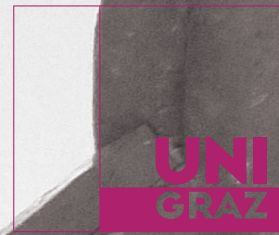


> *mcsj* >

*Mobile Culture Studies.
The Journal*



FORCED MOBILITIES, NEW MOORINGS



Volume 2 2016



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The annual journal, with alternating key subjects and guest editors, aims to publish original articles from research at the forefront of the trans-disciplinary field of mobilities. ›*mcsj*› is grounded in the humanities, whilst maintaining a close dialogue both with the social and technical sciences and the artistic field.
- Languages ›*mcsj*› seeks to innovate by balancing the linguistic bias towards English as a “cuckoo in the European higher education nest of languages” (Phillipson) and at the same time offering authors of regional languages increased visibility in the realm of English as lingua franca. It wants to serve as a pilot project for a new balance between native regional languages and English as a lingua franca. The choice of the board members reflects the requirements of our concern: they represent a number of regional languages reunited in a common thematic platform.
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Vol. 2 2016 Forced Mobilities, New Moorings

Edited by Johanna Rolshoven and Joachim Schlör

Johanna Rolshoven und Joachim Schlör

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Erzwungene Bewegungen und neue Ankerplätze

Editorial

Johanna Rolshoven und Joachim Schlör

Menschen, die fliehen müssen, beschaffen sich Atlanten und Landkarten, und wenn sie zu arm dafür sind, schwer überprüfbare Informationen über Schlepper und Routen. Sie suchen Wege, die aus den Heimatländern der Verfolgung und des Elends hinausführen. Sie beantragen Visa und bemühen sich um Einladungen in andere Staaten. Sie versuchen, vorhandene Netzwerke von Kontakten und Informationen zu nutzen oder neue aufzubauen. Sie studieren die Lebensbedingungen in anderen Weltteilen, vom Klima über die Siedlungsmöglichkeiten bis hin zu »job opportunities«. Die Orte – Städte, Regionen, auch ganze Staaten – der imaginären Geografie ihrer Ziele sind immer auch Punkte in einem weiten Netzwerk transnationaler und transozeanischer Erfahrung. Was die Journalistin Inge Deutschkron in ihren Erinnerungen an die deutsch-jüdische Emigration der 1930er Jahre beschreibt, ließe sich mit gezielten Auslassungen auf heutige Zwangsmobilitäten übertragen:

„[Sie] begannen endlich die Wirklichkeit zu begreifen. Sie eilten von Konsulat zu Konsulat, standen oft Stunden lang in der Schlange der Wartenden, um sich über mögliche Einreisebedingungen zu informieren. Dabei mussten sie feststellen, dass die meisten Länder unerfüllbare Bedingungen stellten. Verwandte ersten Grades als Bürgen, hohe Geldsummen als Garantie, damit der Einwanderer dem jeweiligen Staat nicht zur Last fiel. Sie begründeten dies mit wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten. [...] Es war in der Tat wie ein Gesellschaftsspiel, das niemals endete, wenn sie verzweifelt vor einer Weltkarte saßen und mit den Fingern ein Land suchten, das sie einlassen würde. [D]ie wenigsten wussten etwas über diese Orte und ihre Bedingungen. „Hast Du schon Neuseeland probiert?“ „Was ist mit Paraguay?“ „10.000 Mark soll ein Visum nach Venezuela kosten?“, so fragten sie einander aus. Nur einer hatte Positives zu vermelden. Der Staat Kolumbien war bereit, Menschen mit landwirtschaftlichen Kenntnissen aufzunehmen. Für [Großstädter] schien dies wenig attraktiv. Und doch erhielten einige die Einreise: sie hatten sich als Gärtner ausgegeben.“¹

Die Aktualität der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts wirkt fort bis ins frühe 21. Jahrhundert. Aber wo stehen wir heute? Die Vehemenz, mit der die Kriegs- und Fluchtereignisse im Mittleren Osten und Afrika 2015 nach Europa ausstrahlen, stößt Auseinandersetzungen an, die die Gesellschaft und die Gesellschaftswissenschaften herausfordern. Diesem Thema ist die zweite

1 Inge Deutschkron, *Wir entkamen. Berliner Juden im Untergrund*. Beiträge zum Widerstand 1933-1945 (Berlin 2007: Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand), p. 22.



Ausgabe von *Mobile Culture Studies. The Journal* (*mcsj*) gewidmet: Es geht um erzwungene Bewegungen und neue Ankerplätze und ihre Erschließung über aktuelle ethnographische Forschungen. »mcsj« 2 fragt nach den verstörenden und bereichernden Auswirkungen der großmaßstäblichen ebenso wie der individuellen Mobilitäten für eine sich transnationalisierende Kultur, für Akteure, Lebenswelten, Institutionen, Strukturen, Ideologien und Weltansichten. Die vorliegenden Beiträge knüpfen an bestehende Forschungsfelder an, öffnen neue thematische Fenster und überprüfen Begriffe und Methoden darauf hin, ob sie den Entwicklungen Rechnung tragen.

Gemäß ihrem Anspruch auf Vielsprachigkeit vereint die vorliegende Ausgabe der jungen Zeitschrift Beiträge aus verschiedenen Ländern, die unterschiedliche Formen kultureller Mobilitäten in den Blick nehmen. Gemeinsam ist ihnen die Verknüpfung akteursspezifischer Perspektiven mit strukturellen Parametern: Ereignisse, Handlungen und Emotionen mit Diskursen zusammen zu denken, mit politischen Strukturen und historisch gewachsenen Dispositionen und Figurationen. Die Ausgabe geht über reine Wortbeiträge hinaus und bettet Ton- und Videodokumente ein – kreative Auseinandersetzungen, die auf die Begrenztheit des sprachlichen Ausdrucks angesichts der Unwahrscheinlichkeit und Unbotmäßigkeit vieler konkreter Geschehnisse im Kontext von Fluchtmigrationen verweisen.

Erfreulicherweise gibt es in den letzten Jahren sowohl in inhaltlich-thematischen Feldern wie im Bereich der theoretischen und methodischen Annäherungen Ansätze zu einem Dialog zwischen den sonst eher getrennt operierenden Bereichen der klassischen Exilforschung, der Migrationsforschung in ihren vielen Varianten, den Diaspora Studies, der Stadt- und der Reiseforschung. Dieser Dialog führt zur Hinterfragung von Kategorisierungen in Bezug auf Mobilitätspraktiken und Grenzziehungen und er profitiert von einem Austausch über Quellen, Methoden, Theorien und Formen der Darstellung.

Beispielhaft hierfür steht der Beitrag von *Tony Kushner* (University of Southampton). Er verbindet den Bericht über seinen Besuch auf der Mittelmeerinsel Lampedusa, einem „hot spot“ des Migrationsdesasters, und über die dort vorgefundenen Formen kultureller Erinnerung an die aktuelle Migration mit einer Diskussion des Begriffs der „illegalen Immigration“: Diesen Begriff hat die britische Mandatsmacht in den Jahren vor 1948 geprägt, im Bestreben, die jüdische Einwanderung nach Palästina zu begrenzen und dabei – ein Skandal der Zivilisation – auch „Notlandungen“ zu verweigern, damals das Drama des Exodus, heute das der Landungsverhinderung von Bootsflüchtlingen.

Die positive Entwicklung hin zu Dialog und Austausch der wissenschaftlichen Felder hat vielleicht auch damit zu tun, dass die beiden traditionell dominierenden Disziplinen in der Exilforschung, Geschichte – zumal politische Geschichte – und Literaturwissenschaft, sowie die klassische Migrationsforschung mit ihrem „push- and pull“-Modell in den letzten Jahren durch Arbeiten aus dem weiten Bereich der Kulturwissenschaften, aber auch der Ökonomie oder der Rechtsgeschichte, herausgefordert wurden. Einen wichtigen Fortschritt stellte das von Claus-Dieter Krohn konzipierte Jahrbuch *Exilforschung* 2009 zum Thema „Exil, Entwurzelung, Hybridität“ dar. Wenn wir in vielen verschiedenen Formen versuchen, die komplexe und vielfältig verästelte Lebenswelt der Akteurinnen und Akteure von Migrationen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert (mit Max Weber) „unter dem Gesichtspunkt ihrer Kulturbedeutung“ zu untersuchen, also kulturwissenschaftliche Theorien und Methoden so auf unser Thema anzuwenden,



dass die Schicksale der Einzelnen, der Familien und Gruppen „auf dem Weg“ (die alltägliche kulturelle Praxis des „Auswanderns“, von der Vorbereitung über die Reise selbst bis zur nachträglichen Erinnerung daran) dabei nicht verlorengehen, muss – und kann – Migrationsforschung und Forschung zum weiten Feld der Mobilität sich in eine Beziehung zu benachbarten Themenfeldern begeben und Anregungen aus den Bereichen der transnationalen und postkolonialen Forschungen ebenso aufnehmen wie Ideen beispielsweise der Sachkulturforschung, der Geschlechterforschung, oder auch der Erinnerungsgeschichte – etwa am Beispiel der Auswandererlieder und der Darstellung von Migrationserfahrungen im Museum.

Wie der Beitrag von Tony Kushner stellt derjenige von *Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit* (Universität Istanbul) aktuelles Geschehen in historische Bezugfelder und betont die langwierigen, langlebigen und Generationen übergreifenden Momente individueller wie gesellschaftlicher Migrations- und Verlusterfahrungen. Die historische transnationale Erfahrung ist eine soziale Tatsache, ohne die das Phänomen Gesellschaft nicht denkbar ist. Sie markiert den gesellschaftlichen Wandel über die sich vermengenden Artikulationen von „eigen“ und „fremd“ ebenso wie die hartnäckigen Kontinuitäten des Ausschlusses, der Abwehr und Denunziation.

Artur Depner und *Simon Goebel* (Tür an Tür e.V., Augsburg) werfen einen diskursanalytischen Blick auf den Zusammenhang zwischen der politischen Rhetorik aktueller parlamentarischer Reden in Deutschland und deren Bedeutungsproduktion im Kontext gesellschaftlicher Stimmungen. In ihrer Kulturanalyse des politischen Sprechens über Fluchtmigration und Zuwanderung und die sie bedingenden Politiken tritt der Wirkungszusammenhang zwischen Sprache und Handlung hervor und ihr Einfluss auf das öffentliche und private Denken von Migrationsgeschehen.

Alejandro Miranda (Western Sydney University) untersucht an einem Beispiel künstlerischer Praxis Synergien, Anforderungen und Zumutungen der berufsbedingten transnationalen Mobilität. Eine Synthese von Reise- und Migrationsforschung liefert ihm den theoretischen Hintergrund für die differenzierte ethnographische Betrachtung alltäglich-unspektakulärer mobilitätsinduzierter Formen der Sicherung der Subsistenz, des Austauschs, der Begegnung und – hierauf fußend – der Transformation von kulturellen Praktiken und Wissensbereichen.

Christine Egger (Universität Passau) zeigt in ihrem Beitrag die konkreten sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Auswirkungen der Migrationsereignisse 2015 am Beispiel der deutschen Mittelstadt Passau, die im Laufe eines Jahres über eine Million Flüchtlinge empfangen hat. Tatkraft und Empathie, Engagement und Ideenreichtum von bürgerschaftlichem und stadtpolitischem Engagement markieren das Integrationsvermögen einer Stadt, die in ihrer Aufnahmebereitschaft auf das historische Gedächtnis an frühere Aufnahmeerfahrungen konstruktiv zurückgreift. So ‚ragt‘, um ein von Egger angeführtes Zitat von Doreen Massey zu paraphrasieren, ‚die Vergangenheit in die Gegenwart, das Ferne in die Nähe‘.

Das Gespräch mit dem Historiker *Peter Burke* (Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge) bringt dessen lange und reichhaltige Auseinandersetzung mit historischen Lebenswelten in Kontakt mit dem Thema der kulturellen Mobilisierung. Dieses hatte ihn im Oktober 2015 zu einem Seminar nach Graz geführt, in einem Augenblick, als dort die Flüchtlingsbewegungen von Südosteuropa nach Deutschland ihre Spitze erlebten. Auch der Historiker unterstreicht die Arbeit an den Begriffen, die in der Berichterstattung und deren Rezeption stark beansprucht und oft verzerrt werden.



Die Bedeutung der Ortsbezogenheit in der Wahrnehmung der Ereignisse unterstreicht auch die Momentaufnahme des studentischen Forums: von *Lisa Eidenhammer* (Universität Graz) und *Omar Khir Alanam*, die die Geschichte ihrer Begegnung aufzeichnen und damit die grundlegenden Disparitäten in der Wahrnehmung von Ereignissen in Abhängigkeit von der existentiellen Position eines Menschen bezeichnen. Eine österreichische Studentin und ein syrischer Flüchtling tauschen sich über eine dramatische und tödliche Amokfahrt aus, die die Stadt Graz 2015 erschüttert hat. Sie entwickeln dabei die Chancen ihrer eigenen Fremdheit als Impulsgeberin für die vielfältigen Dynamiken eines wechselseitigen Interesses.

Bewegung bewegt abbilden: Der Künstler *Michael Hieslmair* und der Architekt *Michael Zinganel* (Wien und unterwegs) sind mit einer von einem Text begleiteten Videoanimation vertreten, die das An- Abschwellen von Grenzübergangsorten in Abhängigkeit von Migrationsgeschehen und Grenzregimen dokumentiert. Sie leisten damit einen empirischen Beitrag zum räumlichen historischen Geschehen und einen Innovationsschub für die Darstellungsweise der Ergebnisse.

Diese Auseinandersetzungen sind für das Feld der postmigrantischen Kulturanalysen richtungweisende Beiträge, die Anknüpfungen herausfordern. Wir wünschen den Leserinnen und Lesern anregende Lektüren.

Johanna Rolshoven

Joachim Schlör

Forced mobilities, new moorings

Editorial

Extended Abstract

Johanna Rolshoven and Joachim Schlör

People that are fleeing use maps and, if they are too poor to plan their trip themselves, they rely on directions from traffickers. They look for routes to take them out of the violence or misery in their home countries, they apply for visas and invitations in potential host countries, they activate their system of friends or build new networks, and they study or imagine the ways of life and job opportunities in the countries where they hope to eventually arrive. *Mutatis mutandis*, accounts by Jewish refugees in the 1930s sound completely similar to the situation of people from the Global South forced into mobility.

What are we witnessing right now? The events of 2015 that shook people in the Middle East and Africa significantly affected Europe. They provoked political debate, and they are challenging western societies and the cultural and social sciences. The second issue of *Mobile Culture Studies. The Journal* (*mcsj*) addresses forced mobilities and new moorings as seen in current ethnographic studies. We investigate what these unsettling and enriching mobilities—from large-scale to individual movements—entail for a culture beyond national boundaries, and for actors, lifeworlds, institutions, structures, ideologies, and worldviews.

Our still young journal continues to encourage multilingual and international contributions. Different regions offer insights into different kinds of mobilities in different historical times. However, they share the passion of connecting the diverse perspectives of mobile actors and the multiplicity of structural frameworks: to consider events, actions, and emotions along with discourses, and to correlate political structures with historical attitudes and concepts. Apart from conventional texts, this issue also includes sound and video items that transcend the voicelessness seen in many unlikely and illegitimate migratory incidents.

Fortunately, communication is about to emerge within the various thematic fields and methodological approaches, a dialogue between the so-far separate fields of conventional exile studies, migration studies of all shades, diaspora studies, urban studies, and tourism studies. It challenges categories of mobility practices that are taken for granted and delimited areas of work, and it opens up an exchange regarding sources, methods, theories, and representations. This is the context of *Tony Kushner's* (University of Southampton) study of the “hot spot”: the redeeming shore but also nightmare for many migrants to the Mediterranean island of Lampedusa. He studies how the cultural memory of the current migratory process is lived and discusses how the term “illegal migration” as coined during the British Mandate in 1948 is overlaid on what is happening now. This leads to the denial of even forced landing, and the twentieth-century drama of the *SS Exodus* is the rejection of boat refugees in the twenty-first century.



The trend towards the increased permeability of these fields of study bears on the fact that the disciplines that have so far been commanding the topics of exile and migration—(political) history and literature studies, together with migration studies with the traditional “push-pull” explanatory model—are increasingly being challenged by a multitude of approaches brought forward by cultural studies, economics, and history of law. The complex lifeworld of the migration actors of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are studied in their “capillaries” with regard to their cultural signification. The histories and biographies of individuals, families, or groups “on the move” are scrutinized as sets of practices, from the preparation for a trip to its aftermath in memories. This leads to the adoption of not only transnational and postcolonial concepts, but also the study of material culture, gender studies, or the history of memories.

Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit (University of Istanbul) compares the current situation to past developments, drawing a *longue durée* panorama of generational experiences of flight and loss that transcend the individual. She explains how differences between “own” and “other” ground the persistence of exclusion, rejection, and denunciation.

Alejandro Miranda (Western Sydney University) presents the example of an artistic professional mobile practice. He uses a mix of travel and migration as the backdrop for his differentiated ethnographic study of unspectacular and everyday mobilities that create a livelihood and produce an encounter, exchange, and transformation of cultural practices and knowledge.

Artur Depner and *Simon Goebel* (Augsburg) analyze the political rhetoric of the German parliament in the wake of the migratory events. They show how meaning is produced under the effect of global social moods. Their cultural analysis of political reference to flight and immigration offers insights into the interdependence and interactivity of language and action, and the resulting private and public reasoning over migratory issues.

Christine Egger (University of Passau) re-narrates the concrete and visible effects of the 2015 migration in the German town of Passau, which more than one million refugees passed through in a single one year. Energy, empathy, engagement, and inspiration guided the city’s population. It is a city where the memories of earlier arrivals of migrants was still alive.

The importance of place and the local is also present in a contribution by students. *Lisa Eidenhammer* and *Omar Khir Alanam* (University of Graz) provide a snapshot story of an encounter of an Austrian student with a Syrian refugee, the identification of disparate perceptions of the migratory events of 2015, and also the van attack in the city center of Graz that honed the emotional participation of the two interlocutors in different ways.

Representing mobilities in movement is the aim of artist *Michael Hieslmair’s* and architect *Michael Zinganel’s* (Vienna) video animation, accompanied by a text: it shows the rise and fall of border checkpoints as a function of the modulation of migratory processes, border regimes, and seizing local opportunities.

The conversation with historian *Peter Burke* (Emmanuel College, University of Cambridge) allows us to listen to his long and rich engagement with historical lifeworlds and their respective logics. The historian is also challenged to find appropriate concepts and terminologies in order to provide a realistic account and interpretation of mobilities, which are much more needed at a moment like this when the overall coverage of events tends to overemphasize emotional and defensive aspects.



These contributions offer directions for the cultural analysis of the post-migrant era. We hope that they encourage young scholars to engage in it with their research. We wish you stimulating reading.

Johanna Rolshoven

Joachim Schlör



Journeying with a musical practice

Existential mobility and transnational labour

Alejandro Miranda

Abstract The relationship between migratory processes and the diffusion, appropriation and hybridisation of cultural practices has been systematically documented in the scholarly literature. Within these processes there are highly mobile people whose frequent travels and short stays make them less visible as agents of cultural circulation. They often do not see themselves as migrants, nor they are classified as such by national bureaucracies. Therefore, their participation in the diffusion of cultural practices has not been fully considered. This article focuses on the ways in which journeying with a musical practice entails forms of informal transnational labour and, simultaneously, meanings of diffusion, promotion and cultivation of regional cultures that are valued by geographically dispersed communities of practitioners. This account is based on an ethnographic study on the circulation of a traditional musical practice between Mexico and the US. It specifically focuses on the case of a musician, workshop facilitator and luthier who travels several times a year between these two countries performing, teaching and selling handmade instruments. Although his journeying with a musical practice represents a way of making a living, a job, he does not perceive himself as a labour migrant, but as a teacher, performer and cultural promoter. Differing from the experiences of international migrants, this article shows how the meanings of his mobility exhibits a distinct form of existential mobility.

Keywords Mobilities; Practice; Transnational Labour; Work; Music; *Son Jarocho*; United States; Mexico.



Introduction

People often engage in various forms of mobility to earn a living. It is in these multiple flows and frictions that we encounter and produce many of the meanings associated with work. Several academic fields have focused on the figure of ‘migrants’ as central subjects of empirical analysis. Yet, the type of movement associated to what we call migration is one among many other ways of becoming mobile (Hui 2016). This is not to deny the relevance of migrants, but to argue that emphasising a sphere of migrant activity has left unnoticed other discontinuous mobilities. There are people, for instance, whose frequent travels and short stays make them less visible as mobile workers. They often do not see themselves as migrants, nor they are classified as such by national bureaucracies. Still, their involvement in processes of cultural diffusion, appropriation and hybridisation is related to their work, just as many others who cross international borders.

In focusing on the sociocultural dimensions of work and mobilities, this article examines the ways in which journeying with a musical practice entails forms of informal labour and, simultaneously, meanings of diffusion, promotion and cultivation of regional cultures. This account is based on an ethnographic study on the circulation of *son jarocho*, a traditional musical practice emerging in Mexico that is currently shared by groups of practitioners mostly in locations in Mexico and the US. It specifically focuses on the case of Pedro, a musician, workshop facilitator and luthier who travels several times a year between these two countries performing, teaching and selling handmade instruments. For him, journeying with a musical practice represents a way of making a living, a job. Still, he does not perceive himself as a labour migrant, but as a teacher, performer and cultural promoter. As many other practitioners of popular music, Pedro developed his craft by performing at regional festivities, teaching at workshops and building instruments. But he has also become part of a small number of practitioners who developed a noticeable sophistication in their musical performance and, simultaneously, became part of transnational networks of relationships that opened opportunities for performing and teaching in several locations.

The various forms of mobility that converge in his journeying resonate with the experiences of international migrants because of the extent of his travels. However, their meanings involve a distinct form of existential mobility. The following sections analyse the ways in which journeying with a cultural practice is fuelled by casual labour amid precarious conditions, a gradual commodification of a musical tradition, the cultivation of a practice that was perceived to be in risk of disappearance and the consequential efforts to sustain a regional culture through its dissemination across geographically dispersed communities of practitioners.

‘Using whatever I had at hand’

After two months of travelling, Pedro finished another teaching tour. The workshops took place in Seattle, Los Angeles, Santa Ana, San Diego, Mexico City, Guanajuato, Queretaro and Guadalajara, and he finally arrived in Xalapa to perform in a festival along with other musicians. The first time I met Pedro was at a week-long workshop in a rural town in southeast Mexico. He was teaching *jarana*, a guitar-like instrument with five double strings derived from



the baroque guitar (see Pareyón 2007, 532). During the following months, I ran into him at workshops that he gave in various cities in Mexico and the US, at some informal gatherings with other musicians, and also at a couple of *fandangos* (first in southeast Mexico, then in California). *Fandango*, the most representative event in this tradition, is a type of celebration in which music and dance are performed. Workshops and *fandangos* constitute the main spaces in which people learn and share this practice.

I was introduced to Pedro and many other practitioners at these events while conducting fieldwork in the US and Mexico. I spent half a year as a *son jarocho* apprentice, pursuing the spaces in which this practice is enacted. My gradual immersion into this musical tradition was marked by everyday activities such as travelling with practitioners to and from events, busking with them at markets, recalling festivities in casual conversations and taking part in workshops, *fandangos*, rehearsals and performances. On several occasions Pedro and I briefly talked about the revival of traditional *son jarocho*, the vicissitudes of making a living as a musician, and music making in general. Those conversations were fragmented because of the agreeable messiness that prevails at festivities and workshops. Yet, one day he found time in his busy schedule to have a more focused conversation about his activities as a professional *son jarocho* practitioner. The day of the interview I picked him up at the house in which he was hosted and we then went to have lunch. As we were sitting at a small table of a conventional *taquería* (a restaurant in which tacos are served), a large TV screen at the end of the room featured a soccer match that we ignored because our conversation went straight to the topic of music making. The meeting was in some way a continuation of the truncated conversations that we'd had before, with the only difference that this time a digital recorder was placed on the table, sitting between bowls of salsa, slices of lime and our greasy plastic plates. We were in southern California.

Pedro was hosted at the house of a group of practitioners who regularly receive visitors from other cities while they attend workshops and *fandangos*. As I entered the house earlier that day I saw tools and pieces of polished wood scattered around the living room. These wooden pieces were about to be glued together to form a new instrument – a *jarana*. Pedro usually finishes his instruments as he travels in the US. The craftwork starts in his workshop in southern Veracruz, where he cuts the main bodies from solid pieces of cedar, carves them out,¹ and makes the fretboards and tuning pegs. He then packs these pieces when they are almost finished and assembles them as he travels. This combination of activities is not casual: his main sources of income come from selling these instruments, teaching at workshops and performing with other musicians.

From the outset, the development of Pedro's craft of instrument making has been inseparable from that of teaching and performing. In the 1980s he joined a group of *son jarocho* enthusiasts who organised *fandangos* and workshops in southeast Mexico. During these years he dropped out of university because he 'didn't like the [teaching] system' and decided to dedicate

1 The body of the *jarana* and other *son jarocho* instruments is carved from one solid piece of wood. This is a technique for making stringed instruments that is embedded in a history of mobile technologies as it was used, for example, in the middle ages to make fiddles (Campbell and Campbell 2010, 302), renaissance lutes (Spring 2001, 5) and the Chinese p'i-p'a (Fletcher and Rossing 1998, 266).



his time to learning to make *son jarocho* instruments and to the workshops that he was already facilitating:

“I was teaching *zapateado* (dancing) at [a cultural centre], but my students wanted to learn to play *jarana* and after we talked to the coordinators [of the cultural centre], we had some hours of *jarana* every week too. [...] I was earning very little money and one day somebody brought a *jarana* that was broken and asked me if I could repair it. That was an opportunity, a way to have an extra income. And then I just kept on going, I learnt by spoiling instruments. I tried many different ways. I was [recently] giving a workshop on building instruments very close to the Lake Michigan, and they [the students] didn’t have enough tools. That wasn’t a problem because I learnt on my own, using different tools and we made the instruments anyway [...] When I started, I didn’t have a drill press and used a normal drill to carve out the body of the instruments. I hung that drill with a piece of wire so I could have the right distance to carve out the wood without perforating the instrument beyond that mark. But sometimes the wire broke and I perforated the body of the *jarana*. I learnt in that way, trying, looking for ways to do it using whatever I had at hand.”²

Improvising with the resources at hand has been a recurrent pattern in Pedro’s process of learning the craft of instrument making, teaching and performing. This capacity to adapt to different circumstances became a collaborative skill as these forms of improvisation took place in a community of practitioners. Teaching at workshops had a significant role in this process. The workshops at the cultural centre continued for five years until the institution lacked the resources to pay his salary. The classes were then transferred to his own house and the attendees paid a small fee. There were about twelve regular families at these workshops: at first, most of the participants were children and adolescents, although there was a rotation over the years as their parents also joined in and their children moved to larger cities to continue with their studies. This small community of practitioners reunited when the young practitioners travelled back home to attend a monthly *fandango*. During our conversation Pedro expressed how these activities were occasions that enhanced family conviviality and helped ‘to keep this culture alive, otherwise, nobody would do it’. While these workshops constituted a modest, yet constant source of income, Pedro emphasised that these workshops and *fandangos* were crucial to ‘keep this culture alive’. The recurrent enactment of these events was decisive for the emergence of meanings of authenticity and belonging to a valuable tradition that was in apparent risk of disappearance.

At the beginning, these workshops were characterised by the absence of a method to structure the sessions: they simply met to dance and play a few pieces of the traditional repertoire. But over the years these experiences were formative as Pedro gradually adopted more effective routines. Long and complex sequences of action were divided into small exercises such as simplified dance steps or strumming patterns in the *jaranas*. During these years, he and other practitioners teaching at workshops in southeast Mexico attained a series of competencies for organising and circulating tacit knowledge. For Pedro the attainment of these skills was

2 Unless stated otherwise, all the subsequent quotes are excerpts from the transcript of an interview conducted with an anonymous practitioner in California, July 30, 2013. Author’s translation.



foundational for his future journeying with the practice. Travelling to *fandangos* in southeast Mexico was also an important part of Pedro's learning and reproducing *son jarocho*. This journeying was also improvised to a certain extent since the necessary arrangements to make the trip possible were put together as the movement was conducted. In the course of the interview he recalled the unrehearsed ways in which he and other practitioners used to put information and material resources together to attend *fandangos*:

“When we were starting [making *son jarocho*], there were not many *fandangos* in the cities, very few. Once someone told me ‘there is a *fandango* in Mecayapan’. ‘Where is Mecayapan?’ [Pedro asked], ‘In the sierra, you go up entering from Cosoleacaque...’ There was neither Internet, nor mobile phones at that time, so you only knew about *fandangos* when friends told you on the street ‘hey, there’s gonna be a *fandango* there...’ I was with the others from the group and we borrowed a car from a relative, and there we go! We went in a *vochito* [Volkswagen beetle], I remember it well, a red *vochito* [...] We later asked somebody on the road ‘is this the way to Mecayapan?’; yes, it was some kilometres ahead. We then arrived at the town, but we had never been in that place before. We had met some musicians from that town in the past and but we hardly found people on the street. It was at around nine in the evening when we finally got to the house of an old *jaranero* (practitioner) we knew. ‘Hey, how are you guys doing?’, ‘We came to the *fandango*’, but there didn’t seem to be any. ‘No’, the man said, ‘the *fandango* was last night’. And we were so far away, it took us hours to get there! We couldn’t just go back immediately, so we had to stay for a bit chatting with the man. Only a bit because the next morning he was going to his farmland and we shouldn’t keep him awake.”

Pedro's description of a failed trip to attend a *fandango* recalls the necessary articulation of resources, competencies and information. As with any other form of travelling, taking part in *fandangos* requires putting together assorted elements, which in this case were gathered through face-to-face interactions as the trip was made. Far from being just a way to get to an event, regular travelling to these events shaped the dynamics of the *son jarocho* practice in at least two ways. First, it formed a sense of conviviality among practitioners, enhanced by the fact that people from various locations and age groups shared the practice. Second, the regional travelling with the practice provided resources that gradually enabled the development of representations of a practice that was felt and defended as representative of one's identity. These ways of linking with one another became the basis of particular forms of association among practitioners, which were later disseminated to geographically dispersed communities of practitioners. To explore this point it is important to address the upsurge of musical groups in the context of the recuperation of this tradition.

The paradoxical emergence of groups

In the development of his account, Pedro recurrently situated this journeying in reference to his experiences as a member of a professional *son jarocho* group. His group formed during the years in which he and other enthusiasts from southeast Mexico taught at workshops and attended



fandangos. They gradually developed proficiency at music making and became part of networks of musicians and cultural promoters that operated in various cities in Mexico. The support of these networks allowed them to break into the emergent niche market of so-called 'world music' during the last decades of the 20th century. They released two relatively successful studio recordings and performed in several local and international festivals. Their success was, in fact, embedded in a wider process through which several groups performing traditional *son jarocho* emerged from the recuperation of this practice. The upsurge of groups appears paradoxical in the first instance because contemporary practitioners establish a sharp differentiation between the folklorisation of *son jarocho* and the cultivation of a regional tradition. Distinguishing between these two musical practices has been pivotal to the contemporary mobilities of *son jarocho*. To understand it, it is necessary briefly to look at its changes throughout the past century.

During the first half of the 20th century *fandango*, the traditional celebration in which *son jarocho* is performed, became less common in southeast Mexico. This decline is linked to a series of transformations in the region, such as the intense internal migration from rural areas to emerging cities in Mexico, as well as transnational migration from Mexico to the US (Pérez 2003). Yet, this popular celebration was significantly reshaped when its music and dance were used by the Mexican state to produce nationalistic propaganda based on regional folklore. In its intention to produce an ideal of 'Mexicanity', the bureaucracy of the Mexican government took fragmented elements of the regional practices to produce stereotyped representations of the 'typically Mexican' (Pérez Montfort 1999). The music and dance performed at *fandangos* were used in film, radio and TV productions, but not before an intense process of stylisation took place. Regional music and dance in the cinema, for instance, was often represented through orchestral arrangements, resulting in a lack of coherence between the images displayed (in this case consisting of rural musicians playing guitar-like instruments) and the musical background (an orchestral arrangement) (Barahona 2013).

The development of nationalist, folklorised representations in the media created new 'niches' for the performance of *son jarocho*: musicians from rural southeast Mexico who migrated to Mexico City and the port of Veracruz could make a living out of performing *son jarocho* music. These musicians were mostly male, knew how to play *son jarocho* because that was part of the everyday life in southeast Mexico and, later, became reliant on their capacity to perform music to earn a living in urban contexts. They occasionally performed on the radio and television, but their main source of income came from performing at restaurants, bars, nightclubs and cabarets (Figuroa 2007; Cardona 2011). Serenading customers at their own table became an important part of their daily routine. The transition from practitioners engaging in the popular celebration of *fandango* to entertainers forced to play for an audience to earn a living is a crucial shift that produced a particular kind of folklorised *son jarocho*.

Since the 1930s there has been an upsurge of musical groups specialising in the performance of *son jarocho*. As this activity became a 'way of life', *son jarocho* musicians started dressing in distinctive costumes and adopted group names to attract clients. Flexible in repertoire and improvisation, capable of physically moving inside restaurants and across the city, these groups proved to be remarkably adaptable to the new circumstances of performance, navigating complex urban settings and generating a living based on the performance of this newly contextua-



lised music. A few *son jarocho* practitioners became relatively famous and frequently travelled to other countries, particularly the US (Figueroa 2007). This travelling eventually opened new opportunities for performers, as some *son jarocho* groups moved to Tijuana and Los Angeles from the second half of the 20th century (Cardona 2006). This migration constitutes a modest, but still significant, antecedent to *son jarocho* along the international border between California and Baja California.

The folklorised form of *son jarocho* became the most representative performance of southeast Mexico, depriving *fandango* of significance. Its representation in the media had a dramatic effect on the way in which the cultural practices were perceived in this region. By the mid-20th century the inhabitants of southeast Mexico had received contradictory messages: on the one hand, the experience of the *fandango* was a historical practice that had been replicated for generations; on the other, the media represented a stylised version of this musical practice that portrayed virtuosos performing on stage. Antonio García de León (1996, 30) vividly highlights this process:

“This phenomenon brought a generalised underestimation of local musicians because people thought that they didn’t know how to play properly. At the same time, the introduction of other musical genres (*danzón, mambo, chachachá, tropical, etc.*) through the groups of marimba, tropical groups and others, gained space in the realms of popular music, displacing *son jarocho*, which was the traditional dance, to a secondary level until it was almost forgotten. The majority of the groups of *soneros* [*son jarocho* musicians] stopped partaking not only at popular *fandangos*, but also at key celebrations for the community, such as burials, religious celebrations, etc.”³

In the 1970s various groups of enthusiasts of *son jarocho* engaged in a series of actions aimed to keep this practice ‘alive’, thereby starting the so-called rescue of *fandango*. They understood the tradition as being rooted in a rural region of southeast Mexico, as opposed to the stylised interpretation created by official propaganda, the media and the groups of musicians playing at restaurants.

Just like in the case of Pedro’s group, the appearance of groups of musicians performing traditional *son jarocho* on stage echoed the folklorised *son jarocho* promoted by the media and the propaganda arm of the Mexican state. This paradox, however, has to be contextualised within processes of recuperation of a practice that was perceived as endangered, otherwise it would be facile to reduce these actions and their meanings to contradictions. A turning point in the emergence of groups took place in the 1980s with the organisation of festivals of traditional *son jarocho*. *Encuentros de Jaraneros* (Festivals of *Jaraneros* – people who play *jarana*) was the name given to these events, which consisted of a series of performances by groups of musicians on stage. The *Encuentros* had the peculiarity of putting ‘authentic’ senior practitioners from rural communities in the spotlight, often accompanied by younger practitioners. In contrast to the development of *fandangos*, these festivals did not usually feature dancers or improvisation of verses (which are constitutive elements of these celebrations), but groups of musicians playing rehearsed arrangements of traditional songs. These pieces were significantly shorter

3 Author’s translation.



than the long pieces played at *fandangos*. More interestingly, however, the establishment of a clear distinction between a passive audience and active performers ironically resembled the previous folklorisation of the practice.

Son jarocho enthusiasts advanced these festivals as a way to promote the traditional culture of southeast Mexico. A major achievement was the involvement of a public radio station in Mexico City⁴ in the broadcasting and recording of the performances at the festivals, which were subsequently produced by an independent music label and distributed in the form of cassette-tapes and, later, as CDs.⁵ The transmission and distribution of these materials constituted an unprecedented incorporation of traditional *son jarocho* in the media. However, the most important point for the current analysis is that these festivals motivated the creation of groups as they were the basic form for presenting performers on stage. At this point, the question is how exactly a number of musicians who occasionally met at *fandangos* became part of groups of traditional music. Here, in addressing the phenomenon, a senior practitioner (Nieves 2009) describes how his group was created under these new circumstances:

“I went back to Aguapinole [a small town in southeast Mexico] and there was where [the group] ‘Los Panaderos’ (‘The Bakers’) was born. [...] Here you couldn’t hear that [traditional *son jarocho*], all that was lost. San Juan [Evangelista] was a noticeable town for its *fandangos* [...], very good *fandangos*. There were some ladies that organised them every week. When I came back I started hanging out with those people and then we made a little group. We started growing as a group and that was the moment in which we made ‘Los Panaderos’, because Noé [an enthusiastic promoter of the *son jarocho* practice] invited me to Minatitlán. I had never been at a *Encuentro de Jaraneros* (Festival of *Jaraneros*), and I think that was the time when they started organising them. He came and invited me. Back then I had an oven, I baked bread in Aguapinole, and he came because his parents-in-law are from there, we’ve known each other for a long time, and then he said ‘I want you to go to play in *Mina* [Minatitlán], you go with your group, I only want you to get white shoes, white pants, *guayabera* [a traditional type of shirt], white hat’. Then I said to my fellow musicians: ‘do you want to venture there and make the effort of buying those things?’ and we did it, and we went [to the festival]. He [Noé] said ‘name your group’, and I said ‘what name are we going to give it?’ ‘Don’t worry! You go and by the time you arrive there, you’ll have a name. I’m going to tell you what name your group is going to have’. And he came up with the name of ‘Los Panaderos’. Some time ago they announced us as ‘Los Panaderos de Aguapinole’, but because the thing went on and on, soon after that [the group] was divided again, but I continued, I never stopped having a group.”⁶

In this account, the senior practitioner first situates the creation of his group in relation to a tradition that ‘was lost’, and then goes on to refer to their participation in a festival and the way in which the group acquired a name. The mere fact of getting together to play was not sufficient

4 Its name is ‘Radio Educación’. This radio station still broadcasts some *son jarocho* events, such as the annual ‘Fiesta de la Candelaria’ in Tlacotalpan, Veracruz, every February 2.

