antigoni Memou, University of East London, Senior Lecturer
Beyond Humanitarian Photography: Critical Notes on Photography and the Refugee Crisis

The peak of migration crisis in Europe, in the course of 2015 and early months of 2016, has generated an abundance of photographs produced by photojournalists and professional photographers alike. Photographs of people attempting to cross the Mediterranean sea, being stopped or confronted by the police in European borders taken have dominated the public domain. Many citizens' understanding of this crisis has been mediated by these mainstream media photographs of the refugees' suffering and plight. Among them, the oft-reproduced photograph of the drowned toddler in coastal Turkey, has re-opened longstanding questions on the ambivalent relationship between the act of photography and compassion, or even further, intervention and humanitarian aid. This paper questions these 'official' photographic representations of the migrant crisis in Europe, arguing that they perpetuate unequal power relations between the photographers, the viewers and the refugees. Exerting a critique on the powerful structures of Western photojournalism and its intersections with humanitarian photography, this paper seeks for alternative visual narratives about the refugee crisis. Drawing upon photographs taken by the refugees and migrants themselves with their mobile phones and circulated on social media, the paper asks whether the refugees' everyday photographic production and photo-sharing on social media can be considered as a social process of formulating and participating in an imaginary community. The paper argues for new way of looking at this flow of photographs online, which can activate a dialectical and critical understanding of the current crisis.

Carlotta Mingardi, SOAS, Msc Student in Middle Eastern Politics
Saving Brown Women from Brown Men: the European

response to the refugees' crisis. Neo-cultural imperialism, structural racism and gender discrimination at the borders of Fortress Europe

This paper aims to discuss gender discrimination and the various degrees of dehumanization currently affecting refugees in the European response to the refugees' crisis. The widespread international paranoia that lately emerged in Europe in response to the refugees' crisis, which built on the already present Islamophobia, has not been able to detach itself from ancient paradigms of structural racism. The interaction between a new type of cultural imperialism, old racist colonial heritage and gender discrimination is particularly evident in the European fear of "new" masculinities (as proved by the media's hysteric coverage of the facts of Colonia), and in the revived old colonial refrain of "saving brown women from brown men" (Bhattacharyya, 2008). As a result, this neo-colonial and cultural imperialistic approach is greatly influencing access to asylum. Refugee young men are rejected and seen as a threat to "European civilization" though accounting for the majority of the inhabitants of non-institutional refugee camps and asylum requesters, reinforcing the ideological parallelism between masculinity and violence. At the same time, a parallel trend infantilizes women refugees through their perennial association with children, depicting them only as mothers and victims (Enloe 2003). We are consequently assisting to a lack of recognition of young men status of victims of war and a paternalistic approach to women empowerment: the same old features of structural racism and neo imperialism are just re-proposing themselves.

Λίζα Μουρζίδου, Αναστασία Τσακάλογλου, Μεταπτυχιακές φοιτήτριες, Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου

Το Ταξίδι, η Κράτηση και η Τοπική Κοινωνία, μέσα από τα μάτια των Προσφύγων

Ο πόλεμος στη Συρία αν όχι η μοναδική αιτία, αλλά η κυριότερη, μέχρι τα τέλη του προηγούμενου έτους εξανάγκασε εκατομμύρια ανθρώπους να εγκαταλείψουν τη χώρα τους και να διασχίσουν μέχρι στιγμής τη Μεσόγειο ως πρόσφυγες. Το 2015 ήταν η χρονιά που ξεπέρασε κάθε προηγούμενο ρεκόρ παγκόσμιου αναγκαστικού εκτοπισμού. Ο αναγκαστικός εκτοπισμός φαίνεται πως ασκεί τεράστια και βαθιά επιρροή στην εποχή μας. Το ζήτημα αυτό κατά κύριο λόγο αφορά τους ανθρώπους που βιώνουν αυτή τη συνθήκη και δευτερευόντως τις κοινωνίες υποδοχής αυτών των ανθρώπων. Συνεπώς, ο αναγκαστικός εκτοπισμός αγγίζει τις ζωές εκατομμυρίων συνανθρώπων μας, από την μια αυτών που αναγκάζονται να τραπούν σε φυγή και από την άλλη αυτών που τους παρέχουν καταφύγιο και προστασία. Στα πλαίσια της μεταπτυχιακής μας εργασίας επιχειρήσαμε να αναδείξουμε το μεταναστευτικό ζήτημα από την πλευρά των ίδιων των προσφύγων για να κατανοήσουμε το ζήτημα μέσα από τα μάτια τους. Ειδικότερα σκοπός της έρευνας ήταν η διερεύνηση του βιώματος από τους ίδιους τους πρόσφυγες που διέσχισαν την θάλασσα φτάνοντας από την Τουρκία στην Λέσβο και διαμένοντας προσωρινά στο νησί. Από την μια οι πρόσφυγες λόγω πολέμου ψάχνουν τρόπο διαφυγής και οι διακινητές από την άλλη λόγω της ευκαιρίας που δημιουργείται διαπράττουν το έγκλημα. Με λίγα λόγια η ευκαιρία συμβάλλει για να διαπραχτεί το συγκεκριμένο έγκλημα. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο οι πρόσφυγες θυματοποιούνται μπαίνοντας σε μια βάρκα, ώστε να σώσουν τις ζωές τους. Τι συμβαίνει τελικά με τους διακινητές; Αυτό το ερώτημα θα μας απαντήσουν οι ίδιοι οι πρόσφυγες μέσα από την αφήγησή τους. Φτάνοντας στην Μυτιλήνη είναι η πράξη η οποία τους ποινικοποιεί αδιαφορώντας οι ιθύνοντες για την πρόθεση τους και προσδιορίζουν την ποινή τους, που δεν είναι άλλη από την εισαγωγή τους μέσα σε ένα κέντρο κράτησης και αν είναι τυχεροί μετά σε ένα κέντρο περισσότερο ανοικτό. Πως βιώνουν την κράτηση; Αυτό το ερώτημα μας το απαντάνε οι ίδιοι οι πρόσφυγες μέσα από την αφήγησή τους.

Stavros Moutsios, DPU - Aarhus University, Associate Professor of Comparative Education

The 'Other' in European cultural history

The xenophobic policies in the USA and many European countries which are denying refuge to people escaping war and barbarism, have given rise to a debate about the disregard of 'European values'. But what are these values? This paper will try to trace them, not in contemporary international conventions (that the West is largely ignoring) but in the cultural history of Europe. The paper will argue that notwithstanding much of postcolonial theory (which sees almost exclusively in Europe's role in the world racism, cultural domination and imperialism), the European history includes also the explicit recognition of cultural multiplicity as well as the universality of the human condition. For the Ancient Greeks (contrary to stereotypes in social sciences) a foreign society was neither superior nor inferior, but simply other. This is evident in the literature of the time which adopts a self-reflective and empathic attitude towards other peoples, even if they are adversaries. This attitude re-emerged in Modernity, which marks the break of cognitive and representational closure in Europe and the awareness that different societies are instituted differently, but people share the same human characteristics. For the Enlightenment the acknowledgement of this fact meant freedom and impartial and critical reflection. Nevertheless, from the 19th century, the cultural 'others' were to be gauged in accordance with their capacity to be 'developed', a perception that drove or legitimised colonial and imperialist interventions, and more recently the globalisation of capitalism. The presentation will end by proposing a regeneration of the European culture of self-reflexivity in the way we see our society and the 'others'.

Flore Murard-Yovanovitch, Journalist freelance (Huffington Post), Journalist and Writer
Refugee crisis: The Denial. A psychopathological approach

Once again, Europe has a barbed-wire face. Behind the euphemism of "controlling the EU's borders" and facade operations, our continent is spiraling in a regressive descent into racial discrimination. The reality, still unspeakable to the majority of its citizens, is a mass grave in the Mediterranean, a systematic manhunt with mass deportations and abuses, round-ups and imprisonment for refugees, not to mention those who are illegally pushed -back. These oppressive measures, left unacknowledged, are against men women and children whose human identity is being attacked – if not outright destroyed – as a direct consequence of Europe's migration policy (a "forced disappearance" policy). What is actually taking place in our continent is a border-laboratory for a neo-Fascism: "Border Fascism" (Derive. Driftings) with the notion that those migrants are somehow "differently human." The current migration crisis is therefore not a "refugee crisis", but a psychopathological (acute) crisis, which should be analyzed under psychiatric categories and interpretations. It reveals that Europe has become blinded, exposing feelings from a deep and almost forgotten part of Western unconsciousness – a treacherous and slippery slope towards inhumanity. Rereading visionary poet Aimé Césaire, «Slowly but surely, the continent proceeds towards savagery», can help when analyzing this trend. Concepts of pathological "unconscious drive" (new Italian psycho-dynamics) and "false consciousness", Joseph Gabel "False Consciousness: An Essay on Reification" (1962), can help enlighten the dynamics of this evolution. In False Consciousness, Gabel identifies a schizophrenic structure within racist ideology and ethnocentrism. A socially destructive denial is already a reality today in obscure and invisible modes: the psychological destruction of millions of migrant minds. The depth and extent of this unconscious drive is eroding Europe's identity, which is leaning towards the negation and non-existence of migrants as human beings. This will determine the outcome of our era.