5 Various performers, *Encuentro de Jaraneros*, [CD] (México: Discos Pentagrama), Volume 1-5.

6 Interview in the accompanying CD booklet in Nieves (2009). Author’s translation.



to form a group – that had already happened at *fandangos*. Rather, *son jarocho* groups became recognisable entities in the process of performing at festivals and being identified by a group's name. Their efforts at organising festivals and the creation of groups revolved around the recuperation of the traditional ways of making music by performing on stage. This seemingly contradictory situation was completely acceptable among practitioners for two main reasons. First, making *son jarocho* is a meaningful activity to the majority of practitioners; this practice means more than a mere pastime. Still, they do not make music for a living. The distinction between amateur and professional cannot be sharply made in this context because among practitioners there are no clear standards for determining what it means 'professionally' to make *son jarocho*. The more-or-less consistent understanding of what is 'proper' performance – that is, the standards of excellence of an enactment (MacIntyre 2007, 190) – is established in the case of *son jarocho* by the continuous reinforcement of basic conditions of participation. These rules and routines are made manifest during *fandangos*, workshops and on stage performances. Therefore, playing in a group was associated with being part of a tradition, while sustaining an ambiguous relationship with the idea of performing to make profit.

The second and closely related reason is that practitioners regularly differentiate between those interested in cultivating the tradition and those who have a marked interest in profiting from the practice. This difference is established through the term '*charolero*', which in its literal form refers to a person who uses a tray (*charola*). The term pejoratively alludes to the image of folklorised musicians using a tray to collect money while serenading customers at a restaurant. Yet the word is frequently applied in a figurative way, that is, in reference to a group of musicians who dismiss the community of practitioners from which they emerged after brief commercial success. There are some practitioners for whom constructing and selling instruments, teaching at workshops and performing on stage have become a way of life. Although many of their activities involve work 'for the community' (which is unpaid work), there is an ambiguous overlap between disinterested promotion of a cultural practice and the possibility of making a living out of it. This issue is a peculiar consequence of the process of recuperation of traditional *son jarocho*. Despite the emergence of a modest grass-roots market of instruments, workshops, professional recordings and performances, interpreting the activities of the enthusiasts of this tradition in terms of economic instrumentality would be misleading. Being a full-time *son jarocho* performer is not a profitable activity for the vast majority, and it has more to do with an ascetic life of self-sacrifice than the comfortable status of glamorous folk musicians.

In which category do groups such as Pedro's fall? Understood in this way, traditional *son jarocho* musicians performing on stage would not be categorised as '*charoleros*' as long as they also participate in the tradition by taking part in *fandangos*. Pedro and the other members of the group developed their craft by participating in festivals and *fandangos*, teaching at workshops and building instruments. They were legitimate members of a community of practitioners and played an important role in it. But they also were one of the small number of groups that developed a noticeable sophistication in their musical arrangements and, simultaneously, became part of networks of relationships that opened opportunities for recording and performing in various locations. In our conversation at the *taquería*, Pedro commented on this success by referring to the first time that he travelled with the group to California: 'the tour started in



Tijuana, we played at six or seven places in total, then we went to LA, Santa Ana, and from there we went all the way up to Berkeley'. As the next section illustrates, this tour marked the beginning of what would later become a constant journeying between Mexico and the US, albeit not as originally planned.

Touring the US as a workshop facilitator

By the beginning of the 2000s, Pedro and his group had already spent two decades immersed in networks of practitioners that extended across Mexico and, increasingly, the US. They also became recognised and promoted as traditional musicians in the 'world music' scene. But the outcomes of this involvement quickly faded as the group was dissolved after a number of years of performing at international festivals. Pedro formed another group soon afterwards, but:

"[...] there were few gigs for musicians in Mexico at that time. I got by because I was making instruments and, from that time on, I have had a lot of work [as an instrument maker]. But that only covers basic things, the everyday expenses, if you want to save a bit or fix something in your house, that's not enough."

A few years later, the coincidence of two events triggered his journeying as a workshop facilitator in the US. His daughter was about to turn fifteen years old, which in Mexico is typically celebrated with a costly party. Pedro could not afford such a celebration, but the situation changed when he received an unexpected invitation to teach at workshops in the US. A group of practitioners that had been running workshops for some years invited Pedro to give a series of workshops in various cities of the San Francisco Bay Area. This teaching tour represented a good opportunity to earn money given the precarious conditions of the musical market in Mexico and the advantageous exchange rate from US dollars to Mexican pesos. A seemingly typical case of Mexican migration to the US, his journey was primarily motivated by economics: his objective was to earn enough to cover the expenses of his daughter's 15th birthday party. The original plan scheduled three weeks of teaching, but practitioners in other locations organised additional workshops as soon as they heard that Pedro was teaching in California. As I confirmed while conducting fieldwork among communities of practitioners in the US, the capacity rapidly to organise workshops has been to a large extent enabled by the use of virtual social networks and the pervasiveness of the Internet that was well established by the first decade of the 21st century. Three weeks became three months as more workshops and some gigs with local musicians were added to his diary.

This demand for *son jarocho* workshops and performances was produced by the increasing popularity of this musical tradition in the US and the capacity of groups of practitioners to self organise. More generally, the development of these geographically dispersed communities is to be understood in the context of consolidation of the migratory system, gradual economic integration and political asymmetries between Mexico and the US (see Delgado Wise and Favela 2004; Castles and Delgado Wise 2008). While there has been a gradual development of *son jarocho* in California since the second half of the twentieth century (Loza 1992), it was not until the past three decades that a larger number of people assiduously practiced it in many other locations in the US. The growth of transnational/translocal communities of practitioners



coincided with Pedro's economic difficulties. 'I didn't have to get a loan for the party', he mentioned. However, these activities implied a lot of travelling across distant cities in unfamiliar territory. Prior to this experience, Pedro's practices of mobility were subject to the itineraries, arrangements and scheduling of his group. But this time the cross-border mobilities as workshop facilitator compelled him to learn to move by himself:

"At the beginning it was hard. I was used to going around with a group, for twenty years I moved everywhere with a group. And suddenly I was alone because the group finished [...] I got a mobile phone with a number from the US. Then I needed to drive, I had no choice. For instance, now that I come to California, I give a few workshops in Santa Ana and Los Angeles, and if I'm in the Bay [Area], I sometimes travel four hours, because there are places that are so far that it takes hours [to get there], because there is no [public] transport."

Pedro currently combines teaching, performing and building instruments by considering time, resources and geographical trajectories. He enlisted his habitual routes with no sign of hesitation: 'Four days here, three days there. From San Diego to Oakland: San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Ana, Santa Barbara. And then the Bay Area: Sacramento, San Francisco, Oakland, Berkley, San Jose, Watsonville and Santa Cruz'. In Texas he travels to San Antonio, Austin, El Paso and McAllen. In the Northwest he usually visits Seattle, Portland and Eugene, and on the east coast New York and Washington, D.C. Teaching at different workshops involves the articulation of means and information in the following conventional sequence: first, he gives a workshop for three days in a city, then travels to another location to borrow a car from friends. He then drives to a remote city in which a new workshop takes place. 'It ends up taking four hours to get there, then I teach a workshop for three hours and come back. Yes, I've done that once or twice in the same week'.

When he is invited to teach, the organisers normally pay his flight or bus ticket and the attendees pay a small fee, although it is difficult for the organisers to calculate how many people are attending and, consequently, to determine the amount that he would earn. 'They tell me "we pay you the ticket, although we don't know how many are coming". I tell them that there is no problem, I go anyway'. Although the price for his services as workshop facilitator and performer may fluctuate from place to place, his experience and recognition among transnational communities of practitioners allow him to get legitimately paid for these activities. These geographically dispersed groups of practitioners are not mere consumers of products and services; they are central actors in the progressive commodification of this musical tradition through their validation. Since most of them are apprentices, their legitimation of certain workshop facilitators, performers and luthiers is based on different signs of 'authenticity'. As such, coming from certain villages in southeast Mexico, being member of a family of traditional musicians and, especially, demonstrating long-term commitment with the cultivation and promotion of this practice are types of symbolic currency that play an important role when negotiating and setting the prices of performances, workshops and handmade instruments.

Yet, earning an income is only one facet in this journeying. Pedro is often hosted as a friend at practitioners' houses and participates in gatherings and impromptu celebrations. In New York, for instance, he performed with a professional group and right afterwards there was a *fandango* as many among the audience were *son jarocho* practitioners and had brought their



instruments. The transition from performers who entertain an audience to a celebration in which entertainment is produced by direct participation reconfigures the way in which practitioners interact. ‘This is like a family that grows’, he emphasised. ‘*Jaraneros* will share their place and food with others. If you have a problem some will try to assist you, which does not happen in other musical traditions.’

Pedro teaches in Spanish, although the interaction among the attendees tends to oscillate constantly between English and Spanish because most practitioners in the US are fluent in both languages. When a person is unable to understand Spanish, a practitioner nearby quietly provides rough explanations in English. Still, these verbal translations are just one type of mediation among many other forms of interaction, as the exercises are performed simultaneously by all the attendees and are based on the repetition of strumming patterns, melodic lines or dance steps.⁷ All these circumstances associated with teaching in many different locations contrast with Pedro’s previous experiences of being in a group. Travelling with the practice has challenged his habitual ways of teaching and performing:

“[...] I never boast about being a good musician, I wasn’t recognised either. I never gave interviews because I didn’t like it, I said no, the others [members of the group] did it. I didn’t speak at the microphone [at concerts] because I could sing, but talking on the microphone, no, I just couldn’t. And all the others did it, anyway. And then being alone and coming here [to teach to the US]. I had friends, but it wasn’t like having the protection of coming with a group. But I had to carry on! It was about organising gigs and then, you have to say something, don’t you, or there is an interview, well, I had to carry on. I had no choice but to do a bit of everything. I say that in the end it was all right [to dissolve the professional group] because now people know me because of myself, because of the things I’ve done, but it was a very difficult process. But now I have overcome all those issues. Now I know how to move everywhere. At first, friends helped me to organise how to get here or there, but now I go around everywhere by myself. I had to learn to move around without knowing the [English] language!”

This journeying has been a learning process in itself. Attaining a certain command of the English language, for instance, is not directly related to his craft, but has been significant in his experience of travelling. The day of the interview we left the *taquería* and walked towards a Starbucks café. ‘Latte and two packets of honey, please’, he asked in English at the counter, and as we were sitting he commented to me in Spanish: ‘now I know how to ask for my coffee, but it took me some time to know how to ask for the one I like’. We then recalled some funny stories about the frustrations and difficulties of using English as a second language, which led us to talk about my doctoral studies in Australia. Among other things I quickly mentioned a conference that I had recently attended in Canada; Pedro was suddenly excited:

“Is it hard to get a Canadian visa? I’ve been invited to [teach at] a workshop in Montreal, the Canadian guy who was at the workshop the other day invited me, he is organising a

7 Even in the case of singing verses in Spanish, practitioners who do not speak that language tend to memorise the lyrics by focusing on the sound of the words while ignoring their meaning.



workshop there, do you remember him? I was thinking about doing Montreal, Toronto, New York...”

For Pedro, journeying with the practice represents a way of making a living, a job. And yet he does not see himself as a migrant, nor he is classified as one by the bureaucracies of the US and Mexico. Moving with a practice assumes multiple forms and meanings. The day of the interview he added with a hint of pride: ‘I have already been in all the *son jarocho* communities in the US’, which was a way of expressing the joy that derives from being potentially able to move. This statement is reminiscent of Ghassan Hage’s (2005, 470-471) notion of ‘existential mobility’:

“We move physically so we can feel that we are existentially on the move again or at least moving better. I believe that the movement we call migration cannot be understood without taking into account this relationship between existential and physical movement. What’s more, such a relationship allows us to construct a whole social physics of socio-existential mobility, explaining different kinds of mobility rather than homogenizing them with one term that equates the travel of the totally-at-home-having-fun tourist and the travel of the fragile, dislocated and hesitant refugee.”

There are, indeed, various ways in which existential and physical mobility are related. While Pedro’s practices of mobility are embedded in the recuperation of traditional *son jarocho* (namely the emergence of groups, festivals and workshops), they also represent the possibility of physical movement that makes travelling with the practice a meaningful activity. Social and existential mobility are frequently related, but they are not the same phenomenon (Hage 2009, 99). The mobilities of Pedro carry meanings of discovery, education and cultivation of a practice that is worth preserving and diffusing. Simultaneously, they originate in a context of social disadvantage, chronic unemployment in Mexico and the consequential difficulties of making a living. Not surprisingly, a sense of being ‘stuck’ is common among practitioners who struggle to meet their basic economic needs by dedicating their time and efforts to make a living as professional musicians, teachers or luthiers. Pedro’s experience is unusual in terms of the extent of his travels, the expertise that he has developed as a workshop facilitator and performer, and the depth of his involvement within transnational networks of practitioners. Yet, the various forms of mobility that converge in his journeying are not unique, but certainly resonate with the experiences of other practitioners as all of them take part in various forms of mobility.

In this case, being existentially mobile entails the possibility of earning an income in a context of precariousness, contributing to the development of numerous communities of practitioners, meeting friends and having the satisfaction of being known ‘because of the things I’ve done’. This journeying may resemble in some ways the experience of other *son jarocho* practitioners as many travel long distances to attend *fandangos* and workshops. It may also echo the experience of international migrants, although the recurrence and extent of his travels is out of the ordinary. Yet, all these experiences of mobility seem to contain the excitement of ‘going somewhere’ as a common ingredient:

“I’m going here and there because it’s my job. I play on stage because it’s my job. But I also have a commitment with *fandango* and the communities. Many tell me that they want to travel as much as I do, but I tell them that I do it because it is a job, like any other job. But



wherever I go, I also try to find a *fandango* and spend time with the community because that is what satisfies me [*lo que me llena*]. That is because I learnt from there, from going to *fandangos*.”

Pedro has been able to position himself in an informal musical market, combining different activities to meet basic economic needs. The cultural capital he accumulated throughout the years is not easily exchanged for economic capital, but still his travels allow him to earn an income while being existentially mobile. In journeying with this practice, he has seen how communities of practitioners grow and change, connect across symbolic and physical borders, and learn from each other. That musical traditions are produced by the interplay of forces in motion is an assertion that resembles the act of travelling. Similarly, moving existentially relies on the consideration of forces, infrastructures and the skilful arrangement of means and competencies.

Conclusion

This article has sought to analyse the ways in which informal transnational work is entangled with the mobilities of a musical practice. This relationship has been explored through the case of a practitioner involved within transnational networks of musicians across Mexico and the US. By tracing the development of his expertise as workshop facilitator, performer and luthier, I have examined how these activities become a meaningful way of making a living by diffusing and cultivating a musical tradition across communities of practitioners. These meanings, however, need to be understood in a context of precariousness, social disadvantage, chronic unemployment and increasing labour insecurity. The excitement of becoming increasingly able to move is in constant tension with the struggle to meet basic economic needs. Far from overriding the physical and symbolic borders, asymmetries and differences between countries and regions, the journeying of this practitioner confirms them.

In considering different forms of mobility, I have also addressed the tension between the unfolding of transnational/translocal networks of relationships and narratives of valorisation and preservation of a practice that is seen as endangered. Disseminating *son jarocho* through workshops, on stage performances and *fandangos* has been the main strategy that current practitioners use to reclaim a traditional identity. The systems of meaning that structure the recuperation of this practice are at the core of these mobilities. Furthermore, the various forms of circulation, flow and physical displacement involved in these processes have provided resources for the appropriation and transformation of this practice. While journeying with this practice has been crucial in keeping ‘this culture alive’, this musical tradition is changing as it moves. These transformations are associated with the circulation of instruments and know-how across locations in the US and Mexico. Immobile infrastructures, assorted forms of telecommunication and face-to-face interaction also enable these changes. Therefore, practitioner travel is one among many other elements that make possible to keep this practice ‘on the boil’.

Finally, analysing multiple forms of mobility in relation to the unfolding of cultural practice reveals significant relationships. Although practitioners have a key role in the circulation of cultural practices, the specific mechanisms by which informal labour becomes constitutive of transnational practices is shaped by a variety of forces in motion. By interrogating practices



from a processual perspective, this paper has provided detailed accounts of how work and narratives of authenticity and belonging circulate, intertwine and produce multiple meanings. This approach shows how different types of mobility become constitutive of the dynamics of a cultural practice and imbricated in the social.

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Savaşın torunları: Travmatik belleğe kuşaklar ötesi bir bakış

The grandchildren of war: A transgenerational perspective on traumatic memory

Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit

Özet

Bu makale, savaş travması ile ulusötesi kimlik arasındaki ilişkiyi sorgulamaktadır. Makalede, ulusötesi kimliklere sahip torunların perspektifinden, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nı yaşayan Alman ailelerin karşı karşıya kaldığı savaş travmasının, kuşaklar boyu eğilimlerin ve kimlik kurgularının değişiminde nasıl bir rol oynadığı gösterilecektir. Makale, annesi Almanya babası Türkiye uyruklu 45 kişi ile 2015 yılında Türkiye'de yapılan görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Araştırma, Alman ailelerin Nazilikle ilişkili tecrübelerini içeren savaş belleğini, torunlarından saklı tutmaya çalıştığını ortaya koymaktadır. Savaş travmasıyla başa çıkma sürecinden güçlü çıkmaya çalışan ailelerin ilişki tarzı, sosyal statü ve sınıf, mülk ve miras ile aidiyet gibi anlayışlarında meydana gelen majör değişiklikler dikkat çekicidir. Savaşı doğrudan yaşayan kuşak, sonraki kuşakları yetiştirme tarzlarını bu değişikliklere göre belirlemektedir. Üçüncü kuşak, ailelerinin savaşla ilgili birikimlerini, kendi gelişimleri açısından bir tür "kazanç" olarak görmektedir. Makale, savaşın, fiilen yetmiş yıl önce sonlanmış olsa da belleklerde önemli bir yer tutarak kuşaklar boyu habitusların ve kimliklerin biçimlenmesinde önemli bir payı olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler İkinci Dünya Savaşı; travmatik bellek; kültürel aktarım; kuşak; kültürel kimlik.

Abstract

This paper inquires into the relationships between transnational identity and war trauma from the perspective of the grandchildren with transnational identities. I will try to search how the war trauma experienced by German families participated in WWII played a role in identity formation and drifts of tendencies of their next generations. The paper is based on interviews done in Turkey in year 2015 on 45 individuals having mothers of German and fathers of Turkish origin. Survey also shows that German families try to hide their war memories containing experiences of Nazism from their grandchildren. With an ultimate goal to come out strong from an era marked by war trauma, worth noting are the major changes inflicted by the family elders in forms of communitations, in understandings of social status and class, possessions, inheritance and ownership patterns. The war generation which survive the war brings up the next generation according to these changes. Current generation perceives their elders' stock of experiences as a legacy to be followed for their personal maturation. This paper argues that a war that actually might have ended 70 years ago will still cover a vast space in shared memory and still has an important role in constituting identities and habituses throughout new generations.

Keywords

The Second World War; traumatized memory; cultural transmission; generation; cultural identity.



Giriş: Travmatik belleğin aktarımı ve ulusötesi kimlikler

Birinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sarsılmış bir şekilde çıkan Almanya, Nazi Partisiyle İkinci Dünya Savaşı'na ulusal kimliğini güçlendireceği iddiasıyla girmiştir. Güçlenmenin yolunu nüfusu arındırmakta ve ulusal sınırları genişletmekte arayan Naziler, ilk olarak sınırlarını, Yahudilerden arındırmaya² ikinci olarak da dışarıya doğru genişletmeye girişmiştir. Fakat Almanya, girdiği bu savaşı da kaybetmiştir. Savaş, yetmiş yıl önce fiilen sona ermiş olsa da aile üyelerinin edindiği tecrübeler, kuşaklar arası aktarım yoluyla bir tür aile belleği oluşturmuştur.

Geçmişini inceleyen kimi araştırmalarda, aile veya topluluklarda yıllar boyu yaşananları ortaya çıkarmanın, kişilerin kendi güncel şartlarının nedenlerini gösterdiği vurgulanır (Kyvıg ve Marty, 2011, 7). Alman ailelerin savaşla olan ilişkisini göstermeye çalıştığım bu makalede, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın üç kuşağın yaşamında yarattığı değişimleri tartışacağım. Makalenin amacı, ulusötesi kimliklere sahip torunların, Alman ailelerinin savaş belleğini nasıl yorumladığını göstererek savaş travmasının, kuşaklar boyu eğilimlerin ve kimlik kurgularının değişimindeki rolünü ortaya koymaktır. Makalede yararlandığım veriler, annesi Almanya, babası ise Türkiye uyruklu 45 kişi ile 2015 yılında yaptığım görüşmelere³ dayanmaktadır. Görüşmeler, savaşı yaşayan Alman aile üyelerinin savaşla ilgili tecrübe ve düşüncelerini torunlarına aktardıklarından oluşmaktadır.

Makale boyunca bahsedeceğim kuşaklar, konuyu daha anlaşılabilir kılması açısından üç ayrı kuşak olarak sınıflandırılabilir. Buna göre birinci kuşak, görüşme yaptığım kişilerin savaşı doğrudan yaşayan Alman büyük ebeveynleridir (anneanne ve dede). İkinci kuşak, görüştüğüm kişilerin Türkiye uyruklu erkeklerle evlenen anneleridir. Bu kuşak, savaş sırasında genellikle küçük yaşlarda olmaları nedeniyle savaşı veya savaş sonrasını yaşamıştır. Üçüncü kuşak ise aile içinde savaşla ilgili kendilerine anlatılanların aktarıcıları olarak görüşme yaptığım kişilerdir. Bu makalede, üçüncü kuşak veya torunlar olarak tanımladığım görüşmecilerimi metnin akışına göre "*Türk-Alman*" kuşak olarak da tanımlayacağım. Benim bu makale boyunca kullandığım

- 1 Naziler, savaştan önce Almanya'nın köşeye sıkıştırıldığı ve arkadan hançerlendiği temasını işledi. Bu temaya göre Goebbels'in Propaganda Bakanlığı döneminde Yahudiler, "*kirli bir ırk*" olarak görülerek "*fare*", "*kemirgen*", "*sürünge*" veya "*böcek*" olarak lanse edildi. Naziler, Yahudilerin her şeye muktedir, tehlikeli ve durdurulması gereken bir güç olduklarını iddia etti. Nazilerin *lebensraum* (yaşama alanı) kavramı, Almanya'nın hayatta kalabilmesi için büyümesi, açılması ve geniş coğrafyalara hükmetmesi gerektiği fikrine dayanıyordu (Karaosmanoğlu, 2008: 152-153).
- 2 1949'da Nürnberg davasında ortaya atılan ve hukuki bir kavram olan soykırım, Nazilerin Yahudileri sistematik bir biçimde yok etmesine karşılık geliyordu. Nazilerin Yahudilere karşı yaptıkları, kanunlarla yargılanan ilk soykırımdır. Ancak dünya tarihine bakıldığında, on dokuzuncu yüzyıldaki batı yayılmacılığı, büyük Avrupalı güçler tarafından oluşturulan sömürge imparatorlukları ve Amerikan'ın keşfiyle birlikte Amerikan yerlilerine yönelik yapılan soykırımlar görülür (Clastres, 1992, 50).
- 3 Bu görüşmeler, İstanbul Üniversitesi Antropoloji Bölümü Sosyal Antropoloji alanında hazırlamakta olduğum doktora tezimin saha verilerinin bir kısmını içermektedir (Tezin saha araştırması kapsamında görüştüğüm kişiler, annesi Almanya babası Türkiye ve babası Almanya annesi Türkiye uyruklu 17 yaş ve üzeri toplam 52 kişiden oluşmaktadır. Araştırmanın saha kısmını bir yıllık bir süre içerisinde tamamladım. Araştırmada, katılarak gözlem ve mülakat tekniğinden yararlandım. Görüşmeleri, birçok kez ev, işyeri, cafe ve açık alanlarda gerçekleştirdim). Araştırma kapsamında, Türkiye'de ikamet ettikleri yerlere göre İstanbul'dan 39, İzmir'den 2, Sakarya'dan 1 ve Almanya'dan 3 kişiyle görüşmeler yaptım. İstanbul ve Sakarya'da yaşayan kişilerle İstanbul'da, İzmir'de yaşayan kişilerle İzmir'de, Almanya'da ikamet eden kişiyle ise Muğla'da görüştim. Görüştüğüm kişilerin 14'ü erkek, 31'i ise kadındır. Bu kişilerin, yaşları 17-75 arasında değişmektedir. Görüştüğüm kişilerin yarısından fazlası Türkiye'de doğmuş, tamamına yakını (yaklaşık %90) yüksek eğitimden geçmiş, yaklaşık yarısı ise (%40) hiç evlenmemiştir. Önemli bir kısmı iş hayatında olan bu kişilerin çoğu (%60,6), yönetici pozisyonunda çalışmaktadır.



“*Türk*”, “*Alman*” veya “*Türk-Alman*” kavramları, görüşmecilerimin ifade ettiği şekliyle olup herhangi bir etnik bir vurgu içermemektedir.

Görüşmecilerin önceki kuşak Alman ailelerinin eğitim profiline göre aldıkları eğitimler eşlerinden daha yüksek seviyede olan Alman dedeler, savaştan önce doktorluk, eczacılık ve mühendislik gibi alanlarda eğitim görmüştür. Anneannelerin çoğu ise yüksekokul ve üstü eğitim almıştır. Gördükleri eğitim alanları arasında başta öğretmenlik olmak üzere terzilik, ev ekonomisi idaresi, çocuk bakımı önemli bir yer tutmaktadır. Savaş bittikten sonra erkekler, savaştan önce yaptıkları işlere benzer işler yapmaya veya yeniden iş kurmaya çabalarken kadınlar çocuk bakımı/edatımı ve terzilik gibi işlerle uğraşarak hane bütçelerine katkı sağlamıştır. Savaş sonrası Almanya’ında özellikle kadın ikinci kuşağın gördüğü eğitimler, birinci kuşağınkine benzemektedir. Görüştüğüm kişilerin çoğunun annesi (12 kişi hariç), anneleri gibi yüksekokul ve üstü eğitim alarak Almanca, İngilizce ve anaokulu öğretmenliği/yöneticiliği gibi bölümlerden mezun olmuştur. Görüşmecilerin anneleri, Türkiye’deki yaşantılarında iş yaşamlarını, bu eğitimleri çerçevesinde kurmuştur.

Literatürde, travmatik belleğin doğrudan aktarımı ve kimlik ile ilgili çalışmalar, önemli bir yer tutmasına karşılık bu belleğin birkaç kuşağı içeren dolaylı aktarımıyla ilgili çalışmalar sınırlıdır. Bu makale ile literatüre yapacağım ilk katkı, travmatik belleği, üç kuşak öteden bakarak sorunsallaştırmaktır. Burada bahsettiğim travmatik bellek, hatırlanmak istenmemesinden ötürü eril tarihten çok dişil tarihi içererek kadın faillliğini ortaya koymaktadır. İkinci katkı ise travmatik miras ile kültürel kimlik ilişkisini kuşaklararası (ailesel aktarım) bir çerçevede sunmasıdır. Burada, travmatik mirasın içeriğinin, hatırlananlar kadar hatırlananların nasıl aktarıldığıyla ilişkili olduğunu belirtmem gerekir. Üçüncü katkı ise savaşla birlikte geliştirilen eğilimlerin, ulusötesi kimlikler içinden nasıl yeniden üretildiğini göstermektedir.

Makalede bellek konusunu ele alırken Pierre Bourdieu’nun geliştirdiği habitus, kültürel sermaye, kültürel aktarım ve kimlik kavramlarından yararlanacağım. Bu kavramlar, farklı vatan-daşlık birikimleri olan ebeveynlerin, birlikte kurdukları yaşamlarında birbirleriyle ve çocuklarıyla geliştirdikleri ilişkilerin seyrini daha iyi açıklayabilmeme yardımcı olmaktadır.

İlk olarak psikologlar tarafından gerçekleştirilen bellek çalışmaları, daha sonra felsefe, tıp, ilahiyat, fizik gibi farklı disiplinlerin de ilgi alanına girmiştir. Antropoloji ve sosyoloji ise nispeten son yıllarda travma ve bellekle ilgili çalışmalara yönelmiştir. Freud’un bellekle ilgili yazboz tahtası metaforuna göre yüzeyde hatıra izi olmasa da bu yüzeyin altında silinmeyecek şekilde depolanmış derin hatıra katmanları vardır. Bu katmanda bulunan erişilmesi güç izler, aynı zamanda bir unutulmuş biçimdir (Freud 1925, aktaran Draaisma, 2014, 20, 22, 26, 300-301). Travmanın bir hastalık veya bir patolojiye indirgenmemesi gerektiğini öngören Freud’a göre travma, zihinde bir yaralanmaya karşılık gelir (Caruth, 1996, 3-4). Dahası, travmanın etkisi belleğe kaydedilenlerin nasıl anlatıldığından anlaşılır. Antropolojik perspektif, belleğin nasıl kaydedildiği kadar kaydedilenlerin nasıl aktarıldığıyla da ilgilenir.

Kimlik, unutmak ve hatırda tutmak arasında bir yönetmeyi gerektirir. Pierre Nora ve Richard Terdiman, tarihe mal etmek konusunda haklı olsalar da belleği, Avrupa merkezci yaklaşımla kavramsallaştırmışlardır. Oysa geçmişini unutabilmek ve onun yükünden sıyrılabilmek üzere göç eden kolonyal özneler, geçmişi farklı ve çeşitli açılardan görerek dönüştürmüşlerdir (Nora, 1989; Terdiman 1993, aktaran Antze and Lambek, 1996, xxix, xiv). Habitus ise çok çeşitli durumlarla başa çıkmayı sağlayan bir strateji üretme ilkesidir (Bourdieu ve Wacquant, 2003,



27). Sermayenin, alışkanlıklar veya davranış yatkınlıkları olan habituslardan oluştuğunu ileri süren Bourdieu, aileyi, farklı sermaye birikimlerinin aktarımını sağlayan toplumsal yeniden üretim mekanizmalarını işleten yer olarak görür. Buna göre aile, “kolektif özne” biçiminde davranır ve bütünlüğünü, bu birikimlerini sonraki kuşaklara aktararak sağlar (Bourdieu, 2015, 135-137).

Bourdieu'ya göre habituslar, gündelik yaşam deneyimlerine dayanarak oluşur. Bu deneyimler, bireyin belleğindeki temsillerden bir evren yaratır. Bireyler, içiçe olduğu ortamlardan gelen habitusları benimser ve yeniden üretir. Mirası alan aktör, miras aldığını dönüştüren bir eyleyendir. Bir sosyal alanın sınırlarını belirleyen habitusa göre birbirlerinden farklı kimliklere bürünülür (Lahaye vd., 2011, 37, 88, 104). Maurice Halbwachs, kişisel ve toplumsal belleğin diyalektik ilişkisine dikkat çekmiştir (Nora, 1989, 9). Buna göre kişi kendini, aidiyetini belirlemeye olanak veren bir kolektif kimlikle tanımlar (Lahaye vd., 2011, 288). Türk erkeklerle evlenerek Türkiye'ye yolu düşen ikinci kuşak Alman kadınlar, savaş belleğini geride bırakmaya çabalamış olsa da hem kendileri hem de çocukları bu belleğin tekrar tekrar üretiminde rol alarak habituslarını ve kimliklerini biçimlendirmişlerdir.

Almanya, Türk erkekler için özellikle mühendislik, tıp gibi eğitim alanları açısından önemli bir göç destinasyonu⁴ olmuştur. Almanya'nın bu konumu, Türk erkekler açısından aynı zamanda Alman kadınlarla yakın sosyal ilişkilerin gelişmesine yardımcı olmuştur. Bu yönüyle Almanya, Türk erkekler ile Alman kadınları buluşturan özel bir mekâna dönüşmüştür. Aynı dönemde Türkiye ise Ortadoğu coğrafyasında bulunması nedeniyle her ne kadar Almanya'da olumsuz bir imge olsa da Alman kadınlar açısından egzotik bir yer, güzel bir coğrafya ve rahat bir gündelik yaşam alanı gibi cezbeden özelliklere sahiptir. Türkiye, bu kadınların, yeni bir dil, inanç, alışkanlıklar, yaşamlarını yeniden kurdukları ve hayata tutundukları alan olmuştur. Türk-Alman kuşağın aktardığına göre ikinci kuşak Alman kadınlar (görüşmecilerin anneleri), Türk eşlerini, savaştan güçlü bir şekilde çıkan kendi ailelerine benzetmektedir. Buna göre Türk eşlerin ve ilk kuşak Alman ailelerin güçlü tarafları, yürüttükleri yaşam mücadelesinden kaynaklanmaktadır.

Türk-Alman kuşak, annelerinin Almanya, babalarının da Türkiye uyruklu olmasından dolayı yaşamlarının belirli bölümlerini, hem Almanya hem de Türkiye'de geçirebilmektedir. Bu kuşağın Türkiye'de aile ve sosyal çevrelerde yaşadıkları kimi tecrübeler, aile tarihine ilgi duymalarına yol açmıştır. Birçoğunun Alman annelerinin Türkiye'deki uyum süreci⁵ sancılı olmuştur. Annelerin konuşmak istemedikleri travmaların yıllar sonra yeniden ortaya çıkmasında, farklı bir coğrafyada yaşadıkları kültürel sorunların önemli bir payı bulunmaktadır. Görüştüğüm kişiler arasında, annelerinin çocukluk çağlarında savaşa tanık olmalarının, travmalarını derinleştirdiğini düşünenler çoğunluktadır. Yeni travmalar, eski travmaları canlan-

4 İlgili literatür, daha çok misafir işçi göçüne odaklanmıştır. Bu araştırma, misafir işçi olmayan orta ve üst orta sınıf Türk erkekleri kapsamaktadır.

5 Görüşmecilerin değerlendirmelerine göre, Alman kadınların bir başka ülkede yaşam kurması, güçlü kalmanın ya da bu travmatik mirastan uzak kalmanın bir yolu gibi görünse de başka bir ülke, aileden uzak kalmak ve başka bir kültürel ortama uyum gibi baş etmesi kolay olmayan zorluklar içermektedir. Bu kadınlar, kendilerini Türkiye'de başka türlü bir savaşın içinde bulmuştur. Kimi Alman kadınlar, yaşadıkları sorunlarla baş etme süreçlerinde güçlü durmaya çalışırken sağlıklarından olmuştur. Mücadele süresince yalnız kalmaları, savaş süresince yaşadıkları yalnız kalma korkusunu hatırlatmış ve eski travma yeniden canlanmıştır. İkinci kuşak, kronik depresyon ve şizofreni gibi psikolojik sağlığı sekteye uğratan hastalıklarla karşı karşıya kalmıştır. Travmayla baş etmek üzere alınan psikolojik terapiler, bu kadınların savaş sırasında yaşadıklarını unutturmaya yetersiz kalmaktadır.



dırmıştır. Bununla birlikte Türk-Alman kuşak, savaşı doğrudan yaşamamış olsa da toplumsal alanda birçok kez İkinci Dünya Savaşı ile karşı karşıya gelmişlerdir. Özellikle çocukluk yıllarında evde baba tarafından yakın aile üyelerinin, sokakta oyun oynarken arkadaşlarının veya okulda bazı öğretmenlerinin ve arkadaşlarının “*gavur*”, “*Alman dölü*” ve “*Nazi*” gibi ayrıştırıcı nitelendirmelerine maruz kalabilmişlerdir. Annelerinin uyum denemeleri ve/veya sosyal çevrelerde karşı karşıya kaldıkları ayrıştırıcı söylemler, kendi Alman ailelerinin savaşla ilgili aile tarihine olan ilgilerini arttırarak belirli sorular sormaya başlamalarına neden olmuştur: “Savaş sırasında Alman ailem ne yaşadı?”, “Yaşadıklarıyla ilgili ne düşünüyor?”, “Savaşı nasıl anlamlandırıyor?”.

David.E. Kyvig ve Myron Marty (2011, 9), kişinin kendi hayatını etkileyen bir geçmiş hakkında bilgi edinerek kuşaklar arası davranış biçimlerini ve belirli geleneklerin neden değiştiğini anlamaya girişmesini heyecan verici olarak yorumlar. Ulusötesi kimlik tecrübeleri, torunların, aile tarihine yönelik meraklarını pekiştirmiştir. Torunların, geçmişi kurcalamaya yönelik girişimleri, savaş belleğinin belirli bir bölümünün ortaya çıkmasında etkili olmuştur.

Torunlar, Alman aile üyelerinin savaş belleğine ilk erişmeye çalıştıklarında çoğunlukla sessizlikle karşılaşmışlardır. Michel De Certeau’ya (2009, 22-23) göre, zayıf ve güçsüz klanlar, durumu kendi lehine döndürmek için sessiz ve incelikli taktikler geliştirerek yaratıcılıklarını ortaya koyar. Belleğin travmatik içeriği, savaştan sağ çıkan aile üyelerinin, yıllar içinde bu travmadan uzaklaşmaya çalıştıklarını göstermektedir. Sessiz kalarak aile tarihlerine “yabancılaşma” stratejisi, savaşı yaşayan kuşaklar açısından travmadan kaçınarak güçlü kalabilmenin bir yolu olarak görülmüştür.

Burada, bu makalenin, ne savaş belleğinin tümünü kapsama ne de üçüncü kuşağı genelleme iddiasının olmadığını belirtmek gerekir. Nora, belleğin sansüre açık olduğunu ve kendine uygun gerçekleri içerdiğini vurgulamakla birlikte stratejiler bütünü olan belleğin, kullanılma biçimiyle değer taşıdığını savunur (1989, 8; 2006, 10). Savaş belleğinin aktarılmayan kısmının bilinmezliği ve muğlâklığı, elbette ki bambaşka tartışmalar ortaya koyabilir. Fakat burada önemli olan şey, önceki kuşaklar tarafından savaş belleğinin kapalı tutulma çabalarına karşılık aktarılabilen küçük bir kısmının dahi çok şey söylüyor olmasıdır.

Bourdieu (2003), aileyi, toplumsal yeniden üretim mekanizmalarının işlediği öncelikli yer olarak görür ve ailenin, sonraki kuşaklara bir habituslar bütünü aktardığını savunur. Araştırma, Alman ailelerin habituslarının savaşla önemli bir bağlantısının olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Travmatik bir mirasın kalmasına neden olan savaş tecrübeleri, Alman ailelerin habitusunu da biçimlendirmiştir. Bu noktada, aile üyelerinin belleklerinden süzülen detayların içeriği ve bu detayları sonraki kuşaklara aktarma biçimleri kritik önem taşımaktadır.