Salim Nabi, York University, Student
Borders, Encounter, and the struggle against Neoliberalism.

Two fundamental concepts shape the contemporary thought insofar that both lie at the heart of any attempt to think the human condition. On the one hand, we have the concept of universality that comes with its dichotomous counterpart identity (Badiou). Universality is, however, simultaneously paired with particularity (Gottlob Frege). The dialectical nature of the two pairs is revealed if one would attempt to think the universality of identity in terms of particular identities such as nationality, religion, race, gender, and so on. So long as the

universal is thought of in terms of identity it remains abstract in the form of reason; e.g. "in the abstract identity of reason we are all universally equal", we are identical insofar that the measure of being human is reason; reason itself is, however, the reason of the elite's interests (Marten). Identity can and has always been thought of in universal terms, and in turn, universality has been the universality of identity. This impasse which blocks any path to a rethinking of universality cannot be resolved positively in terms of particularity, contingency, or relativity. On the contrary, relativity is the radicalization of identity in all its formations – social, political, cultural, and so on. (Agamben: potentiality is precisely the illumination of this border that is dissolved through identity.) On the other hand, contemporary thought (Badiou, but also Rainer Marten [1989]) has come to acknowledge the identity based conception of self in the history of Western thought. This acknowledgement has led it to consider the self in the event of encounter as opposed to a founding and foundational essence, Wesen, and ousia. Encounter is the crossroad, the intersection, the border between the self and the other, which dissolves the privilege of one and opens the space for multiplicity (Badiou's Being and Event). From the point of view of identity this border always already serves as the limit of the self in contrast to the other. Topologically speaking, identity thinks the self and the other as discrete and mutually exclusive domains. The limit and border between the self and the other is, thus, the null point; it is the point wherein neither the self nor the other can be fully herself, the point at which both the self and the other cease to be themselves. It is thus that contemporary world has defined the human as citizen, as European, as Christian, Muslim, and so on. However, insofar as the border and the limit define the self through its demarcation against the other, we can also think of the border as the possibility of encountering the other; the other who is always already the anchor of my self, which anchorage gives me halt and a holding as the finite being that I am. Against the abstract utopian thinking of the infinity and universality of self as the being defined by identity, essence, ousia, and being, I am concretely final and finite at the border and the accompanying possibility of encounter. The border – as the concrete crossroad between the isolated and abstract identity and the concrete universality of encounter wherein the self and the other self find halt and a hold of themselves in each other – is the event of being-with-one-another. Neoliberalism, inheriting the structure of modern thought, has radicalized the identity based relation with the double strategy of the erasure of the border (globalization), on the one hand, and the fortification of it (Fortress Europe, the Christian verses Muslim, the rich verses the poor, and so on), on the other. Therewith it seeks to ensure the impossibility of the encounter. The encounter in neoliberalism is the encounter of the same in consumption, but precisely the impossibility of the encounter of the one and the other, of the self and other self. In the insinuation of a borderless world under the regime of boundless consumption, neoliberalism structurally eliminates the possibility of the encounter, and precisely therefore the massive exodus of refugees, which is an illumination of borders, poses as a crisis for neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, like its ancestor liberalism, has, again, a double strategy at its disposal, namely: on the one hand, it eliminates the encounter through the state apparatus, and on the other hand, it eliminates the encounter by resorting to ideological fortification of identities. Therefore, it remains the task of the left to illuminate the borders in forms and ways such as the possibility of solidarity between volunteers and refugees, between working class and refugees, and national forms such as the possibility of Grexit. In this way, and not in the form of state controlled border or for that matter uncontrolled border, borders become the place and possibility of encounter, and it, therefore, necessitates a crossing of these borders in order to find to a halt of ideologically founded signifiers and a hold onto ourselves in being-with-one-another. Alone in this way there is a path to end the regime of the One and embark into multiplicity.

**Radmila Nastić, The Faculty of Philology and Arts Kragujevac Srebia, Professor
The Middle East Refugee Crisis and the Foundations of Solidarity**

In view of the recent manipulations with the Middle East and other refugees and their different treatments in various countries, the paper looks at some lost foundations of international solidarity embodied in traditional hospitality, socialism and the non-aligned movement. The study is rooted in the observations of the recent flood of Syrian and other refugees in Serbia, where hospitality has been a traditional value (as it has been in Greece), the country once a part of the socialist Yugoslavia which was one of the founders of the non-aligned movement. On the other hand we have seen instances of solidarity of the Greek people in Lesbos and elsewhere, transcending the call for political correctness, which, together with the insistence on the so called "European values" at times sounds hollow and artificial, dictated by economic interests clothed in political apparel. The principles of non-alignment and what has remained of them have been almost smothered by the fabricated economic crisis, the austerity measures, and the unfinished project of imperialism and colonialism which have created new modes of racism in Europe. In this the governments go against the interest of the people and play the game dictated by banks and corporations. The presentation especially seeks to salvage from oblivion testimonies of a solidarity which education for internationalism once made almost spontaneously imperative, and suggest inclusion of some of those principles in the solution of the present crisis.

Mike Neary, University of Lincoln, Professor of Sociology
Educative Power: transnational co-operatives for higher education in an era of global civil war

The refugee crisis is not merely the result of the policies of neocolonial and authoritarian governments, but is a crisis of the nation-state itself as the conflictual site(s) of the global capital-labour relation. An outcome of this conflictual relation is that nation states have declared war on their own civilian populations. This act of violence takes many forms: total and low intensity warfare, war against terror and an economic assault through the imposition of poverty and hunger, leading to the movement of populations to avoid these killing regimes. It is important to do everything to save the lives of those drowning in the Mediterranean, but the nature of this global civil war requires strategic responses. This paper sets out an emerging resistant form of academic labour as the transnational movement for co-operative higher education, conceptualised here as a form of 'educative power' (Benjamin 1921): or radical doubt, as the basis for systemic revolutionary transformation. Universities are opening their doors to migrant students and even the establishment of universities for refugees, e.g., Kiron University (Berlin) and the Silent University (England), but the emergence of transnational co-operative universities offer the possibility to construct new forms of human sociability. These co-operatives include the Co-operative Institute for Transnational Studies (Greece), Unicoop (Mexico), and the Social Science Centre (England) connected with other networks of resistance to capitalist higher education, e.g., Undercommoning (USA) and the Ecoversity. This is a fragile movement but contains within it the possibility of undermining the capital-labour relation and the violence of the capitalist state.

Michael Neocosmos, Rhodes University, South Africa, Professor and Director
Thinking anti-xenophobic politics in the neo-colony: the case of South Africa

In a talk at the Law School in Athens on the 25th January 2014, Alain Badiou argued that the political principle of a universal humanity ("there is only one world") "does not contradict the infinite play of identities and differences". He argued that in order to combat the propaganda of capitalism according to which we must obey the laws of the market it is necessary to start from one simple proposition: "today there is no real world constituted by the men and women who live on this planet". In this paper I want to show how the subjective walls set up by the xenophobic politics of the South African state have been combated through a politics of universal humanity by a popular movement of shackdwellers in Durban called Abahlali baseMjondolo. They have organised an anti-xenophobic politics

that has been pre-emptive rather than reactive around emancipatory thought and the principle of "a person is a person wherever they may come from". This guiding principle of universality and internationalism is linked with other conceptions regarding thinking alternatives to private property, overcoming the neo-colonial division of labour and a certain (although varying) distancing of popular politics from state politics. The paper will briefly outline the character of xenophobic politics in South Africa and will then proceed to an evaluation of this example of an attempt to think emancipatory politics through an analysis of the dialectic linking the expressive politics of the state with the excessive politics of emancipation.

Nikolakaki Maria, University of Peloponnese, Founding member of CITS.

Imperialism and migration: from the state of emergency to the state of exception

Today, the world is experiencing the biggest refugee flow since WWII. More than 60million people are displaced globally. The chaotic situation created by imperialist powers, with colonialism, internal colonialism and accumulation by dispossession (what David Harvey calls the "New Imperialism") is a dehumanizing process leading us to the aporia for the borders between human and inhuman. The way migration is dealt with reflects what our world thinks as the acceptable. As Hana Arendt said 'They (migrants) must remember that they are constantly on the run, and that the world's reality is actually expressed by their escape.' The state of emergency under migration is creating the unholy Homo Sacer with "zones of non-responsibility"; what Agamben describes as not 'to make live or let die', but rather, to make survive, that is, to produce bare life as life reduced to survival through the separation of the human from the inhuman, or the speaking being from the living being. This is creating the state of exception where this condition will be solidified, unless we understand and act on the perception that we are the migrants and the migrants are us.

Ekaterini Nikolarea, EEDIP, University of the Aegean

Refugee Crisis on the island of Lesbos: Sharing experiences and reflecting upon the current state of affairs

In the first part of this paper, the presenter – an academic and a volunteer of International Committee of Red Cross [ICRC] and the Hellenic Red Cross [HRC] - will share some of her experiences with refugees / migrants on the island of Lesbos from 2014 up to the present. By narrating these encounters, the presenter will give some snapshots of refugees' most painful and exhilarating moments in the hospital, the harbor and in the Moria Hotspot in order to shed light into individuals' character and frustrating moments as well as into collective moments of despair and destruction. In the second part of this paper, the presenter, primarily as an academic who has access to all Refugees/Migrants Reception Centres and to Moria Hotspot as a volunteer – will discuss about and reflect upon how the Refugee Crisis both has been transformed and has been transforming the island, the inhabitants of the island and the operation of a variety of NGOs that have been active on the island. She will delineate / describe the different phases that the Refugee Crisis on Lesbos has been through and try to develop a theoretical model out of her experiences and the trends that have been developing on the island.

Andreas Onoufriou, University of Cyprus, Visiting lecturer

Syrian experiences of Immigration in contemporary Cyprus and its relation towards gender formation – masculinity and immigration.

The present work is based on short life biography of a Syrian young man who was an economical migrant in Cyprus during 2004 for four years. This empirical study aimed to shed new light on the nuanced relationship between gender dynamics and Syrian migration in Cyprus before the civil war. I wanted to explore the ways in which Syrian workers experienced masculinities in the Cypriot context of a more liberal and consumer milieu in relation to their families, traditions, hegemonic norms in their home land. The study is based on Agamben's concept of bare life in a historical time where Syria was presented as a

peaceful country and some of its citizens attempted to reinvent themselves in relation to their country's environment and its socio-political dimensions. Syria as my participant informed was seen as an imaginative community, a corrupted but stable state which could survive the turbulences and offer to its citizens a fruitful future. The study was not completed because of my participant sudden return to Syria, remained in my shells for a couple of years and now is completed based on my archive material as a tribute to Talal, this everyday hero whom I have not heard of since 2008.

Gökhan Orhan, Bandırma Onyedi Eylül University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Prof. Dr. - Head of Department

Global Climate Change and Immigration Patterns: A New Agenda for Global Justice

Immigration of human communities has been a constant feature of societies all around the world. Political and religious repression, wars and civil unrests, economic problems and all forms of inequalities could contribute to immigration patterns. Global inequalities are major reasons behind the current immigration patterns. Large numbers of people try to reach other locations to live a better life. However, global climate change and fluctuations in weather patterns emerges as a new source of immigration. Indian subcontinent is already facing heat waves and recent weather forecasts predict a warmer weather pattern for the Mediterranean basin and already fragile regions of the Middle East and North Africa, not to mention problems in Sahara and Sub-Saharan Africa. Overall, there is an expectation for new climate change induced immigration pattern. It will be argued in the paper that global inequalities in resource use and pollution patterns contributes to further inequalities through facilitating global climate change that at the end produce new forms of inequalities. The main culprit behind the global climate change, carbon emissions stemming from human consumption and production, has been largely generated by developed countries and they do not act in accordance with their historical responsibilities, still consume more resources and more energy. Developing countries, though they are not responsible of global climate change will be the losers with their fragile position against changing circumstances. Problems with adaptation is likely to produce new immigration patterns and at the end of the day, without solving the problem of inequality and global justice, immigration patterns likely to get worsened.

Ali Behran Ozelik, York University, Doctoral Candidate

Turkey's Role in the Plight of Syria: Case for the Primacy of "Internal Factors" over External Ones

While Turkey's support for the forces fighting against the Syrian regime is clear, instances like the cooperation between the U.S. Forces and the YPJ/YPG (much to Turkey's chagrin) should lead one to abandon the old habits of the Left like blaming everything on Imperialism. In a conjuncture where Turkey is strong enough to exclude the PYD from the Geneva Talks, despite the green lights both from the U.S. and Russia, blaming imperialism is simply wrong. This also prevents large sections of the Left from expressing adequate solidarity with the Rojava Revolution, as they condemn YPJ/YPG's cooperation with the U.S. as something necessarily reactionary. This paper argues that reversal of Turkey's disastrous foreign policy is the key to ending the suffering in Syria and Iraq. A necessary step towards finding a cure to this foreign policy is diagnosing it correctly. Marxist literature on Turkish foreign policy in its neo-Gramscian variant had quickly declared the Turkish state as a tool of the conglomerates which wanted to join the EU. Looking at the leverage Turkey has gained over EU thanks to the shameful EU-Turkey refugee deal, this variant is simply anachronistic. The other variant turned Turkey into a vassal of Panitch's "American Empire" (as not only Panitch's "supposedly" Poulantzian students but also Cihan Tugal did) and went as far to argue that even Turkey's cozy relations with Iran and troubled relations with Israel were happening at the behest of the US. As even the mainstream foreign policy outlets are clearly identifying the divergence between Turkey and the U.S.; it is high time that historical

materialism leaves these conspiracy theories to orthodox communist parties and moves beyond. As Poulantzas warned, neglecting the "specific weight of internal factors" goes hand in hand with "over-estimating the role of the United States" (1976b, 34). This is not to suggest that the imperialists did not want a regime change in Syria. However, as the Syrian regime stood its ground and particularly after Russia weighed in; Turkey went on working towards a regime change even after the U.S. gave up on the idea of an intervention – driving the wedge between Turkey and the U.S. further. With this in the mind, this paper will identify the "internal factors" which guide Turkey's foreign policy far from being hand-picked by the "American empire", the AKP rule in fact corresponds to a crisis of the neoliberal world order where the U.S. is substantially weaker than it was during the Cold War. The bourgeois fraction prospering under such conditions, far from being a subcontractor for imperialism, in fact displays more contradictions with imperialism than did Turkey's secularist bourgeois fraction. Turkey's foreign policy activism in Syria, such that it wanted a military intervention in Syria more than the US ever did, is not something ordered by the US. It is happening because the interests of the bourgeois fraction represented in the AKP concur with the interests of the bourgeois fraction that is finding its representation in Muslim Brotherhood (MB) parties in the Arab World, hence Turkey's efforts to defend the Egyptian MB and to bring to power the Syrian MB. And it is because Turkey is not a tool of the U.S. that this foreign policy is destabilizing the Turkish power bloc; from the sparking of the Gezi Uprising as a response to the authoritarian turn Erdogan's rule took during Turkey's undeclared war on Syria to Erdogan's desperate attempts to consolidate his weakened power by escalating Turkey's war on Kurds. As stopping Erdogan's march to fascism became an urgent task not only for the protection of the democratic liberties of both the Kurds and all other democratic forces in Turkey but also for a peaceful solution to the conflict in Syria, it is more urgent than ever for the Left to adopt a theoretical apparatus which is able to recognize the contradictions between Turkey and the imperialist powers and utilize them for democratic ends.

Δημήτρης Παρασκευόπουλος, Υποψήφιος Διδάκτορας Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου
Η ακροδεξιά ρητορική περί εθνικής αλληλόωσης απευθυνόμενη σε αθλητικές οπαδικές ταυτότητες.