Belleğin aktarılan kısmının içeriğine bakıldığında, Alman ailelerin büyük bir kısmının, savaş sırasında ve savaşı izleyen yıllarda acı ve yokluk içeren tecrübeler edindiği görülmektedir. Erkekler Naziliği, kadınlar ise Nazi hegemonyası altında yokluğu tecrübe etmek durumunda kalmıştır. Aileler, savaş sırasında ölüm, kayıp, yaralanma ve sakatlanma gibi birtakım travmatik olaylar yaşamıştır. Savaşta yaşananlar, beden ve/veya akıl sağlığının bozulmasına yol açarak Alman ailelerin belleklerinde travmatik bir mirasın yer tutmasına neden olmuştur.

Belleğin nasıl aktarıldığına bakıldığında ise torunların, savaşla ilgili aile tarihi içinde erkeklerden çok kadınlarla karşılaştığı görülmektedir. Aile içinde savaş konusu gündeme geldiğinde savaştan, erkeklerden çok kadınların bahsetmesi dikkat çekicidir. Savaş belleğinde yer alan



eril tarih, Nazilik tecrübeleri içeren ve hatırlanmak istenmeyen bir tarihtir. Aile tarihini yeniden yazan ve üretmek bugüne taşıyanlar kadınlardır. Alman kadınlar, tarihi tarih haline getiren öznelardır. Aktarılanların içeriği, daha çok mağduriyet temalı olup mücadele çerçevesindedir. Savaşla, getirdiği mağduriyetlerle mücadele edilerek baş edilmiştir.

Araştırmada, savaş travmasıyla başa çıkma sürecinden güçlü çıkmaya çalışan ailelerin, aile ve sosyal ilişki tarzı, sosyal statü ve sınıf, mülk ve miras ile aidiyet gibi gündelik yaşama dair birtakım alışkanlıklarında, ilişkilerinde ve anlayışlarında majör değişiklikler olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bir başka ifadeyle savaş mağduriyeti, dünya görüşü, ahlaki yargı ve tutumları yeniden düzenleyici bir faktör olmuştur. Savaş belleği, sonraki kuşakların yaşamı güçlü sürdürmek üzere referansı olmuştur.

Eşleri askere alınan ilk kuşak Alman kadınların, savaş sırasında hayatta kalabilmek üzere gündelik yaşamlarında karşılaştıkları zor koşullarla baş etmede geliştirdikleri stratejiler, mağduriyetten güç üretebilmelerini sağlamıştır. İlk kuşak Alman kadınların güç odaklı habitusları, Türk erkeklerle evlenen kızlarının Türkiye’de tutunma süreçlerinde ve torunlarının kimlik tecrübelerinde de güç kaynakları olmuştur.

Savaş belleği, savaşı doğrudan tecrübe etmese de üçüncü kuşağın kültürel sermayesinin gelişimi açısından oldukça önemlidir. Torunlar, ailelerinin savaş geçmişini anlamaya çabalarırken aynı zamanda Alman olmanın anlamını da kavramaya çalışmıştır. Bu süreçte bir yandan Alman ebeveynlerinin diğer yandan da kendilerinin sosyal ilişkilerini, değerlerini ve davranışlarını yeniden değerlendirme süreci içine girmişlerdir. Torunlar, ailelerinin savaşla ilgili birikimleriyle temas ettikçe bu birikimlerden belirli stratejiler geliştirebilecekleri çıkarımlarda bulunmuştur. Savaş belleğinden elde ettikleri çıkarımlar, ailelerinin savaşla ilgili birikimlerini acı içerse de bir tür “kazanç” olarak görmelerine yol açmıştır. Willy Lahaye ve arkadaşları, zaman içinde kendi olma bilincine varılmasının, bireye kendisi ile ilgili bilgiler edinme ve planlarını ilgileri doğrultusunda geliştirme olanağı sunduğunu ileri sürer (2011, 10). Savaş belleği, Türk-Alman kuşağın, kendi habituslarını yeniden dizayn edebilecekleri bir rehber sermaye olmuştur.

Stuart Hall, kimliğin yeniden keşfedilemeyeceğini buna karşılık sürekli yeniden üretileceğini savunur (1990, 224). Ailelerinin savaş belleğiyle yüzleşerek Alman kimliklerini keşfetmeye girişen Türk-Alman kuşak, sonuçta her iki uyuşturucu kaynaktan kaynaklanan kimliklerini bu belleğe göre yeniden üretmektedirler. Bu araştırma, farklı kimlik vurgularının, kişileri, kendi aile tarihlerine yakınlaştırmakla birlikte bu kimlikleri yeniden üretmeye yönlendirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır.

Ulusötesi bir kuşağın perspektifinden travmatik mirasın nasıl yorumlandığını göstermeye çalıştığım bu makalenin çerçevesini belirleyen sorular şöyledir: Savaş, önceki iki kuşağı nasıl etkiledi?, Torunlar, önceki kuşakların savaş belleğini nasıl yorumluyor?. Buna göre makalede, bir yandan savaşı yaşayan kuşakların, karşı karşıya kaldığı savaş travmasının, kendi kültürel perspektiflerini nasıl biçimlendirdiğine, diğer yandan da üçüncü kuşağın bakış açısında savaş belleğinin nasıl bir rolü olduğuna yanıt arayacağım. Makalenin ilk bölümünde, savaşı doğrudan yaşayan ilk kuşağın ve ikinci kuşağın belleklerinde yer alan savaş tecrübelerine (eril ve dişil tarih) yer vereceğim. Bu içerik, Alman dedelerin, SS subayına dönüştürülmelerine karşı yürüttükleri mücadele ve anneanneler ile annelerin evden yürüttükleri mücadeleyle ilgilidir. İkinci bölümünde, Alman ailelerin, savaş belleğine bağlı olarak birtakım anlayışlarında meydana gelen değişikliklere yer vereceğim. Son bölümünde ise üçüncü kuşağın, önceki kuşakların değişen habituslarına göre kendi kimliklerini nasıl vurguladığını ortaya koymaya çalışacağım.



I

Türk Alman kuşağın savaş belleğine ilgisi ve belleğin içeriği: Savaşı yaşayanların “savaşı”

İkinci Dünya Savaşı’nda Almanya’nın kentsel ve kırsal alanlarından on sekiz milyon erkek, orduda görev yapmak üzere ailelerinden ayrılıyor. Erkekler askere çağrılırken kadınlar çocuklarıyla birlikte hayatta kalmaya çalışıyor (Vaizey, 2011, 364-373). Görüşmecilerin Alman aileleri, savaşla birlikte erkeklerin zorla askere alınarak SS subayı yapılması, evlerin bombalanması, ailelerin kaybedilmesi veya parçalanması, ölüm, yaralanma, kaçma, esir düşme ve göç etme gibi dram içeren birçok olayla karşı karşıya kalıyor. Savaştan geri dönebilen erkekler arasında, duyu ve uzuv kaybı gibi sakatlanmalar ve kalp hastalıkları gibi kritik hastalıklar yaşayanlar bulunuyor. Başka bir ifadeyle savaş, birçok yaşamı yok ederken geride kalanların sağ kalan bedenlerine ve yaşamlarına kalıcı izler bırakıyor. İlk izler, aile içinde travmatik savaş belleğinin zeminini oluşturuyor.

Yaşanan zorlukların yarattığı sarsıntı, yalnız kalma korkusu gibi çeşitli korkular halinde sürüyor. Savaşın getirdiği korkular, sağlıklı düşünememe ve birtakım fizyolojik ve psikolojik sorunlar olarak bugünün zorluklarına dönüşmüştür. Savaşta yaşanan kayıplar ve zorluklar, kimi görüşmecilerin “Nazisizm travması” olarak tanımladığı kuşaklar boyu süren psikolojik, toplumsal ve kültürel sorunlara neden oluyor. Claudine Vegh, ebeveynleri Nazi döneminde öldürülen Fransız Yahudilerle yaptığı görüşmelerde benzer sonuçlar elde etmiştir. Korkular, kâbuslar, sinirlilikler, öfkeler ve şoklar, bu kişilerin yaşamının büyük bölümünü kaplıyor (Vegh 1984, aktaran Thompson, 1999, 139, 140). Görüştüğüm kişilerin dedelerinde savaşa katılmanın neden olduğu ızdırap, kadınlarda ise çekilen zorlukların neden olduğu hatıralar bugünün travma yüklü miraslarıdır.

Torunlar görüşmelerde, ailelerinin savaş belleklerine sessiz kalışlarına vurgu yapmıştır. Torunlar savaşla ilgili bir şeyler öğrenmek istediklerinde Alman büyük ebeveynler ve annelerinin benzer davranışıyla karşılaşılıyor: Sessizlik. Ailenin savaş geçmişinin kapalı tutulması, Alman ailelerde sıkça görülen bir davranış örüntüsüdür Savaşın aile içinde sık gündeme gelmemesi, ilk etapta sonraki kuşakların savaş belleğine ilgi duymasını erteleyebiliyor. Fakat yaş ilerledikçe ilgi duyulmaya başlanıyor. Görüştüğüm kişilerin yaşları⁶ 40’ın üstünde olanlar arasında, anneanneleri ve dedeleri Birinci Dünya Savaşı’nı görenler de bulunuyor. Savaşı yaşayan kuşakların savaşla ilgili konuları açmamayı tercih etmesi, savaş belleğine ilgi duyulmasını bir süre ertelese de Türk-Alman kuşağın Türkiye’deki tecrübeleri nedeniyle bu belleğe ilgisiz kalma şansları bulunmuyor. Annelerini ve diğer Alman aile üyelerini yeniden tanımak üzere savaş belleğini sorgulamaya başlıyorlar. Sorularına aile içinde yeterli cevaplar alamayan görüşmeciler⁷, psikoterapilere katıldıklarını ve bu terapilerde aile geçmişlerine yolculuk yapmaları gerektiğini anladıklarını belirtmiştir.

Vegh araştırmasında, Nazi toplama kamplarından sağ çıkmayı başaran iki yüz İtalyan’ın

6 Yaş ortalaması 41’dir.

7 Görüşmecilerimin çoğu, gerçekleştirdiğimiz mülakatları bir tür terapi olarak değerlendirmiştir. Sorduğum birçok soruyu daha önce kendilerine sormadıklarını fark ederek cevaplarını, Alman ailelerinden öğrenmeye çalışacaklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bir tür etnografik terapi olarak tanımlayabileceğim mülakatların, görüşmecilerimin, hem sessizliğe karşı aradıkları sese hem de Alman aileleriyle aralarındaki ilişkilerine katkı sağladığını umuyorum.



birçoğunun, başlarından geçenleri kelimelerle ifade edilemeyecek kadar dehşet ve acı verici olması nedeniyle kendilerine sakladığını görüyor. Kimsesiz kalanların büyük bir kısmı, geçmişleri hakkında konuşmayı tabu kabul ediyor. Konuşmak istememekten ziyade konuşmıyorlar. Bu, hayat boyu peşlerini bırakmayan sessiz bir ıstıraba dönüşüyor (Vegh 1984, aktaran Thompson, 1999, 139).

Aile içinde savaş döneminden bahsedilmemesinde, dedelerin Nazilik tecrübeleri belirleyici oluyor. Genç bir erkek görüşmecimin, çok sonra öğrendiği, dedesinin SS subayı olmakla ilgili tecrübelerini “*kara bir geçmiş*” olarak yorumlaması dikkat çekicidir. Hiç tanınmayan bu karanlık geçmişin sahiplenilerek onunla yüzleşme girişimleri, savaş belleğinin, tozlu raflarından çıkarılmasına fırsat sunuyor:

“Benim dedem SS generaliydi. Hatta bir buçuk sene hapiste yatmış savaş suçlarından dolayı. Almanlar Nazilik konusunda çok sessiz kalırlar, fazla konuşmazlar. Ben çok geç öğrendim Holokost olayını. Hatta çizgili pijamalı çocuk filmi izleyince o anda öğrendim. On on bir sene önceydi bu. Gaz odasına falan sokuyorlar... Anneme gerçek mi falan dedim. Ben tabi böyle bir şoka uğradım, biz ne yapmışız ya?. Kötü oldum tabii ister istemez. Hiç konuşulmuyordu bizde ve genellikle Alman ailelerinde öyledir. Bir kara geçmiş olduğu için pek bahsedilmez. Şimdi ben soruyorum dedem anlatıyor. Biraz fotoğraf gösteriyor. Hatta dedemin babasının wikipedia sayfası da var. Oradan da biraz öğrendim”. (K.A., erkek, 20, annesi Baden-Württemberg eyaletinden)

Görüşülenlerin önemli bir kısmı, aile üyeleri arasında savaşla ilgili kabuslar görenlerin, savaşa katılmaya bağlı olarak ıstırap çekenlerin ve kendini sorgulayanların olduğundan bahsetmiştir. Rüyalar, SS subaylarına dönüştürülen Alman erkeklerin yaşadıklarını birkaç karede özetliyor:

“Şu geçen yıllarda hep kabus görmüş. Yani savaştan çok etkilenmiş, yani negatif bir şekilde. Çok terledi, uyurken uyandı. Panik halinde uyandı, geceleri soruyordu, yok beni almayın gibi...” (L.M.O., kadın, 25, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Savaş süresince gelişen korkuların yol açtığı travma, Alman ailelerin dramlar yaşamasına neden olarak etkilerini sürdürmektedir. Küçük yaşlarda maruz kalınan savaştan net hatırlanan kareler, bugüne gök gürültüsünden bile ürkün korku dolu mirasları taşımaktadır. Savaşla türeyen korkular, yeni korkular üretilmesini kolaylaştırıyor. Gök gürültüsünü, evlerin bombalanmasıyla benzeştiriliyor. Savaş belleği, saklı tutularak unutulmak istense de metaforik çağrışımlar yoluyla da yeniden üretiliyor.

Torunlar, eril tarihi öğrenmeye çalışsa da daha çok dişil tarihle karşılaşıyorlar. Sınırlı da olsa aile geçmişlerini öğrendiklerinde yaşanılanları dönemin koşullarında anlamayı deniyorlar ve kendilerini sorumlu hissettikleri bu tarihe karşı borçlarını ödemenin yollarını arıyorlar. Savaşla ilgili anlatıların içeriği cinsiyetlere göre farklılaşıyor. Ailelerin savaşla ilişkili aile tarihi, torunların ısrarıyla açıldığında, erkekler daha çok savaşa katılma mecburiyetini, kadınlar ise savaş sürecinde yaşanan zorluklar ve mücadele biçimlerini anlatıyor.



Erkeklerin savaş tecrübeleri: SS Subayı ol(ma)ma savaşı

Görüşmecilerimin birçoğunun dedesi, savaş sırasında Nazi partisine üye olup olmamakla ilgili bir seçim yapmak durumunda kalıyor. Nazi Partisi'ne katılıp katılmama kararında, geride kalan aile üyelerinin geçimini sağlamak ve onları bir arada tutma fikri önemli bir rol oynuyor. Nazi Partisi'ne katılan erkekler işini kaybetmiyor. Ekonomik sebepler, isteseler de istemeseler de erkeklerin ölmek veya öldürmekten birini seçmek durumunda kalmalarına neden oluyor. SS Subayı olarak savaşa katılan dedesinin durumunu, bir görüşmecim şöyle aktarıyor:

“Nazi olmayıp da ne olacaktın dedi dedem. Ya öldürecekler ya askere gideceksin ve orada sen öldüreceksin. Hiç bir şansın yok. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nda Yahudi soykırımını için ben birçok Alman'ın istemeye istemeye Nazi tarafı gibi görünmek zorunda olduğunu bilirim”. (M.Ö., kadın, 50, annesi Hamburg eyaletinden)

İstanbul'da doğup büyüyen Frieda Leitner, Birinci Dünya Savaşı'nın başlaması ve İstanbul'un işgali sonucunda burada yaşayan diğer Alman ve Avusturyalılar gibi memleketine gönderiyor. 1918 yılında 20 yaşında olan Frieda, hiç görmediği “vatanı” olan Almanya'da yapayalnız tutunmaya çalışıyor. Frieda, iç savaşın sürdüğü Almanya'da tarafsız kalmanın mümkün olmadığını görüyor. Herkes ekmeğini kim veriyorsa onu koruyarak yaşamaya çalışıyor (Neyzi, 2011, 15). Benzer şekilde birçok görüşmecim de dedelerinin savaş koşullarında askere gitmeyi kabul etmesini, çok daha rasyonel bir seçenek olarak görüyor. Bu görüş, bugünkü kuşağın, Alman dedelerinin SS subayı oluşunu mecburiyetle ilişkilendirmesinden ileri geliyor. Buna göre Nazi partisine üye olmak, bir tür hayatta kalma stratejisi olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bir başka ifadeyle, Alman dedeler, hayatta kalmalarını neyin sağlayacağını düşünüyorsa onu yapıyor.

Savaşa SS subayı olarak katılan kimi dedeler arasında Nazi ideolojisine inancı tam olanlar da bulunuyor. Savaşta uzun süre cephede kalan ve esir düşen dedesinin Naziliğini, emir-komuta zinciri çerçevesinde değerlendiren bir görüşmecim, dedesinin inkârcılığı ve habersizliği arasında gidip geliyor:

“Dedem zaten Alman ordusunda subaydı ama yüzbaşıydı. O yüzden savaşın her ne kadar kötü şeyini görmüş olsa da hala da dedem kötü olarak anlatmazdı olan biteni. Yani onun bakış açısıyla Almanlar aslında doğru olanı yapıyorlardı. Amerikalılar devreye girene kadar aslında her şey toz pembeydi. Hiçbir zaman da bu esir kamplarında, şudur budur onların hiçbirine inanmadı dedem. İnkâr ediyordu. Hayır, öyle bir şey yok, o uydurma, biz Almanlar öyle bir şey yapmadık, yapmıyoruz şeklinde. Cepheden cepheye sürülen bir yüzbaşının ne olup ne bittiğinden çok haberi olmadığını tahmin ediyorum. Ama bir anlamda da enteresan bir şey. Dedem ailesinden kopuk bir insandı. Çünkü o, gençliğinin çoğunu zaten harpte geçirip ondan sonra Rusya'da, Sibiry'a'da, Norveç'te ve Fransa'da esir kamplarında esir olarak vakit geçirip, aklandı... Evet bu adamın hakikaten bir suçu yok, sadece emir kulu olduğundan bu noktaya gelene kadar kalmış”. (M.Ş., erkek, 37, annesi Saksonya eyaletinden)

Savaşa maruz kalanlar arasında Nazi askeri olarak kendilerince hayatta kalmaya çabalayanlar olmasına karşılık Nazi Partisi'ne katılmayı reddederek risk alanlar da bulunuyor. Buna karşılık dönemin koşullarında Naziliğin ne anlama geldiğini tam olarak bilmeyen bir kesim



de bulunuyor. Gündemi basından takip ederek olan bitenin farkında olmayan bu kesim, Nazileri, yakından gördükleri yol yapımı ve ekonomik kalkınma hamleleri gibi icraatları üzerinden değerlendiriyor, basın da etkisiyle savaşta yaşanan insanlık dışı muamelelerin farkında olamayabiliyor. İşinden olduğu gibi vatanından da çıkmaya zorlanan dedesini bu kesimden ayıran bir torun, dedesinin savaştan sıyrılabilmesinde, karakterinin iyi yanlarının rolü olduğunu düşünüyor:

“Evleri bombalanıyor. Anneannem ve dedem de bu bomba olayından sonra dört beş gün bisikletle Danimarka sınırına kadar kaçıyorlar. Aslında çıkmamaları gereken bir bölge. Dedemi bir ara Amerikalılar tutukluyorlar, bir yere koyuyorlar. Kaçmayı başarmış, yani tel örgülerden kaçmış. Basın iktidarın elinde, halk pek bir şeyin farkında değil. Yani nasıl bir oluşum oluyor orada, iktidar üçüncü döneminde sapıtıyor? İlk geldiği dönemde yollar yapıyor, Almanya ekonomisini kalkındırıyor. Halkın gördüğü hep yol. Soykırımlar yapıldığının, insanlık dışı şeyler yapıldığının çok farkında değil normal halk. Tabi ki savaş ortamına girince bence kişisel özellikler de etkili oluyor... Yani insanın içindeki iyi ve kötünün çıkması gibi”. (S.H., kadın, 44, annesi Hessen eyaletinden)

Askere alınan erkeklerin çoğu, aileyi bütün tutma görevini çoğunlukla devlete bırakarak savaşa katılmak ya da bu görevi kaçarak kendi kendine sağlamak durumunda kalıyorlar. Hester Vaizey’in araştırmasına göre cepheye çağrılan erkeklerin önemli bir bölümü, aileleriyle olan ilişkilerini uzaktan da olsa güçlü tutmaya çalışıyor (2011, 364-373). Aile üyeleri, savaşın güç koşulları altında birbirleriyle iletişim kurmaya ve ilişkilerini belirli bir seviyede tutmaya çalışsa da bu ilişkiler, erkeklerin evlerine uzun süre dönememelerinden dolayı hasar görüyor.

Kadınların (anneanneler ve anneler) savaş tecrübeleri: Evdeki “savaş”

Anneanneler ve anneler, savaş belleğinden dışarıya, evden yürüttükleri savaşı çıkarıyor. Kadınlar, gündelik beslenme, çalışma koşulları ve aile bütünlüğünün bozulması gibi yaşam düzenlerinde meydana gelen değişiklikleri anlatıyorlar. Konuşulanlardan, savaş süresince yaşanan belirli sahnelerin, görüştüğüm kişilerin annelerinin belleklerinde önemli bir yer tuttuğu görülüyor. Türk-Alman çocukların annelerinin, çocukluk çağlarından bugüne taşıdıkları duygu yüklü mirasın içinde, babalarının evden askere götürülmesi, evlerin bombalanması ve kıtlık, dramatik sahneler olarak yer alıyor:

“Dedem askerde. Annem o zaman dört yaşında. Aç kalmışlar. O zaman paranın hiç değeri yok. Para, pul oluyor zaten. Açlık yaşamış giderken okula. Mesela annesi ona bir tane tereyağlı ekmek vermiş. Bütün gün onu yiyecek. Düşün düşün ne zaman yiyim diye. Yiyip kurtulurdum, bütün gün aç kalırdım diyor. Çikolata nedir bilmezmiş harp zamanları. O kadar korku içindeler ki. Anneannem o harp psikolojisiyle doğru dürüst düşünemiyor bile. Sirenler, alarmlar çalıyor, aşağı kilere iniyorlar saklanmak için... Anneannem, annemi ve teyzemi koltuğunun altına alıyor, şemsiye açıyor. Düşün ya, o şemsiyenin nasıl bir koruyucu etkisi olabilir bombaya karşı? Bilemiyorsun artık. İnsanlar korkudan ne yaptığını bilmiyor”. (B.D., kadın, 55, annesi Bavyera eyaletinden)



Eşlerinden haber alamayan kadınlar, çocuklarıyla hayatta kalmaya çalışırken kıtlık, açlık ve yokluk gibi birçok sorunla karşı karşıya kalıyor. Birinci ve ikinci kuşak aile üyelerinin ilk mücadelesi, hayatta kalabilecek oranda beslenebilmektir. Bu mücadele sürecinde minimum düzeyde karbonhidrat ve protein bulabilenler kendilerini şanslı sayıyor. Ekmeğin karne ile satıldığı, etin hiç bulunmadığı bir dönemde, çoğunluğu hayatının ilk yıllarında olan ikinci kuşak (Alman anneler), tam da büyüme çağında bu kıtlıkla karşı karşıya kalıyor. Kadınlar, güç koşullar içinde çocuklarını yaşatma savaşı veriyor. Kadın bir görüşmecimin aktardıkları savaş koşullarının evdeki yüzünü tüm çıplaklığıyla gözler önüne seriyor:

“Annem patatesin kabuğunu kaynatıp on kişi beslendiklerini anlatır. Annem lazımlıklarda yemek yediğini ne çok anlatır”. (İ.İ. kadın, 49, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Kadınların, savaş sürecinde kendi başlarının çarelerine bakacak yollar arama gayreti içine giriyor. Açlıkla birlikte sokaklarda kalma ve ağır çalışma şartları gibi refah kaybına neden olan güç koşullar, karşılaşılan zorlukların görünen tarafıdır. Büyük oranda çocuklardan ve eşlerden ayrı şekilde, yeterli olanakların olmadığı evlerde, tek bir oda içinde, en temel gereksinimlerden biri olan beslenmeyi yetersiz ve sağlıksız bir şekilde karşılayarak yaşamlarını sürdürüyorlar.

Kimi kadınlar, buldukları şehirlerde dikiş ve bakıcılık gibi mecburi hizmetlerde bulunuyor. Kadınlar, iş ve iş sağlığı güvencesinin olmadığı, süresi ve karşılığı belirsiz olan çalışma koşullarında hayata tutunmaya çalışıyor. Gündüzleri fabrika, maden vb. işyerlerinde haftada 50-60 saat, geceleri ise erkeklerin cepheye giyecekleri savaş elbiselerini dikmek gibi işler yaparak hayatta kalmaya çalışıyorlar. Savaşın eli, ailelerin yaşam düzenlerini değiştiriyor:

“Annem genç olduğu için mecbur fabrika hizmeti vardı. Fabrikalarda savaş için silah vb. üretiliyordu. Önce Almanlar için fabrikada çalıştı. Sonra Çekler için çalıştı. Annem de Alman kökenli ama Çek Cumhuriyeti’nden. Onlar İkinci Dünya Savaşı’ndan sonra sınır dışı ediliyor. Sonra Ruslar geldiler. Ondan sonra annem Bavyera’ya gitti. Haftada elli saat altmış saat, ne kadar iş varsa o kadar çalışıyordunuz. Yani bir iş güvencesi yoktu. Şirkette çalışıyordu. Ve aynı zamanda da akşamları Amerikan askerleri için dikiş yapıyordu. Sonra biz dünyaya geliyoruz. Ablam ve ben. Çalışmaya devam ettiği için bizi bir aileye veriyordu. Eskiden çok vardı böyle. Hafta arası yani pazartesiden ya da pazardan cumartesi sabaha kadar o ailedeydim. Para karşılığında yapıyorlardı. Beş altı çocuk vardı. Ablamla ben iki ayrı ailedeydik. Annemiz hafta sonları bizi kendi evine alıyordu. Aslında ev diye bir şey de yoktu. Annem bir kadından oda kiraladı. Bir odada oturuyorduk. Bizi almaya Cumartesi öğleden sonra geliyordu. Pazar günü öğleden sonra tekrar oraya bırakıyordu. Beş-altı sene yaşadık orada”. (P.A., kadın, 48, annesi Bavyera eyaletinden)

Savaşın eli, ailelerin yaşam düzenlerini değiştirmeyi sürdürürken kadınlar, çocuklarını bir arada ve hayatta tutmaya çabılıyor. Siyasi el aracıyla dağıtılan aileler de bulunuyor. Aile üyeleri arasında özellikle erkek çocuklar, şehirler bombalanırken daha az hasar gören ve tehlikeli olmayan şehirlerde yaşayan başka ailelere veya yetiştirme yurtlarına verilebiliyor. Bir erkek görüşmecim, 1939 doğumlu annesinin savaş sırasında erkek kardeşleriyle ayrılma nedenlerini şöyle aktarıyor:



“Osnabrück’de yaşıyorlarmış. Annemlerin evi bombayla yıkılmış. Artık evde yaşayamayacaklarını anlayınca çocuklar alınıyor, başka şehirlere gönderiliyor. Üç erkek kardeşinin bir tanesi hem savaş sırasında hem de savaştan belli bir süre sonra yetiştirme yurtlarında, ailelerin yanında kalıyor. Abilerden bir tanesi sonra Berlin’e gönderiliyor. Ama herhangi bir şekilde mektuplaşma vb. yoktu. Zarar görmeyen yerdeki ailelere bir şey yapmıyorlar. Amaç yeni nesli devam ettirebilmek. Çünkü Almanya savaşı kazanacak, daha büyüyecek! Bütün Avrupa olacak! Sonrasında insana ihtiyacı var”. (O.E.B., erkek, 41, annesi Aşağı Saksonya eyaletinden)

Torunlar arasında, Almanya’nın, aile içi nüfus dengelerini bozan girişimlerini, savaştan sonra kaybettiği nüfusun yerini doldurmak üzere bir nüfus politikası yürütmesi olarak yorumlayanlar bulunuyor. Burada görüşmecinin, bu siyasi manevrayı meşru görmesi dikkat çekicidir. Vandana Joshi’ye (2011, 832) göre, planlarını savaşı kazanacağı üzerine yapan Almanya’nın bir diğer nüfus politikası, hapisanelerdeki Alman kadınların yabancı erkeklerle kurdukları ilişkilerden doğan çocuklara da ulaşmaya çalışmasıdır.

Buradaki anlatılarda aile ve ailedeki kadınların mücadeleciler yönlerinin olumlanarak anlatılması dikkat çekmektedir. Savaş, kadınların bir arada tutma mücadelelerine karşılık ailelerin dağılmasına neden oluyor.

II

Alman aileler, sosyo-kültürel aktarım ve değişen eğilimler

Almanya’da savaşla birlikte başlayan ve savaş sonrasında da sürdürülen siyaset, ailenin içine doğrudan nüfuz ederek aile içi ilişkilerin biçim değiştirmesinde büyük pay sahibidir. Çocukların ayrı yerlere dağıtılması, aile içi dramların yaşanmasına ve ilişki tarzlarının değişmesine neden oluyor. Dağılan aile üyeleri, tekrar bir araya gelmenin yollarını arasa da ailelerin bütünleşme çabaları karşılık bulamayabiliyor.

Askerde yaşadıkları tecrübeler ve sahip olunan birçok şeyin kaybedilmesi, savaştan geri dönen erkeklerin aile üyeleriyle yeniden bağ kurmasını zorlaştırarak evden uzaklaşmalarına temel oluşturuyor. Eşleri savaştayken yıkıntıların içinde yol bulmaya çalışan kadınlar ise kendilerini akıl hastanelerinde bulabiliyor. Böyle durumlarda akraba dayanışması, parçalanmış ailelerin yaşadığı aile içi dramların artmasını önleme sürecinde önemli bir role sahiptir. Teyze, hala gibi yakın kadın akrabalar, çocukların bakımını sağlayarak sonraki kuşakların hayata tutunmasına katkı sağlıyor. Savaş, kardeşleri sadece fiziksel olarak değil aynı zamanda duygusal olarak da birbirinden uzaklaştırıyor. Savaş sırasında devlet eliyle birbirinden koparılan kardeşler arasında uzun yıllar haberleşmenin kesilmesi, kardeşlik ilişkilerinin zedelenmesine yol açıyor. Günümüz tarihçilerinin savaş döneminde yaşanan ayrılmaların aile içi ilişkilerde krizlere neden olduğunu iddia etmesine karşılık Vaizey, savaşa katılan Alman babalar ve geride kalan anne ve çocukların, savaş süresince kendi aralarında sürdürdükleri mektuplaşmalarla ilişkilerini canlı tutmaya çalıştıklarını ileri sürüyor. Vaizey’e (2011, 364-372) göre çocuklar, savaş döneminde anne ve babalarına yaşama gücü kazandırarak hayata tutunma ve yaşamı anlamlandırma süreçlerinde destek oluyor. Çocuklar, ailenin bütün kalmasında köprü görevi üstleniyor. Vaizey’in elde ettiği bu sonuca karşılık benim yaptığım araştırmada torunlar, savaşa katılan Alman dedelerinin savaş süresince aileleriyle çok fazla irtibat kuramadıklarına vurgu yaptılar.



Bu noktada, ailelerin savaşla ilgili geçmişlerine dair geliştirdikleri sessizlik stratejisi ve torunlara anlatılan savaş hikâyelerinin oldukça sınırlı tutulduğu unutulmamalıdır. Sonraki kuşakların aile bağlarının yoğunluğu, savaşla birlikte gelişen aile içi parçalanmaların derecesine göre belirlenebilmektedir. Görüşmecilerin anlattıkları, savaş sırasında yaşanan sıkıntıların, Alman dedelerle ilişki kurmanın zorlaştığını gösteriyor:

“Dedem senelerce Rusya’da rehin kalmış. Çok zor bir insanmış. Yani çok katı ve zor bir babaymış. Zaten yavaş yavaş çocukların hepsi evden kaçmış. En sonunda da en küçük dayım, anneannemi alıp kaçmış. Sonra da zaten boşanmışlar. Ben çok ileri yaşıma kadar dedemi tanımadım”. (B.A., kadın, 46, annesi Hessen eyaletinden)

Sıkı olmayan ilişki biçimi, sonraki kuşaklara aktarılıyor. Türk-Alman kuşak, ilk kuşak aile üyelerinin savaş sırasında dağılmasını, kendi kardeşlik ve sosyal ilişkilerinin zayıf olmasının kaynağı olarak görebiliyor. Savaşın ilişkilerle ilgili bir diğer önemli dar bir sosyal çevreyi yeterli görmez. Aile bağlarının gevşek kalması, ileride sosyal çevrelerle kurulacak ilişkilerin dar tutulmasına yol açıyor. Dar sosyal çevre, ilişki biriktirmeye dayalı olmayan bir stratejinin gelişmesiyle gerçekleşiyor. Sınırlı sayıda insanla kurulan ilişkiler, kişiler arasında çıkabilecek sorun potansiyelini azaltarak nispeten pürüzsüz bir görünüm kazanıyor:

“Ancak Berlin Duvarı yıkılmadan birkaç sene önce haber alabiliyorlar. Duvar yıkıldığında abimle annem arabaya atılıyorlar, kardeşleri ziyarete gidiyorlar. Orada ilk karşılaşma çok hüznü bir an. Dolayısıyla o abi etken dışı. Savaş sonrası herkes işinde gücünde. Almanya’nın tam kalkınma zamanları. Savaş sırasında bütün aile zaten dağıldığı için aile içindeki kardeşlerin birbirleri ile alakalı bağlantısı çok düşük. Ben çok yıllar sonra dayılarımı ve annemin diğer kardeşlerini tanıdım. O kadar kopuklar ki, herkes bireysel. Bağ, kilit yok. O, onu istemedi, bu oldu gibi şeyler yok. Çok net, temiz böyle. Bembeyaz bir sayfa anlatabiliyor muyum? Hiç böyle iç içe girmemiş, girift olmamış ve içinden çıkılmamış şeyler yok. O etki benim yetiştirilme şeklime yansıyor. Şu anda benim arkadaş çevrem küçük olması vb., bir zincirleme reaksiyon”. (O.E.B., erkek, 41, annesi Aşağı Saksonya eyaletinden)

İlişki Doğu Almanya ile Batı Almanya arasına doğudan batıya kaçışları önlemek üzere 1961 yılında çekilen Berlin Duvarı da ailelerin savaştan sonra da uzun yıllar bir araya gelmesini engelliyor.