Στην παρούσα εισήγηση με αφορμή καταγεγραμμένα περιστατικά βιαιοπραγιών ενάντια σε μετανάστες, με το πέρας προγραμματισμένων αθλητικών αγώνων μεταξύ εθνικών ομάδων, συζητείται η σύνδεση ανάμεσα στην ακροδεξιά ιδεολογία και την έννοια της οπαδικής ταυτότητας. Η πολιτική άνοδος της εθνικιστικής ιδεολογίας, προέκταση, των αυξητικών τάσεων της ακροδεξιάς σε περιόδους κρίσης, εντοπίζεται κυρίως σε χώρους που συγκεντρώνονται νέοι όπως σχολεία και γήπεδα. Εφαρμόζοντας κριτική ανάλυση, διερευνώνται τα χαρακτηριστικά του λόγου περί εθνικής υπεροχής που κατευθύνεται στο διαζευκτικό «εμείς και οι άλλοι» των οπαδικών ταυτοτήτων στο πεδίο.

Anthi Pazianou, Aegean University - Maria Louka, Journalist
Solidarity to refugees as a structural aspect of a potential redefinition of democracy

A few months after the rise to power of the government of the Left in Greece, local island communities and in particular Lesbos were marked by the mass influx of refugees. While the Greek society was witnessing the collapse of the government rhetoric concerning social justice 'from above' and the absence of the state from the greek islands' shores, we saw a wave of solidarity to refugees without precedent, coming 'from below'. This encounter between local inhabitants and refugees, happening at the moment of receiving refugees from the boats was crucial. It was the point where borders were displaced. It was the moment when the locals enable the emergence of all the elements of a fluid identity that had been formed in the Memorandums' years in multiple states of exception in order to unite with the de-centered refugees, these nomadic subjects whose identity is under development and negotiation. This encounter becomes the un-thinkable event (Edelman), disarticulates the symbolic order that treats locals as being in fear in their houses and

refugees as either in their countries or as arrested as criminals, as precarious or surplus lives (Butler). In the same new dystopian environment of symbolic and natural violence and of the militarization of the refugee problem in the context of a 'crisis' that redefines the limits of the 'human', a contingent utopian condition emerges by means of the intentional movement of the masses. Solidarity towards the Other –not as a simple Christian or philanthropic attempt towards salvation– creates the material and ideological basis for the recomposition of a collective subject. What solidarity leaves behind is a common lived experience and offers an fragile question of potentiality in order to resignify democracy.

Γιώργος Πηλιός, Τμήμα Επικοινωνίας και ΜΜΕ, Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Καθηγητής

Προσφυγικές ροές: η διαδρομή από τα σύνορα μέχρι τα πρωτοσέλιδα .The refugee flows: from the borders to the headlines

Οι πολιτικές και οι πρακτικές των επιμέρους πολιτικών φορέων αναφορικά με το προσφυγικό, οι συσχετισμοί μεταξύ τους και η επικράτηση, όπως και η αμφισβήτηση ορισμένων εξ αυτών εξαρτάται από πλήθος παραγόντων, αλλά και αντίστροφα μπορεί να επηρεάσει τους παράγοντες αυτούς. Σε μια εποχή και σε μια κοινωνία το μοντέλο του πολιτικού συστήματος γίνεται λιγότερο ή περισσότερο μνητιοκεντρικό, η διαμόρφωση των ως άνω πολιτικών εξαρτάται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από τα χαρακτηριστικά της κάλυψης του ζητήματος των προσφυγικών ροών, αλλά και τα επηρεάζει. Μεταξύ αυτών των χαρακτηριστικών είναι η ταυτότητα των προσφύγων (εθνικότητα, φύλο, κοινωνική τάξη, μορφωτικό επίπεδο, θρήσκευμα κ.ά.), οι αιτίες της εγκατάλειψης των εστιών τους και της έλευσης στην Ελλάδα και την ΕΕ, οι διαδρομές που ακολουθούν, η εμφάνιση των προσφύγων ως πολλαπλής απειλής, ο ρόλος των κυβερνήσεων και της εξωτερικής πολιτικής στην περιοχή. Τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτά εξαρτώνται με της σειρά τους από πλήθος παραγόντων τόσο εσωτερικών (ιδεολογικός προσανατολισμός των μέσων, εμπορικότητα και ιδιοκτησιακό καθεστώς, δημοσιογραφική κουλτούρα του μέσου, πρακτικές παραγωγής των ειδήσεων) όσο και εξωτερικών ως προς τα ΜΜΕ (κυβερνητική πολιτική, η στάση της ΕΕ, χρηματοδοτική κάλυψη του ζητήματος, ιδεολογικο-πολιτικοί συσχετισμοί στη δημόσια σφαίρα κ.ά.). Η ανάλυση της κάλυψης των προσφυγικών ροών, ειδικά από τη Μ. Ανατολή δείχνει ότι αυτή εξελίχθηκε μέχρι σήμερα μέσα από τρία στάδια τα οποία και θα παρουσιαστούν αναλυτικότερα. Από άποψη δημόσιας πολιτικής ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχει το σημείο στο οποίο βρισκόμαστε σήμερα στο οποίο φαίνεται να έχει ενταθεί η αρνητική κάλυψη των προσφυγικών ροών και ταυτόχρονα η δημιουργία ενός πηλωμένου κλίματος στα μέσα και στην κοινή γνώμη, γεγονός το οποίο μαρτυρά τη διαπάλη για την ηγεμονία απέναντι σε ξενοφοβικές, ρατσιστικές τάσεις περιχαράκωσης από τη μια και τάσεις ανεκτικότητας και δημοκρατικής διαχείρισης βασισμένης οικουμενική διακήρυξη των δικαιωμάτων του ανθρώπου και το διεθνές δίκαιο.

John Rees,

Refugees and political crisis of the EU

The refugee crisis is the revenge of the oppressed for decades of war and neo-liberal economics. Fuelled by fear, poverty and desperation millions of refugees have literally brought the crisis home to the Western powers. The response by the European powers has deepened this crisis. Fortress Europe has stripped the EU of moral legitimacy by enforcing a regime that has resulted in the drowning of 8,000 people in the Mediterranean in just 48 months. The border fences going up across south-eastern Europe make a mockery of the EU's pretensions to 'free movement of labour'. The EU's hostility to migrants and refugees has fuelled the rise of the far right across the continent, its austerity policies have made it the object of hatred for many workers. The social and political landscape is polarising and the 'extreme centre' of neo-liberal economics and neo-conservative foreign policy cannot hold. But the stakes are high. Radical right wing solutions are taking ground in some countries while in others left movements are also gaining ground. The vote to Leave the EU in Britain marks an existential crisis for the whole European project as well as the onset of the major social crisis in Britain itself. It may trigger further referenda which will mean the

end of the European Union. Certainly in Britain the political and economic certainties that have lasted for decades are now all in flux. The ruling class has lost its main economic and political strategy of the last 40 years. It may well lose Scotland as part of the U.K. The Labour Party is in turmoil as a right of centre coup attempts to unseat Jeremy Corbyn. Now more than ever serious analysis and a reassertion of the socialist project are necessary.

Eleonora Roldán Mendávil, University of Hamburg, Faculty of Business and Social Sciences, M.A. Candidate - Matthias Hinkelmann, Free University of Berlin, Political Sciences, B.A. Candidate

Back to Practice: Possibilities of Revolutionary. Academic Engagement - A Dialectical Materialist Proposal

In our paper we want to explore the question of how abstract research on oppression and structural exclusion has led to a phenomenon Slavoj Žižek, paraphrasing Lenin, has framed as the art of "reading, reading, reading". In the context of the further neoliberalization of the university complex, we see two dangerous tendencies of contemporary critical academia: historically, the departure from Marxist methodology and analysis in the examination of society, the state and prevailing ideologies, and on the practical level the disentanglement with the social struggles fighting oppression and exploitation on the ground. Many critical scholars have thus become complicit with the very oppressive structures producing and reproducing discourses of exclusion every day. In our paper we ask: How come many keen researchers, scholars and critics have lost most of their links with the material reality they set out to find answers to? What happens when the research on oppression and exclusion becomes complicit with the very structure it sets out to criticize? We begin from our observations of leftist activism and knowledge production in Germany, in order to trace more general historical tendencies within leftist academia in the Global North to finally argue for a special responsibility of academics and intellectuals in conducting necessary research, creating knowledge, articulating counter-hegemonic narratives and putting the academia into service of the disenfranchised and oppressed and their continuous struggles for social justice.