Görüşmecilerin anlattıklarından savaştan en çok şehirlerde yaşayan ailelerin etkilendiği ortaya çıkıyor. Savaş sırasında Almanya’da öncelikle büyük ve gözde kentler bombalanıyor. Savaşta daha fazla hedef olan büyük kentlerde yıkım da oldukça büyüktür. Varlıklı olanlar, savaştan önce ya ülkeyi terk ediyor ya da bulunduğu kentte kalarak bu dönemi nispeten daha rahat geçiriyor. Kentlerde kalan varlıklı aileler ise kıtlığın içinde açlık çekmeyebiliyorlar. Görüştüğüm iki kardeş, savaş döneminde ailelerinin savaş tecrübelerini, sosyal konum ve sınıfa bağlı olarak şöyle aktarıyorlar:

“Çok varlıklı bir aileymiş. Başkaları hiçbir şey bulamazken onlar İsviçre çikolatası bulabiliyorlarmış. Ama tabii savaş, yerin altına girdiğiniz zaman hiçbir şey yok. Annem o kadar ufak yaşta olmasına rağmen canlı yaşamış bunları. İz de bırakmış onda”. (E.K., erkek, 48, annesi Baden-Württemberg eyaletinden)



“Karneyle dağıtılan yiyeceklerden diğerleriyle beraber eşit olarak alıyorlar. Geceleri ve bombalama zamanları sirenler çaldığında sığınaklara kaçıyorlar. Annem en ufaklarından biriydi. O zaman annem beş-altı yaşında. Annemin bir anısı var. Bir gün hep beraber toplu taşıma aracında gidiyorlar. Adamın bir tanesi söyleniyormuş; Bu işin sonu ne olacak, hiçbir şey satın alamıyoruz, hiç paramız yok?. Annem de, kimsenin parası yok ama benim babamın parası var demiş. Babam çok utandı ve bana da çok kızdı diyor. Açlık çekmiyorlar ama yine de savaştan etkileniyorlar”. (S.K., kadın, 52, annesi Baden-Württemberg eyaletinden)

Kentlerin bombalanması, buralarda yaşayan Almanların önemli bir kısmının göç etmesine de neden olmuştur. Eric Wolf, köylerin, savaş ve iktisadi buhran dönemlerinde kentlerde ve sınai merkezlerdeki insanlara büyük sıkıntı veren tahrip ve saldırılardan korunabilecek güvenli yerler olduklarını işaret etmiştir. Wolf’un bu tespitinde, köylülerin, toprak ve ürün yetiştirme kapasitesi kendi denetiminde olduğundan hem özerkliğini hem de hayatta kalma kapasitesini kendi elinde tutması önemli bir rol oynamaktadır (2000, 38). Almanya’da savaş sırasında köyler, orta sınıf kentli Almanların sığınağına dönüşüyor. Eşleri askerde olduğu için yalnız kalan ve evleri bombalanan Alman kadınlar, çocuklarıyla birlikte güvenlik nedeniyle savaşın henüz ulaşmadığı köylere sürülüyor. Kadınlar köylere göç ederken savaştan anılarını ve geleceklerini kurtarmaya çalışıyorlar:

“Anneannem biraz dominant ve asi bir insandı, kızken de öyleymiş. Anneannem askerler onları sürerken demiş ki; Ben yine daha iyi durumda olduğumda siz yine kir yiyeceksiniz. Yani askerlere, siz çok kötü durumda olacaksınız, ben zaten ileride çok iyi durumda olacağım, siz halinizi göreceksiniz gibi bir şey demiş. Normalde insan böyle yapmaz. Yani oradan sizi süren askere laf atmazsınız. Bunları demiş ama askerler bir şey yapmamışlar. Herhalde gülmüşler. Anneannem ve kız kardeşi, dikenli tellerden gece geçip, eve dönüp aile fotoğraflarını almışlar. Anneannem tabi ki, ileride sabun fabrikasını yeniden kurmak için fabrika planlarını da almış”. (V.Y.T., kadın, 29, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Kentlerdeki bombalamalardan kaçan kadınlar, köylerde tahmin etmedikleri kimi hesaplaşmalarla karşı karşıya kalıyor. Köylülerle yaşadıkları tecrübelerde açlık, kötü muamele ve üzüntü dikkat çekiyor:

“Dedem Sibiry’a da esir düşüyor ve kayboluyor. Anneannem iki çocuğunu ve doğan yeni bebeğini kucağına alarak kaçıyor. Alman köylülerin çiftliğine sığınıyor. Alman halkı içerisinde köylülerin, şehirlilere karşı bir husumeti olduğu savaşta ortaya çıkıyor. Köylere sığınan şehirli Almanlar, köylü Almanlar tarafından pek hoş karşılanmıyor. Çok eziyet çektiriliyor. Anneannem patates tarlalarında çalışıyor. Bir ara öyle bir aç kalıyorlar ki, galiba bir çuval pancar için yanında götürdüğü köpeğini çiftçiye veriyor. Teyzemi, dayımı ve annemi pancarla doyurabilmek için”. (B.B., erkek, 48, annesi Hamburg eyaletinden)

Savaş yıllarında evlilik, savaşla baş etme stratejilerinden biri olarak görülmüştür. Köylere sığınan kentli kadınlarla köylü erkeklerin bir araya gelmeleri, sürtüşmelere karşılık evlilikle de sonlana-



biliyor. Köyler, evlilik yoluyla sınıflar arası buluşmaların gerçekleştiği mekânlara dönüşebiliyor. Bir başka ifadeyle açlık ve kıtlık, evlenecek kişinin kim olduğunu belirleyebiliyor:

“Anneannem biraz daha şey bir aileden. Tiyatrocular, opera sanatçısılar vb. Dedem daha köylü bir aileden. Dedemle anneannemin evlenme sebebi dedemin hayvan kesebilmesi. O dönem et yemek yasak, aslında kesmek de yasak”. (R.S., kadın, 34, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Savaş sırasında yaşam tarzının değişmesi, kentlilerin eğitim gibi kimi sermaye türlerini genişletmesini önlemesine karşılık aile üyelerinin hayatta kalmasını sağlıyor. Savaşta kıtlığı gören ve açlık çekenler, savaştan sonra sıkı ve disiplinli bir çalışma temposuyla geçmişi telafi etmeye çalışıyor. Bu süreçte üretmeyi bir yaşam biçimi haline getiren Almanlar açısından üretmek, aynı oranda tüketmek anlamına gelmiyor. Tüketmeyi de belirli bir disiplinle sürdürüyorlar. Ekonomiye yönelttikleri dikkat, önceleri atık olarak gördüklerini geri dönüştürebilen bir tüketim anlayışı kazanmalarını sağlıyor. Kıtlık tecrübeleri, beslenme konusunda üçüncü kuşaktan benzer davranışlar sergilemelerini beklemlerine yol açıyor. Buna göre savaşı gören kuşaklar, son kuşağın seçici davranışlarını, bir tür savurganlık olarak yorumlayabiliyor. Türk-Alman kuşak, Alman ailelerinde gözlemledikleri üretken davranışları, Türkiye’de ve hatta kendilerinde göremeyebiliyorlar:

“Teyzem, annemden on yaş büyük. Teyzem liseyi bitiriyor ve o zamanlar üniversite okumak isterken devlet üniversite okutmuyor. Nazi, öğretmenleri görevden alıyor. Öğretmen açığı var. Kimi alacaklar? Lise bitirmişleri. Senin üniversiten bu dermiş gibi onu öğretmen yapıyorlar ve köye gönderiyorlar. Aslında bizimkiler köye gidince memnun oluyorlar. Çünkü köyde tereyağı, yumurta vb. var. Köylüler, öğretmen diye ona bunlardan veriyorlar. Teyzem bütün aileye bakıyor, anneme, anneanneme... Benim ailem aslında yoksul değil ama para pul oluyor. Annem hala katiyen ekme atamaz. Almanların bayat ekmekten yapılan yemekleri vardır. Annem onu yapar ve dondurur. Annem görürse kızar diye ben ekmeği ondan gizli gizli atarım. Açlık başka bir şey. Eski Almanlar tutumludur. Bunlar, harp görmüş Almanlar. Yeni jenerasyon öyle değil. Eskiler çok çalışkan. Yani bir Türk’ün anlayamayacağı kadar çalışkan”. (B.D., kadın, 55, annesi Bavyera eyaletinden)

Yaşanan kıtlıklar, para ile ilgili anlayışlarda birtakım değişikliklere de yol açıyor. Buna göre mülk edinmeye dayalı bir mülkiyet anlayışı yerini, tıpkı sosyal ilişkilerde olduğu gibi biriktirmekten uzak bir anlayışa bırakıyor. Bu anlayışa göre savaştan sonra kurulan yeni dünyadan değersiz bulunanlar ayıklanıyor. Savaşta her şeylerini kaybetmeleri, yeni yaşamlarını meta hırsından uzak bir çerçevede kurmalarına ortam hazırlıyor. Yeniden kendi işini kurmak, mülk edinmek ve ihtiyacı olmayan şeyleri satın almak anlamını yitiren davranışlar haline geliyor.

Savaşı yaşayan ilk kuşakta, uzun süre kıtlıkla baş etmek zorunda kalmalarına bağlı olarak birtakım korkular gelişiyor. Özellikle savaşla mücadelesini evden yürüten kadınlarda gelişen korkular, güven duygusunu derinden sarsarak ciddi kaygılara dönüşüyor.

Savaştan sonra parayla ilgili geliştirilen anlayışlardan bir diğeri, bu kuşağın kaygılarının, sonraki kuşaklara bırakılacak mirasın zamanlamasını değiştirmesidir. Yaşadıkları kaygılar, ömürleri boyunca parayla ilgili olarak çocukları dâhil kimseye güvenememelerine yol açarak miras anlayışında köklü değişikliklere neden oluyor. Mevcut mirasın çocuklar arasında pay-



laştırma işi ise öldükten sonraya bırakılıyor. Bu kaygı, hayatı garantileyerek sürdürmenin bir sigortası haline dönüşüyor:

“Annem, babamla tanışınca o yönettikleri şirket batmak üzereymiş. Babam demiş ki, o şirketi kurtarabilirim. Gerçekten de kurtarmış. Sonra dedem demiş ki ben vefat ettiğimde bu şirketi size bırakacağım, diğer mal varlıklarımı başka şekilde dağıtacağım ama bu şirket mutlaka sizin olacak. Ama o travma, anneannemin hep üzerindeymiş. O travmayı hep yaşıyormuş. Ben bir gün yine aç kalacağım, sokakta kalacağım, dileneceğim, herkes her şeyimi alacak ve ben ortada kalacağım diyormuş. O yüzden dedeme demiş ki sen öldükten sonra önce her şey bana kalacak, sonra çocuklarıma kalacak. Anneannem dedem ölmek üzereyken vasiyeti dedeme değiştirtmiş. Çocuklarına vasiyetten çekilme kağıdı imzalamaya kalkışmış. O travma tabii ki sürekli etkilemiş, annemi de çok etkilemiş ve hala etkiliyor. Anneanneme bu yüzden kızıyorum. Annem hala mahkemelerde uğraşüyor”. (V.Y.T., kadın, 29, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Burada görüşmeci, annesinin mirasla ilgili “mağduriyetini” iki ayrı kuşağın perspektifinden bakarak anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bunlardan biri, anneannesinin savaş travmasını abarttığı yönündedir. Diğeri ise annesinin, anneanneyi yeterince iyi anlayamamasıdır. Bir başka ifade ile üçüncü kuşak, kendinden önceki iki kuşağı, -savaş öncesi benzer travmatik tecrübeleri diğer Alman ailelerin de yaşamış olması, savaş sonrasında da ikinci kuşağın Almanya’nın nispeten refah bir döneminde büyümesinden dolayı- birbirlerine karşı yeterince samimi bulmamaktadır.

Savaşın bir başka etkisi, birinci kuşağın dinle arasına mesafe koymasıyla ilgilidir. İnsanın yok etme gücü, Tanrı’nın gücünü ve dinin gerekliliğini sorgulamaya yöneltiyor. Birinci kuşak, dinin savaş sırasında işlevsizliğine işaret ediyor. Bu kuşağın çocuklarına⁸ din öğretisi, kendilerinin dinle olan ilişkisine benzerdir. Buna karşılık çocuklarının dinle kuracakları ilişkiye doğrudan müdahale etmiyorlar:

“Anneannem Katolik. Savaş çıktığında 16 yaşındaymış. O zamana kadar tutucuymuş. Kilişeye gidermiş vb. Savaş çıkınca ve bütün bu olaylar olunca, tüm bunlar Tanrı’nın işiyse benim bu Tanrı ile ilişkim kalmasın demiş. O günden sonra ne dedemin ne de anneannemin dinle pek alakası olmamış. Dolayısıyla annem de öyle büyümüş. Yani kiliseye de gitmezmiş”. (Y.O., kadın, 36, annesi Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya eyaletinden)

Birçok Alman aileyi yerinden eden savaş, herhangi bir alana aidiyet bağı kurma anlayışını da değiştiriyor. Savaş sırasında ve sonrasında birçoğu hayatının ilk yıllarında olan ikinci kuşak kadınlar, tam da büyüme çağında büyük bir kıtlığa maruz kalıyor, eğitim ve sağlık gibi birçok haktan mahrum kalıyor. Küçük yaşlarda savaşı içeriden yaşamak o “eve/vatana/yuvaya” olan mekânsal aidiyet anlayışını sarsıyor. Aileler, benzer sorunları yeniden yaşamasını önlemek üzere çocuklarını “güne odaklı” yetiştiriliyor. Buna göre yaşam, daha iyi koşullar sağlayan yerlerde geçirilmelidir. Aileler, küçük yaşlardan başlayarak gelecekteki yaşamını kuracağı yer konusunda inisiyatifi ve sorumluluğu çocuklarına bırakıyor. Savaşı içerden yaşayan birinci kuşak, kızlarını “kendine bir çare bul” şeklinde öğütlerle büyütüyor.

8 Görüştüğüm kişilerin anneleri arasında, Protestan olanlar da Katolik olanlarla da bulunmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin anlattıklarına göre aileler nispeten dindar bir hayat sürmüyor.



Savaş sonlansa da yıkıntıların yaşandığı coğrafyada aynı yıkıntıların üzerine yeni bir dünya kurmak kolay olmuyor. Kurulacak yeni yaşamın yeri, başka bir coğrafyada aranabiliyor. Türkiye, belleklerde savaş travmasının içeriye giremeyeceği yeni bir vatan olarak tasarlanan ülkelerden biridir. Vatana aidiyetten uzak yetiştirilen çocuklar, başka ülkelerde yaşamak üzere gittikleri yeni vatanlarında, kendi sorumluluklarının tümünü yüklenmek üzere yeni bir yaşam kuruyorlar.

Türkiye’de yaşayan ve bir Türk vatandaşıyla evli olan 1945 doğumlu Christina Adlung-Roa, vatan kavramının kendisine ne ifade ettiğini şöyle açıklıyor; “Biz vatan duygusu olmadan büyüdük. Bütün olan bitenden sonra Alman olduğumuzdan utanmamız gerekiyordu. Bir vatan duygusu bize hiç aşılınmadı ki” (Grütjen vd., 2010, 43).

Türk erkeklerle evlenerek Türkiye’de yaşamını sürdüren birçok Alman⁹ kadın bulunuyor. Türk erkeklerle evlenerek Türkiye’ye gelmeleri, kadınların geçmişlerine bir süreliğine mesafe koymalarına yarasa da kadınlar, çocukların¹⁰ doğmasıyla aile tarihine daha fazla uzak duramıyorlar. Türk erkeklerle evlenerek Türkiye’ye gelen Alman kadınların¹¹ aile tarihine sessiz kalarak onu yok sayma girişimi, geride kalan karanlık günlere karşı bir tür terapi işlevi görse de yeni “yuva”da doğan çocukların bu belleği sorgulamaya başlamasıyla sessizlik son buluyor. Görüş-tüğüm iki erkek kardeşten küçük olanı, annesinin aile tarihlerine karşı geliştirdiği “yabancılaşma” stratejisini, “geçmişinden kopan kayıp gençlik” olarak tanımlıyor:

“Annemle babam 1961 senesinde, annemin Türkiye’ye gelmesi ile tanışmışlar. Annem çocukluğundan beri Türkiye, Arap ülkeleri gibi değişik dünya hayali içinde büyümüş olduğunu söylüyor. Çocukluğu ve ilk gençliği, tamamen Almanya’nın o karmaşık dönemi içerisinde geçmiş. Kayıp Gençlik tarzı bir gençlik. Gemide yaşamışlar, Amerikan askerleriyle araları iyiymiş. Anneannem gemide Amerikan askerlerine müzik yaparmış. Amerikan askerleri onları çok severmiş. Anneannem müzisyen değil ama müzik yapmayı, gitar çalmayı biliyor. Öyle enteresan. Deyeceğim şu ki annem belli bir ülkeye bağımlılık olmadan ve Almanya’da belli bir amaç gütmeyen yetişmiş. Zaten küçük yaşta gezmeye başlamış. Ne yapacağım ne edeceğim diye sağda solda dolanırken Türkiye’ye yolu düşmüş. Türkiye’de geçmişi ile bağlantılarını koparmış, yeni bir dünyaya gelmiş. Böyle bir kayıp geçmiş” (M.Y., erkek, 47, annesi Baden-Württemberg eyaletinden)

9 Türkiye’deki Almanların sayısı, birçoğu yabancı istatistiklerine yansımadağı için net olarak bilinmemektedir. Bunun nedeni, Türk kökenli Alman vatandaşlarının çifte vatandaşlığa veya Mavi Kart (sadece Alman vatandaşı olan Türk kökenliler alabilir) denilen resmi kimliğe sahip olmaları ve Türk kökenli olmayan Alman vatandaşlarının çoğunun turist vizesiyle giriş-çıkış yapmalarıdır (Pusch 2013, 126, 128). Bir araştırma, Türkiye’deki Alman sayısını, 2007’de yapılan sayıma dayandırarak göre 70.000 kişi olarak iddia etmektedir (Dayıoğlu 2012, 47). Kaiser ise 90.000-120.000 arasında olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. İki uluslu Almanların Türkiye’ye göç etmeleri, 1980’lerde artan ekonomik ve politik liberalleşme, Türkiye’nin Avrupa Birliği’ne daimi istekli olması, Almanya’da iş bulma gücü ve İslamofobi gibi nedenlerden dolayı artmaktadır. Sonuçta Almanya, 2008’den beri özellikle Türkiye’ye göç almaktansa göç vermektedir (2012, 103-105).

10 Türk-Alman karma evliliklerden doğan çocuklar ise, Türkiye’de bulunan Alman vatandaşlar arasında ayrı bir grup teşkil etmektedir. Bu çocuklar genellikle çifte vatandaşlığa sahiptir ve o nedenle Türkiye’de yabancı istatistiklerinde yer almazlar. Bu grubun üyelerinin sayısı da karma evliliklerin artmasına bağlı olarak sürekli artmaktadır (Pusch 2013, 128).

11 Görüş-tüğüm kişilerin anneleri oransal olarak bakıldığında Türkiye’ye, Almanya’nın şu eyaletlerinden gelmiştir: Baden-Württemberg (%17,8), Kuzey Ren-Vestfalya (%17,8), Hessen (%11,1), Aşağı Saksonya (%11,1), Berlin (%11,1), Bavyera (%11,1), Saksonya (%6,7), Hamburg (%6,7), Schleswig-Holstein (%4,4) ve Bremen (%2,2).



İki kardeşten büyük olanı ise, annesinin, kendi inisiyatifiyle Türkiye'ye gelmekle ilgili aldığı kararın arkasında durduğunun altını çiziyor. Türkiye, ona göre annesini savaştan çekip çıkararak bir kapıdır. İki kardeşin annesi Karin Hanım ise kendi vatan anlayışını, "Yurdum burası. Çocuklarım burada, kocam burada" sözleriyle ifade ediyor (Grütjen vd., 2010, 73). Karin Hanım, kendisini yeni yaşamını kurduğu Türkiye ile var ediyor. Savaşın çocuklarına göre gerçek vatan, kendi kurdukları ailelerinin yaşadığı ve kök saldırdığı yerler haline geliyor.

Üçüncü kuşak, annelerinin Türkiye'ye gelerek burada kurdukları yaşamı, cesur bir adım ve bir tür macera olarak görse de annelerinin Türkiye'yi bir çıkış kapısı olarak görmesi, Almanya'nın savaş sırasında olduğu gibi savaşı izleyen yıllarda da Türkiye'den daha kötü durumda olmasıyla ilgilidir. Türkiye, dönemin koşullarında Alman ikinci kuşağın, evden uzaklaşmayı ve yeni yaşamı kendi inisiyatifleriyle kurabileceklerini düşündükleri alanlardan biri olarak karşılına çıkıyor. Her yeri yıkık bir Almanya'ya karşılık savaşta yer almayan Türkiye, Alman kadınlar açısından bir "kurtuluş" alanı olarak görülüyor. Alman kadınlar, çıktıkları vatanlarından yeni vatanlarına gelerek burayı zengin ve konforlu¹² buluyor.

III

Savaş, bellek ve kimlik

İki büyük savaştan yenik çıkan Almanya, toparlanma sürecinde bir yandan nüfus politikaları yürütürken diğer yandan sanayileşme sürecini hızlandırıyor. Görüşmeciler arasında Almanya'nın gücünü yeniden toparlanmasını, milliyetçi¹³ duruşuna ve ilerlemeci/modernleşmeci ideolojisine bağlayanlar bulunmaktadır. Buna göre Almanya'nın, geçmişinde modernleşmeye yönelik yaptığı devrimler ve buna göre geliştirdiği ahlak¹⁴ anlayışı Almanya'yı bugüne taşıyor. Görüşmecilerimin Alman ailelerinde çalışkan, mücadeleci, ilerlemeci ve eğitime önem veren tarz, anlatılarında önemli bir yer tutuyor.

Görüştüğüm bir erkek, Almanların başarısının kökeninde yatan gerçeği, Almanların, kendisi gibi yeterince net göremediğini vurguluyor. Görüşmeci, ulusötesi kimliklere sahip olmasını, her iki ülkedeki gelişmeleri bir arada düşünerek farkındalık geliştirebilmesinin kaynağı olarak görüyor:

"Alman toplumu zor bir toplum. İki tane dünya savaşı geçirmiş ve ikisinden de mağlup olarak çıkmış bir toplum. Buna rağmen kültürde hiçbir zaman için mağlup olmamış, her zaman köklerine bağlı kalmış ve hep ileriye bakmış. Bilim üretmiş, felsefe üretmiş. Bunu, kökü sayesinde yapmış. Yani Almanya'nın Ortaçağ'dan kurtuluşu, işte bu Protestan Devrimi'ni yapmasıdır. O karanlık Katolik baskısından kurtularak. Bizim hala canım Türkiye'mde kurtulamadığımız şey. Biz şimdi Türkiye'de kendi katolikliğimizi yaşıyoruz. Bu baskıdan kurtulmasından müteakip ürettiği Alman felsefesinin ciddi derinliği vardır. Alman toplumu bunun farkında değil. Ama oradan gelen genetik birikimini kullanıyor.

12 İstanbul, savaştan sonra yeni yaşamı kurmak üzere Alman kadınların belleklerinde özel bir yer tutmuştur. Bir yandan çalıştıkları diğer yandan da soluk aldıkları bu şehir, Alman kadınların Türk erkeklerle evlilikler yoluyla yeni yaşamlarını kurdukları ve içinde cemiyet oluşturduğu bir mekâna dönüşmüştür.

13 Alman milliyetçiliği, Alman ulus devletinin kuruluşundan yarım yüzyıl önce gündeme gelmiştir (Kadıoğlu, 2008, 173).

14 Daha detaylı bilgi için bakınız: Max Weber. 1984. Protestan Ahlakı ve Kapitalizmin Ruhunu.



O sayede bilimde, kültürde, sanatta yapmış oldukları inovasyon, hızlı gelişme Almanya'yı bir yere taşıyor. Ve Almanlar dünya tarihine, iktisadına yön veren bir toplum oluyor. Bunu yadsımamak lazım. Ben Almanları çok sevmiyorum ama yaptıkları işe saygı duyuyorum. Çünkü yanlış iş yapmıyorlar, doğru iş yapıyorlar". (B.E., erkek, 47, annesi Aşağı Saksonya eyaletinden)

Almanya'nın yetmiş yıllık süreçte gösterdiği performansta Alman olmanın gerektirdiklerini yerine getirmek, aynı zamanda savaştan güçlü nitelikler geliştirerek çıkmayı pekiştirmektedir. Savaşı yaşayan Almanlar bu süreçte, çalışma yaşamında yoğun bir emek gücünü oluşturuyor. Bu dönemde, milli bütünlüğü sağlamak üzere hızlı büyümenin aktörleri oluyorlar. Torunlar, bu dönemi, "Çalışkan Almanlar Dönemi" olarak özetliyor.

Savaşı yaşayanların, tek başına hayata tutunabilmenin yollarını gösteren stratejileriyle kendilerine yetmeyi ve güçlü kalabilmeyi sağladıkları görülmektedir. Almanlar güçlü kalabilmeyi titiz bir çalışma performansı ile gerçekleştiriyor. Yaşama sarılarak savaştan güçlü bir şekilde çıkmayı başaran ilk kuşağın temsilcileri, çocuklarının (ikinci kuşağın) mücadeleci yönlerini güçlendirmelerine katkı sağlamıştır. Almanya'nın hızlı büyüme sürecinde Alman ailelerin gösterdikleri mücadeleci, çalışkanlık ve dayanıklılık, sonraki kuşakların yeni güçler üretebileceği bir mirastır.

Stuart Hall'a (1992, 55) göre milliyetçilik, farklı tarihsel zamanlarda çok farklı politik tavır alışlara bürünebilir. Savaştan yorgun çıkan ilk kuşak ve çocukları, Almanya'yı ileriye taşıma sürecinde bütün için çalışmak üzere milletçe bir çaba gösteriyorlar. Önceki kuşakların bu tavrına duyulan hayranlık, üçüncü kuşağın, ahlak anlayışının biçimlenmesinde ve Almanya'ya aidiyet geliştirmesinde önemli bir rol oynuyor:

"Savaştan sonra Almanya'da taş taş üstünde kalmadı. Tekrar bu seviyeye gelmiş olmalarının nedeni, çok disiplinliler, çok çalışkanlar ve bütünün iyiliği için çalışıyorlar. Kesinlikle Alman kültürüne ve mantalitesine kendimi çok yakın hissediyorum. Türkiye'deki gibi bireysel çıkarlar genel çıkarların önüne çok fazla geçmiyor gibi görüyorum. Bu, bütün Almanlarda gördüğüm şeydir. Açıkgozlülük yapayım, sırada bir öne geçeyim, birilerini ittireyim, işimi çabucak halledeyim, bunlar hep Türkiye'deki özellikler". (S.H., kadın, 44, annesi Hessen eyaletinden)

Kendini Almanya'ya ait olarak görmek, bugünkü kuşağın kendi kimlik kurgusunda önemli bir yer tutuyor. Buna göre Alman olmak, bütünün ileriye taşıyan bir vazife gerektiriyor.

Mücadele ve çaba, güçlü kimlikler üretmesine karşılık sert ve soğuk mizaçlar da üretebiliyor. Savaşla birlikte geliştirilen bu niteliklere karşılık zorluklarla yürütülen mücadeleler sırasında sert, otoriter ve soğuk da olunabiliyor. Savaş tecrübesi, birçok şeye erişimin güç olması ve çaba gerektirmesi nedeniyle esnek olmayan ve kurallı davranışlar geliştirilmesine yol açabiliyor. Kurallarla çok haşır neşir olmak, sosyal ilişkilerde duyguları ortaya koymayı engelleyebiliyor. Savaş, duyguları törpüleyerek yüzleri ifadesizleştiriyor. Savaş, soğuk yüzüyle donmuş bedenlerde yaşıyor:

"Anneannem soğuk bir kadındı. Nasıl söyleyeyim? Dediğim dedik, inanılmaz disiplinli vb. Çok zor bir kadındı. Öyle sevecen, pamuk gibi bir anneanne değil, anlatabiliyor muyum? Benim için büst gibi, heykel gibi bir kadındı". (O.E.B., erkek, 41, annesi Aşağı Saksonya eyaletinden)



Almanya'yı yeniden var eden savaş kuşaklarının birikimleri, sonraki kuşakların habitusunu da biçimlendirerek yaşam tarzlarına yansımıştır. Türk-Alman çocuklar, Alman ailelerinin yaşam tarzlarını da Türkiye ile karşılaştırarak değerlendiriyorlar. Alman tarafının gücünü, Türkiye'deki kültürel ortamlarda olmadığını düşündükleri birtakım güçsüzlükler üzerinden gösteriyorlar. Bir görüşmecim, özellikle anneannesinin gündemi takip eden kısacası hayata sarılan özelliklerine dikkat çekiyor:

“O dönem doğanlar, bebeklik geçirmiş olanlar biraz kıtlık yaşıyorlar. Yemek yok, süt bulunmuyor. Öyle zorluklar yaşadıklarını biliyorum. Anneannemi hep çok sevdim. Anneannem, hem iki savaş görmüş hem iki sefer evleri bombalanmış. Her şeyini kaybetmiş vb. Buna rağmen müthiş olumlu bir insandır. Yani hiçbir zaman mızımız bir insan olmadı. Hep güçlü bir kadın. Belki öyle şeyler yaşadığı için hayata çok sarılmıştır. Hep iyi tarafından bakar, hiç pes etmez. Yani 93 yaşında hala haber dinler, dünya politikasını takip eder, fikir yürütür. Her şeyi kendi başına hallediyor. Yani o, güçlü bir karakter. Hayata sarılmış biri. Türkiye'de o yaşta bir kadın mümkün değil tek kalmaz. Türkiye'de birçok yaşlı bir süre sonra elini ayağını hayattan biraz çekiyor, kabuğuna çekiliyor. Böyle bir negatif modda yaşamaya başlıyor. İstemediğim bir şey. İnşallah ben de yaşlanınca anneannem gibi hayatın bir parçası olabilmeye devam ederim”. (E.E., kadın, 44, annesi Bremen eyaletinden)

Üçüncü kuşak, ilk kuşak için yaşlanmanın, hayatın parçası olmayı sürdürmek anlamına geldiğini düşünüyor. Savaştan sonra hayatta kalanlar, bilindik anlamda “yaşlanmıyorlar”. Emekli olarak emek piyasasından çekilmek yerine yaşam boyu çalışma anlayışını bir yaşam biçimine dönüştürüyorlar. Bir işle uğraşmakla ilgili anlayış, bir anlamda savaşta kaybedilen birçok şeyi farklı tezahürlerde yeniden üreten bir telafi vazifesi görüyor.

Çalışmayı bir yaşam biçime dönüştürmek dışında gündelik hayata odaklı yaşamak da geliştirilen anlayışlar arasında yer almaktadır. Gündelik yaşamda sanatla, sporla, politik ve toplumsal meselelerle meşgul olmak, güne odaklı yaşamakla ilişkilendirilebilir. Hayata iyimser bir perspektiften bakmak bu anlayışın gelişmesinde kritik bir rol oynuyor. Torunlar, Alman tarafının yaşlanmaya bakışına hayranlık duyuyorlar.

Üçüncü kuşağa göre savaş travması, çalışkan, mücadeleci, disiplinli, dayanıklı, kendine yeten ve gündemi takip eden nitelikleri içeren belirli bir özne tipi üretiyor. Birçok görüşmecimin üzerinde durduğu bu tip, belirli bir kadın öznenin inşasına işaret etmektedir. Annesi Bavyera eyaletinden bir kadın görüşmecim, bu güçlü ve üretken kadın tipini kendisiyle özdeşleştirerek tarif ediyor:

“Annem tipik bir Alman. İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra Almanya'da böyle özel bir tip kadın var. Onlar acı bilmezdi. Annem gündüz çalışıyordu, akşam eve geliyordu. Akşam yemek yapıyordu, gece elle çamaşır yıkıyordu, gece saat birde ikide ütü yapıyordu. Bazen okula pasta, kek vb. getirmek lazımdı. Gece ikide kek yapardı. Belki üçle dört arasında uyurdu ve beşte kalkardı. Yani bunu demek istedim, Almanya'da bu tip bir kadın var. Türkiye'de böylesini bilmiyorum. Annem ağlamazdı (yakınmazdı) da. Oturmuyorlar, ölene kadar çalışıyorlar. O tip bir kadın. Yani annem 80 yaşına kadar çalıştı. Ben de bu tipim herhalde. Acı bilmem. Yani, ben bunu yapamam, bu bana çok zor gelecek demem. Zor bilmem”. (P.A., kadın, 48, annesi Bavyera eyaletinden)



Anlatılarda, kişisel/ailevi hikâyeler ile ulusal tarih arasında koşutluklar kurulduğu görülmektedir. Aidiyet ve Alman kimliği, “ulusal çaba” motifi ile pekiştiriliyor. Kimlik kurguları, ilerlemeci ve modernleşmeci bir anlayış çerçevesinde gerçekleştiriliyor. Bu, aile eğitimi ve aktarımı ile ilişkilendirilebilir. Kişisel güçlenme ile ulusal güçlenme arasındaki uyum dikkate değerdir. Bu noktada Louis Althusser’in (2000) ailenin, devletin ideolojik aygıtı olduğuna dair vurgusunu hatırlamakta fayda vardır. Aktarım, oluşan ve sürdürülmesi gereken bir tarihtir. Buna göre aile içinde daha genç kuşaklara yapılan aktarımlar, sosyal gruplara aidiyet geliştirme olanağı sağlayarak toplumsal sürekliliği sağlar (Lahaye vd., 2011, 9, 18, 40). Aile, kişiyi ulus kimliğe bağlayan bir mekanizmayı işleterek kuşaklar boyu işlevselliğini sürdürmektedir.

Burada mücadeleci, üretken ve güçlü kadın öznesinin kuruluşuyla ilgili anlatılar da dikkat çekmektedir. Neyzi (2014, 2), bellekle ilgili yaptığı çalışmalardan yola çıkarak, yaşanan travmaların modern öznenin kendini tanımlama sürecini etkileyebildiğini savunur. Savaş sonrası bir yandan aile üyelerinin yeniden buluş(ama)malarının neden olduğu kaybolan baba figürü diğer yandan ise savaştan güçlenerek çıkmayı başarmış güçlü anne figürü, sonraki kuşakların yetiştirilme tarzını önemli oranda etkilemektedir. Türk-Alman kuşağın kendini tanımlarken bu kadın tipinin güçlü yönlerini kendilerinde de görebilmesi, önceki kuşakların ürettiği özne figürlerinin, sonraki kuşakların kimlik kurgularındaki yerini görebilmek açısından çarpıcıdır. Bir başka ifadeyle savaş belleği, Türk-Alman kuşağın, kendi habituslarını dönüştürebildikleri ve kimliklerini yeniden kurgulayabildikleri kültürel bir kazanca dönüşmüştür.

Sonuç yerine

Makalede, Türk-Alman kuşağın, yaşadıkları ötekileştirme ve kimlik krizlerinin, Alman ailelerinin İkinci Dünya Savaşı ile ilgili belleklerine ilgilerini pekiştirdiği görülmektedir. Bu kuşağın savaş belleğiyle kurdukları ilişki, kendilerine aktarılanları benimse(me)me ve kendini gerçekleştirme halleriyle ilgili fikir vermektedir.

Görüşmecilerin aktardığı savaş belleğinin içinde, savaşın, doğrudan yaşayan kuşaklar açısından kayıp ve acı, sonraki kuşaklar açısından ise içinden çıkılması gereken bir travma anlamına geldiği görülmektedir. Savaşla karşı karşıya gelen kuşakların, yarattığı travmalar nedeniyle savaşın içinden tam olarak çıkamadığı da dikkat çekmektedir. Türk-Alman kuşak, annelerini savaş travmasından çekip çıkarmaya çabalarırken kendilerini de bu travmanın dışında tutmanın yollarını aramaktadır. Travmanın içinden çıkmak, bugüne kazandırdıklarını görebilmekle mümkündür. Savaştan kazanılanlar, yaşamı geliştirme ve kendince kaliteli hale getirebilme çabalarına katkı sağlamaktadır.

Türk-Alman kuşak, savaş belleğini, bastırılsa da güçlenmenin dayanağı olarak görmektedir. Bu kuşağa göre, uzun yıllar Almanya’da yaşadıkdan sonra ikinci vatanda yaşamaya gelen anneleri, Türkiye’ye ilk geldikleri yıllarda karşılaştıkları zorluklarla yalnız başına mücadele ederken savaş belleğine sansür uygulamasalar da ailelerinin tecrübelerini kendilerine rehber ve güç kaynağı olarak görmüşlerdir.

Kimliğin kuşaklar boyu yeniden üretiminde, savaş deneyiminin kendisi ve aile içi eğitim etkili olmuştur. Sonraki kuşaklara aktarılan travmatik miraslar, görüldüğü gibi kuşaklar ötesinden çok farklı okunabilmektedir. Farklı kültürel kimlik içerikli habituslara sahip olmak, aktarılan mirasın travmatik taraflarını törpülemeye yardımcı olabilmektedir. Türk-Alman kuşak, savaşı, ebeveynleri gibi kayıp ve zorluk çerçevesinde anlamlandırmaktan öte içinden



strateji üretebilecek bir gerçeklik olarak görmektedir. Buna göre savaştan üretilebilecek stratejiler, sonraki kuşakları güçlendirecektir. Acıdan ve zorluktan üretilen birikimler, başka yerlere uyum sağlamaya, kendi gücüne güvenmeye ve birçok konuda farkındalık geliştirmeye yardımcı olabilmektedir.

Savaş travmasının yarattığı kaygı ve korku içeren travmatik miras, bugün geçmişteki kayıpların tesellisi işlevi görmektedir. Kazandırdıklarıyla güvende olmayı hissettiren bu mirasla hesaplaşmak bir tür terapatik etki içermektedir. Yaşama tutunmanın katalizörü olan savaş belleği, savaşa karşı yürütülen bir mücadele biçimine dönüşmüştür.

Sessizliğe ses olan Türk-Alman kuşağın, sorgulayan ve hesaplaşan bir anlayışla inşa ettikleri kendi kimliklerini, geçmişle uzlaşmacı bir dil tutturarak kurguladıkları görülmektedir. Bu kuşak, analiz edilmiş ve ilerlenecek rotaları belirleyen çıkarımlar içeren bir bellekle yüzlerini geleceğe çevirmektedir. Kaçınılmaz bir şekilde içine dışarıdan da olsa dâhil olunan savaş belleğinin, tıpkı bugün olduğu gibi gelecekteki kuşakları da yörüngesinde tutacağı görülmektedir. Üçüncü kuşağın yeniden ürettiği savaş belleği, geleceğin barışçıl inşasının sigortası görünümündedir.

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The grandchildren of war:

A transgenerational perspective on traumatic memory

Extended abstract

Oya Topdemir Koçyiğit

In this paper I analyse the relationship between war trauma and transnational identity. My aim is to show how war trauma experienced by German families during WWII impacts on the identity formation of younger generations, in particular grandchildren with transnational identity. Data is provided by interviews in Turkey in 2016, on 45 individuals with German mothers and Turkish fathers, aged between 17 and 75. Interviews focus on how members of the wartime generation conveyed their experiences and memories to their grandchildren and how traumatic legacy is interpreted by this transnational third generation. How did the war affect the generation of mothers and grandmothers? How do grandchildren interpret these generations' memories of war? The paper thus seeks to understand both how war trauma reconstructed the cultural perspectives of the wartime generation itself, and what role the memory of war plays in the perspective of the third generation.

Despite the numerous studies on the direct transmission of traumatic memory and identity, there has been only a limited amount of research on the indirect transmission of traumatic memory across multiple generations. An anthropological perspective is concerned not only with how the memory is recorded, but also how these records are transmitted. My first contribution is to problematize traumatic memory by observing it across three generations. This approach focuses on specifically female agency in the transmission of traumatic heritage / historical trauma. My second contribution is to present the relation between traumatic heritage and cultural identity within a trans-generational framework. Here, it needs to be recalled that the content of traumatic memory concerns not only to what is remembered, but also how those memories are transferred. My third contribution is to show how tendencies caused by wars are reproduced through these transnational identities.

As the War unfolded, the experiences of German families formed a kind of family memory. The second generation of German women that came to live in Turkey by marriage to Turkish men reproduced their and their children's war memories, thus reconstructing their identities, even as they tried to leave those memories behind.



The Turkish-German third generation are privileged to be able to live their lives both in Germany and in Turkey. This generation is particularly interested in family history. Their German mothers' cultural adaptation to Turkey was mostly somewhat painful. This may have contributed to the emergence of the traumas of their mothers, who generally wished to remain silent. The majority of individuals interviewed thought that their mothers' experience of the aftermath of the war had deepened their trauma. New traumas resuscitated old ones.

The Turkish-German third generation frequently came across WWII in social environments. Especially during childhood, from close relatives on their father's side, from peers and even teachers, they were subject to marginalizing labels such as *giaour* ("infidel"), "German seed", or "Nazi". Both their mother's adaptation difficulties and/or their experience of degrading speech aroused their interest in their German family's histories of war, prompting them to ask such questions like: "What did my family witness?"; "What do they think about these experiences?"; and "How do they make sense of the War?"

The experience of transnational identity has intensified the grandchildren's curiosity about family history. Their attempt to scrutinize the past has caused parts of the war memory to resurface. The study reveals that the German families try to hide the memory of war or experiences of Nazism from their grandchildren. The first reaction the grandchildren meet as they search for the war memories of their family elders is usually silence. This strategy of staying silent is adopted as a means of self-preservation.

The war experience also reshaped the habitus of German families. Here, the details distilled from the memory of family members and transferred to subsequent generations are of great importance. The majority of the families experienced pain and poverty during and after the War. Families endured traumatic events such as death, deprivation, injury and mutilation. Resulting in physical and mental injury, these events opened up a traumatic space in the memory of German families. Looking at how this memory is transmitted, it is striking that grandchildren seem to find that it is women rather than men who are willing to talk about the war. Masculine memories of Nazism tend to be repressed. It is women that rewrite and reproduce family history, thus conveying it into the present. German women are subjects that create a history as a history. The content of what is being transmitted has a theme of victimisation, however is reframed by struggle. The War has now been justly dealt with, after a struggle with the injustice it brought.