Federica Rossi, SOAS

Migration is a Feminist Issue

This paper explores the gendered dimensions of the 'Refugee Crisis' as it is portrayed in Europe and aims to open the discussion about the ways feminist activism can act upon it. In particular, our feminist approach leads us to analyse the position of refugee women reaching the European shores as being at the intersection of race, gender and economic exploitation, which is made invisible by the dominant narrative of emergency. As a London based feminist collective, we would like to share our analysis at this conference in order to discuss how, as feminists, we can enact concrete actions of solidarity that not only 'help migrant women', but primarily share a fight for empowerment, against male dominated narratives and exploitation in our societies.

Christina Sakali, University of Macedonia, Doctoral degree
Solidarity economy and the refugee crisis: exploring bridges and expanding spaces of social solidarity

In times of crisis, the urgencies created by the circumstances can lead to the expansion of the boundaries of social solidarity and the exploration of new ways of creative resistances. As part of such a process, in the last eight years of the economic crisis we experienced the emergence of new models of economic and social organisation that are exploring various types of alternatives to the capitalist economic system and its massively destructive consequences. Parallel to that blossoming of the movement referred to as solidarity economy, the solidarity response to the current large-scale refugee crisis has been continuously expanding and enriching both the social solidarity and solidarity economy movements, creating important bridges between the two. As a result of such

interconnectedness, new initiatives such as no border solidarity kitchens, housing squats for refugees, family hospitality networks, performing art projects, as well as cooperative initiatives for the self-organisation and integration of refugees in the surrounding communities, are now evidencing the ever expanding possibilities of the solidarity 'spaces' and are continuously in the process of evolving. This paper will aim to present and analyse such kinds of initiatives that have been emerging in Thessaloniki and its surroundings, from the beginning of the refugee crisis until the present days, exploring at the same time their potential to provide solutions and respond to a wide variety of issues related to refugee needs and the necessity for wider and more creative spaces of economic and social solidarity.

Maria Sakellari, Natural History Museum of Crete, University of Crete, Adjunct Senior Researcher in Environmental Communication

Unprotected climate refugees: The culmination of a growing migration crisis.

Climate change is likely to become the most significant cause of population displacement within the next years. Although developed, industrialized, countries have been almost entirely responsible for greenhouse gas emissions, millions of people, mainly from developing countries, will be forced to look for safer ground due to climate change impacts such as sea-level rise, extreme weather events and water scarcity. Despite UN agreements on environment and climate change that seek action to address the climate refugees issue, the broader social causes and consequences of climate change induced displacement are seldom addressed, there are no legal instruments specifically regulating environmental displaced individuals protection at international and regional level and climate refugees are not covered by the Geneva Convention (1951). But, as the on-going Europe's migrant crisis revealed, is the absence of solidarity-driven political responses to new migrants, rather than the existence of migrants, that seems to be most important in cases where migration is the consequence of climate change. As Europeans debate over what to do about the influx of migrants, there has been a call for an international effort to stabilize the regions from which they come. This paper suggests that addressing the migration issue at its source doesn't mean bringing conflicts to an end, but stopping them before they start and that means tackling climate change as well. In this regard, policy responses, such as putting more resources into poverty alleviation, water and food security, are needed, so migration doesn't become the primary option, along with strengthening and expanding climate refugees' protection.

Maria Vittoria Salvatori - Laetitia Sanchez Incera, SOAS

Preventing asylum through law

This paper will look at the link of asylum policies and border securitisation with terrorism prevention. This framework places territorial security as the main goal in terrorism prevention, turning the crossing of borders into a security issue, therefore criminalising those undertaking forced migration. This strategy burdens the more vulnerable and does not to raise to the challenges put forward by modern terrorism, which is movement that transcends borders with attacks carried through by individuals who entered the country lawfully. In alternative to this method, which has proven highly inefficient, we propose a legal framework where the starting point is not the exclusion of terrorists from one nation's territory but rather their arrest and trial, with a strong role for international law over national border protection. This is not the first time that Europe deal with terrorism, we will look at a brief historiography of how previous terrorist movements were dealt with in the European context in recent history and how they can be applied in the framework proposed.

Aleksandra Savanovic, Independent Researcher

Beyond Activism - Citizen as the Instrument of Control

The paper will argue that the existing political vocabulary operating in oppositions between state/civil society and public/private cannot adequately comprehend the ways in which

power is exercised and therefore neither can offer an answer to the problem of individual/collective action. Under the condition of Democratic materialism where "everything deserves to be recognized and protected by the law except the language that does not recognize the universal and normative equality of languages" (Badiou, 2006) ultimately only war can guarantee this 'abundance' of freedoms in our private spheres. What this implies is that to make this freedom possible, power must first and foremost intervene into our subjectivity, that is to say, our choices and decisions. "Power is not so much a matter of imposing constraints upon citizens as of 'making up' citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom. Personal autonomy is not the antithesis of political power, but a key term in its exercise" (Rose & Miller, 1992). Suggesting that from the perspective of power, citizens' action has become not only desirable but almost obligatory, the paper will look into the tension between citizenship understood as fundamentally national project, and power grasped in all of its multiplicity, to try to locate viable opportunities for acting together.

Nikos Sergis, University of Ioannina, Post-Doctoral Researcher - Dimitris Papageorgiou, University of the Aegean, Professor

The borders of Humanism: Seeking total social changes through Solidarity

In this paper, we will attempt a philosophical approach to the concept of Solidarity, at first examining its roots in the tradition of Enlightenment, Marxism and Anarchism of the 19th century. However, our main aim is to search the contemporary meanings of the notion, evaluating the case study of the recent refugee flow in Greece. Facing the solidarity "response" of Greek society against the war effects in the East, we will try to analyze the decline of humanist values in modern Europe, in contrast to the new forms of "brotherhood of mankind" emerging in the society and to the new kinds of communication, the social media. "United Europe" has been divided lately; the borders that rose again can also be comprehended in the field of ideas as the borders of Humanism. The central aim of our paper is to focus on the contrast between "Solidarity" and the barriers against the flowing humans, in theory and praxis too, but, in addition, we will try to approach a fundamental question: is "Solidarity" enough in order to change the world? Theoretically, we will analyze the post-modern disconnection between "Solidarity" and the "total" demand for overthrowing the economic relationships that reproduce the exploitation of a human being from another human being. Concerning the never ending war and the continuation of austerity in Greece established by the E.U. and the I.M.F., the inadequacy of "Solidarity" to break the borders of the economic system will be analyzed as a consequence of the "Totality" abolition. From this point, we can thereafter discuss the possible answers for the real revolutionary changes of the global status quo, either in the field of ideas (e.g. the use of the social media) or in the future praxis of united mankind.

Dogus Simsek, Koc University, Post-doctoral research fellow

Between Integration and Transnationalism: The case of Syrian refugees in Turkey

This paper focuses on the possibility of integration of Syrian refugees in Turkey and investigates the intersection between legal status, transnational activities and refugee integration. The main research question is whether we can talk about integration processes in the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey whose conditions are extremely tough and insecure. Drawing on ethnographic fieldwork in Istanbul, Ankara and Gaziantep, I explore the processes of adaptation of Syrian refugees by focusing on their livelihood strategies and transnational activities. I argue that integration should be defined as a four way process which includes transnational activities of refugees and in the case of Syrian refugees in Turkey, transnational activities of Syrian refugees helps to speed up the adaptation processes especially when in the face of a lack of state assistance and limited access to rights and resources. I further suggest that there is a need to consider refugee integration as not only influenced and shaped by national and local contexts but also by a transnational context. This study will contribute to the literature on integration of refugees by focusing on

the ongoing mass influx of Syrian refugees to Turkey (non-European context). Therefore, findings of this study will add important ramifications to the literature on refugee integration and transnationalism.

Vicky Skoumbi, Editor in chief of the greek journal *αἴθηρα*

The name and the image: the function of representations in European migration thanato-politics

Lately the construction of the fortress-Europe has been accelerated. Today, the closed borders is the basis of the death spiral of thanato-politics implying the externalization of the borders to the nearest outside countries and the internal exclusion through the confining of immigrants in the periphery of Europe. In order to justify this policy and its death effects, a representation of the immigrant as a threat, and even as an "outlaw", is systematically put forward. Designating the refugees as 'irregular', 'illegal' or even 'clandestine' consolidates the image of an intruder/invader. This kind of nomination points the stranger as an 'alien' and the 'unauthorized' crossing-border immigrant as someone breaking the law threatening the security of the state and its social cohesion. We will try to trace the shift of this prevailing image and its inversion in the public opinion during the greek solidarity movement last year. How did the representation of the 'clandestine' shift in that of the persecuted refugee entitled for protection? Moreover, beside this shift, Greeks begun to see in refugees and especially in Syrians, active subjects of great courage, defying the disaster and fighting for a decent life. But, what about today? With the EU-Turkey agreement, refugees become yet again 'irregular'. Their confinement in detention camps transforms them into short or long-term prisoners. Will this recent turning point overshadow the image of the refugee in greek public opinion? Will the refugee be anew seen as 'undesirable'? Should we be prepared for a hostile inverted tendency?