The study demonstrates major changes in habits, understandings and relationships in families that endure the trauma of war, and in certain everyday practices such as social and domestic relations, social status, class, possessions and estate inheritance. In other words, the victimizing factor of war altered the conception of the world and ethics. War memory is a reference for subsequent generations' quest for a stronger stance on the path of life.

War memory is very important in the development of the cultural capital of the third generation. In trying to understand the wartime past of their families, grandchildren have tried to discover the meaning of being German. Throughout this process, they have reconsidered the social relations, values and behaviour both of their German parents and themselves. Grandchildren come up with new strategies after having contact with these repertoires of war. Children have been able to develop new strategies by deduction. No matter



how bitter these memories were, the deductions were perceived as “gains” for the future. War memory prompted the Turkish-German generation to redesign their habitus.

This research reveals that an emphasis on identity difference leads people to reproduce those difference and to gain a closer understanding of their family histories. In their quest to explore their German identity, members of the Turkish-German third generation have reproduced the dual origins of their own identity.

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Lampedusa and the migrant crisis

Ethics, representation and history

Tony Kushner

Abstract The tiny Italian island of Lampedusa in the Mediterranean has become notorious in the early twenty-first century through a series of migrant disasters which, until the events of 2015, came to typify the scale and horror of forced migration on a scale not witnessed since the Second World War. This article outlines the background to this story and why Lampedusa became so important in the ‘borderization’ of Europe. It then explores issues of representation, especially within Lampedusa itself, from sources varying from the island’s cemetery to official and alternative sites of heritage (especially the Porto M museum) through to the films, documentaries and plays that have been recently made. Ethical issues are raised including the archaeology of hate speech towards migrants, especially in relation to British Mandate Palestine, and whether there are limits to what can be shown of the horror. Finally, it asks what space there is for the migrant voice to be heard in cultural and political responses to this global crisis.

Keywords Palestine; Illegal Immigration; Lampedusa; Hate Speech; Memory and Memorialisation; Holocaust; Migration Crisis.



History and background

The politics of the Middle East and power relations have acted as a barrier between Jewish and Palestinian mutual awareness of and sensitivity to refugeedom, whether past or present. As Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg suggest, this need not necessarily be the case. They argue that the ‘Palestinian and Jewish refugees of the Nakba and the Holocaust not only serve as disruptive and alarming reminders of the exclusionary forces of identity politics in Israel/Palestine’.¹ More positively, they are

“also... a challenge to the statist mainstream Palestinian and Israeli politics that view exclusive and separate ethnic nation-states as the ultimate and desired institutional frame within which the political rights of the respective peoples are realised and protected.”²

From this inclusive perspective, they suggest that ‘Consequently, one could view the refugee as a herald of alternative and creative forms of politics, ones premised on partnership, cooperation, joint dwelling and integration rather than on segregation, balkanization, separation and ghettoization’.³ If making such linkages, however desirable, seem unlikely given the dismal politics of the region, it is equally hard to envisage the the stories of Jewish ‘illegal’ immigration to Palestine from 1933 to 1948, most infamously in the case of *Exodus 1947*, being placed alongside more recent narratives of forced migration across the ‘merciless sea’. So far, the exclusive tendencies and partial amnesia associated with its journeying have largely precluded such comparisons. But in the spirit of the challenge (and opportunity) offered by Bashir and Goldberg who note that ‘An empathetic view of the refugee disrupts the validity of the foundations of the political order that created her in the first place and now abandons her to her fate’, this article will explore the possibilities further in relation to historic and contemporary journeys of forced migration across the Mediterranean.

In autumn 2015, cultural historian and literary biographer, Philip Hoare, used the ‘horrors of slavery’, the ‘coffin ships’ of the Irish famine and those transported to Australia by the British as ‘historical parallels’ when powerfully evoking the traumatic journeys of those attempting to cross ‘the Mediterranean in search of a better life’. To him, these extreme examples from the past ‘underline the desperation of the situation’ today. British amnesia of ‘illegal’ Jewish migration to Palestine curtail juxtaposition with contemporary tragedies associated with the ‘sea of despair’ – one which Hoare may well otherwise have added to his list of maritime human misery. Hoare concludes: ‘Slaves and transportees had no choice but to leave. The hungry and dispossessed have a choice, but it is hardly much of one.’⁴

It has been estimated that from 1933 to 1948 108,000 Jewish ‘illegal’ immigrants came to Palestine in 116 vessels.⁵ In 2014 alone, double that number of undocumented migrants came

1 Bashir Bashir and Amos Goldberg, ‘Deliberating the Holocaust and the Nakba: disruptive empathy and binationalism in Israel/Palestine’, *Journal of Genocide Research* 16 (1), (2014) 92.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.

4 Philip Hoare, ‘Sea of despair’, *Guardian*, 22 April 2015; and idem, 2013. *The Sea Inside* (London: Fourth Estate).

5 Mordechai Naor, *Haapala: Clandestine Immigration 1931-1948* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defence Publishing House, 1987), 105.



Fig. 1: The cemetery of boats, Lampedusa, Photo: Tony Kushner

to Europe by sea, thousands drowning in the Mediterranean attempting to do so. A year later and outside Europe, the crisis of boat people off the Indonesian coast became scandalous, but nothing compared to what would become *the* global migration story of 2015 as will be outlined shortly. Earlier in the twenty first century within the Indian Ocean, Australia's treatment of asylum seekers attempting to reach its shores provoked international criticism with the sinking of the *Palapa* in 2001, a tragedy that was a portent of what was to follow in the new millennium. A small fishing boat, it carried over 400 asylum seekers, mainly Afghans, journeying from Indonesia and attempting to reach Christmas Island, which belongs to Australia. The Australian government was determined that those on board, rescued from the sea by the Norwegian vessel, the *Tampa*, would not enter its territory and after weeks at sea, they were detained in newly created 'off-shore processing centres'. Christmas Island and other places en route, Caroline Moorehead notes in her exploration of modern refugees, *Human Cargo* (2005), were "excised" from Australia for the purposes of migration. Australia had effectively, by a stroke of its pen, shrunk its borders.⁶

Moorehead is one of the few who has been aware of the historical precedent explored in this chapter, stating that this 'Pacific Solution' of relocating refugees 'was not new – the British blockade of Palestine... had refused to let Jewish refugees land and pushed them to Cyprus'.⁷ It is significant that even then she dates such policies to the pre- rather than post-war era, reflecting the vague memories associated with this troubled policy. This article will further explore such parallels between journeys out of the Holocaust with contemporary boat migrants with

6 Caroline Moorehead, *Human Cargo: A Journey Among Refugees* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2005), 108.

7 Ibid.



regard to history, memory and representation. It will query whether or not they are ethically appropriate and analytically helpful with regard to the pursuit of a comparative framework and, from that, politico-cultural intervention.

Introducing *Human Cargo*, Caroline Moorehead defines an ‘illegal immigrant’ as a ‘person residing in a foreign country without permission’. As her narrative progresses, incorporating the harrowing personal testimony of refugees who have risked their lives in dangerous sea and land journeys, she returns to that definition. She interrogates it especially in relation to the Australian homeland of her father, Alan. A leading war journalist and writer, best known in Britain for his powerful reports on the liberation of Belsen, he continuously explored the nature of Australianness, a tradition that his daughter was continuing through its treatment of desperate sea migrants. There, such boat people, regardless of their status, were labelled by the Liberal government during the 1990s as ‘illegals’. For Caroline Moorehead

“The use of the word ‘illegals’ suggests criminals, people who have done wrong, terrorists, certainly people not entitled to anything. They are seen as ‘queue jumpers’, stealing the places of the good refugees who have been patiently waiting their turn...”⁸

This process of ‘othering’ through the discourse of ‘illegality’ blatantly replicates that of the official mind and Jewish migration to Palestine during the 1930s and 1940s – the term ‘illegal immigration’ as a legal category was itself coined in 1933/1934 by British civil servants in Whitehall and Jerusalem. The closeness in language reinforces the validity of Judith Butler’s analysis of hate speech and how its sedimentation through repetition ‘gives the name its force’.⁹ Initially Britain provided Palestine with its alien legislation, but it was from this quasi-imperial space that the term ‘illegal immigration’ came back to the Metropolis and, from there, to global usage in rhetoric and policy by the end of the twentieth century.¹⁰

Moorehead’s *Human Cargo* is an important statement about the nature of debates about world asylum seekers which had grown increasingly animated in the early twenty first century. By the time of its publication, the island of Lampedusa had become infamous in this respect, a notoriety that has grown exponentially in the subsequent ten years. Lampedusa, as Moorehead poetically suggests, is ‘where Italy ends and where Africa begins’.¹¹ Famous (until the recent migrant crisis) only through its connection to the author of *The Leopard*, Guiseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (whose ancestors had a long connection to the island, but who himself never visited, residing in Sicily), it is a small, sparsely populated and starkly bare island (a result of misguided nineteenth century deforestation) where fishing and tourism were the mainstays of the economy until the migrant crisis. It had minor military importance in the twentieth century, especially as a postwar NATO base. Within Jewish folklore the island was much celebrated when a British RAF pilot, Sidney Cohen in 1943 allegedly single handedly (and accidentally) achieved the surrender of the Italian garrison there having crash landed – a story which somewhat embellished his role. This feat was then commemorated at the time and subsequently in

8 Ibid, 104.

9 Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 36.

10 More generally see Georgina Sinclair and Chris Williams, “‘Home and Away’: The Cross-Fertilisation between “Colonial” and “British” Policing, 1921-85’, *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 35 (2)(2007), 221-38.

11 Moorehead, *Human Cargo*, 51.



Fig. 2: One of the Libyan/Tunisian boats carrying migrants, Lampedusa Beach, Photo: Tony Kushner

the *King of Lampedusa*, a play that revived the Yiddish theatre in Britain and beyond to counter the image of the cowardly, unmanly Jew and instead announced the arrival of a new ‘type’ who would fulfill a similar role in ‘liberating’ Palestine as a Jewish national home.¹²

Ominously in relation to its later function as a reception then detention camp for migrants in the late twentieth and early twenty first century, Lampedusa had a pre-history, serving as ‘a penal colony during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’.¹³ In this respect it has a similar history to other remote islands as racialised spaces to relocate those deemed as ‘matter out of place’. Robben Island, for example, was a penal and leper colony before it became notorious for incarcerating opponents of apartheid. Moreover, Lampedusa’s role in the processes of modern migration is not out of place in its history from antiquity onwards. As Stefano, the fisherman hero of Anders Lustgarten’s play *Lampedusa* (2015), explains:

“This is where the world began. This was Caesar’s highway. Hannibal’s road to glory. These were the trading routes of the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians, the Ottomans and the Byzantines... We all come from the sea and back to the sea we will go. The Mediterranean gave birth to the world.”¹⁴

12 The fullest account is Katie Power’s MA dissertation, University of Southampton, 2015. The play was written by Shmuel Harendorf shortly after the news of the surrender. For the text and commentary see Heather Valencia (ed.), *The King of Lampedusa* (London: Jewish Music Institute, 2003).

13 Nick Dines, Nicola Montagna and Vicente Ruggiero, ‘Thinking Lampedusa: border construction, the spectacle of bare life and the productivity of migrants’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43 (3)(2015), 443, note 8.

14 Anders Lustgarten, *Lampedusa* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 3.



Moorehead described Lampedusa in the first years of the twenty first century: ‘Spring and summer, on the long calm days, it is where the refugees arrive almost daily in their battered and crumbling boats, frightened, unsure, expectant.’ More clinically, she added that ‘Experts in asylum matters who study the flows of refugees and their journeys to the north, call it the blue route after the waters of the Mediterranean, and it has become a lucrative source of the estimated \$5 to \$7 billion revenue from the world’s traffic in smuggled people’.¹⁵ Until the tragedies of 2015 which focused on different desperate journeys across the Aegean Sea from Turkey to various Greek islands, no place came to symbolise more the intense human tragedy and drama of modern migration, evoking sentiments of pity, shame and fear in equal measures. Politicians, NGOs, artists and the media, as well as and the islanders and migrants themselves, have confronted and represented the recent and ongoing story of Lampedusa. In 2016, for example, British Guyanese artist, Jason deCaires Taylor, created his work *Raft of Lampedusa* on the seabed off the coast of Lanzarote. According to Taylor, his work was ‘not intended as a tribute or memorial to the many lives lost but as a stark reminder of the collective responsibility of our new global community’. In what is part of the world’s first underwater museum, thirteen passengers drift towards an unknown future on a flimsy inflatable boat.¹⁶ The sculptures are located 3000 nautical miles from and in a different ocean to Lampedusa. Furthermore, its main figure at the bow is cast from Abdel Kader who as a thirteen year old was smuggled from the troubled Western Sahara to Lanzarote at the turn of the twenty first century. But the precise geography referenced in the title of Taylor’s work (paying homage to Gericault’s 1818 painting *The Raft of the Medusa*) reflects the Italian island’s notoriety with regard to the modern migration crisis.¹⁷ As with Palestine and ‘illegal’ immigration, questions of *performativity* have been central in establishing meaning to Lampedusa.

In their 2014 cultural guide for travellers to Sicily, Andrew and Suzanne Edwards contrast its major city Palermo with ‘the remains of a splendid Arab-Norman past with the less happy reflection of ‘modern-day relations with North Africa’ – that of those ‘intent on escaping the harsh realities at home’:

“The most obvious demonstration of these events has been the refugee centre on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa, one of the nearest landfalls to Tunisia. Many have risked life and limb, often falling prey in the process to unscrupulous people – traffickers whose last priority is their victims’ safety...”¹⁸

Also in the realm of the holiday maker, in 2015 TripAdvisor produced a list of the top ten beaches in Europe. The first three were in the Mediterranean with Rabbit Beach, Lampedusa,

15 Moorehead, *Human Cargo*, 51-2.

16 Susan Smillie, ‘Into the Deep’, *Guardian*, 3 February 2016. For an underwater tour of the work and interview with Taylor, see ‘Underwater museum offers stark reminder of refugee crisis’, *PBS NewsHour*, 5 February 2016, www.pbs.org, accessed 21 August 2016. It officially opened to scuba divers on 25 February 2016.

17 Smillie, ‘Into the Deep’. It could be added that the boat in Taylor’s work more resembles the dinghies connected to the journeys from Turkey to the Greek islands rather than the larger vessels which were associated with Lampedusa. Gericault’s Romanticist painting depicted the sinking of a French navy frigate and the ‘abandonment of 147 souls to a hastily built raft from which only 15 survived’. Smillie continues that ‘the painting was seen as an indictment of the French monarchy and political system’.

18 Andrew and Suzanne Edwards, *Sicily: A Literary Guide for Travellers* (London: I.B.Tauris, 2014), 230.



Fig. 3: Rabbit Beach, Photo: Tony Kushner

ranked the highest.¹⁹ As is happening in other parts of the ‘blue route’ – most recently the Greek islands – the misery of migration at its most desperate is coinciding in time and place with the pursuit of tourist pleasure. Affluent Western visitors are witnessing the victims of dictatorship, failed states, civil war, ethnic cleansing, religious intolerance and basic deprivation of life chances. They are thus inadvertently becoming co-presents to those suffering the most extreme problems of the contemporary world. Whilst official Italian tourist information continues to insist that Lampedusa is ‘one of the most-frequented destinations of sun-worshippers, scuba-divers and nature lovers’, in reality this ‘glorious sun-bleached island’ is still firmly associated with human migration in its most basic and deathly form.²⁰

Some tourists have understandably resented the intrusion of such reminders of global misery, but many have engaged in acts of kindness and solidarity alongside the work of sympathetic local activists. Most prominent has been the creation of the Migrant Offshore Aid Station (MOAS), run by Chris and Regina Catrambone after they came across clothing in the sea as they sailed in their yacht away from Lampedusa. Rather than ignore evidence of another migrant death, Chris (an American entrepreneur) and Regina (his Italian wife) decided to devote themselves to saving lives:

19 *The Metro*, 18 February 2015.

20 Italia Travel Ideas, ‘The Island of Lampedusa’, Italian Tourism Official Website 2015, <http://www.italia.it/en/travel-ideas/the-sea/the-island-of-lampedusa.html>, accessed 19 June 2015.



“Look at me out here cruising on my boat, at the same time people are out there dying. So our heaven is their hell, right? Our paradise is their hell.”²¹

Of Italian immigrant origin, ‘Catrambone saw the migrants as either desperate, entrepreneurial, or both – not too different from his own great-grandfather’. To him, the moral imperative to help was unambiguous:

“If you are against saving lives at sea then you are a bigot and you don’t even belong in our community. If you allow your neighbour to die in your backyard, then you are responsible for that death.”²²

Catrambone purchased a yacht, the *Phoenix*, sailed across the Atlantic and in ten weeks from August 2014 rescued over 1400 people in the Mediterranean. To him, as with those in Britain and elsewhere during the Nazi era, rather than wait for their governments and international organisations to act, they have shown that individuals can make a critical difference themselves.

There are no definitive figures for those who have died migrating to Europe using the Mediterranean. Using media and NGOs, the monitoring group Fortress Europe argued that between 1993 and 2011, close to 20,000 died en route. Since then the numbers have gone up alarmingly – estimated at 3419 for 2014 and 300 higher for 2015 with the figure likely to be exceeded in 2016.²³ The problem of using such information, however, is that ‘Some places receive more... attention than others because they have developed into “border theatres”’. Of all these, Lampedusa until 2014 was the most prominent example.²⁴ Without its connection to boat migrants, ‘Lampedusa would be just one of the many minor Italian islands living on fishing and tourism’.²⁵ Its recent connection to migration began slowly and then transformed the island. At times since the twenty first century, migrants have outnumbered residents (5,800) and an infrastructure involving large scale policing and humanitarian presence has also impacted on the everyday life of Lampedusa.

It is often assumed that desperate migrants have wanted to come to Lampedusa as the closest piece of European land from Africa. Whilst in the early stages of this movement in the 1990s, there was an element of truth in such assumptions, it has not been the case subsequently. Since the early twenty first century, it has been emphasised that migrants ‘did not arrive of their own accord’: they thus did not *choose* Lampedusa, but were directed and diverted there by the Italian authorities as a way of controlling the flows of migration which were both increasing in numbers and diversifying in places of origin.²⁶

21 Giles Tremlett, “If you are against saving lives at sea then you are a bigot”, *Guardian*, 8 July 2015.

22 Ibid.

23 *Guardian*, 2 April 2015; 10m Displacement Tracking Matrix. [2015]. Migration Flows Europe, <http://migration.iom.int/europe>, accessed 27 December 2015.

24 Tara Brian and Frank Laczko(eds), *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration* (Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2014), 93.

25 Paolo Cuttitta, ‘Borderizing the Island. Setting and Narratives of the Lampedusa “Border Play”’, *ACME* 13 (2) (2014), 214.

26 Dines et al, ‘Thinking Lampedusa’, 432-3.

In 2013, close to 15,000 migrants were processed through Lampedusa, most fleeing from Eritrea.²⁷ The numbers in the early 1990s were much smaller, but in 1996 they merited the construction of an informal reception centre, largely run by local volunteers trained by the Italian Red Cross.²⁸ Two years later, reflecting the growing anxiety about such migration, this voluntary centre was replaced by an official one near the airport. It accommodated up to 150 people and was surrounded by barbed wire: ‘inmates were forbidden from moving freely around the island. After a period (during which they were given almost no information about asylum procedures) boatpeople were “distributed” by plane to other facilities in Sicily or mainland Italy or deported to Libya.’ In turn, a new detention (rather than reception) centre was constructed which opened in 2007, designed for a up to 800 internees and largely invisible within Lampedusa town, the only settlement beyond a few scattered houses on the island.²⁹

Lampedusa had become a ‘border zone’,³⁰ a place which had ‘essentially become detached from the rest of Italy’³¹ It is, in the words of Alison Mountz, one of many ‘stateless spaces’.³² The Sicilian Channel had, in effect, ‘become an outer border of the European Union’,³³ and Lampedusa was the focal place/non-place where attempts were made at controlling the flow of unwanted ‘illegal’ migrants. Then on 3 October 2013, ‘the world witnessed the most dramatic human disaster in the Mediterranean Sea since the Second World War’.³⁴ A small fishing boat left Libya carrying over 500 largely Somali and Eritrean refugees. The vessel caught fire just half a mile from Lampedusa – only 155 survived with the rest drowning. What happened on 3 October 2013 was far from the first instance of

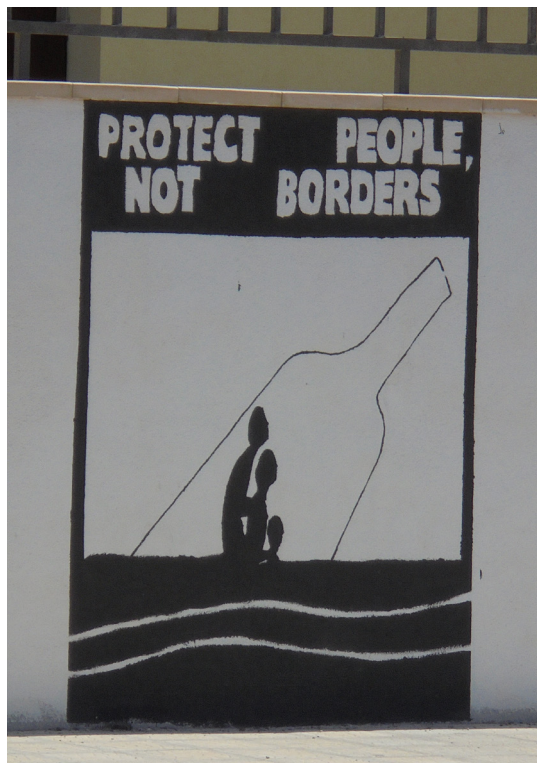


Fig. 4: Mural, Lampedusa Town, Photo: Tony Kushner

27 Zed Nelson, ‘A long way home’, *Guardian*, 22 March 2014.

28 Heidrun Friese, ‘Border Economies: A Nascent Migration Industry Around Lampedusa’, in *Borders, Mobilities and Migrations: Perspectives from the Mediterranean 19-21st Century* edited by Lisa Anteby-Yemini et al (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2014), 121.

29 Ibid, 122; author site visit, 6 August 2015. It is above the town and accessible only through a dead end road.

30 Cuttitta, ‘“Borderizing” the Island’, 205.

31 Dines et al, ‘Thinking Lampedusa’, 433.

32 Alison Mountz, *Seeking Asylum: Human Smuggling and Bureaucracy at the Border* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) 129.

33 Timothy Raeymaekers, ‘Introduction: Europe’s Bleeding Border and the Mediterranean as a Relational space’, *ACME* 13 (2)(2014), 165.

34 Ibid.



mass migrant death at sea, and it has been surpassed by even greater tragedies thereafter. The response to it, however, marked a rupture: ‘its scale [was] too great for us to ignore’.³⁵

The disaster led to an international outcry, led by Pope Francis in what was his first official engagement. He visited Lampedusa where both the survivors and the bodies of some of the dead had been brought. Pope Francis responded that ‘The word disgrace comes to mind. It is a disgrace’. He also urged ‘Let’s unite our efforts so that tragedies like this don’t happen again’.³⁶ Whilst in 2014, through a variety of governmental and private initiatives, some 170,000 migrants were rescued in the Mediterranean,³⁷ less than eighteen months after 3 October 2013, several similar sized boats capsized close to Lampedusa, with over 300 migrants feared to have drowned.³⁸ These, however, were overshadowed by an even larger catastrophe in the spring of 2015. In May 2015, a boat carrying over 800 migrants sank leaving just 28 survivors.³⁹

In 2015, over a million migrants have attempted to reach Europe across the Mediterranean. Of these, ‘only’ 150,000 arrived in Italy from Africa, but the danger of this route is emphasised by the numbers continuing to drown in the ‘Blue Desert’. The International Organization of



Fig. 5: Migrants’ and other tombstones, Lampedusa Cemetery, Photo: Tony Kushner

35 ‘Europe’s Immigration Disaster’, ‘Dispatches’, Channel 4 television, 24 June 2014.

36 *Guardian*, 4 October 2013.

37 *Guardian*, 8 April 2015.

38 *Metro*, 12 February 2015.

39 *Guardian*, 23 May 2015.



Fig. 6-8: Migrant tombstones, named and unnamed, Lampedusa Cemetery, Photo: Tony Kushner

Migration estimate that of roughly 3,700 recorded deaths, close to 2,900 have been en route to Italy via Lampedusa/Sicily. In contrast, there have been just over 700 deaths for the 800,000 plus who have attempted to reach Greece.⁴⁰

It is perhaps the comparative 'safety' of the sea journeys to the Greek islands that has persuaded some, especially Syrian refugees, to shift from the 'high-risk, central Mediterranean to the less risky eastern Mediterranean route' from 2015.⁴¹ At the start of 2016, with European Union attempts to cut off journeys from Turkey to Greece, there are fears (now realised) that the central Mediterranean route will become dominant again. Anticipating this possibility, then British Prime Minister, David Cameron, was reported as demanding EU leaders to increase the number of patrol ships in order to turn 'back boats of refugees as soon as they set off on perilous journeys across the Mediterranean from Libya'.⁴²

With reference to the island's recent, traumatic history, Paolo Cuttitta has referred to the 'Lampedusa "Border Play"' and one that has been 'performed' from 2004 onwards and which up to 2014 consisted of 'five acts'.⁴³ Cuttitta is far from insensitive to the sufferings of the migrants linked to the island, noting that 'Lampedusa is the place where hundreds of migrants have touched Italian soil only as dead bodies'.⁴⁴ He is aware of the dangers of studies that ignore the 'agency and the subjectivity of migrants', pointing out in his case study

40 'Irregular Migrant, Refugee Arrivals in Europe Top One Million in 2015', International Organization for Migration, 22 December 2015, in <http://migration.iom.int/Europe>, accessed 27 December 2015.

41 Philippe Fargues, '2015: The year we mistook refugees for invaders', *Migration Policy Centre: Policy Brief 12* (December 2015), 2.

42 Rowena Mason, 'Cameron wants EU to turn back more refugees', *Guardian*, 18 March 2016.

43 Cuttitta, "Borderizing" the Island', 207.

44 Ibid, 197.



that alongside the role played by those managing and policing the border, that ‘Lampedusa has... been a place of riots, of self induced injuries, of protests and escapes, during which migrants also happened to join the local population in rallies against the Italian government, as well as to clash with groups of local inhabitants’. More fundamentally, he highlights how ‘each sea crossing testifies the motivation and strength of migrants trying to realize their migratory projects’.⁴⁵ His focus, however, is the ‘performance’ of migrant control and the international power politics behind it.

Even with the vastly expanded numbers of boat migrants in 2014 and 2015, those travelling across sea are still in the minority compared to those going across land or flying. But as Cuttitta argues, ‘if the border... is a suitable theatre for the “political spectacle”, the sea border is the ideal stage for political actors to perform the “border play”’.⁴⁶ The five acts identified by Cuttitta on Lampedusa consist of ‘toughness’, when from October 2004 to March 2006, roughly 2,200 migrants were returned from the island to Libya. The second ‘act’ was ‘humaneness’ following the success of a more progressive Italian coalition government in April 2006 when the number of such deportations was reduced. The detention centre was reformed and made more open to public scrutiny, but at the same time all efforts were made in cooperation with the Gadhafi regime to stop migrants leaving from Libya. This lasted until late 2008 when a third ‘emergency’ act was started.⁴⁷

The ‘tough border’ was re-established with increased migration and the detention centre soon became overcrowded with over 1800, over double its capacity, housed there by January 2009. Periods of internment increased leading to hunger strikes and an attempt to set fire to the buildings. It was followed by a fourth act – ‘zero immigration’, starting from May 2009 with ‘push-back operations from the high seas’ and the closing of the detention centre. This continued until 2011 when the number of migrants increased rapidly following the ‘Jasmine Revolution’ when thousands of Tunisians left their country. With the detention centre still closed, 4000 migrants were left sleeping on Lampedusa’s streets and their numbers – over 6000, ‘exceeded that of the local population’.⁴⁸

The tragic events of October 2013 and February 2015, with many smaller incidents in-between and following, have added further ‘acts’ to the narrative, but Cuttitta identifies astutely how Lampedusa is used not only to implement controls in a location ‘more “border” than other Italian and European border places’, but also as where this ‘border’ is performed to the outside world, including to would-be migrants.⁴⁹ There is a parallel here to *Exodus 1947*, a former pleasure boat carrying 4,500 Jews who were to returned by sea to Europe having arrived in Haifa. The British and Palestinian authorities wanted to make its journey into a salutary example as well as a specific case of refused entry to ‘illegal’ immigrants. Similarly, in 2016, the Australian immigration authorities have commissioned a multi-million pound film, *The Journey* to put off would-be migrants. A ‘lavish production’, it depicts ‘hopeful asylum seekers [from Afghanistan]

45 Ibid, 199.

46 Ibid, 206.

47 Ibid, 207-8.

48 Ibid, 210-1.

49 Ibid, 212.

who meet tragic fates crossing the Indian Ocean'.⁵⁰

In all these cases, security and economic fears have run alongside humanitarian concern. In the case of the Jewish 'illegal' immigration, the British tried (and largely failed) to impress the world that those embarking on such journeys, and especially the organisers, were doing so at the expense of genuine, legitimate refugees. Today, similar dynamics

are at work with the focus of European and other Western organisations and politicians being on the 'criminal' smugglers and the need to curtail their activities, including the destruction of boats used to carry the migrants. If those used to transport Jewish migrants in and after the Nazi era were larger vessels well beyond their useful life, many of those today are tiny, described as being like the ones 'children used to play with on the beach. They are really just toys'.⁵¹ Returning to Lampedusa, since Cuttitta wrote, the detention centre has become closed to visitors and supporters of the migrants, isolating them from the largely positive response of the islanders to their presence. In a further attempt to render the migrants invisible, the coast guard boats bringing in the migrants and then sending them on to Sicily arrive and depart late at night.⁵²

Representation

Self-consciously, Cuttitta's Lampedusa 'play' provides only a walk-on part for the migrants themselves. Consideration will now be given to their perspectives and performativity, alongside the wider representation (including self-representation) of their experiences and those of the island/islanders as a whole. It will be argued that comparing the situation to the 1930s/40s, there is both change and continuity in how the migrant voice is incorporated. The major limitation then and now is the focus on the journey itself with little attention given to the individual's life before it was undertaken or their prospects thereafter.

Typical in this respect is the substantial investigation: *Fatal Journeys: Tracking Lives Lost during Migration* (2014), published by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Within it testimony is sparse and used to highlight a specific perspective. The report closes with



Fig. 9: Inside St. Gerland's Catholic Church, Lampedusa Town, Photo: Tony Kushner

50 *Guardian*, 29 March 2016.

51 Montse Sanchez, a human rights worker, quoted in *Guardian*, 3 June 2014.

52 Tony Kushner, discussion with local activist, Paola Larosa, Lampedusa, 5 August 2015.



the words of Kasseh, a 15 year old Ethiopian boy who, with his friends, left a farming community in search of better paid work. After a series of horrendous experiences, where some girls in his group were abducted, Kasseh was eventually reunited with his family in Ethiopia. Rather than ‘journeys of hope’, he reflects that they were ones of disaster:

My only dream now is that somebody may stop these ‘trips’ that are full of pain and suffering for poor people. My only truth now is tell my friends about what happened to me and warn them not to go through what I went.⁵³

As an intergovernmental organization, IOM campaigns for ‘humane and orderly migration’ and thus it is not surprising that Kasseh’s testimony should be instrumentalised with this objective in mind as a cautionary tale for those thinking of embarking on a journey that in reality would be chaotic and dangerous. Elsewhere in *Fatal Journeys* it is emphasised that of the 40,000 migrant deaths in transit recorded (and two thirds are not), for as many as one in five the region (let alone the country) of origin is unknown.⁵⁴ That so many deaths literally leave no trace in a world of instant communication and constant surveillance reflects the utter obscurity and marginality of so many migrants today. The Mediterranean, in the words of Caroline Moorehead, ‘is not a deserted sea. Its waters are among the busiest in the world, criss-crossed by fishing boats, naval vessels and cruise ships, along with the patrol boats of the various coastguards’⁵⁵ Even so, thousands have drowned in it. Against that invisibility is the desire of many NGOs, journalists, campaigners, academics and others to give restore individuality to the migrant.

During the Nazi era, the *Manchester Guardian* was unmatched globally for its daily coverage of the plight of the Jews. Before and after, it was not only Jewish refugees that this newspaper championed, and this empathy and support of the forcibly displaced has continued into the twenty first century. Confronting the crisis of the boat people in the Mediterranean in spring 2015, and the paucity of the European Union’s responses to them, it emphasised the common humanity binding ‘us’ and ‘them’:

A proud father who is fleeing persecution, a mother who wants to give her family a chance – every migrant who risks their lives in the Mediterranean has a story that any European would recognise... [I]n any discussion of what should be done, that particularity is the most important thing to remember.⁵⁶

Effort has been made to record the ‘individual stories of hope and fear’ of those that have survived the nautical disasters, including those from the sinking near Lampedusa in October 2013. One of these was Fanus, an 18 year old Eritrean woman whose story was told in words, photographs and documentary by film maker Zed Nelson.⁵⁷ She had paid close to £1000 for the journey that so nearly led to her death. Travelling with her best friend, ‘Like almost every other

53 Brian and Laczko, *Fatal Journeys*, 174-5.

54 Ibid, 15, 24.

55 Caroline Moorehead, ‘Missing in the Mediterranean’, *Intelligent Life Magazine*, May/June 2014.

56 Editorial: ‘A thousand individual stories of hope and fear have been lost. Europe must act’, *Guardian*, 22 April 2015.

57 Zed Nelson, ‘A long way home’, *Guardian*, 22 March 2014; ‘Europe’s Immigration Disaster’, ‘Dispatches’, *Channel 4*, 24 June 2014.



passenger, they had left Eritrea, fleeing the military dictatorship and forced conscription. Fanus had paid smugglers to get her over the border and on through the Sahara to Libya'. The Mediterranean crossing was thus just 'the final leg of a dangerous, expensive journey in search of asylum in Europe'. Her narrative focuses on this and her other failed attempts to escape Eritrea and how 'My parents sold everything they had to raise the money' – in all it cost over £2000.⁵⁸

In Stockholm some six months after her traumatic arrival in Lampedusa, Fanus (her real name was withheld to protect her family), reflected with horror on how she got there from Africa: 'I don't want to look back and remember my journey, nobody should have to go through what we did. I wouldn't wish it on my worst enemy.'⁵⁹ But even this truncated account of her life story, with the focus on the Lampedusa disaster and her life as an 'illegal' immigrant after it, is exceptional. Fanus burnt her fingertips so as to avoid police recognition. The wider aim was to avoid return to Italy as place of first arrival under the Dublin Treaty in processing asylum seekers. Others avoided telling the authorities of their journey to Lampedusa for the same reason. Meron Estefanos, an Eritrean activist who has supported those who survived the October 2013 disaster, relates that 'They are afraid if they tell their story, there is a risk they will be sent back to Italy so for that reason people choose not to mention they survived the boat tragedy. They pretend they came a different route'. In speaking out, having reached Sweden 'illegally', Fanus 'decided to take her chances. "If they want to send us back to Italy, we'll tell them Italy did not treat us right, We just have to be honest.'⁶⁰ But it is not only this aspect of their life stories that such migrants have performed differently from reality – their places of origin and reasons for leaving have also often been constructed to reflect the reality of European asylum procedures.

From the moment immigration controls were systematically introduced in the late nineteenth century, migrants have shaped both their testimony and their paperwork to improve their chances of gaining entry. The latest manifestation of this 'game' (one that can mean life or death) is migrants performing what they hope will be right narrative for those whose job it is to keep borders as restrictive as possible. As Caroline Moorehead noted in 2005, when covering the life of asylum seekers in the north east of England:

Refugee life is rife with rumour. Among those who wait to be interviewed for refugee status, word circulates about how some nationalities are more likely to get asylum than others, about how some stories are more powerful than others, and some more likely to touch the hearts of the interviewers.

She adds that the 'buying and selling of "good" stories, stories to win asylum, has become common practice in refugee circles, among people terrified that their own real story is not powerful'. She concludes 'How easy, then, how natural, to shape the past in such a way that it provides more hope for a better future'.⁶¹ In the ten years since she published *Human Cargo*, the level of control and culture of disbelief has grown and, alongside it, the self-construction of migrant narratives to resist such tendencies.

58 Nelson, 'A long way home'.

59 Ibid.

60 Ibid.

61 Moorehead, *Human Cargo*, 136.



Perhaps the most desperate attempt to ‘perform’ refugeedom is the desire to show innocence through the presence of young children on these boats. Abdul Azizi, and 26 other refugees from Afghanistan and Syria boarded a boat from Turkey aiming for Greece. After two hours their engine failed and a Greek coastguard vessel ordered them to return to Turkey. ‘We said the boat had broken down. And we took the babies and held them above our heads, to show that there were children on board. But they didn’t listen’. Their boat was towed towards Turkey and then began to sink:

The women and children were in the [hold] and we went to try and get them... Everything happened so quickly. There was no time to save our children. We had arrived in Europe. We were refugees. But in a flash I had lost my child and my wife.⁶²

In this vein, there are even more horrific stories to tell. The three hundred plus victims of the October 2013 Lampedusa disaster included ‘a baby boy still attached to his mother by the umbilical cord’.⁶³ After 1945, Jewish survivors of the Holocaust performed their persecuted state through adopting, according to frustrated British officials, a ‘Belsen’ pose.⁶⁴ In the first decades of the twenty first century, the climate of distrust is such that migrants have to exhibit their children to show they are not a threat to the receiving countries. No children under 12 reached Lampedusa following 3 October 2013. And then, at the beginning of September 2015, the world was shocked by Nilufer Demir’s photograph of three year old Alan Kurdi washed up on the Turkish coast and cradled by a Turkish policeman.⁶⁵ If only briefly, the conscience of the world, which Pope Francis had valiently tried but largely failed to call into action in October 2013, was stirred by the death of this child, his brother, Galip, and mother.