Aila Spathopoulou, King's College University - Anna Karastathi, University of the Aegean

Resistance in/to bordered reality

We examine how bordered reality is imposed and resisted in the context of where we are placed right now (politically constructed as "Greece," the "Greek islands," the "Aegean crossing," the aqueous "Greek-Turkish border," "the external border of Europe," etc.). Bordered reality is material, conceptual, affective and cognitive; irreducible to the geopolitical borders around nation-states, it refers to the ways in which states compete and collaborate to run those borders through our bodies in our everyday lives. Drawing on ongoing conversations, participant observation and discourse analysis in Lesbos, Samos and Athens (June 2015-present), we broach the following questions: 1. How are categories that reflect and reify a bordered reality imposed, assumed and challenged? 2. How is resistance to a bordered reality configured through and against these categories? 3. What might "border thinking" about this bordered reality look like? Preliminary observations allow us to theorise Europe as a racial project. Divergent understandings of "Europe" among volunteers and refugees (e.g., the Europe of "institutions" versus that of "solidarity") participate in or challenge orientalist narratives. Justifying Greece's role in fortressing Europe, we discern "nesting" discourses of victimisation: "Greeks" victimised by austerity and victimised by refugee "flows," which official state discourse has characterised as a "crisis within a crisis." Performing a dually victimised identity, "locals" protesting "hot-spots," for instance, use refugees to personify diminished national sovereignty. Yet the "refugee crisis" is used to mitigate "economic crisis": a continuity between left-wing discourse and that of past right-wing governments with respect to the profitability of "migration management."

**Kenneth Surin, Duke University, Professor
Being/Becoming Minoritarian**

I borrow from Deleuze and Guattari the idea that real minorities are 'analytically' minoritarian (since a numerical majority can be reduced to a minoritarian status, as the majority black South Africans were in the days of apartheid). The analytically minoritarian is established by a practical/conceptual operation which creates its separation from a seeming universal that is accepted as normative (typically white, male, Christian, 'rational').

I will examine this practical/conceptual operation by considering specific examples (At the same time, also using Deleuze and Guattari, I will provide an account of racism/dehumanisation. Standard accounts of these are predicated on notions of 'othering' and 'difference'. This account will employ the concept of 'the same' to characterise the racist. The racist is someone who 'radiates waves of sameness'— his victim is not one who is 'other' necessarily, but one who is denied every resource for becoming the same as the racist. This helps to account for the phenomenon of racism between whites, say, evinced in the recent Scottish independence, where the English tabloid media criticised Scots on grounds that were patently racist (using appalling stereotypes about kilts, akin to stereotypes about turbans).

**Christina Svana, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, MA student
Developments on Greek Asylum Law after the EU-Turkey deal**

Working as independent member of the Appeals Committees in the present era is a great challenge, especially since the past months our work has attracted a cross - European interest of all kinds. The Appeals' Committees are responsible for examining the backlog that was created, due to the lack of the examination of the asylum applications in the second degree over the years. Moreover, under the Asylum Law 4375/2016 the Committees are now also responsible for examining the appeals of the asylum seekers who enter Greece after the 20th of March 2016, the date when the EU-Turkey deal was implemented. The proposed paper wishes to discuss and highlight issues that are of great importance to my work, such as the institutional caveats of the Asylum Law 4375/2016 regarding the "fast track" asylum procedures it introduces and the practical and administrative problems that come of it. The paper will focus on two basic issues: a) a brief presentation of Appeals' Committees case-law concerning the implementation of basic principles of international law from Greek administration, b) the proceedings in the first instance under the new Asylum Law and the role of the EASO experts as well as the proceedings before the Appeals' Committees and the notion of Turkey as a "safe third country". It is important to notice that, according the law and due to the clause of confidentiality, the decisions of the Appeals' Committees are not available to any researcher or jurist, so my presentation intends to shed light on this section of Greek administration and I hope that practical solutions for the asylum seekers to better benefit from will arise.

**Maddalena Tacchetti - Marco Checchi, University of Leicester School of Management,
PhD candidates**

Pride Without Borders: experimenting resistance with LGBT+ refugees and asylum seekers

Pride Without Borders (PWB) is a social enterprise based in Leicester (UK) aimed at supporting individuals whose asylum claim rests on their LGBT+ identity. The project was born when some refugees and activists began realizing that as more individuals came to Leicester and UK in general to seek asylum, many were there specifically for their LGBT+ identity and needed special support. PWB community has expanded radically since the beginning. Crucially, PWB manages to connect its members with a) other LGBT+ refugee people and groups in UK, b) traditional LGBT+ communities in UK (whose members are typically British or European), and c) PWB members' LGBT+ communities of belonging (such as the highly discriminated and criminalized ones in the African great lake region). Thus, PWB possibly offers the opportunity to observe the emergence of a "common/s agenda" to face the challenges associated with LGBT+ identities and seeking refuge. The theoretical relevance of this case study lies precisely in the spontaneous convergence of these two

heterogeneous struggles (i.e. being LGBT+ and seeking asylum) and their respective practices of resistance, which can be understood through the concepts of "primacy of resistance" and "autonomy of migration" (Foucault, 1997, Deleuze et al., 2014, Checchi 2014, Papadopoulos and Vassilis 2007). The emergence of this "resistant compound" is arguably not mediated by reference to a common enemy or by the opposition to the same relation of power. Rather, resistance is held to operate autonomously and to force power relations to change. Social transformation is always triggered by resistance, while power is limited to a reactive role.

Eda Elif Tibet, Anthropology department, University of Bern, PhD Candidate & Research Assistant

Learning as Agency among the Unaccompanied Minor Asylum Seekers in Turkey

This research, intends to find out how young unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in Turkey face educational barriers, deploy personal agencies and various forms of learning strategies as processes leading to securing mobile livelihoods. Agency will be looked at in terms of transformation and becoming out/of given contexts in times of great uncertainty. The data to be presented in this paper has been collected over a seven months of fieldwork period conducted in a state care facility (Child and Youth Support Center, HOGEM) for unaccompanied minor asylum seekers placed in Istanbul and among the ex-minors. By adopting storytelling as a methodology in collecting transnational biographies of education, two life stories of different learning strategies will be narrated through the formation of a participatory radio show programme that has taken place in the state care facility as part of the research. By looking at the politics and provisions of the state's education responses to the unaccompanied minor asylum seekers in Turkey, these data give new insights into various learning strategies among the unaccompanied minor asylum seekers and their interconnections to the current institutional and political frameworks and wider transnational shifting social realities.

Burcu Togral Koca, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Assistant Professor
Securitizing the Relationship between Welfare State and Migration: Reflections on the EU

This article addresses the securitization of migration in relation to welfare state in the EU. Whilst the burgeoning research on securitization of migration has already provided outstanding works and opened up new avenues in migration studies, the relationship between migration and welfare state in this securitization process has not received sufficient attention. This article tries to fill this gap and explores particularly how "neo-liberalism", "neo-nationalism" and "neo-racism" have informed and structured the securitization process. In particular, it sheds light on the relationship between migration, entitlements to social rights and recent mandatory integration measures and problematizes how certain groups of migrants (e.g. poor, low-skilled, irregular immigrants and asylum seekers) have been framed as "illegitimate" receiver and "abuser" of welfare state. In doing this, this article, first, develops an analytical framework based on a critical engagement with the theory of securitization, which was originally developed by the Copenhagen School of Security Studies. Unlike the Copenhagen School's theory focusing on "speech acts" as the vector of the securitization, this article applies a sociological approach to the analyses and understanding of the securitization process through privileging practices over "speech acts." Second, empirical application of this analytical background is carried out with a special focus on recent integration practices across the EU and through building upon "expert" interviews and document analysis. Finally, it suggests that this securitization process has emerged as a form of governmentality in order to discipline and control migrants; thereby ensuring the smooth functioning of capitalist mobility vis-a-vis human mobility.