In the case of Jewish migration to Palestine during the 1930s/40s, testimony extended only to routes taken, framed within a discourse of either legality/illegality or of organised resistance to British restrictionism. With contemporary boat people, there has been greater sensitivity from the media and NGOs in showing the individuality of the migrants, acknowledging their agency and explaining why they have been forced to break the law to continue their journeys. The concern has been with the present, understandable when for so many it has been and continues to be uncertain. But it reinforces the tendency to treat refugees as people ‘with no history, past experience [and] culture’.⁶⁶ Even in respect of the journey itself, the media tend to present simplistic maps of ‘migrants’ routes ‘directly connecting the Mediterranean Sea to sub-Saharan Africa’. As Luca Ciabbari, an ethnographer, concludes from deeper research, ‘what emerges are different seasons and histories of migration, each rooted in specific historical conjunctions, characterized by a different intertwining of social dynamics and different power relationships’.⁶⁷

In much of the literature on refugees and forced migration in the late twentieth and early twenty first centuries, the work of Italian philosopher, Giorgio Agamben on *homer sacer* (sacred

62 Testimony in *Guardian*, 3 June 2014.

63 *Guardian*, 11 October 2013.

64 See National Archives, CO 537/2373 and 2374, 14 and 22 April 1947.

65 See *Guardian*, 28 December 2015 for the background to why this photograph was taken.

66 Peter Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 284.

67 Luca Ciabbari, ‘Dynamics and Representations of Migration Corridors’, *ACME* 13 (2)(2013), 246-262, 259.

man) and the concept of 'bare life' has been utilised and critiqued.⁶⁸ Agamben outlines why the refugee represents 'such a disquieting element in the order of the modern nation-state... above all because by breaking the continuity between man and citizen... they put the originary fiction of modern sovereignty in crisis'.⁶⁹ The concept of 'bare life' with regard to refugees does reflect a reality, the tens of thousands of deaths in the Mediterranean and elsewhere illustrating how even sheer survival can be tenuous. But as many have noted, it can also remove all agency from refugees, and in the case of Lampedusa, this has been and continues to be a powerful factor.

In the detention centres of the island and in its everyday life, the migrants have both resisted and formed alliances with the local inhabitants. In February 2014 this led to the creation of the Charter of Lampedusa which was not 'intended as a draft law' but as the expression 'of an alternative vision' where 'Differences must be considered as assets, a source of new opportunities, and must never be exploited to build barriers'.⁷⁰ Such bonds have been celebrated as well as problematised in Emanuele Crialesi's award winning Italian film, *Terraferma* (2011), Anders Lustgarten's play *Lampedusa* (2015) and most recently Gianfranco Rosi's documentary *Fire at Sea* (2016) which won the Golden Bear prize at the Berlin International Film Festival. It is also recognised movingly at an everyday level through the island's cemetery where plots and headstones have been donated locally to bury both named and unnamed migrants washed



Fig. 10: Refugee poster, Lampedusa Town, Photo: Tony Kushner

68 Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 126-35.

69 Ibid, 131.

70 Verein Bildung für Alle, 'The Charter of Lampedusa', <http://www.bildung-fuer-alle.ch/political-program-charter-lampedusa>, accessed 22 June 2015.



Fig. 11: Mimmo Paladino's 'Porta di Lampedusa – Porta D'Europa', Photo: Tony Kushner

the migrants (who may, or may not still be alive) are included and the overall narrative is to present the issue as a global one rooted in inequality. I will return to Porto M in the conclusion

up on its shores.⁷¹ Going even further, a self-conscious celebration of the bonds between migrants and locals is found in an Italian Amnesty International mural near the beach where many of the boats landed, *Ai sorrisi di chi arriva e di chi accoglie* (the smile of those arriving and those welcoming). It was collectively created in 2013 and attempts to counter the tragic image of victimhood and negative attitudes to migrants widespread in the media.⁷² Lampedusa has also acted as a source of identity for those who have found asylum beyond its shores. It has led to groups including 'Lampedusa in Berlin' and 'Lampedusa in Hamburg' using the solidarity of this experience to campaign for better treatment of migrants at all stages of the journey.⁷³

Whilst *Terraferma*, *Lampedusa* and *Fire at Sea* are (sympathetic) artistic portrayals by non-migrants, those who have passed through the island or supported them there have made a determined effort at self-representation, including in the form of heritage performance. An alternative museum and archive of Lampedusa, Porto M, has been created on the island itself, made up of fragments of ruined boats and lost belongings of the migrants. The work of an anarchist collective, 'Askavusa' (Barefoot), it highlights the everyday possessions of the migrants. To ensure there is no exploitation, no images of

71 Crialise's film won several prizes at the Venice Film Festival; Tony Kushner, site visit to Lampedusa cemetery, 5 August 2015.

72 It is reproduced on the cover of Alessandra Ballerini, *La Vita Ti Sia Lieve: Storie di migranti e altri esclusi* (Milan: Melampo Editore, 2014 [2013]).

73 Dines et al, 'Thinking Lampedusa', 436.



to this article.⁷⁴ On the island this low key but deeply impressive museum superficially complements but also subtly critiques Mimmo Paladino's *Porta di Lampedusa – Porta d'Europa* 2008 memorial situated away from the town and close to the airport runway, designed to be seen by those entering the port of Lampedusa by sea. Paladino's work demands that the door of migration should be kept open, though in terms of scale, its portal is small compared to the large scale monument as a whole, suggesting perhaps a managed, rather than an open border approach. It thus follows more the philosophy of the IOM rather than Askavusa – tellingly a photograph of Paladino's work frames the former's analysis of migrant journeys. *Porta di Lampedusa – Porta D'Europa* is, however, complex. It is deliberately 'an unfinished work' and its ceramic coverings weather and crumble to show both the vulnerability of those involved and the dynamics of a situation changing day by day.⁷⁵

The migrants themselves, in addition to their political interventions, have with their supporters created an online archive to document their experiences in passing through Lampedusa utilising private documents such as diaries as well as films and oral history aided by Italian scholar of African migration, Alessandro Triulzi. They have thus helped to ensure that their voices are preserved and their testimony available not simply through the limitations of media, government and non-governmental organisations.⁷⁶ In this respect, one of the most powerful forms of migrant self-representation has been produced through this initiative, Zakaria Mohammed Ali's documentary *To Whom It May Concern* (2012).

Ali, a Somali journalist and political refugee, was briefly interned at the island's detention centre in 2008. Four years later he returns a 'free man' to Lampedusa with his friend and fellow migrant, Mahamed Aman. His film focuses on the traces of the migrant presence on the island. It emphasises the importance of past lives – family life, educational achievements and professional careers – before the journeys were undertaken as well as the dangers and losses (not just death at sea but also status), of those undertaking them. It is thus a memorial to the multi-layered nature of migrant experiences – before, during and after – and how they are affected yet not simply determined by the negativity of immigration procedures. Ultimately *To Whom It May Concern* is a statement about the importance of memory which Ali defines as 'the only bridge which connects human beings to their past'. It highlights, through the Lampedusa detention centre, how Western bureaucracies attempt to erase memory through the violence of destroying paperwork (whether family photographs, certificates or diplomas) confirming who the individuals were before they made the journeys across desert and sea. By returning to Lampedusa, Zakaria and Mahamed illustrate how they have not been defined by their detention and the desire to render them 'illegal'.⁷⁷ If *Exodus 1947* was performed both at the time and subsequently as an epic narrative, it is already clear that Lampedusa has become a part of a global story, and one which the migrants themselves, in spite of their ongoing marginality, are playing a key role emphasising their common humanity.

74 Tony Kushner, site visit to Porto M and discussion with the Askavusa collective, Lampedusa, 6 August 2015.

75 Tony Kushner, site visit, 5 August 2015; 'The port of Lampedusa, an unfinished work', accessed 2 August 2015.

76 Material available through Archivio delle memorie migranti, www.archviomemoriemigranti.net.

77 Zakaria Mohammed Ali, *To Whom It May Concern* (Archivio Memorie Migranti, 2012).



Porto M and the politics of memory

Why the island is called ‘Lampedusa’ is unclear. Greek origins are suggested with three possible connections – ‘rock’, ‘beacon’ and ‘crab’. All three in combination provide a neat summary of its complex past and present. The island has been a military base for various empires and it has continued this fortress role as a border for the European Union. It has also been a place of local welcome to newcomers escaping danger and a place of livelihood for its fishermen. Population movements in and out of the island, forced (including slavery inflicted on Lampedusa by Barbary Pirates) and voluntary are integral to its remote history, a part of and apart from Europe and physically closer to north Africa (a geography and geology reflected in its architecture). The boat people and the treatment of them, including deportation and return, as well as empathy towards them, are part of a deep history and not alien to it, a point highlighted in Rosi’s *Fire at Sea*.

In the politics of performativity involving both *Exodus 1947* and contemporary boat people, history matters. On one level, they share a common bureaucratic past and the construction of the ‘illegal immigrant’ or more crudely and commonly today, the ‘illegals’. The ahistorical tendency in migration studies has led to the missing of this connection and the origins of ‘Migrant “Illegality”’, which are dated much more recently, for example to American treatment of Mexicans and others and only from the 1970s.⁷⁸ Indeed, from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the label of ‘illegality’ has become mainstream, used in everyday discourse to deny the common humanity of migrants. Such racist tendencies have not disappeared.

In April 2015, Katie Hopkins, columnist in Britain’s best selling newspaper, *The Sun*, penned an article with the headline: ‘Rescue Boats? I’d use gunships to stop illegal migrants. Make no mistake these migrants are like cockroaches.’ Her Biblical discourse did not stop there, referring to British towns as ‘festering sores, plagued by swarms of migrants and asylum seekers’.⁷⁹ Despite an online petition exceeding 200,000 to have her sacked and criticism from Zeid Ra’ad Al Hussein, United Nations Human Rights High Commissioner, that she had utilised language ‘reminiscent of anti-Semitic Nazi propaganda’ and the Rwandan genocide, Hopkins remained in post.⁸⁰ The reason why became apparent a few months later.

Revealingly, her hate discourse was regarded as acceptable by both the newspaper itself and Prime Minister, David Cameron. On 24 July 2015, *The Sun*’s front page was devoted to a story from Calais and how ‘Illegals swarm into Britain on empty Channel freight wagons’ with an editorial criticising Cameron for inaction.⁸¹ Less than a week later the Prime Minister responded on national news, performing prejudice to the allegedly hostile public by referring to ‘a swarm of people coming across the Mediterranean, seeking a better life, wanting to come to Britain’.⁸² The acting leader of the Labour Party replied that Cameron should ‘remember he is talking about people and not insects’.⁸³ As radical Church of England minister, Giles Fraser, added,

78 Nicholas De Genova, 2002. ‘Migrant “Illegality” and Deportability in Everyday Life’, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, 419-447.

79 *The Sun*, 17 April 2015.

80 *The Guardian*, 20 and 24 April 2015.

81 *The Sun*, 24 July 2015.

82 Cameron to ITV television news, 30 July 2015 reported favourably in *Daily Mail*, 31 July 2015.

83 Harriet Harman quoted in *The Guardian*, 31 July 2015.

the refugees of the Bible are never described in such language: ‘the only reference to swarm in Exodus is the “swarm of flies”’, adding ‘Little wonder people felt insulted by that.’⁸⁴ Migrants responded similarly: Berekat, a young Eritrean in the Calais camp, asked of Britain’s political leaders, ‘Why are you closing the door? We’re not animals, barbarians’.⁸⁵

At the same time, David Cameron pledged £50 million pounds of government funding for the memorial and educational work of his Holocaust Commission which emphasises the need to learn the ‘lessons of the Holocaust’. It would seem that no connection is made by Cameron to the restrictionism that Jewish refugees faced in the Nazi era and his inflammatory outburst against recent asylum seekers. But there is still a linkage, even if Cameron failed to have the self-awareness to realise it: in the twentieth and twenty first centuries, hate language to describe migrants as illegal and inhuman continues the persecution and misery from which they fled. In the words of a Sudanese asylum seeker in Britain interviewed by the BBC: ‘There I was attacked by bullets and here by words’. He explicitly had in mind the Prime Minister’s insect/swarm analogy.⁸⁶ As a fitting coda, David Cameron spearheaded the campaign to keep Britain in the European Union. His failure to do so (which ended his term as Prime Minister) reflected the importance of popular anti-migrant sentiment that he himself and the British press had done so much to forment.



Fig. 12: Outside Porto M, Photo: Tony Kushner

84 Giles Fraser, ‘A church in the wild’, *The Guardian*, 5 August 2015.

85 Quoted by Matthew Taylor and Josh Halliday, ‘It’s easier if you say we’re bad, not human’, *The Guardian*, 31 July 2015.

86 Sudanese asylum seeker interviewed on BBC television Breakfast News, 12 November 2015.



Fig. 13: Porto M, Photo: Tony Kushner

David Cameron has been at the forefront of promoting ‘British values’ and the Learning Centre of his Holocaust Commission will be part of this enterprise. Certainly part of modern British history has been a strong strain of xenophobia tinged with many different forms of racism. Indeed, Hopkins, *The Sun* and Cameron have their historical precedents. In 1903, the leading anti-alien, William Evans-Gordon, quoted with approval the Bishop of Stepney who blamed the

poverty of East London on ‘foreigners coming in like an army of locusts’.⁸⁷ Two years later, as the Aliens Bill was being fiercely debated, Robert Sherard, a journalist obsessed with the threat posed by the Jewish white slave trade to British manhood, warned readers of *The Standard* about the diseased and useless Jewish immigrants who ‘swarm over to England’.⁸⁸

The British case is important for no other country possesses such a strong belief in its own tolerance and decency - past and present. In this respect, the rebuke of the Prime Minister and Home Secretary for fuelling ‘a xenophobic climate in Britain’, by Nils Muiznieks, the Council of Europe’s human rights commissioner, is especially pertinent. Muiznieks criticised the language of these leading politicians, especially Cameron’s use of the term ‘illegal immigrant’ with its connotations of criminality. ‘People are not illegal’, he noted, their ‘legal status may be irregular, but that does not render them beyond humanity’.⁸⁹

Similarly, Booker Prize author, Richard Flanagan, when visiting Syrian refugees in Lebanese, Serbian and Greek camps, and on the move at the Croatian border, concludes ‘It felt like history and I suppose it was history and is history, and you realise why anyone who has experienced history hates it so’.⁹⁰

Flanagan admonishes

“Refugees are not like you and me. They are you and me. That terrible river of the wretched and the damned flowing through Europe is my family. And there is no time in the future in which they might be helped. The only time we have is now.”⁹¹

87 William Evans Gordon, *The Alien Immigrant* (London: Heinemann, 1903), 12.

88 ‘The Home of the Alien’, *The Standard*, 5 January 1905.

89 Alan Travis, ‘Human rights official attacks PM’s rhetoric on migrants’, *Guardian*, 24 March 2016.

90 Richard Flanagan, ‘Old Testament in its stories, epic in its scale: this is the great exodus of our age’, *Guardian*, 5 March 2016.

91 *Ibid.*

Much of what follows is based on the author's visit to Lampedusa in summer 2015 and it follows Flanagan in the quest to ask how the migrant crisis fits into 'history'. Whilst I am no way a trained ethnographer, I have studied those who are (past and present), especially within the grassroots social anthropology organisation, Mass Observation (1937-1951 and 1981 onwards).⁹² I was thus conscious of the dilemmas faced when confronting a different world – whether geographically or experientially – and the need for self-reflexivity. In this respect, the choice of place and timing of my visit needs some explanation. Colin Richmond, the maverick English medievalist (and observer as early as the 1950s of Polish responses to the Holocaust) has insisted that the historian understand where it happened and the 'necessity of "being there"'.⁹³

The problem with migration, and especially modern migration, is which 'there' to focus on. From the late twentieth century, a growing number of (often high quality) journalistic accounts following particular migrants in their journeys across land and water from all corners of the globe have been published.⁹⁴ Such work is important in showing the risks taken by migrants and the complexity and length (temporal and physical) of the routes towards a hoped for better life and freedom. At their best, this literature gives individuality to the migrants and allows



**Fig. 14: Local fishing boats used to rescue migrants, Lampedusa Beach,
Photo: Tony Kushner**

92 Tony Kushner, *We Europeans? Mass-Observation, 'Race' and British Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

93 Colin Richmond, *Doing History* (Woodbridge: Colin Richmond, 2012), 214.

94 One of the earliest and best is Jeremy Harding, *The Uninvited: Refugees at the Rich Man's Gate* (London: Profile, 2000).



space for their life stories and aspirations to be considered. In contrast, my scholarly approach has been as a micro-historian and especially in exploring particular places and how different levels of their past compete for attention – or, in the words of the late historical geographer, Doreen Massey, ‘The identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those *histories* are told, and which history turns out to be dominant’.⁹⁵ Rather than parochial, as Massey crucially adds, ‘the local is always a product in part of “global” forces’.⁹⁶

So why choose to focus on Lampedusa? When the island started to gain prominence in discussion about migration it immediately had resonance through my doctoral research carried out in the 1980s. This was through the Yiddish play *The King of Lampedusa* referred to early in this article. Perhaps through its unusual name and uncertain geography, in this play the ‘natives’ of Lampedusa are imagined somehow as ‘uncivilised’ black Africans, owing more to the nightmare world of Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* rather than the reality of a small Italian military base in the middle of the Mediterranean.⁹⁷ Whilst my interest in *The King of Lampedusa* was why Jews and others in Britain were so emotionally engaged in it, I was at least aware that it was a real place with some strategic military importance during the Second World War.

With the major migrant tragedies of the early twenty first century and especially those of 2011 and 2013 linked to the island, my interest intensified and were strengthened further when introduced to Alessandro Triulzi, as noted, instrumental in creating an archive of the recent migrants, many of whom passed through Lampedusa. I was determined to visit, but the questions remained of how and when. With its fishing industry in relative decline, tourism has become the main source of income for Lampedusa with its beautiful beaches and opportunities to snorkel in search of exotic fish, and to observe the turtles which visit the island each year to lay their eggs on the beach. Yet even with a new EU funded airport, and a ferry service, it is not a straightforward place to visit – there are only occasional flights from either Sicily or Rome and the ferry journey is a long one. In short, it takes a little more effort to visit than other migrant points of arrival in Europe.

Patrick Kingsley is the *Guardian’s* ‘inaugural migrant correspondent’ and was named in Britain ‘Foreign Affairs Journalist of the Year’ in 2015. In *The New Odyssey: The Story of Europe’s Refugee Crisis*, Kingsley notes that ‘Lesvos, the island most affected [in 2015], has become the Greek Lampedusa’.⁹⁸ From Britain, it would have been much easier for me to ‘be there’ in Lesvos, Kos or any of the other Aegean islands where the hundreds of thousands of migrants had landed than in Lampedusa – or, even closer to home, the refugee camps at Calais and Dunkirk. There were reasons I decided against the Greek islands or northern France. Whilst I have worked with refugees and asylum seekers, I possess no medical, linguistic or logistic skills which would have made my presence beneficial for the thousands upon thousands of migrants who had just arrived, often in a state of physical and mental distress and confusion. And – rightly or wrongly – whilst aware of the importance of bearing witness to one of the largest man made disasters since the Second World War, I was anxious to avoid any form of voyeurism.

95 Doreen Massey, ‘Places and Their Past’, *History Workshop Journal* 39 (spring 1995), 186.

96 *Ibid*, 183.

97 Valencia (ed.), *The King of Lampedusa*.

98 Patrick Kingsley, *The New Odyssey: The Story of Europe’s Refugee Crisis* (London: Guardian/Faber & Faber, 2016), 177.

In Lampedusa, the situation by 2015 was different – the island was still of crucial importance in policing migration, but it had also become largely invisible in terms of the everyday life of the island. Lampedusa was certainly not ‘history’ in this respect – around the time of my visit there, and to the port of Catania in Sicily where I stayed before and after, there were migrant disasters where the dead, dying and survivors were brought to both places. It was still very different to several years earlier when the drowned bodies were brought to the beaches and thousands of migrants were sleeping in Lampedusa’s streets. Moreover, Lampedusa was no longer so prominent in the news. It seemed that with attention focused elsewhere,⁹⁹ this was a good time to visit and observe.

In terms of preparation, I had one or two contacts with local activists given to me by Alessandro Triulzi, but had a sense of the island only through official reports, autobiographical writing, documentaries, testimonies, and fictionalised versions of the migrant crisis there in film and theatre. Whilst this is perhaps not good textbook ethnographical practice, I had to some extent deliberately under-prepared a fraction in order to discover afresh how the migrant crisis was impacting on the topography of the island without too much familiarity. The island is small enough to stumble around, finding things – or not.

What surprised me most was that there were no migrants in the town of Lampedusa at all – it confirmed the latest stage in the ‘Lampedusa play’ in which they are all totally confined to the detention centre and therefore away from the tourist gaze. The detention centre itself is not signposted and when I eventually found it above and away from the town, I was greeted by an Italian soldier who pointed a gun at me when I attempted to take photographs. Until the summer of 2015, the pro-migrant campaigners in the island had free access to the detention centre and could provide basic goods and, more importantly, moral support and advice. When I visited, that possibility had been removed.

Britain also has detention centres for asylum seekers and they are also largely ‘hidden’: Haslar is one of the



Fig. 15: Tourist advertisement cards, Montage: Tony Kushner

99 Whilst this is a crude indicator, a search of the Nexis international news database gives 1055 ‘hits’ for Lampedusa in July 2014 and a fall of roughly 35 percent to 647 a year later.



largest and is fifteen miles from my home in Hampshire. The case of Lampedusa, however, was more alarming – first, because it is now utterly inaccessible to visitors and second because of the immediacy of the migrant journeys and the processing it represents. It was not simply the pointing of a gun directly at me that made this ‘visit’ to the detention centre alienating and frankly frightening. There was a glimpse of a group of migrants close to the gates of the detention centre but this was the only one in the whole of my visit to Lampedusa. Moreover, none of the sites most obviously connected to the migrant crisis is especially visible and/or accessible as will become apparent. And yet everywhere the enormity of what happened/is continuing to happen is there in the streets – whether in pro-asylum graffiti, murals and posters. I was, however, looking for such reminders of what has happened and continues to happen to migrants there. Whether the ‘average’ holidaymaker to Lampedusa (most are Italian) is aware or wants to be aware is another matter – a theme explored explicitly in Criaiese’s *Terraferma*. The dominant narrative presented to the visitor consists of food, beaches, fishing trips and turtles.

A sense of difference and otherness was something that I was very aware of in my visit, and Lampedusa continues to haunt me (hence this article as a process of coming to terms with it). First, the island has a strange landscape beyond its beaches and small towns. In effect, the land was accidentally made into a near-desert through deliberate deforestation in the mid-nineteenth century. Attempts are being made to reintroduce more vegetation and wildlife but it remains largely and strikingly barren. On one level it reflects a man made ecological disaster of sheer destruction and extermination. On another, it has a unique beauty of its own.

In terms of its architecture, there are only fragments of its early pre-history and history



Fig. 16: Pots and pans, Porto M, Photo: Tony Kushner



Fig. 17: Korans and Bibles, Porto M, Photo: Tony Kushner

before the twentieth century surviving, but the low buildings of its streets and the houses outside the town are more North African than European, reflecting an on-going influence from its many centuries of Muslim/Arab presence. Add this peculiarity of space to a basic infrastructure where most get around its roads either by scooter or primitive jeeps and there is a surreal feel to the island which seems lost in time and place. The toy-like nature of its transport alongside the remoteness and utter curiosity reminded me of architect Sir Clough Williams-Ellis's Italian fantasy village, Portmerion, on the coast of North Wales. Williams-Ellis was deeply influenced by the world of the Mediterranean and Portmerion was his postmodern tribute to it. It is best known as the setting for the cult series *The Prisoner* which continues to baffle critics decades after it was first shown in the psychedelic years of the late 1960s. The difference is that for those in *The Prisoner* no one can leave the village, whereas for the migrants of Lampedusa, there is no chance ultimately that they can stay. 'Big Brother', whether someone unknown force of the secret service in one case, or international policing of migration on another, imposes these restraints on human freedom to move.

Finally, I was reliant on others translating from Italian in my days on the island. Whilst leading to some frustrations, it also allowed me to meet others who could speak some English and through this was able to access their attitudes to the island and the migrant crisis, as well as those I was informally interviewing. It also was a reminder that I was an outside observer. On the one hand, I was able to bring insight through some expertise in modern migration and place, in addition to being concerned with the ethics of representation involving the Holocaust and



**Fig. 18: Toiletries and everyday objects, Porto M,
Photo: Tony Kushner**

other traumatic histories. On the other, it would have been fundamentally wrong to believe I could possibly fully understand in a short visit the everyday dynamics of Lampedusa – an island which has been subject to continuous and often abrupt change throughout its many thousands of years of human habitation, now into the twenty first century.

Undoubtedly, one of the most powerful moments of my visit was to the island's informal and alternative museum of migration. Porto M in its deliberately understated way, emphasises this commonality yet also the political responsibility demanded by Flanagan that connects 'us' (the visitor) – to 'them' (the migrants). The museum has no text and lets the objects speak for themselves. Francesca, one of the collective, insists 'definitely without labels. We can't speak for the migrants'.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, their very ordinariness needs no introduction. The exterior and interior

are lined with fragments of the migrant boats that have arrived or been towed into the port of Lampedusa where Porto M is located, their pastel shades providing an aesthetic beauty that initially disguises the loss of life they represent.

Although the port is small and everything within walking distance, Porto M is tucked into a quiet corner and is less prominent within the tourist gaze – even neighbouring restaurants seemed unaware of its existence. It contrasts, for example, to the main and popular tourist beach of Lampedusa town where until recently the 'graveyard of boats' were stacked high on the other side of the harbourside road.¹⁰¹ These boats are now reduced to a handful, their Arabic writing (they were originally from Libya and Tunisia) the only hint of their previous role. Otherwise, they could easily be mistaken for abandoned local fishing boats.

The removal of most of this 'graveyard' was, it seems, a deliberate move from the island authorities which, whilst not denying evidence of the migrant crisis in which Lampedusa became so central, does not want it to dominate to the detriment of a tourist trade that has yet to fully develop (its EU funded re-built airport, for example, is substantial but limited at present to several somewhat unreliable flights a day to Sicily and mainland Italy). Most of the boats were removed to a wasteland in the middle of the island, including their contents. From there

100 Eithne Nightingale, 'Lovely Lampedusa and PortoM, M for Mediterranean, Migration, Memory or Militarisation?', *Chirps from around the world*, 13 June 2015, <https://eithnenightingale.wordpress.com/tag/lampedusa>, accessed 30 July 2016.

101 See Christian Sinibaldi's 2008 photographs 'Boat Cemetery [sic]' which vividly portray the number and crumbling nature of these vessels.



Fig. 19: Amnesty mural, Photo: Eithne Nightingale

until 2013 the Askavusa collective have rescued some of the contents as well as the fragments of boats that now frame Porto M.¹⁰²

That not all the boats have been removed, however, is a reflection that the local involvement in rescuing and helping migrants has been a key part of Lampedusa's recent history. Again, the visitor is given no help in identifying them as such, but alongside the larger vessels are several small local fishing boats which were used to rescue migrants – the bravery and decency of the people involved is hauntingly evoked in Lustgarten's *Lampedusa*:

[The fishermen Stefano and Salvatore] travel back in the breaking dawn. Grey turning orange turning blue. Five live bodies and fifty-seven dead ones. Nobody says a word, each ocean-deep in their own thoughts.¹⁰³

It is a reflection of the self-contained world of Holocaust studies and the ahistorical tendency in migration studies that there is no linkage made between past and present with these small craft and their sailors. But are they not linked in a special maritime history to the Danish fishing boats used to ferry Jews to safety in Sweden during autumn 1943 which have become iconic in Holocaust representation (on display in Israel, America and Denmark itself)?

The semi-managed, semi-anonymous presence of these abandoned boats in the port is mirrored in the semi-official heritage centre in the main (only) shopping street in Lampedusa

102 On the history of Askavusa and Porto M, see Arnoldo Mondadori, Alfonso Cacciatore and Alessandro Triulzi (eds), *Bibba e Corano a Lampedusa* (Milan: Editrice La Scuola, 2014), 133-46.

103 Lustgarten, *Lampedusa*, 30.



Fig. 20: The view from Porto M, Photo: Tony Kushner

town – Archivio Storico Lampedusa. Its approach is to present a long term history of the island from its once impressive Bronze Age burial chambers through to today.¹⁰⁴ The twenty first century migration crisis is not denied, but it is illustrated through Paladino's monumental sculpture rather than more direct representation of the human misery witnessed by the islanders and experienced by the tens of thousands who have been channelled through Lampedusa or been washed up on its shores. In this setting of exquisitely reproduced historic maps of the island, there is a space for a panel on *The King of Lampedusa* which becomes a light-hearted and unchallenging way of telling the story of the Second World War and the fall of fascism.¹⁰⁵ That the islands and islanders rich and varied past should not be lost through exclusive focus on the contemporary migrant crisis is understandable.¹⁰⁶

There is a danger, however, that the perceived needs of the tourist economy might lead to a process of deliberate forgetting of the migrant presence – rather than placing it as an integral part of a longer history of Lampedusa. Indeed, its geography has meant that it has been shaped by human movement (forced and voluntary) from pre-history onwards, making the twenty first century crisis less exceptional, if no less horrifying.

Returning to Porto M, the careful, artistic re-crafting of the smashed up fragments of the boats (which contrasts with the rough display of the other artefacts) deliberately puts to the forefront the scale of the disasters that led to their creation. The fabric of the building and its location are central to its success but so are the everyday items on display made up literally of flotsam and jetsam. Toothpaste, toothbrushes, razors, cooking oil, feeding bottles for babies and children's clothes, and toys are prominent. These are items which are common to all parts of the world, regardless of local custom. Pots and pans and packets of dried food and cooking oil reflect basic human requirements to cook for oneself. The fishing nets of water bottles reflect an even more basic requirement, appallingly not enough for so many that would die of thirst.¹⁰⁷

Sea damaged Korans and Bibles reveal a glimpse into spiritual life and an indication of what 'non-essential' items were taken amongst the handful that space would allow. The ubiquitous

104 Antonio Taranto, *Breve Histoire De Lampedusa* (Lampedusa: Archivio Storico Lampedusa, 2015).

105 Author visit, 6 August 2015.

106 Author discussion with manager of Archivio Storico Lampedusa, 6 August 2015.

107 Author visit, 6 August 2015.

mobile phones and phone cards reflect their crucial role for modern migrants in keeping in touch with home and also attempts to develop new networks beyond (and more recently for locations through GPS in 'smart' phones). Only cassette players, cassettes and VHS videos reflect a now redundant technology in the West. There are bits of navigational aids and ship's equipment which show the simple nature of the vessels undertaking such dangerous journeys across the unpredictable Mediterranean and

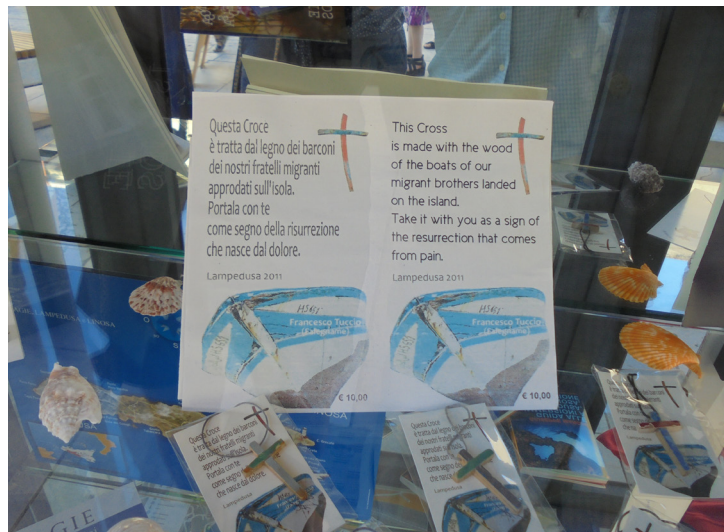


Fig. 21: Tourist Information Centre, Lampedusa Town, Photo: Tony Kushner

what has become the symbol of these epic journeys – the lifejacket and the lifebelt (the uselessness of many reflecting the unscrupulous nature of the smugglers and the reality of market forces). Close to the entrance is a mobile of shoes – trainers and everyday footwear emphasising the ordinariness of those who once walked in them.¹⁰⁸

Annalisa of the collective emphasises that 'Each object is uploaded with energy of the past. They tell many different stories but also one simple story'.¹⁰⁹ Yet her fellow collective member, Giacomo, warns that 'People pay almost too much attention to them. They talk about the object instead of listening to it. Emotion is important but so is reflection and understanding'.¹¹⁰ They have resisted overly professionalising for this reason, rejecting the idea of a catalogue and cataloguing: 'when archivists started putting them in plastic bags and numbering them, the objects seemed like corpses'.¹¹¹ Similar objects adorn Paladino's memorial – shoes and pots, for example, roughly sculptured. Inevitably they lack the immediate power of the original items in Porto M to evoke a human connection but nonetheless they query his monolith, if only visible close up.

What is absent in Porto M and, as outlined earlier, this is a self-consciously so, is any object or document that can be connected to a particular person – there are no letters, diaries, official paperwork and especially photographs on display. For the organisers, this is out of respect and to preserve the dignity of those who cannot give permission for the items to be put in the public sphere.¹¹² It is not known for example, who are in the surviving photographs. In addition, the legal documents might conceivably put survivors of the boats at risk in asylum claims. In thin-

108 Ibid.

109 Nightingale, 2015, 'Lovely Lampedusa'

110 Ibid.

111 Giacomo, in Nightingale, 2015, 'Lovely Lampedusa'

112 Interview with the author, 6 August 2015.



king so carefully about what, and what not to display, there is a sensitivity and reflexivity here which is lacking in many Holocaust exhibitions which present the victims (often in a naked and/or distressed state immediately before or after murder), without thought for the ethical implications of such representation.

Porto M is a migration museum like no other. It has not the polish of those in Europe or settler communities across the world. But it is also free of the redemptive message that many possess which tend to glorify migrant receiving nations in their acceptance and ultimate assimilation. In Lampedusa town itself this is only perhaps to be found in the tourist information centre where wooden crosses made of the boats' fragments are sold with a Christocentric message almost as if they were relics from the Passion itself: 'Take it with you as a sign of the resurrection that comes from pain.'¹¹³

Porto M is identified from the outside by a small plastic inflatable globe that hangs outside its boatwood door. Its flimsy nature is a fitting tribute to the message of the exhibition – a world that is unstable, liable to implode but ultimately mutually dependent and requiring a shift in attitudes and behaviour to survive. In its understated manner – in spite of or perhaps better because of its limited budget – Porto M captures the power politics behind the migrant crisis. This is, after all, a *man made* and not a *natural* disaster. It is locally rooted – the visitor need only look through its door to see the Mediterranean and the human misery that has happened at its doorstep – yet globally focused in its ethical gaze. It is a singular achievement within and way beyond the migrant museum. There remains, however, a tension with regard to the absence of the individual migrant in Porto M: or rather the insistence of the Askavusa collective not to personalise (beyond the everyday nature of the lost items forcing the visitor to understand that these belonged to an ordinary people) necessitates a dialogue of how the migrant presence is dealt with. Rather than a particular critique of Porto M, it reflects a wider tendency in the growing artistic and cultural responses to the global crisis in which Lampedusa became symbolic: migrants, at best, are seen, but not heard.

The islanders of Lampedusa have made space in their crowded cemetery for the migrants who were washed up on its shores or whose bodies were rescued in local boats. Apart from the generosity and inclusivity of such actions, all effort has been made to provide as much detail as possible about the deceased. Where there is no name, at least gender, possible place of origin and age, and the particular maritime tragedy they were part of are included in these simple but deeply moving acts of memory for the 'unknown migrant'. They are personal but also the first act of historicisation of a mass movement that in so many cases leaves not a trace. The graves are not separated out in the cemetery but intermingled with those of the locals. Given the role of the local boatmen in saving migrants and rescuing bodies of the drowned or suffocated, it seems appropriate that they are situated amongst the most prominent tombstones of the cemetery which commemorate the deceased's fishing triumphs in words and photographs.¹¹⁴

There are, of course, no images of these migrants before their death which singles them out from the other recent burials in the cemetery. But the attempt to provide as much informa-

113 Author visit, 4 August 2015. This is not to minimise the importance of the local Catholic church in helping the migrants and the key role of the Pope himself in bringing to the world's attention the scale of the migrant crisis as represented by Lampedusa.

114 Author visit, 5 August 2015.



tion as possible and to restore some sense of individuality contrasts with the dominant artistic confrontation with the migrant presence as represented by Lampedusa. Only in Lustgarten's play are the migrants given agency. With just two actors, the words of the migrant Modibo are reported by the fisherman Stefano, but it is ultimately the former that restore the latter's faith in humanity after the death he has confronted in the Mediterranean, night after night.

In *Fire At Sea* the focus, as with *Terraferma*, is on everyday life on Lampedusa. Rosi's documentary shows how in very recent years the life of the islanders has become separated from that of the migrants who are rescued by the coastguard vessels and then immediately transferred to the detention centre. Only the local doctor has everyday contact, his testimony detailing his daily contact with the dying and seriously ill provides a powerful humanitarian bond. More happily we watch as he carries out an ultrasound examination of an African expecting a baby – with no midwives on the island, today there are only migrant births on Lampedusa. But we do not know the name of this woman, her background and the circumstances of her pregnancy. In *Terraferma* a young migrant gives birth in a private home in Lampedusa, and we are at least made aware of the trauma that led to her pregnancy and the householder who is sheltering her reluctantly is forced to recognise the motherhood they have in common. Finally she accepts that the migrant has a name and a history.

From the Lampedusa doctor's surgery, Rosi takes us on a coastguard/navy rescue of a migrant ship and we watch as most of those on board this pathetic vessel are saved. We also witness those that have already died from dehydration or fume inhalation from journeying the twenty first version of 'steerage' as the doctor perspicaciously perceives it, summoning up also the memory of the slave ships. The witnessing does not stop there – we see the last moments of those for whom rescue came a fraction too late. There is humour in *Fire at Sea* as we encounter the hypochondria of a young boy, Samuele who encounters the always patient and so decent doctor. But Rosi insists that we connect the everyday of Samuele (who is too prone to seasickness to follow his father in a fishing expedition) with the 'normality' of plucking dead or nearly dead bodies from the sea. It remains that we begin to piece together the family dynamics of Samuele but do not learn the names or background of any of the migrants we encounter in the film, whether on the ship, in the surgery or the detention centre.

In the first days of liberation, the victim's bodies in Belsen and other concentration camps were presented to the outside world to prove the evils of Nazism. It took many years to reconstitute their lives before the Holocaust or to imagine, for the survivors, that they would have a meaningful life after it. In the twenty first century, our collective horror at the dead migrant body, most powerfully illustrated in the case of three year old Alan Kurdi in September 2015, can shock the complacent into action. But until we can see the victims as fully human with all the frailties, contradictions and difficulties that requires, focusing on death and suffering alone is not enough to ensure long term solutions to the problem of migration and the global inequality that underpins it – or of supporting the migrants to rebuild their lives beyond initial rescue. Hate speech and the concept of migrant illegality have, as outlined in this article, a long history – bureaucratically and socially – illustrated by the ease with which prejudice has re-established itself in Europe after the initial surge of sympathy following the Kurdi family tragedy.

Giacomo of Askavusa states that for their collective project the 'M' stands for memory. 'We choose what we remember and what we forget. We want to actively engage with memory as



a political act.’¹¹⁵ With this imperative in mind, I want to end with the words of the migrants themselves who have passed through this remarkable island or have undertaken similar traumatic journeys. First, with the universalism proclaimed in the Charter of Lampedusa that ‘As human beings we all inhabit the Earth as a shared space [demanding] global freedom for all [and recognising that] the history of humanity is a history of migration.’ It adds poignantly that there must be ‘No Illegalisation of people. Migration is not a crime.’¹¹⁶ And second with the voice of the individual migrant, Kenyan born Somali refugee, Warsan Shire in *Home*:

“no one leaves home unless
home is the mouth of a shark...
you have to understand,
that no one puts their children in a boat
unless the water is safer than the land...
no one burns their palms
under trains
beneath carriages...
unless the miles travelled
means something more than journey.”¹¹⁷

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115 Nightingale, 2015, ‘Lovely Lampedusa’.

116 The Charter of Lampedusa.

117 Warsan Shire, ‘Home’, edited by Alessandro Triulzi and Robert McKenzie (eds). *Long Journey: African Migrants on the Road* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), xi.



Rede Macht Asylpolitik

Bundestagsreden zum Thema Flucht und Asyl aus metaphorologisch-kulturwissenschaftlicher Perspektive

Arthur Depner und Simon Goebel

Abstract This paper analyses the use of metaphor in political speeches addressing the so-called “refugee crisis”. The speeches were made in 2015 in the German parliament by members of the government and opposition. Our findings show that systematic and profound analysis of the apparently trivial assumption that political rhetoric effects public opinion and vice versa, produces significant results in the field of an ethnology of contemporary “Western” national states and their interdependence. This includes their self-understanding as well as the complex dynamics of discourse and power within themselves and on a global scale. The approach presented in our paper is capable of grasping the dynamic socio-cultural negotiation processes currently underway. We argue that it is important to examine the metaphorical dimension of expressions used in political discourses. If these are taken for granted, no scope would be left for alternative expressions and metaphors that trigger different frames and thus enable alternative actions.

Keywords Refugees; Metaphor; Politics; Wording; Flight; Migration; Discourse; Language.



Rhetorik und Politik sind eng miteinander verknüpft. Diese geradezu banale Feststellung wird besonders dann ins Bewusstsein gerufen, wenn Zusammenhänge zwischen Diskurs und Praxis, zwischen Sprechen und Handeln offenbar werden; wenn deutlich wird, dass Diskurs eine Form der Praxis ist, genauso wie Sprechen Handeln ist, oder, wenn das eine direkt oder indirekt aus dem andern folgt. In den Jahren 2015 und 2016 wurde der Zusammenhang zwischen Rhetorik und Politik im Kontext der Zuwanderung Geflüchteter virulent. Angesichts der im Nachkriegseuropa vergleichsweise hohen Zahlen ankommender, geflüchteter Menschen in der Europäischen Union und in Deutschland und der stark gestiegenen Anzahl fremdenfeindlicher Straftaten in der Bundesrepublik im Jahr 2015, geriet die sprachliche Ausgestaltung von politischen Stellungnahmen zum Themenkomplex Einwanderung in den Fokus kritischer medialer Betrachtung. Große Aufmerksamkeit erregten in diesem Zusammenhang die Äußerungen des Außenministers Frank-Walter Steinmeier (SPD) vom 26.12.2015, in denen er die Art des rhetorischen Umgangs mit dem Thema Flucht, wie er von einigen Parteien gepflegt werde, für die steigende Zahl ausländerfeindlicher Straftaten mitverantwortlich machte (vgl. Spiegelonline 2015b). Bereits im Juli 2015 benutzten Mitglieder der Oppositionsparteien im Bundestag in diesem Kontext den Begriff „geistige Brandstiftung“, um insbesondere die Haltung der bayerischen Regierungspartei CSU in der Frage des Umgangs mit Asylsuchenden aus Ländern mit hohen Ablehnungsquoten zu kritisieren (vgl. Spiegelonline 2015a).

Eine zentrale Rolle in diesem Kontext spielten nicht zuletzt auch die unterschiedlichen populistischen Akteure wie Pegida und deren Ableger, die AfD, aber auch entsprechende Bewegungen und Parteien außerhalb der Bundesrepublik.¹ In einer neuen Dimension ihrer Hör- und Sichtbarkeit stellten diese Akteure eine Irritation dar, die in ihrem Kern und in ihren Wurzeln noch nicht ganz verstanden zu sein schien. Äußerten diese Gruppen nun echte, legitime Sorgen, Ängste und Nöte einer sich in die Enge getrieben bzw. ins Abseits gedrückt fühlenden Bürgerschaft? Oder handelte es sich in der Mehrzahl schlichtweg um ahnungslose Mitläufer_innen, geleitet und angestachelt durch die immergleichen Parolen von Ausländerfeinden und geschmeichelt von dem Gefühl, der Demokratie durch die Agitation auf der Straße zu ihrem Recht zu verhelfen?

In dieser Situation waren und sind Politiker_innen dazu gezwungen, Stellung zu beziehen. Und je länger die Lage angespannt blieb, desto klarer und deutlicher sollte die Positionierung sein. So forderte der bayerische Ministerpräsident Horst Seehofer (CSU) Anfang September 2015 eine klare Positionierung der Kanzlerin Angela Merkel (CDU) in der „Flüchtlingskrise“ (FAZ 2015). Gleichzeitig sagte er: „Wir können nicht als Bundesrepublik auf Dauer bei 28 Mitgliedsstaaten beinahe sämtliche Flüchtlinge aufnehmen.“ (ebda.)

Mit einer solchen „Positionierung“ erwartete er also im Grunde ein Umschwenken der Kanzlerin auf seinen eigenen restriktiven und flüchtlingsfeindlichen Kurs. Diese Episode der Auseinandersetzung kann als Beispiel für eine sich immer weiter verfestigende Struktur der gegenseitigen Abgrenzung und der Unbeweglichkeit in diesem Diskurs gesehen werden.

Stellungnahmen, Meinungsäußerungen, Schlagzeilen und Interviewbeiträge – sie alle begannen sich in einer Weise aufeinander zu beziehen, die deutlich machte, dass das vordergründige Thema der Auseinandersetzung: die Frage des konkreten Umgangs mit geflüchteten

1 Obwohl ähnliche Diskurse in sämtlichen europäischen Staaten zu beobachten sind, konzentrieren wir uns im Rahmen dieses Beitrags auf den bundesdeutschen Diskurs.



Menschen, zwar nie gänzlich in den Hintergrund rückte, aber auch nicht das allein bestimmende Thema war. Die Auseinandersetzung selbst rückte verstärkt in den Vordergrund – insbesondere ihre rhetorische Ausprägung und die Frage nach den Folgen, die mit einer bestimmten Ausdrucksweise einhergehen können.

Dass ein Wirkungszusammenhang zwischen Sprache (hier: Rede) und Handlungen besteht, wurde einleitend bereits angenommen. Der Beweis eines solchen Zusammenhangs ist jedoch nicht leicht zu erbringen – und dies wird umso schwerer, je konkreter er im Einzelnen aufgezeigt werden soll. Wer also nachweisen möchte, dass die einzelne Aussage einer Person eine andere Person zu einer bestimmten Handlung motiviert, stößt auf Schwierigkeiten, die mit der räumlich-diskursiv wachsenden Distanz beider Personen zueinander zunehmen. Wenn es sich also nicht um einen direkten kommunikativen Zusammenhang, z.B. im Sinne eines Befehls (A befiehlt B, eine Handlung auszuführen), einer Empfehlung o.ä. handelt, ist es zwar prinzipiell möglich, Interdependenzen zwischen kommunizierten Inhalten und Handlungen aufzuzeigen. Die Frage nach der Verantwortung jedoch lässt sich dadurch nicht beantworten, sondern zunächst nur aufwerfen.

Wir möchten mit diesem Beitrag ein spezifisches kommunikatives Feld in den Blick nehmen. Wir fragen, wie Bundestagsreden im Jahr 2015 im Kontext von Fluchtmigration Bilder erzeugen. Dazu beschränken wir uns auf Metaphern, da wir darin einerseits besonders wirkmächtige, andererseits aber auch besonders offen interpretierbare rhetorische Formen erkennen. Eine kulturwissenschaftliche Herangehensweise bedeutet für uns, die Verwendung von Metaphern in den analysierten Bundestagsreden zu kontextualisieren, d.h. (partei-)politische, kulturelle oder auch massenmediale Interdependenzen zu beachten.

Der Beitrag versteht sich als erster Versuch einer metaphorologisch-kulturwissenschaftlichen Analyse politischer Diskurse und deren rhetorischer Strukturen. Er hat somit eher einen Explorations-Charakter und erhebt keinen Anspruch auf theoretische und methodische Vollkommenheit. Wir möchten damit dazu beitragen, dass sich kulturwissenschaftliche Expertise auch verstärkt auf dem Feld kritischer politischer Analysen bewegt und auch im öffentlichen Diskurs wahrnehmbar auftritt. Im Aufbau werden wir zunächst unsere theoretische Perspektive vermitteln, die sich aus unterschiedlichen philosophischen, sozial- und kulturwissenschaftlichen Ansätzen sowie kognitionswissenschaftlichen Analysen und Erkenntnissen speist. Im Anschluss fokussieren wir vier Metaphern, die besonders häufig in den Bundestagsreden verwendet wurden und wenden unsere Analyseperspektive exemplarisch an.

Theoretischer Abriss: Metaphorologie und Cultural Studies

„Das ‚Parlament‘ – das Reden steckt schon im Wort. Wirklich war das Recht der öffentlichen Debatte eine Errungenschaft, erkämpft, mit Leiden bezahlt, mit Blut begossen. Es war das Recht, nicht die Erklärung des Königs oder der Obrigkeit hinnehmen zu müssen, sondern dem Weg der offenen Auseinandersetzung zu einer Entscheidung kommen zu können. Das Parlament ist der Raum, in dem alles spricht. Der Parlamentarier ist einer, der Kommunikation herstellt und verwaltet. Der Plenarsaal ist der Ort, in dem ein Handeln durch Sprechen vollzogen wird. Parlamente steuern, verdichten, prononcieren die politische Kommunikation.“ (Willemsen 2014, S. 22f.)



Mit Roger Willemsen möchten wir zunächst deutlich machen, dass wir das Parlament als Ort der politischen Aushandlung als essentielle Institution für eine demokratische Gesellschaft verstehen. Umso mehr ist es uns ein Anliegen, die parlamentarische Rhetorik zu analysieren und wenn nötig zu kritisieren.

Die „Wirksamkeit der Rede“ bringt Andreas Hetzel in der Einleitung zu seiner gleichnamigen Studie zur „Aktualität klassischer Rhetorik für die moderne Sprachphilosophie“, so der Untertitel seines 2010 erschienen Werks, auf die knappe Formel: „Rede wirkt, *indem* sie sich vollzieht und sie vollzieht sich *als* Wirkung.“ (Hetzel 2010, 10, Herv. i. O.) Hetzel sieht in der klassischen Rhetorik den Versuch, „theoretische Antworten auf die Frage [zu finden], wie mit Sprache Wirkungen entfaltet, Überzeugungen vermittelt, Situationen verändert, Stimmungen gewendet und soziale Institutionen geschaffen werden“ (Hetzel 2010, 11). Genau dieser Aspekt der Rede sei gegenüber dem sprachphilosophischen Paradigma, das in erster Linie Fragen der Bedeutung und Emergenz sprachlicher und damit zumeist auch geistiger Phänomene und deren Konvergenz mit der beobachtbaren Welt fokussiert, in den Hintergrund geraten. Im Gegensatz zu diesem ließe sich die Wirksamkeit der Rede nicht „reduktionistisch erklären, nicht auf ihr vorgängigen mentalen Instanzen, sozialen Institutionen oder gar physikalische Tatsachen zurückführen, die dann als Ursachen ihrer Wirksamkeit fungieren würden.“ (Hetzel 2010, 10) Vielmehr bleibe stets ein entscheidender Rest an Kontingenz im Wirkungszusammenhang der Rede übrig, oder in seinen eigenen Worten ausgedrückt: „In einer gewissen Hinsicht ist Rede nichts Anderes als die sich verkörpernde Abwesenheit des Grundes im Subjekt, im Sozialen und in der Welt.“ (Hetzel 2010, 10) Auf diese Abwesenheit von Gründen, diese bedrohlich scheinende, sich einer kausalen Erklärung entziehende Dimension wird noch zurückzukommen sein.

In der medialen Diskussion um den Zusammenhang politischer Rede und gesellschaftlicher „Stimmungen“ und Handlungen sorgte insbesondere die Erscheinung des populärwissenschaftlichen Buches „Politisches Framing: Wie eine Nation sich ihr Denken einredet – und daraus Politik macht“ von Elisabeth Wehling für Aufsehen. In zahlreichen TV-Beiträgen führte sie die zentralen Ideen ihres Werkes aus.² Die grundlegende – und mediale Aufmerksamkeit erregende – These ihres Werkes fasst sie selbst in der „Anfangsbetrachtung“ des Buches folgendermaßen zusammen:

„Menschen sind rationale Wesen. Sie können vernunftgesteuert handeln. Legt man nur alle relevanten Fakten auf den Tisch, können sie diese objektiv gegeneinander abwägen und entscheiden, was zu tun ist – ob beispielsweise ein politisches Vorhaben unterstützt werden soll oder nicht. So denken viele Menschen, so haben wir es gelernt – und so geistert es noch heute über die Flure der Parteizentralen und Medienredaktionen. Doch mit dieser Vorstellung hinken wir den Erkenntnissen der Neuro- und Kognitionsforschung hinterher und verfehlen die Chance, einen wirklich transparenten demokratischen Diskurs zu führen. Wieso? Weil in politischen Debatten nicht Fakten an und für sich entscheidend sind, sondern gedankliche Deutungsrahmen, in der kognitiven Wissenschaft Frames genannt.“ (Wehling 2016, 18)

2 Auf Elisabeth Wehlings Homepage sind im Media-Bereich sieben Videos von TV-Auftritten zu finden, von denen sechs aus dem Zeitraum August 2015 bis Mai 2016 stammen, und in denen das Thema des rhetorischen Umgangs mit Menschen mit Fluchthintergrund einen zentralen Platz einnimmt. Vgl. <http://www.elisabeth-wehling.com/media/>, Zugriff: 15.6.2016



Dieser Ausweitung des Politischen auf den gesamten Bereich der Sprache muss man nicht folgen, um der eingangs erwähnten Feststellung, Rhetorik und Politik seien eng miteinander verknüpft, ein weiteres, wissenschaftlich fundiertes Argument zu liefern, das die Banalität dieser Feststellung durch den damit einhergehenden Verweis auf die Komplexität der Zusammenhänge und auch auf die entscheidende Wichtigkeit, die der Wahl der Formulierungsweise zukommt, zu unterstreichen. Wehling zeigt in Ihrem Buch anhand vieler Beispiele aus unterschiedlichen Bereichen des politischen und gesellschaftlichen Diskurses auf, wie bestimmte Formulierungen eben nicht nur vermeintliche Tatsachen darstellen, sondern und im Besonderen gelernte Deutungsmuster bedienen, verfestigen oder auch auflösen und verändern.

Während die soziologische Rahmen-Analyse nach Goffman (1974) vor allem die Sinn stiftende Funktion von (Deutungs-)Rahmen in den Fokus rückt und somit die eher „passive“ Seite der Funktionsweise von Rahmen (Frames) betont (also: welche Perspektive/Rahmung muss gegeben sein, um eine ansonsten für den Rezipienten sinnlose Handlung/Redeweise als sinnvoll bzw. überhaupt zu verstehen?), geht die kognitionswissenschaftliche Framing-Theorie von Wehling verstärkt auf die aktive Erzeugung bzw. Nutzung von Frames ein. Man könnte sagen, es handelt sich dabei um eine Erweiterung der klassischen Rahmen-Analyse.

Für die hier vorgelegte Analyse der Nutzung von Metaphern in politischen Reden sind beide Aspekte (passiv und aktiv) der Rahmen-Analyse gleichermaßen relevant. Eine Ergänzung bzw. Anpassung besonders der kognitionswissenschaftlichen, aktiven Seite, aber auch der soziologischen, passiven Seite der Rahmen-Analyse im Sinne Hetzels, der von einem Rest radikaler Unbegründetheit bzw. Grundlosigkeit in der Wirksamkeit der Rede ausgeht, ist aus unserer Sicht insbesondere hinsichtlich der oben angedeuteten Verantwortungsproblematik notwendig.

Im Sinne der Rahmenanalyse nach Goffman ergänzen wir die Perspektive um das Konzept der Kollektivsymbolik, das Jürgen Link im Rückgriff auf Ernst Cassirers Philosophie der Symbolischen Formen und auf Michel Foucaults Diskurstheorie entwickelt hat. Nicht nur die Verwendung des Konzepts der Kollektivsymbolik in empirischen Untersuchungen zum Themenkomplex Asyl sprechen für dessen Einbeziehung (z.B. Gerhard 1992). Durch die Bestimmung von Kollektivsymbolen als „die Gesamtheit der sogenannten ‚Bildlichkeit‘ einer Kultur, die Gesamtheit ihrer am weitesten verbreiteten Allegorien und Embleme, Metaphern, Exempelfälle, anschaulichen Modelle und orientierenden Topiken, Vergleiche und Analogien“ (Link 1996, 25), kann in Verbindung mit Goffmans Ansatz der hier vorliegenden Analyse auch die gewünschte Tiefenstruktur gegeben werden, da sie das (begriffliche) Instrumentarium bereichert und dadurch den phänomenalen Gesamtkomplex treffender zu beschreiben hilft.

Eine weitere und letzte Erweiterung der Perspektive erfolgt im Anschluss an den metaphorologischen Ansatz von Hans Blumenberg – und damit kommt auch der hier behandelte Bereich der Metaphern ins Spiel. Mit Hans Blumenberg verstehen wir Metaphern nicht nur als bedeutungstragende Äquivalenzen sprachlicher Ausdrucksformen, sondern als vor- und überbegriffliche Ausdrucksformen, die auf Erfahrungen und Weltbezüge rekurren, die sich möglicherweise einer sprachlich-begrifflichen Konkretion entziehen: „Ihr Gehalt [der Metaphern; Anm. d. Autoren] bestimmt als Anhalt [sic!] von Orientierung ein Verhalten, sie geben einer Welt Struktur, repräsentieren das nie erfahrbare, nicht übersehbare Ganze der Realität.“ (Blumenberg 1999, 25) Demnach verweisen Metaphern auf komplexe emotionale oder kognitive Zusammenhänge, deren Artikulation nur schwer möglich ist. Gleichsam sind sie aber auch



formgebender, elementarer Bestandteil eines je historisch zu verstehenden, sowohl theoretischen als auch praktischen Welt-Bezugs:

„Dem historisch verstehenden Blick indizieren sie also die fundamentalen, tragenden Gewissheiten, Vermutungen, Wertungen, aus denen sich die Haltungen, Erwartungen, Tätigkeiten und Untätigkeiten, Sehnsüchte und Enttäuschungen, Interessen und Gleichgültigkeiten einer Epoche regulierten.“ (Blumenberg 1999, 25)

Von der Verbindung des metaphorologischen Ansatzes Blumenbergs mit Hetzels Ausarbeitung der Wirksamkeit der Rede, Goffmans und Wehlings Frame-Theorien und Links Konzept der Kollektivsymbolik versprechen wir uns Erkenntnisse über grundlegende, handlungsleitende Welt- und Menschenbilder bzw. Ideologien, die als solche immer auch eine Art Rückkopplungseffekt zeitigen, der sich auf die konkreten Manifestationen der sozio-kulturellen Wirklichkeit auswirkt. Die Zusammenführung dieser Ansätze könnte folgendermaßen schematisiert werden:

Zunächst stehen Metaphern als sprachliche Zeichen für einen Bedeutungsüberschuss, der, obwohl nicht konkret benannt, doch vermeintlich intuitiv von einer bestimmten Gruppe verstanden wird bzw. bedient werden kann (Goffman). „Bedient“ verstehen wir in diesem Zusammenhang als Fähigkeit, die Metapher als solche überhaupt zu erkennen und ihr überschüssige Bedeutungsdimensionen abgewinnen zu können (Hetzl). In der Folge kann es dazu kommen, dass sich eine bestimmte, als „eindeutig“ wahrgenommene Bedeutungsebene von Metaphern durch Wiederholung in einschlägigen Kontexten einstellt (Wehling), diese zu Kollektivsymbolen (Jäger) verfestigt werden und damit sowohl Frames bedienen bzw. nutzen als auch neu gestalten. Unter diesen genealogischen Bedingungen kann es auch dazu kommen, dass Deutungsmuster und Verständnis-Horizonte in die Sphäre des Selbstverständlichen übergehen und das Phänomen selbst gar nicht mehr anders als in dieser metaphorischen Form verstanden werden (Blumenberg) kann bzw. ein relativ großer Aufwand betrieben werden muss, die Frames neu zu setzen und eine neue „selbstverständliche“ Bedeutungsebene – und damit auch einen veränderten Bezug zum Phänomen oder gar „der Welt“ – zu gewinnen.

Wir möchten diese philosophischen Überlegungen mit einem Cultural-Studies-Ansatz verknüpfen. Die Cultural Studies erforschen u.a. populäre Medien, ihr Interesse richtet sich auf „die Untersuchung der Signifikanz des Trivialen, der ‘Bedeutung des Nicht-Bedeutenden’“ (Renger 2008, 274), also genau jenes Spannungsfeld, das Metaphern ausmacht: ihre leichte Verständlichkeit und Unterdrückung komplexer Zusammenhänge. Dass gerade in Bundestagesreden Metaphern auch dazu verwendet werden, um zu agitieren, d.h. um Machtverhältnisse zu reproduzieren oder in Frage zu stellen, führt zu einem weiteren Kernbereich des Cultural-Studies-Ansatzes:

„All die Cultural Studies-typischen Fragen nach Macht, Unterordnung und Widerstand, nach Hegemonie und Subalternität oder nach der diskursiven Produktion und Reproduktion sozialer Identitäten [...] ergeben sich nahtlos aus diesem Grundinteresse an einer politischen Analyse von Kultur und einer das Kulturelle berücksichtigenden Analyse von Politik.“ (Machart 2008, 13.)



Demnach müssen Metaphern immer auch im Kontext ihres Machtbezugs begriffen werden. Die Wirksamkeit diskursiv ausgestalteter Machtverhältnisse bzw. die Wirksamkeit der Rede, wie sie auch Hetzel beschreibt, lässt sich im Sinne der Cultural Studies nicht als kausales Aktion-Reaktions-Prinzip beschreiben. Im Gegenteil – die Codierung und Decodierung eines Kommunikationsprozesses lassen Raum für Fehlinterpretation, Missverständnisse, vor allem aber auch Widerständigkeit. Die intendierte Aussage mitsamt ihren unausgesprochenen Kontexten weicht dann von der rezipierten Botschaft ab (vgl. Hall 1999). Metaphern sind aufgrund ihrer dezidierten interpretativen Offenheit ein prädestiniertes Beispiel für diesen Prozess der kommunikativen Irritation oder Subversion.

Insofern sehen wir gewinnbringende Anknüpfungspunkte zwischen unseren philosophisch-sozialwissenschaftlichen Überlegungen und einem Cultural-Studies-Ansatz. Dies möchten wir in der folgenden Analyse nutzbar machen. Im Jahr 2015 berührten 35 Bundestagsreden der Partei- und Fraktionsvorsitzenden der im deutschen Bundestag vertretenen Parteien das Thema Flucht. Die Reden sind über die Websites der Abgeordneten sowie über das Online-Archiv des Deutschen Bundestages abrufbar. Eine Rede wurde in das empirische Material einbezogen, wenn mindestens einer der Suchbegriffe „Flucht“, „Flüchtlinge“ und „Asyl“ enthalten war. Nach Sichtung sämtlicher in den Reden enthaltenen Metaphern erfolgte die Auswahl der hier exemplarisch fokussierten Metaphern einerseits auf der Grundlage quantitativer Erwägungen sowie andererseits aufgrund ihrer medialen Relevanz. Letzteres ist zwar eine vage Kategorie, die auf den Erfahrungswerten der Autoren beruht, was für die Analyse aber letztlich unbedeutend ist, da die Metaphern – wie erwähnt – exemplarischen Charakter haben. Schließlich bleiben 26 Reden als empirischer Korpus für die vorliegende Untersuchung, da sie eine oder mehrere der ausgewählten Metaphern enthalten.

Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen

Die Forderung, Fluchtursachen zu bekämpfen, ist weithin bekannt, da sie in medial geradezu inflationärer Weise artikuliert wird. So verwundert es nicht, dass auch in den meisten der analysierten Bundestagsreden zum Thema Flucht diese Forderung gestellt wird. Volker Kauder (CDU) sagt beispielsweise:

„[N]atürlich [ist] die Bekämpfung von Fluchtursachen eine wichtige Aufgabe. Es wird aber nicht möglich sein, in kurzer Zeit alle Fluchtursachen zu beseitigen. Aber eine Fluchtursache für die Menschen in den Flüchtlingslagern ist auf jeden Fall dann gegeben, wenn sie den Eindruck haben, mit ihnen werde nicht anständig umgegangen. Hier kann man schnell Abhilfe schaffen [...]“ (Kauder, Bundestagsrede am 15.10.2015)

Formal zeigen sich hier zunächst die zwei zentralen (häufig auch substantivierten) Verben, mit denen der Umgang mit Fluchtursachen konkretisiert wird: „bekämpfen“ und „beseitigen“. Dem Wort „bekämpfen“ ist eine violente Konnotation inhärent; es deutet auf eine enorme Anstrengung hin. Gleichzeitig ist das Wort vollkommen offen, es sagt nichts über die Art und Weise des Kampfes gegen etwas. Letzteres gilt auch für eine „Beseitigung“, wobei diese nicht zwangsläufig violent oder anstrengend sein muss. Etwas zu beseitigen, verweist im Gegensatz zu einer Bekämpfung auf eine Endgültigkeit, die vollkommene Aufhebung des zu Beseitigenden.



Inhaltlich – darauf verweist der Kontext in Kauders Rede – geht es um eine finanzielle Unterstützung der Geflüchteten in den Flüchtlingslagern um Syrien. Dies würde bedeuten, dass Fluchtursachen verschiedenen Fluchtphasen zugeordnet werden könnten. Die Fluchtphase 1 wäre in diesem Verständnis die Flucht einer Person etwa aus Syrien in ein räumlich nahe an Syrien gelegenes Flüchtlingslager (Fluchtursache: (Bürger-)Krieg). Fluchtphase 2 bestünde in der Flucht dieser Person aus einem Flüchtlingslager in eine entferntere Region (Fluchtursache: Armut, Hunger, Perspektivlosigkeit). Diese Differenzierung wäre ein interessanter Ausgangspunkt für eine Diskussion über die Sinnhaftigkeit respektive Trostlosigkeit von Flüchtlingslagern. Kauder geht es jedoch darum zu zeigen, dass die Zahlen an Geflüchteten, die nach Europa und Deutschland kommen, kurzfristig über eine bessere Versorgungssituation in den Flüchtlingslagern gesenkt werden könnten und müssten. Er fokussiert entsprechend Fluchtphase 2.

Gegen Fluchtursachen vorzugehen ist freilich eine Forderung, gegen die wohl kein Mensch argumentieren würde. Doch wie auch Kauders Aussage bezeugt, können dahinter vollkommen divergente Motivationen stehen. Entsprechend wird die formal gleichlautende Forderung auch von Seiten sich widerstreitender politischer Positionen artikuliert. So kann die Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen gefordert werden, um das Leid von Geflüchteten zu verhindern, das sowohl in den Fluchtursachen selbst (Bürgerkrieg, Krieg, Armut etc.) als auch in der gefährvollen Flucht und dem meist prekären Leben im Ankunftsland besteht. Sie kann auch aus flüchtlingsfeindlicher Perspektive gefordert werden, um die Anwesenheit Geflüchteter in einer exklusiv gedachten Gesellschaft zu vermeiden. Um die Bedeutung der Metapher „Fluchtursachen bekämpfen“ zu verstehen, muss demnach auch der politische Hintergrund der äussernden Person mit einbezogen werden.

In den vorliegenden Bundestagsreden sind zwei Perspektiven zu konstatieren, davon jene der Regierungsvertreter_innen (CDU, SPD) und jene der Oppositionspolitiker_innen (Grüne, Linke). Die Bundeskanzlerin Angela Merkel beispielsweise äußerte sich in einer Regierungserklärung am 25.11.2015 wie folgt:

„Beginnen müssen wir bei der Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen. Es herrscht in vielen Regionen Krieg und Terror. Staaten zerfallen. Viele Jahre haben wir es gelesen. Wir haben es gehört. Wir haben es im Fernsehen gesehen. Aber wir haben damals noch nicht ausreichend verstanden, dass das, was in Aleppo und Mossul passiert, für Essen oder Stuttgart relevant sein kann.“ (Merkel, Bundestagsrede am 25.11.2015)

Mit dieser Erklärung, *warum* „wir“ die Fluchtursachen bekämpfen müssen, zeigt Merkel deutlich die dahinterstehende Motivation. Demnach geht es nicht in erster Linie um die Umstände, die Menschen zur Flucht treiben, sondern vielmehr um den Zielort der Flucht. Erst mit der Reduktion der räumlichen Distanz der unter den „Fluchtursachen“ leidenden Menschen zum „eigenen“ Territorium, scheint die Bekämpfung dieser Ursachen relevant zu werden. Ziel dieser „Bekämpfung“ ist also in diesem Sinne die Aufrechterhaltung der räumlichen Distanz, um eine Verringerung der Asylantragszahlen in Deutschland zu erreichen. Ein Verständnis Geflüchteter als Belastung für die deutsche Bevölkerung kann eine solche Aussage begründen. Essen und Stuttgart sind Städte, in denen im bundesdeutschen Vergleich überdurchschnittlich viele Migrant_innen leben. Merkels Aussage gründet somit auf einer Perspektive, die Migration als



grundsätzlich defizitär auffasst. Ihr geht es bei der Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen um die Verteidigung vermeintlich deutscher Interessen.

Daran schließt sich die Frage an, wie Fluchtursachen bekämpft werden sollen. Hierzu sagt Sigmar Gabriel (SPD) einen Tag später im Deutschen Bundestag:

„Flüchtlingspolitik ist nicht zu trennen von dem, was wir in der Diplomatie mit all den Möglichkeiten tun, die Frank-Walter Steinmeier mit seinen Kolleginnen und Kollegen dafür nutzt, um die Fluchtursachen besser zu bekämpfen. Ich finde, dann kann das Land stolz sein auf das, was es bereit ist zu leisten.“ (Gabriel, Bundestagsrede am 26.11.2015)

Sehr allgemein gehalten nennt Gabriel die Diplomatie als Mittel, um Fluchtursachen zu bekämpfen. Gleichzeitig fehlt ein Hinweis darauf, um welche konkreten Fluchtursachen es in diesem Fall geht und wie der diplomatische Kampf ausgestaltet sein könnte.

Vertreter_innen der Oppositionspartei Die Linke werfen der Bundesregierung hingegen vor, Fluchtursachen nicht zu bekämpfen. Dietmar Bartsch (Die Linke) wendet sich am 16.12.2015 direkt an Merkel:

„Wenn ich die Formulierung ‚Fluchtursachen bekämpfen‘ höre, dann kann ich nur sagen: Das ist inzwischen leider zu einer Phrase geworden. Wie geht denn die Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen zusammen mit der Tatsache, dass wir weiterhin Waffen nach Saudi-Arabien und nach Katar exportieren?“ (Bartsch, Bundestagsrede am 16.12.2015)

Bartsch verknüpft – wie auch seine Parteikolleginnen Sahra Wagenknecht und Katja Kipping (vgl. Sahra Wagenknecht, Bundestagsrede am 15.10.2015; Katja Kipping, Bundestagsrede am 17.12.2015) – die Metapher „Fluchtursachen bekämpfen“ mit einer konkreten ökonomischen Praxis, dem Waffenexport, und impliziert damit, dass Waffenexporte Teil der Fluchtursachen sind. Damit füllt er die Metapher mit einem Kontrapunkt. Dies zeigt, dass Metaphern nicht nur synonyme, sondern auch antonyme Vorstellungen beinhalten können.

Dass jedoch auch die Oppositionspolitiker_innen nicht detaillierter auf das Thema Fluchtursachen eingehen, führt zu einem großen Spielraum an Verständnis- und Interpretationsmöglichkeiten. Es handelt sich um eine offene Metapher, deren Funktion womöglich gerade darin besteht, im Unkonkreten die größtmögliche Zustimmung zu finden. Mit Roger Willemsen hieße das: „Wer an der Macht nicht auffällt und sich mit dem Volk auf Gemeinplätzen verabredet, kann immer weiter herrschen.“ (Willemsen 2014, 5)

Europäische Wertegemeinschaft

In ihrer Regierungserklärung am 24.09.2015 sagte Angela Merkel (CDU):

„Die Europäische Union ist eine Wertegemeinschaft und als solche eine Rechts- und Verantwortungsgemeinschaft. Sie muss in der Praxis zeigen, dass dieser Anspruch auch trägt. Dazu gehört, dass die Mindeststandards eingehalten werden müssen, die wir in Europa für die Unterbringung und Versorgung von Flüchtlingen und für die Durchführung von Asylverfahren festgelegt haben. Wir erleben gegenwärtig eine Situation, in der diese Mindeststandards nicht überall gegeben sind. Zur Rechts- und Verantwortungsgemeinschaft



gehört auch, die Lage an den EU-Außengrenzen besser zu kontrollieren und zu organisieren. Ebenso gehört dazu eine effektive Rückführung derjenigen, die keinen Anspruch auf Schutz in der Europäischen Union haben. Und dazu gehört die Einbindung und Unterstützung wichtiger Herkunfts- und Transitstaaten bei der Unterbringung und Versorgung von Flüchtlingen, bei der Eindämmung der Schleuserkriminalität sowie – das wird uns noch sehr fordern – bei der Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen.“ (Angela Merkel, Bundestagsrede, 24.09.2015)

Merkel versteht die EU als eine Gemeinschaft, die auf einheitlichen Wertmaßstäben und rechtlichen Kriterien beruht und die eine gemeinsame Verantwortung trägt. Unklar bleibt, ob sich die Verantwortung lediglich auf die EU selbst oder auch auf ein Außerhalb der EU richtet. Ihre Konkretisierungen dessen, was sie unter „Wertegemeinschaft“ versteht, bleiben höchst allgemein formuliert. Sie erwähnt „Mindeststandards“ im Kontext der Behandlung Geflüchteter, womit sie vermutlich auf das Gemeinsame Europäische Asylsystem (GEAS) anspielt, äußert sich jedoch so allgemein, dass jene, die die Inhalte des GEAS nicht kennen, im Unklaren über die Beschaffenheit der „Mindeststandards“ bleiben. Unklar bleibt auch, inwiefern eine bessere Kontrolle und Organisation des EU-Grenzregimes im Zusammenhang mit europäischen Wertmaßstäben steht, ist dieses EU-Grenzregime doch gerade die Ursache für den Tod zehntausender Menschen, die den Versuch, Europa per Boot zu erreichen, nicht überlebten (Pro Asyl o. D.).

In diesem Zusammenhang wird Katrin Göring-Eckardt von den Grünen konkreter. Nachdem es die EU abgelehnt hat, das Seenotrettungsprogramm Mare Nostrum zu finanzieren, sagt sie im Bundestag:

„Meine Damen und Herren, wenn es in der Europäischen Union um Wirtschaft und Finanzen geht, spannen wir riesige Rettungsschirme auf. Wenn es um die Flüchtlinge geht, dann scheitert es an 9 Millionen Euro. Wir sind eine Gemeinschaft der Menschlichkeit, des Friedens, der Solidarität. Wenn wir all das nicht preisgeben wollen, dann müssen wir jetzt gemeinsam als Europa Verantwortung übernehmen; sonst verraten wir uns selbst; sonst verraten wir unsere Werte, das, weswegen wir ein einzigartiger Kontinent sind. Es ist auch morgen die Aufgabe beim Gipfel, das deutlich zu machen. Wenn der Westen, wenn Europa diese Wertegemeinschaft ist, dann sind die Toten im Mittelmeer die größte Verletzung des europäischen Wertekanons seit der Gründung. So können wir unsere Seele verlieren. Das müssen wir verhindern.“ (Katrin Göring-Eckardt, Bundestagsrede, 22.04.2015)

Göring-Eckardt konkretisiert, was unter den gemeinsamen europäischen Werten zu verstehen sei, wobei sie diese wahlweise auch als westliche Werte begreift. Deutlich wird eine starke Identifizierung Göring-Eckardts mit der EU, indem sie „wir“ sagt und der EU explizit die Werte „Menschlichkeit, Frieden und Solidarität“, die Europa zu einem „einzigartigen Kontinent“ machen, zuschreibt. Sie gibt dieser Wertegemeinschaft daraufhin die Schuld an den „Toten im Mittelmeer“ und konstatiert eine „Verletzung des europäischen Wertekanons“.