Charalampos Tsavdaroglou, School of Architecture, Faculty of Engineering, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, PhD Researcher

The migrants' common space as a transnational threshold: the case of Idomeni borderscape

Despite the vivid discussion on commons (De Angelis, 2007; Federici, 2011; Hardt and Negri, 2009), there have been few attempts to think it together with the ongoing migrant crisis. In recent years, the discussion on spatial commons revolves mainly around critical geographers approaches that focus on "accumulation by dispossession" and conceptualize commons as a new version of the "right to the city" (Harvey, 2012; Jeffrey et al, 2012; Stavrides, 2014). However, during the current migrant crisis, the moving populations try to challenge border regimes, as well as they seek to negotiate and go beyond cultural, class, gender, religious and political identities. Based on the above context, I attempt to elaborate a postcolonial and intersectional methodological framework that examines the emerging migrants' common space focusing on the case of Greece, a country that is situated in between West and East; hence it is in the epicentre of the current migrant crisis. I pinpoint in the cases of Greek borderscape of Idomeni, where migrants set up an informal settlement with more than 10.000 inhabitants since February 2016. Although there is a vast literature (Mountz et al, 2013; Rozakou, 2012) on the social philanthropy, NGO's activities and state immigration policies, there have been few attempts to research the ongoing migrants' self-organized actions that produce a seemingly anonymous, however highly personal and collective common spaces. Consequently, in this paper, I explore how the newcomers challenge the existing socio-spatial power relations and produce unique and porous common spaces, spaces in movement and threshold spaces.

Myrto Tsilimpounidi, Institute of Sociology, Bratislava, Marie Curie Fellow Containers As Social Landscapes

A dockyard full of shipping containers forms a kind of visual short-cut to imagining the successful mechanisms of globalisation through the flows and distribution of products and goods around the world. On the other hand, containers used as detention centers in the urban peripheries become the exemplar of the untold stories of the much less celebrated consequences of globalization and the unequal distribution of wealth. In this case, containers signify the narratives of containment and contagion that are exemplar of the logic of Fortress Europe. Especially in the era of financial austerity, where material deprivation and dispossession accentuates the division between 'us' and 'them' along nationalist and ethnic routes. Such divisions serve as fertile breeding ground for vulnerability, uncertainty and fear resulting in new patterns of prejudice. In this project, containers have been identified as forming different functions that intersect with human rights and humanitarianism: from the containers of goods and products arriving in Greece celebrating the new era of European trade and patterns of consumption, to the migrants arriving in metal boxes and being detained in containers announcing a new era of containment for the unwanted 'Others'. The project is based on the premises of visual research and along with the conference presentation, we have an exhibition that is part of our research outcomes. The exhibition consists of 13 iron panels, 48x90cm, approximately 1kg each and is the product of collaboration between Myrto Tsilimpounidi (sociologist, photographer) and Zoe Manta (visual artist). The project has received funding from the University of Lincoln.

Aristotle Tympas, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Associate Professor - Spyros Tzokas, Department of European Civilization Studies, Hellenic Open University, Instructor - Ermioni Frezouli, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, PhD Candidate

Border-Crossing and Technology: Perspectives from the 'History of Technology' and 'Science and Technology Studies'

The presentation will introduce to research that aims at a mutually beneficial interaction between the study of technology from the perspective of the humanities and the social sciences and the study of border-crossing by scholars from 'Border/Migration Studies' and related fields. To illustrate the potential of this interaction, it will introduce to research on the

technological clash between 'low tech' border-crossing artifacts like the vehicle crypts that are used by migrants to cross borders so as to make it to Europe and 'high tech' devices and technological systems advanced by organizations and programs like Frontex, Eurodac and Eurosur. The presentation will further introduce to the whole spectrum of the technologies involved in border-crossing and the technological clashes that they are involved in. Building on theories from 'History of Technology' and 'Science and Technology Studies', it will place the emphasis on the politics embedded in the design of technologies, and, also, the challenge to these politics through the reconfiguration of these technologies in concrete border use. The paper draws on two ongoing research initiatives, the RISK CHANGE project (2016-2019), which includes a focus on the relationship between art and technological representations, and, the 'Tensions of Europe' network collaborative research (1999-present), which studies the co-construction of technology and borders in Europe.

Themistoklis Tzimas, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Dr in Public Law and Political Science

The EU- Turkey agreement about refugees and its impact on the implementation of international law: turning a blind- eye to international legal norms in the name of securitization?

The paper focuses on the impact of the EU- Turkey latest agreement concerning the refugee crisis, on the implementation and respect of international law about refugees. The main argument is that the eventual non- compliance of the agreement with the Geneva conventions as well as with EU law, because of a state- centered securitization approach to the issue, compromises the legal standards which set by international law, exactly because it is the EU which fails to honor its commitments. The EU non- compliance lowers the impact of international law not only because it bears the main burden of refugee influxes and therefore its commitment to international law determines in practice up to a large extent whether refugees will enjoy the guarantees of international law or not, but also because the self- presentation globally of the EU, as a power which is committed to the rule of law- both international and its own- and its bilateral relationships with third states determine whether an environment tending towards respect of international law or diverging from it will be created. In other words, the significance of the EU, in terms of international law promotion combined with its political significance concerning the refugee crisis, can possibly have not only a positive but also a negative effect as is the case with the refugee crisis and through its bilateral agreement with Turkey. While this negative effect does not lead to a direct change in the Geneva conventions provisions, it does lead to a specific interpretation of them- as well as of EU law- which in practice lowers their protective standards. In order to reach my argument I begin with an examination of international law and EU law provisions on refugees in order to identify their inter-connectedness. I then move onto the examination of the contemporary EU policy focusing on the EU- Turkey agreement. Having evaluated it I conclude with the remarks on the implications of the EU policy in the way that international law provisions are interpreted and applied.

Aspasia Velissariou, Department of English Language and Literature, School of Philosophy, University of Athens, Professor of English Literature and Culture
Refugees in Greece, the Greeks as "Refugees"

The memoranda introduced to Greece a peculiar state of exception that throws into relief the basic antinomy inherent in democracy, namely, the exercise of national sovereignty on the basis of instituted borders whose safeguarding, however, presupposes and implements a network of state practices of control and selection of populations both *within* and outside the borders. As Etienne Balibar argues, insofar as borders are beyond any control "[t]hey are the *absolutely nondemocratic*, or 'discretionary,' *condition of democratic institutions*" (109). In Greece under the memoranda one witnesses an increasing shifting of borders from the "outside" into the "inside", albeit subtle and yet inconspicuous, as a result of policies of

extreme austerity and the concomitant loss of popular sovereignty. While socio-economic exclusion within the country may not take the typical form of segregation zones as, for example, in Latin America or the USA, it however questions the hegemony of the democratic paradigm of social organisation and the idea of an all-inclusive community. It expels the unemployed, the poor and the sick from a state which is re-organised on the basis of the deprivation of the fundamental human right, that of employment. The internal shifting of borders, produced and safeguarded by a complex mechanism of parliamentary dictates, the implementation of Tetroika's policies at the "national" level and intense policing, mirrors and at the same time questions the stiffening of the external borders' control. My argument is that this condition offers the terrain for the perception of the essential arbitrariness of the dichotomy between the "inside" and the "outside", the "national" and the "foreign," the Greek and the Syrian. For the Greek radical Left, in particular, the challenge is great insofar as, stirring away from both naive humanitarianism and post-modern cosmopolitanism, it has to demonstrate that both the dispossessed and expropriated subjects "within" and the refugees are victims of globalised capitalism, something that the wave of solidarity for the victims of war has already inscribed albeit in a spontaneous and instinctive manner. Even more so since Greece itself is a border case in the EU as a country whose status as a member-state is in fact under suspension. The compulsory choice it faces is either its expulsion or, in compliance with the neoliberal dictates, its transformation into the EU's external borders that would entrap within its territory "superfluous" populations from both "inside" and "outside."

Petros Violakis, Exeter University, PhD Candidate - Researcher

"Turkey's role as a distinct divergence force of CFSP and CSDP Europeanisation"

The end of the Cold War, the changes in global security balance and their re-establishment of NATO's role and dynamics encouraged the EU to begin to develop a global political and security role. This was reflected in the European Security Strategy (2003, 2008) and in the Internal Security (2010) report. The aim of the strategy and the reports was to enhance EU Member States "joint threat assessment and set clear objectives for advancing EU security interests" (European Council, 2008). This report included as potential security issues –among others- illegal immigration and state failure. However, considering the pooling and sharing character of these initiatives, one could identify the existence of fundamental differences amongst Member States, regarding the policy-makers' visions for CSDP and the reality. These differences became evident when immigration flows originating –mainly- from Syria's civil war begun reaching EU territory. As a result, Greece, the outer-border of EU, apart from struggling with its economic recession, was called to confront large-scale emigration flows from Turkey. In view of these events, Turkey's role as a distinct divergence force of CFSP and CSDP Europeanisation may be examined.

Matija Vlatkovic, SOAS

Immigration detention in the UK and the intersectional activist movement against it: (Shut Down) Yarl's Wood IRC

In this paper I will argue that resistance against immigration detention in the UK is channeled into an intersectional social movement, with no institutionalised alternatives due to a consistent denial of rights and exclusion practice by UK's society and government. This xenophobic practice is structured by the colonial encounter and gendered racism (amongst other hierarchies of oppression), and results in an invasion-asylum complex, which is very similar to the prison-industrial complex. The first section explores the legal-historical evolution of immigration detention in the UK, with a particular focus on the Yarl's Wood IRC detention centre located near Milton Ernest in Bedfordshire. The second section will describe the growing activist movement against Yarl's Wood IRC and detention centres in general, analysing it through the use of existing literature on gender and migration, gendered

detention (and prisons), and feminist activism; overall relying on theoretical concepts and discursive tools developed by postcolonial feminist thinkers, especially those of Ratna Kapur. By agreeing with Mohanty's often-cited affirmation that 'there can be no apolitical scholarship', this research aims to achieve two (political) reactions in the reader: (a) a deeper understanding of the racialised and gendered violence perpetrated by the UK's immigration and asylum system, especially through the use of (indefinite) immigration detention; and (b) an urge to get involved by taking part in the various activist groups mentioned in this essay, which operate on an inclusive and horizontal decision-making, led by those who are consistently marginalised by and within British society.

Janell Watson, Virginia Tech, Professor
Instrumentalization of borders

Given the migratory nature of the human species, human population flows are nothing new, although modern transportation and communication have arguably accelerated these movements. Equally new to modern migration is the system of state borders constructed over the past two centuries. This paper draws on recent philosophies of population in order to examine the multiple logics by which states have instrumentalized borders against certain populations. Deleuze and Guattari pit Euclid against Riemann as they define striated state space in relation to smooth nomad space. Michel Serres has called Michel Foucault a stubborn geometer for his theorization of the spatiality of exclusion. In *The Origins of Geometry*, Serres explores the multiple origins of abstraction, highlighting the Egyptian, Babylonian, and Ionian heritage of Plato's ideal forms, Euclid's closed spaces, and topology's open sets. European border policies selectively impose all of these geometries. A border is an abstract geometric figure which enables Europe to appeal to the transcendental authority of pure reason, opening or closing according to select logics. Europe operates in Plato's purely formal space when it excludes migrant flows based on a Euclidean logic of closed figures. Simultaneously, Europe inhabits a topology of open sets when it wants to facilitate flows of goods and money. Alternately Platonic, Euclidean, and topological, the border itself becomes the filter that judges, defines, and divides populations, differentiating among welcome refugees, unwelcome economic migrants, or revenue-generating travelers, then opening or closing the border accordingly.

Sebastian Weier, Universität des Saarlandes, Post-Doc
Crossing the border that therefore I am

The European Border Crisis has revitalized concerns about human disposability and vulnerability. Blocked from entering Europe, dying while trying, or ferried back upon arrival: border-crossers are primary instances for the materialization of European Union biopolitics. Drawing from decolonial theory, this contribution will enquire into the (im)possibilities of thinking border-crossings from Europe's geo- and biopolitical inside. Tracing an epistemic divide between those affected by borders in the mode of (potentially fatal) existential facticity and those for whom they are mostly an intellectual interrogation, it will seek to disentangle decolonial proposals such as "dwelling in the border" and "borderthinking" from deconstructivist 'thinking (of) borders' and 'being the border'. As a "normal(-ized)" author (white, cis- & able-bodied, European male), I will seek to offer not a paper, but a platform that exists not through academic authority, but as part of the commons of this conference, viz. in relation to and with the public and the other contributions. Engaging the micro-politics of writing from inside the border and its (potentially) collaborative nature, this contribution interrogates & refutes the implied border-crossings of public personal repentance and pardon through quasi-Maoist self-inculpation or religious confession, the (im)possible suspension of privilege and/or the anthropological reading of culture through the symptoms of the self in its encounter with "the Other". This platform will not be a presentation, but a resonance and an impulse. It will attempt to multiply non-analogous border crossings—irreducible to each other, yet inter-existent—with the hope of summoning incommensurable,

yet necessary solidarities in
contesting borders.

David White, independent artist/researcher

Tactical Displacements: Contested Neighborhoods in a North American Border City

Dividing the San Diego/Tijuana conurbation lies the most heavily trafficked border crossing in the world. In the space between the border and downtown San Diego exists as a transition zone that one could easily conceive of as a cultural "Soft Border." The "Soft Border" trends toward working class Mexican communities defined by recent immigration, shortages of affordable housing, left-leaning voting blocs, and (despite the increasingly militarized international wall) a sustained cultural connection to Tijuana just south of the border. Conversely, North County San Diego is defined by a primarily white conservative demographic with some of the most expensive zip codes in the United States and cultural continuity with neighboring Orange County, California. The peculiarities of these two differing cultural-spatial conditions clash in the rapidly gentrifying neighborhoods of East Village and Barrio Logan where downtown San Diego and the "Soft Border" region meet, creating a secondary "border" within the U.S. itself that functions as a microcosm of larger issues of immigration, the U.S. military-industrial complex, gentrification, assimilation and so on. This paper examines how these social and political contingencies reproduce themselves through cultural projects connected with recent corporate housing developments in these neighborhoods. While many of these cultural projects share formal similarities with each other (community events, public art, murals, tactical interventions, architectural structures, etc) the content of these works reflect the disparate ideological underpinnings and geographic origins of the respective agents inserting themselves into these contested sites where north and south, privation and affluence, meet.

**Evy Yannas, Talanton Consulting, Principal Consultant
Greece. The birthplace of a new cultural revolution.**

A most poignant outcome from the worst economic and humanitarian disasters of our time, is the humanity and solidarity that has emerged out of both these crises. By remarkable coincidence both have culminated in Greece, a small country situated at the edge of Europe, once considered its epicenter and today treated like an almost disposable commodity by its so-called European family. Contrary to the false and often racist narrative perpetuated by the global media, the way in which ordinary Greeks have responded to these events, have provided invaluable insights into the human possibilities and the underlying values that can inspire and drive the cultural change required to reverse the current state of inhumanity in Europe and beyond. Despite their own (seldom reported) humanitarian crisis, the Greeks have exemplified true leadership in humanity, and while their wealthy European and other counterparts have turned their backs on refugees, they have risen above their struggles to help those in need. The underlying value rooted deeply in the Greek "philotimo", or honour for doing the right thing, provides a guiding principle that places the human above the financial imperative, at the core of this culture change. On the 1 year anniversary of the Greek people's heroic and defiant "NO" to the harshest austerity in history, we can draw on their example for inspiration to put an end to the deliberate policies that perpetuate human suffering. We need to mobilise our collective efforts to engage a critical mass to this common vision, shape the mainstream discourse, influence the right leadership and negotiate the best ways to collaborate globally and transnationally, to successfully achieve this change.

Tahir Zaman, SOAS

Humanitarianism's malaise and social solidarity

How can we balance humanitarian interventions with the call to respect human rights, demands for upholding the dignity of displaced people, and the need to enhance the human security of displaced and local host populations alike? How can we best think about

sustainable interventions in the context of mass-displacement situations in urban locations of the global South? How can we programme interventions that take into account the lack of availability of so-called durable solutions and protracted temporal dimensions which result thereof? With growing needs and finite resources, humanitarianism is at a critical juncture – creative solutions are required that centre the capacities, skills and resources of communities affected by displacement. This paper questions the containment paradigm under which both humanitarianism and securitisation of migration operate. It tackles the 'malaise' of humanitarianism head on by challenging the ways in which resources are channelled through a non-governmental framework wherein civil society is fractured and fragmented in the pursuit of funding from donor agencies. Instead, it is asked whether understandings of a social and solidarity economy can enhance the protection, well-being and livelihoods of communities affected by mass-displacement.

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