Diesen Wertekanon hat die EU institutionalisiert und mit der Einrichtung der Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte (FRA) die Überwachung der Einhaltung dieser Werte veranlasst:



„Seit Inkrafttreten des Vertrags von Amsterdam und später des Vertrags von Lissabon sieht das primäre Unionsrecht in Artikel 2 EUV ausdrücklich vor: ‚Die Werte, auf die sich die Union gründet, sind die Achtung der Menschenwürde, Freiheit, Demokratie, Gleichheit, Rechtsstaatlichkeit und die Wahrung der Menschenrechte einschließlich der Rechte der Personen, die Minderheiten angehören‘. Diese Grundwerte erfüllen sowohl für die Kandidatenländer als auch für die EU-Mitgliedstaaten eine normative Funktion.“ (Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte 2013, 7)

Dennoch stellt beispielsweise Sahra Wagenknecht die „Wertegemeinschaft“ in ein schlechtes Licht. Sie kritisiert die geringen finanziellen Mittel, die die EU für die Bewältigung ihrer Krise im Kontext von Fluchtmigration am 23.09.2015 beschlossen hatte: „Es zeigt auch sehr deutlich die wirklichen Werte der gelobten westlichen Wertegemeinschaft.“ (Sahra Wagenknecht, Bundestagsrede, 24.09.2015) Offensichtlich subsumiert Wagenknecht – anders als Merkel, Göring-Eckardt und andere Redner_innen aus CDU, SPD und Grünen – andere Werte unter dem Begriff „westliche bzw. europäische Wertegemeinschaft“, wobei Wagenknecht die grundsätzliche Existenz einer wie auch immer ausgestalteten „westlichen bzw. europäischen Wertegemeinschaft“ hier nicht in Frage stellt. Somit wird in allen analysierten Bundestagsreden Europa bzw. der Westen als auf spezifischen Werten basierende Einheit konstruiert, womit eine moralische Andersartigkeit gegenüber einem Außerhalb Europas/des Westens suggeriert wird. Mit Ausnahme der Linken-Politiker_innen sind die Europa/dem Westen zugeschriebenen Werte positiv attribuiert und werden einmal als Errungenschaft begrüßt, ein andermal im Kontext der Flüchtlingssituation jedoch vor allem als bedroht wahrgenommen, weshalb es einer konsequenten oder erneuten Besinnung auf diese Werte bedürfe.

Die gängige Ausrufung europäischer Werte beschreibt der Philosoph Markus Wirtz als eine „europäische Utopie“ (Wirtz 2005, 232), die an einer wertepespezifischen Aporie scheitert. Die Aporie besteht laut Wirtz in der Ausrufung einer spezifischen europäischen Identität, die sich jedoch auf universale, also nicht spezifisch europäische Werte beruft. Dazu gehörten wissenschaftliche Rationalität sowie eine demokratische und rechtsstaatliche Politik, die jüdisch-christliche Tradition und schließlich die aus der Aufklärung hervorgegangenen bürgerlichen Werte (vgl. Wirtz 2005, 232). Wirtz verweist hierbei auf zwei Widersprüche im Kontext der Einforderung dieser historischen Wertkonstruktionen als „europäisch“. Im Sinne einer humanistischen Denkrichtung sei es geradezu paradox, diese Werte als „europäisch“ zu definieren, da sie den Menschen an sich adressieren und nicht bloß „die Europäer_innen“. Außerdem gibt Wirtz zu bedenken, dass die Geschichte Europas vielmehr von der Pervertierung dieser Werte gekennzeichnet ist als von ihrer Realisierung – wie die Geschichten von Kolonialismus, Imperialismus, Nationalsozialismus und Totalitarismus zeigen (vgl. Wirtz 2005, 233). So kommt Wirtz zu dem Schluss:

„Entweder sind also die genannten Werte in ihrer Geltung universell, dann taugen sie nicht zur Identitätsbestimmung eines einzelnen Kontinents [...]; oder die genannten Werte werden ausschließlich in ihrer kontingenten historischen Genesis betrachtet und als kulturelle Errungenschaften in den Horizont des kollektiven europäischen Gedächtnisses eingeschrieben.“ (Wirtz 2005, 233)



Damit wiederum würde aber unterschlagen, dass außereuropäische Gesellschaften in die Genese und Verbreitung antiker Philosophie und moderner Werte maßgeblich involviert waren (vgl. Wirtz 2005, 234).

Insofern liegt es nahe, dass die politische Rhetorik die „europäische Wertegemeinschaft“ zu einer Metapher macht, deren Sinn weniger in der inhaltlichen Bestimmung konkreter Werte liegt, als vielmehr in der Konstruktion einer europäischen Identität. Die politische Praxis in Europa belegt gerade im Kontext der Einwanderung Geflüchteter zahlreiche Verstöße gegen die formalisierten europäischen Werte. Dies erkennt offensichtlich auch die FRA, die nicht nur in den Handlungen extremistischer Bewegungen Verstöße gegen die Grundrechte erkennt. Vielmehr warnt sie, dass „auch die abgeschwächte Nachahmung solcher Bewegungen durch etablierte Parteien [...] den gemeinsam beschlossenen europäischen Werten zuwiderlaufen“ könnten (Agentur der Europäischen Union für Grundrechte 2013, 19).

Sicherung der Außengrenzen

In vielen der analysierten Bundestagsreden ist von einer Notwendigkeit der „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ die Rede. Auch diese Wortkombination muss als Metapher bezeichnet werden, da ihre Verwendung auf bestehenden Konzepten zu beruhen scheint und gleichzeitig nahezu unbegründet bleibt. Beispielsweise sagte Angela Merkel, dass „[w]ir [...] nur gemeinsam mit der Türkei unsere Außengrenzen sichern können“ (Merkel, Bundestagsrede am 24.09.2015), bleibt eine erklärende Bemerkung aber schuldig. Stattdessen versucht sie zu beweisen, dass sich politisch etwas bewegt: „Wir haben beim Europäischen Rat natürlich auch darüber gesprochen, dass zu der Sicherung der Außengrenzen der Aufbau von sogenannten Hotspots gehört.“ (ebd.)

Die Metapher „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ verweist auf Geflüchtete, ohne diese zu benennen. Sie sind im Sinne der Metapher der Unsicherheitsfaktor, zu dessen Abwehr die Sicherung betrieben werden muss. Als Gegenteil von Sicherheit kommen neben Unsicherheit Begriffe wie Bedrohung, Gefahr, Kriminalität und Terror in Betracht; Begriffe also, die in flüchtlingsfeindlichen Diskursen mit Geflüchteten in Verbindung gebracht werden. Die Außengrenzen werden in der Metapher zum neuralgischen Zentrum. Eine „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ ist ein militärischer Einsatz der Grenzpolizei, die durch die EU-Grenzschutzagentur Frontex unterstützt wird. Frontex wird von den Redner_innen im Bundestag nicht erwähnt, was damit zusammenhängen dürfte, dass das Image der Grenzschutzagentur seit ihres Bestehens immer schlechter wurde (vgl. Heck 2011). Stattdessen wird die Sicherung der Außengrenzen rhetorisch in humanitäre Maßnahmen eingebettet, wie beispielsweise von Sigmar Gabriel:

„Nicht die Zahl der Menschen, die kommen, ist das Problem, sondern das Problem ist die Geschwindigkeit, in der sie kommen. Ich finde, deswegen ist der Dreischritt richtig, nämlich sich um die Hilfe in den Nachbarregionen Syriens zu kümmern, die Außengrenze der Europäischen Union zu sichern und dann aber auch bereit zu sein, Kontingente an Flüchtlingen, und zwar in hoher Zahl, ohne Schlepper und auf geordnetem Wege nach Deutschland zu holen – nach meiner Vorstellung unter der Überschrift: Frauen und Kinder zuerst und Vorrang für Familien.“ (Gabriel, Bundestagsrede am 26.II.2015)



Ganz ähnlich äußerte sich auch Thomas Oppermann, indem er „bessere Kontrollen an der Grenze“ forderte und im selben Atemzug betonte, dass es mit der SPD keine „Grenzhaftlager für tausende von Flüchtlingen“ geben werde (Thomas Oppermann, Bundestagsrede am 15.10.2015).

Bemerkenswert ist das einvernehmliche Verständnis der Sicherheit als die Sicherheit von „uns“ vor „denen“. Mit dieser Metapher stilisieren die Redner_innen sich und die deutsche bzw. europäische Bevölkerung zu Opfern und machen Geflüchtete zu Tätern. Betrachtet man die Situation Geflüchteter an den europäischen Außengrenzen, so drängt sich die Frage auf, warum mit der Forderung nach einer besseren „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ eigentlich nicht die Forderung einer europäischen Seenotrettung gemeint ist (vgl. Kopp 2011). Es zeigt, dass „Sicherheit“ der europäischen Bevölkerung vorbehalten bleibt.

Die Metapher steht im Einklang mit dem Sicherheitsdiskurs, der im Kontext von Fluchtmigration regelmäßig geführt wird: „Securitisation has emerged as the dominant hegemonic discourse type of migration.“ (Moore 2012, 76) Gabriele Zdunnek hat diesen Sicherheitsdiskurs analysiert und schreibt:

„Deutschland und andere Länder der Europäischen Union orientieren sich [...] am Konzept der ‚erweiterten‘ Sicherheit, das in starkem Maße von der Wahrnehmung neuer (nicht-militärischer) Risiken und Bedrohungen geprägt ist.“ (Zdunnek 2011, 347)

Neben Terrorismus, innerstaatlichen Konflikten u. a. wird im Weißbuch des deutschen Verteidigungsministeriums auch „Schutz vor illegaler Migration“ aufgeführt. (Zdunnek 2011, 347) Dies rechtfertigt beispielsweise Einsätze der Marine gegen Schlepper und Geflüchtete. Dahinter steckt das Konzept der „Securitization“, also der ‚Versicherheitlichung‘ „nicht-militärischer Politikfelder wie Armut, Gesundheit, Migration und Umweltzerstörung“ (Zdunnek 2011, 347). Jene Politikfelder stellen aus einem solchen Blickwinkel einen Sicherheitsmangel und damit eine Bedrohung dar. Als Reaktion auf die Bedrohung könnten gewaltsame Maßnahmen legitimer erscheinen und Einsätze des Militärs gefördert werden (Zdunnek 2011, 348).

Folglich ist die Metapher „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ Teil eines relativ neuen dominanten Diskurses über Sicherheit im Kontext von Fluchtmigration, an dem führende Bundespolitiker_innen maßgeblich Anteil nehmen, indem sie die Metapher mitsamt ihren subtilen Implikationen im Forum des Bundestages (und darüber hinaus) verbreiten.

Gesetzespaket

Im Sinne Sigmar Gabriels wurde ein „Paket für die Flüchtlingshilfe“ (Sigmar Gabriel, Bundestagsrede am 10.09.2015) geschnürt, Angela Merkel spricht von einem „umfassenden Maßnahmenpaket“ (Angela Merkel, Bundestagsrede am 24.09.2015) und lobt „alle Maßnahmen unseres Gesetzpaketes“ (Angela Merkel, Bundestagsrede am 15.10.2015).

„[D]as Paket ist eine rundum stimmige, alltagstaugliche und nicht weiter auffällige sprachliche Hilfskonstruktion, gewissermaßen eine stille und fleißige, keineswegs eine kühne und erst recht keine erschreckende Metapher.“ (Spinnen 2014, 98)



Das Paket als Metapher ist eine gelungene rhetorische Wendung für politische Zwecke. „Still und fleißig“ schreibt Burkhard Spinnen. Das Paket ist still, indem es seinen Inhalt verschleiert, gleichzeitig aber positiv konnotiert ist. Es dient als Glückversprechen und fördert die Erwartung einer positiven Überraschung, so Spinnen (vgl. Spinnen 2014, 99). Es zeugt von Fleiß, indem darin die Summe der ganzen Arbeit jener, die das Paket geschnürt haben, vermutet wird. Schließlich ermöglicht diese Metapher aber – wie die bereits diskutierten Metaphern auch – die Spezifika zu verschweigen und das Konkrete zum undefinierten Allgemeinen zu bündeln.

Wir erwähnen das Paket als besondere Metapher und letztes Beispiel aus den Bundestagsreden, um noch einmal deutlich zu machen, was alle Metaphern kennzeichnet. Sie rekurren auf vorhandene Vorstellungen und reproduzieren bestehende Imaginationen der Wirklichkeit, ohne diese zu artikulieren. Ihre Macht besteht damit darin, das Nicht-Ausgesagte zu meinen während das Ausgesagte in seiner Allgemeinheit jeden Widerspruch absorbiert. Wer würde schon einem Politiker verübeln, ein Paket zu schnüren?

Fazit

Die Bedeutung des Parlamentes als Raum der politischen Aushandlung und der gesellschaftlichen Konstitution erscheint mit Blick auf vergangene Jahrhunderte als fantastische Errungenschaft. Und so konstatieren manche, dass man die „Bundestagsabgeordnetenrede [...] vom Standpunkt ihrer Wichtigkeit für die Gestaltung des deutschen politischen Diskurses als zentral bezeichnen [kann]“ (vgl. Piroshnikow 2014, 183). Gleichwohl bedeutet dies nicht, dass dieser politische Diskurs tatsächlich im Bundestag stattfindet. Vielmehr werden dort politische Positionen möglichst pointiert formuliert, um vom medialen Filter durchgelassen zu werden und in die mediale Diskussion einzufließen. In diesem Sinne hieß es unlängst in der *ZEIT*:

„Die große Rede hat es nicht leicht in Zeiten kurzer Statements auf Twitter und WhatsApp. Das gilt vor allem für die politische Kultur. Im Deutschen Bundestag hat der Redner fast kein Publikum mehr, an das er sein Anliegen glaubhaft adressieren könnte. Da sitzen Zuhörer und Schulklassen. Und die Kollegen. Doch die eigene Koalition muss der Abgeordnete nicht mehr überzeugen, und bei der gegnerischen wird es ihm nicht gelingen. Die meisten Politikerreden werden deshalb heute bloß gehalten, damit es ein paar Sprachschnipsel in die Tagesschau schaffen oder in die Zeitung.“ (Sentker 2016)

Wenn die Rede, der Streit, die Aushandlung, die politische Diskussion also nicht im Parlament stattfindet, der Bundestag aber das zentrale politische Forum der Bundespolitik ist, dann bedarf es einer Rhetorik, die die medialen Übermittler_innen anspricht.

Im Hinblick auf unsere Untersuchung verstehen wir Metaphern als wichtige Signifikate der politischen Rhetorik im Deutschen Bundestag. Sie dienen, wie Sentker beschreibt, vor allem als *Keywords* sowohl für die wenigen Zuhörer_innen, die die Gespräche live im Bundestag, im Fernsehen oder online verfolgen, als auch (und im Besonderen) für die Journalist_innen, die die in ihrer Berichterstattung zu verwendenden Gesprächsfetzen über die Metaphern schnell und leicht filtern und einordnen können. Denn in der Regel genügt es zu wissen, wie eine Metapher lautet und wer sie artikuliert hat, um den ungefähren Kontext der Aussage zu erkennen.



Wir möchten daher auf die eingangs beschriebene Genealogie bedeutungsüberschüssiger Metaphern hin zu Kollektivsymbolen oder gar absoluten Metaphern zurückkommen. Wir haben festgestellt, dass die Metapher „Bekämpfung der Fluchtursachen“ je nach politischer Couleur unterschiedliche Subtexte transportiert. Insofern handelt es sich hierbei um eine Metapher mit einem großen Bedeutungsüberschuss, sie ist vage und offen für diverse Interpretationen. Ein basales Grundverständnis der Bedeutung der Metapher ist gegeben, da sie Entschlossenheit, Handlungsfähigkeit und Macht zum Ausdruck bringen soll bzw. entsprechend gerahmt, „geframed“, ist. Ihr fehlt jedoch eine inhaltliche Konkretion, die über das Grundverständnis hinausweist.

Was die Metapher der „europäischen Wertegemeinschaft“ angeht, so ließe sich diese als „absolute Metapher“ im Sinne Blumenbergs verstehen. Sie rekurriert auf ein sinnlich nicht oder kaum erfahrbare Phänomen, das außer in eben dieser metaphorischen Form kaum sprachlich erfassbar scheint. So bleibt auch sie relativ vage, indem sie komplexe Inhalte, auf die sie abzielt, nicht expliziert; gleichwohl scheinen sämtliche Redner_innen ähnliche Vorstellungen damit zu verbinden.

Die „absolute Metapher“ der „europäischen Wertegemeinschaft“ gewinnt durch die „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ gewissermaßen an Konkretion im Sinne eines Territoriums. Durch ihre „Sicherung“ gewinnen Grenzen ein hohes Maß an sinnlicher Wahrnehmbarkeit in Form bewaffneter Grenzschrützer, Barrieren und Grenzzäune. Vielleicht kann die Rede von der „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ als Kollektivsymbol einer europäischen Gemeinschaft unter neuen Vorzeichen gesehen werden. Es bleibt abzuwarten, welche Wirksamkeit die Rede von der „Sicherung der Außengrenzen“ auch auf die Imagination einer „europäischen Wertegemeinschaft“ hat. Es ist fast davon auszugehen, dass diese territoriale Konkretion auch eine Konkretion auf ideeller Ebene erzwingt – eine Konkretion, die weniger auf einer eingeübten Selbstverständlichkeits-Logik basiert, sondern gegebenenfalls sogar selbst eine sinnlich erfahrbare Dimension hat. Eine Möglichkeit hier sinnliche Erfahrbarkeit zu erzeugen, stellen Regelungen, Beschlüsse und Gesetze bzw. vor allem deren Umsetzung dar.

Damit sind wir bei der letzten zu betrachtenden Metapher, dem „Gesetzespaket“ angekommen. Zur Erfahrbarkeit von Gesetzen und Regelungen im Zusammenhang mit Flucht, Asyl und Migration können wir aus unseren praktischen Erfahrungen in der Beratung von Menschen mit Flucht- und Migrationshintergrund und als Fachreferenten zu den rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen für den Zugang zum Arbeitsmarkt für diese Zielgruppe berichten: In den letzten Jahren hat die Bundespolitik in kurzen Abständen von meist wenigen Monaten diverse Gesetzespakete im Bereich des Ausländerrechts verabschiedet. In der Praxis führt dies immer wieder zu Handlungsunfähigkeit, wenn sich verschiedene Akteure unklar über die aktuelle Gesetzeslage sind. Zudem können Gesetze in der Regel nicht einfach angewendet werden; sie entwickeln vielmehr konkrete praktische Ausformungen, die aufgrund von Gesetzesinterpretationen erst im Laufe ihrer Anwendung entstehen. Während sich also die „Schnürer“ der Pakete als handlungsfähig, fleißig und erfolgreich erfahren, sehen sich diejenigen, die das Paket entpacken und jene, die den Inhalt empfangen, mit neuen Herausforderungen konfrontiert, deren Bewältigung in vielen Fällen schwierig ist. Die Entwicklung der Metapher vom „Gesetzespaket“ wird also auch von dem wechselseitigen Verhältnis dieser unterschiedlichen Erfahrungsdimensionen abhängen.



Wir können festhalten, dass sich die hier verhandelten Begrifflichkeiten in einem Aushandlungsprozess befinden, in dem Akteure wie Politiker_innen oder Journalist_innen, aber auch die Leute im Alltag mehr oder weniger bewusst um die metaphorologische Essenz ringen. Insofern betrachten wir die analysierten Begriffe als „Metaphern im Prozess“, ohne absehen zu können, ob diese künftig auf eine allgemein geteilte Bedeutung verengt werden bzw. – um mit Cornelia Bruell zu sprechen – ob sie zu „toten Metaphern“ werden:

„Metaphern an sich haben keine Bedeutung – sie haben keinen fixen Platz im Sprachspiel. Es sind Worte, die in einem unvertrauten Sinn verwendet werden und erst durch die Interpretation der SprecherInnen, Bedeutung erlangen. Ist dies der Fall und die Metapher erscheint als sinnvoll/zweckmäßig, wird sie im Sprachspiel integriert. Sie gewinnt darin einen Platz und verliert damit ihren metaphorischen Charakter. Man kann dann von einer toten Metapher sprechen, über die ein neues Vokabular geschaffen wurde, das zur Buchstäblichkeit abgestorben ist.“ (Bruell 2005, 265, H. i. O.)

Was Bruell hier „tote Metapher“ nennt, weist in einem für uns entscheidenden Punkt eine große Nähe zu Hans Blumenbergs Konzept einer „absoluten Metapher“ auf: Wenn der Bedeutungsüberschuss einer Metapher auf eine Selbstverständlichkeit bzw. „Buchstäblichkeit“, wie Bruell es nennt, reduziert wird, hat das große Auswirkungen auf den daran anschließenden Diskurs bzw. auf jene Diskurse, die mit dieser Metapher als zentralem Element operieren. Blumenberg zeichnet sehr gut nach, wie beispielsweise die Licht-Metapher einen prägenden, ja paradigmatischen Einfluss auf die Entwicklung der Erkenntnistheorie und die philosophische Begriffsbildung hatte (vgl. Blumenberg 1957). Und gerade dieser Aspekt, dass die Wiederholung und Einübung bestimmter Metaphern letztlich auch die Entwicklung von Diskursen und darüber auch die Möglichkeitsbedingungen für Handlungen beeinflusst, lässt sich auch in der aktuellen politischen Debatte um den Umgang mit Menschen mit Fluchthintergrund zeigen. Wir befinden uns in einer vielleicht wegweisenden Phase der (Um-)Gestaltung unserer Gesellschaft. Von zentraler Bedeutung für die Richtung, die diese Entwicklung nehmen wird, wird auch die rhetorische Gestaltung des damit einhergehenden politischen Diskurses sein, und wie in diesem mit metaphorischen Figuren umgegangen wird.

Wie eingangs erwähnt, wäre es aus unserer Sicht wünschenswert, wenn dieser Diskurs von kulturwissenschaftlicher Seite verstärkt analytisch-kritisch begleitet würde und insbesondere die Arbeit an einem Instrumentarium zur Analyse metaphorischer bzw. allgemein rhetorischer Strukturen voran getrieben würde.

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Discourse, power and refugee policy

Parliament addresses on refugees and asylum from the perspective of methaphorology and Cultural Studies

Extended Abstract

Arthur Depner and Simon Goebel

The paper analyses the use of metaphors in political speeches addressing the so-called “refugee crisis”. The respective speeches were given in 2015 in the German parliament, the Bundestag, by members of the government and opposition parties. 26 speeches, held by chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU), Volker Kauder (CDU), Siegmur Gabirel (SPD), Thomas Oppermann (SPD), Katrin Göring-Eckardt (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Anton Hofreiter (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen), Dietmar Bartsch (Die Linke), Katja Kipping (Die Linke) and Sarah Wagenknecht (Die Linke) were taken into account.

The paper starts with a brief summary of the discursive developments within the political and public debate on the topic of the increasing numbers of refugees arriving in Germany and its media reception. The key finding of this analysis is that the discourse itself became more and more self-referring and questions of rhetoric subtleties arose. In many respects the issue of responsibility came up, questioning the use of certain speech acts and rhetoric figures and their possible connection with a new discursive rawness but also with the rising number of hate-crimes committed against refugees and refugee accommodations. In this situation new rhetoric sensitivity seemed to be advised while at the same time populist movements in Germany (but also all across Europe) used such linguistic means to drive on an emotion-based schism. The success of those movements and/or parties led to an adaptation resp. creation of specific terms and phrasings which seemingly just described the situation in its “crisis-dimensions”. But as we take a closer look on these expressions we find that there is a critical unexpressed meaning-constituting background responsible for the fact that the respective expressions are understood in a certain way. They have so to speak a metaphorical dimension and thus we consider them to actually be metaphors.

On this basis we took theoretical approaches into account that ranged from philosophical studies concerning metaphors and rhetoric itself (Hans Blumenberg and Andreas Hetzel), the sociological frame analysis (Erving Goffman), cultural studies (Stuart Hall) and discourse analysis (Jürgen Link) to neuro-linguistic frame analysis (Elisabeth Wehling). The benefit of bringing together these different approaches is that it allows us to analyse micro-dimensional phenomena (rhetorical figures and their use in political speeches) as well as their macro-dimensional embedding and effects.

From all the metaphors we could find in the respective speeches, we chose four for deeper examination: combating the causes of flight, the European community of shared values, securing the external borders and legislative package. We chose these four metaphors due to the frequency



of their use in the speeches as well as their discursive coherence with the subject of the so-called “refugee crisis”.

The claim for combating the causes of flight appeals to be very reasonable and agreeable. Moreover it expresses the determination and strength of the speaker. This superficial dimension of the metaphor however blocks out the many questions it leaves unanswered or even disguised, such as: Where exactly does this “combat” take place?

Does it focus on the actual conflict areas or is it about keeping refugee camps in other countries well enough equipped to stop people from leaving them and expanding their flight-route to “our” region?

Our analysis shows that there can be various motivations behind the claim for combatting the causes of flight and that there is no common understanding of that expression, even though it is used in almost every speech we examined.

This reveals a basic function of all these metaphors: they seemingly indicate an unequivocal subject while at the same time obscuring the concrete background, actions and/or consequences associated with them. The outcome can be very irritating as the example of the metaphor securing the external borders shows: one important subtext of this metaphor is a discourse about safety. Paradoxically the perspective switches very subtly from talking about help-seeking refugees and bringing them to safety to talking about violators of “our laws” and threats to “our society”. This subtle but nonetheless significant change turns victims into perpetrators and declares safety as an exclusive right of certain people who themselves then are endangered of becoming victims of any claims for safety from “outside” this exclusive group of people. We conclude that basically the metaphor securing the external borders is strongly connected to a revenant discourse about safety which accompanies almost any migration-debate.

Our findings show that the systematic and profound analysis of the apparently trivial assumption that political rhetoric effects public opinion and vice versa, produces significant results in the field of an ethnology of contemporary “Western” national states and their interdependence, including their self-understanding as well as the complex dynamics of discourse and power within themselves and on a global scale. We conclude that the approach presented in our paper can get hold of dynamic socio-cultural negotiation processes in motion. With Blumenberg we argue that it is important to point to the metaphorical dimension of expressions used in political discourses, since these expressions can lose their metaphorical characteristics within the course of a discourse (i.e. by repetition) and could be taken for granted, leaving no scope for different expressions/metaphors triggering different frames and thus enabling different actions.

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Mobile World Passau

Stadt und Migration in Niederbayern

Christine Egger

- Abstract** In recent years, the new mobilities caused by the violent conflicts in the Middle East have made the German town of Passau a base for many people from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. This study analyzes the effects of refugee movements and migration in the Lower Bavarian town in terms of the concept of the “arrival city” by Saunders. The study is based on findings from participatory observation, conversations with volunteer helpers, students and other residents of Passau, intensive exchange with refugees and a discursive media evaluation. Has urban society experienced any transformations? What kind of changes have occurred both for long-term and new residents, their life worlds, their networks and opinions or to the institutions and structures of the city?
- Keywords** Refugees, Migration, Asylum, medium-sized town (“Middletown”), Lower Bavaria, Passau, Home



„Wir schaffen das!“ Drei Wörter und drei Tage im September

„Momente, die einen ganzen Kontinent verändern, gibt es nicht oft. Dies ist so einer“ (Blume u.a. 2016, 2), war im September 2016 im Jahresrückblick der Wochenzeitung *Die Zeit* zu lesen. Angesprochen wurden damit die Ereignisse, die dazu geführt hatten, dass etwa 800.000 Geflüchtete – vor allem aus Syrien, Afghanistan und dem Irak – nach Deutschland kamen. Im Juni 2015 war im Vergleich zum Vorjahr bereits eine deutliche Steigerung von Asylgesuchen in Deutschland festzustellen, eine Zahl, die seitdem noch zugenommen hat. Auf Grund der weiteren Zuspitzung der Situation im syrischen Bürgerkrieg setzte das Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF) am 25. August 2015 das Dublin-Verfahren, das Anträge auf Asyl nur in dem Land zulässt, in dem die Europäische Union zuerst betreten wird, für Syrer_innen aus. Als die deutsche Bundeskanzlerin am Tag darauf erstmals eine Gemeinschaftsunterkunft für Geflüchtete im sächsischen Heidenau besuchte, wurde sie nicht zuletzt für diese Entscheidung übel beschimpft. Am 27. August fand die Polizei in der Nähe des österreichischen Ortes Parnsdorf einen an der Autobahn zurückgelassenen Kühltransporter, in dem 71 Menschen aus Syrien ums Leben gekommen waren, die sich auf dem Weg von Ungarn nach Österreich befanden. Beide Länder hatten zu diesem Zeitpunkt schon damit begonnen, die Flüchtenden auf der so genannten „östlichen Balkanroute“, die von der Türkei über die griechischen Inseln, Athen und die Länder des ehemaligen Jugoslawien nach Westeuropa führte, in Richtung Deutschland weiterzuleiten (Blume u.a. 2016, Eckardt u.a. 2016, Rammer 2016a).



Abb. 1: Hafen von Piräus, Athen (Griechenland), 23.01.2016, Foto: Christine Egger.

Im Rahmen ihrer alljährlichen Sommerpressekonferenz, die am 31. August 2015 in Berlin stattfand, fasste Angela Merkel vor diesem Hintergrund ihre politische Haltung im Hinblick auf die Aufnahme von Asylsuchenden folgendermaßen zusammen (Prantl 2016):

„Meine Damen und Herren, was sich zurzeit in Europa abspielt, das ist keine Naturkatastrophe, aber es gibt eine Vielzahl katastrophaler Situationen. Es spielen sich unendlich viele Tragödien ab und es gibt auch unfassbares Gräueltum, wie vor einigen Tagen in Österreich. (...) Das geschieht alles, während wir hier in sehr geordneten Verhältnissen leben. (...) Die allermeisten von uns kennen den Zustand völliger Erschöpfung auf der Flucht, verbunden mit Angst um das eigene Leben oder das Leben der Kinder oder der Partner, zum Glück nicht. (...) Ich sage ganz einfach: Deutschland ist ein starkes Land. Das Motiv, mit dem wir an diese Dinge herangehen, muss sein: Wir haben so vieles geschafft – wir schaffen das! Wir schaffen das, und dort, wo uns etwas im Wege steht, muss es überwunden werden, muss daran gearbeitet werden“ (Die Bundesregierung 2015, Phoenix 2015).



Abb. 2: Hauptbahnhof Keleti Budapest (Ungarn), Februar 2015, Foto: Christine Egger.

Anfang September verursachte das vielfach geteilte Foto des syrischen Jungen Aylan Kurdi, dessen toter Körper an der türkischen Küste angespült worden war, großes Entsetzen. Zeitgleich gingen die Bilder von tausenden Menschen, die in Ungarn angekommen die weiteren Entwicklungen abwarteten, um die Welt. Der Hauptbahnhof Keleti in Budapest wurde zum Symbol der humanitären Notlage, zu der das politische Kalkül der ungarischen Regierung wesentlich



beitrag. Als sich einige hundert Geflüchtete von dort aus über die Autobahn zu Fuß auf den Weg nach Westen machten, stimmten Österreich und Deutschland am 4. September 2015 zu, die Asylsuchenden ohne Kontrollen in ihre Länder weiterreisen zu lassen. Einen Tag später trafen am Münchner Hauptbahnhof unter großer Anteilnahme der Bevölkerung die ersten Züge mit Geflüchteten aus Ungarn und Österreich ein. Und es würden noch viele weitere folgen, die nicht nur die bayerische Landeshauptstadt und die deutsche „Willkommenskultur“, von der nun die Rede war, vor große Herausforderungen stellen sollten (Blume u.a. 2016, Rammer 2016a, Schulz und Stadler 2016).



Abb. 3: Hauptbahnhof München (Deutschland), 12.09.2015, Foto: Christine Egger.

Passau. Das „deutsche Lampedusa“

Eine Geschichte fand in der politischen und publizistischen Aufregung um Flucht, Migration und Asyl, die seitdem in Deutschland herrschte, nur wenig Beachtung: Das war die Geschichte von Passau, dem „deutschen Lampedusa“ (Coen und Sußebach 2015). Spätestens seit der Wiedereinführung von Kontrollen der Bundespolizei an der österreichischen Grenze am 13. September 2015 kamen die meisten Geflüchteten schon nach zwei Wochen nicht mehr in München an, sondern in der niederbayerischen Stadt am Ende der „Balkanroute“ (Guyton 2015, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 2015, Denk 2015). Während die Universität Passau zum Wintersemester 2015/16 rund 3.300 Studierende begrüßte, hieß die Stadt im gleichen Zeitraum täglich bis zu 10.000 Menschen – Frauen, Männer und Kinder – willkommen (Universität Passau 2015, Rammer 2016b). Die meisten blieben freilich nicht vor Ort, sondern wurden auf Unterkünfte in ganz Deutschland verteilt. Ein kleinerer Teil kehrte jedoch über Transfers wieder nach

Niederbayern zurück. Genaue Angaben zur Zahl der Asylsuchenden, die seitdem in der Stadt und den umliegenden Kommunen wohnten, liegen nicht vor. Vermutlich waren es im Sommer 2016 bis zu 1.500, hauptsächlich aus Syrien, Afghanistan und dem Irak. Ein wesentlicher Teil davon kam jedoch nicht erst im Zuge dieser großen Fluchtbewegungen, sondern bereits in den Jahren zuvor in die Region (Weiss 2016).

„Wenn Araber in einem bayerischen Vorgarten stranden, muss die Welt in Unordnung geraten sein. Oder sich neu ordnen, so kann man es auch sehen. Darüber lässt sich streiten (...)“ (Coen und Sußebach 2015).

In diesem Beitrag werden Effekte der Mobilitäten dokumentiert, die durch die gewaltsamen Konflikte im Mittleren Osten erzwungen wurden und Passau in den vergangenen Jahren für viele Menschen zu einem neuen Ankerplatz machten. Mit diesen Prozessen sind andere Prozesse verknüpft: Wie verorten sich die Angekommenen, wo finden Interaktionen und Begegnungen statt, wie entsteht Zugehörigkeit? Ausgehend von diesen Konstellationen werden die Auswirkungen von Flucht und Migration auf die niederbayerische Stadt als „Arrival City“ (Saunders 2011, 7-11) analysiert. Die Untersuchung basiert auf Erkenntnissen aus teilnehmender Beobachtung, zahlreichen Gesprächen mit ehrenamtlichen Helfer_innen, Studierenden und anderen Passauer_innen, dem intensiven Austausch mit Geflüchteten sowie einer Auswertung von Mediendiskursen. Welche Transformationen hat die urbane Gesellschaft erfahren und welche Veränderungen ergaben sich für die beteiligten Akteur_innen, die seit langem oder erst seit einiger Zeit in Passau wohnen, für ihre Lebenswelten, Netzwerke und Weltsichten sowie für Institutionen und Strukturen der Stadt (Yildiz 2013, Yildiz und Hill 2015)?



Abb. 4: Marienbrücke über den Inn, Passau (Deutschland), 07.09.2014, Foto: Christine Egger.



Die Macht des Lokalen. Migration in der Mittelstadt

Was sich in Niederbayern seit dem Sommer 2015 beobachten ließ, diagnostizierten der Anthropologe Ulf Hannerz und andere zu Beginn der 1990er Jahre vor allem für westliche Großstädte wie New York oder London (Hannerz 1993, 67-69): Die Stadt ist ein Ort, an dem die unterschiedlichsten Menschen aufeinandertreffen. Mit den jüngsten Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen nach Westeuropa und Deutschland wurden aber insbesondere die kleinen und mittleren Städte, in denen weit über die Hälfte der deutschen Bevölkerung lebt, zu wichtigen Schnittstellen und Knotenpunkten. Das galt auch und gerade für Passau, das mit seinen rund 50.000 Einwohner_innen, seiner geopolitischen und soziokulturellen Bedeutung als Grenzort und regionales Zentrum sowie seinem spezifischen Habitus alle Kennzeichen einer „Mittelstadt“ aufweist. „Verglichen mit Großstädten lässt sich in der Mittelstadt ein weitaus höheres Maß an Überschaubarkeit, direkter Kommunikation und Verbindlichkeit feststellen und entsprechend eine geringere Öffentlichkeit und Anonymität“, unter diesen, von der Kulturwissenschaftlerin Brigitta Schmidt-Lauber skizzierten Bedingungen wird im urbanen Alltag von Passau jenseits der Metropolen München und Berlin seit dem Sommer 2015 verhandelt, was das Zusammenleben in der Stadtgesellschaft künftig ausmacht (Schmidt-Lauber 2010, 20; 11-25, Lindner 2013, Egger 2013, 55-57).

Der niederbayerische Künstler Rudolf Klaffenböck machte sich in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren als politischer Kabarettist einen Namen. Seit einigen Jahren arbeitet er vor allem als Fotograf und Dokumentarfilmer, für den die österreichische Grenze bereits unmittelbar nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhangs ein wichtiges Thema war. Im Sommer 2015 begleitete er die Akteur_innen der neuen Mobilitäten in Passau und der Region und hielt ihre Spuren mit dem Objektiv seiner Kamera fest (Klaffenböck 1994-1996; 2015a). Zu den Motiven seiner Suche gehörten auch Schleuserfahrzeuge, die an der Grenze zu Österreich von der Polizei beschlagnahmt worden waren. Die beklemmenden Bilder wurden 2016 zusammen mit einem Interview, das die Philosophin Seyla Benhabib zum Thema Migration und Nationalismus gab, im Magazin der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* veröffentlicht und sollten, wie der Fotograf meinte, einen Film im Kopf ihrer Betrachter_innen anspringen lassen (Klaffenböck 2015b, Kops 2016). Wer jedoch nicht so genau hinschaute wie Klaffenböck, wird auch im „grenzenlos lebenswerten“ Passau wenig von den Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen mitbekommen haben. Und doch verliehen eben diese Verschiebungen der relativ ausgeglichenen Gesellschaft der im Alltag wenig bewegten Mittelstadt am Rande Deutschlands neue Dynamiken (Stadt Passau 2016; Rammer 2009).

Ein Blick in die neuere Geschichte Passaus zeigt die starken bürgerlichen Traditionen der Stadt, die im 19. Jahrhundert eine große Blüte erlebten (Brunner u.a. 2014). Vor diesem historischen Hintergrund vollbrachte der südostbayerische Grenzort im Verlauf des 20. Jahrhunderts enorme Anpassungsleistungen. Dazu gehörte die Aufnahme tausender Vertriebener aus Tschechien, Ost- und Südosteuropa nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs, in kleinerem Umfang auch von Flüchtenden in Folge des Ungarnaufstands von 1956. Mit dem Mauerbau kamen Menschen aus der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (DDR) über die Grenze und noch einmal 1989, es folgten in den 1990er Jahren Spätaussiedler_innen aus der ehemaligen Sowjetunion (Weithmann 2014, 110-142, Becker 1999, Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte 2009, Lanzinner 1999a, Lanzinner 1999b, Brunner 2009). Spuren der Ankommenden lassen sich auch im Stadtraum festmachen, was am Beispiel des Ortsteils Schalding rechts der Donau besonders

deutlich wird. Dort wurde in einem ehemaligen Warenlager der Deutschen Wehrmacht im Herbst 1945 eines von mehreren ostbayerischen „Grenzdurchgangslagern“ eröffnet, das noch bis in die 1960er Jahre als Erstaufnahmeeinrichtung für Vertriebene, Geflüchtete und Asylsuchende diente, die aus dem Osten nach Deutschland kamen. Aus den Baracken, in denen die Menschen untergebracht waren, entstand im Laufe der Zeit ein eigenes Dorf, das 1972 im Zuge der Gebietsreform nach Passau eingemeindet wurde (Weithmann 2014, Passauer Neue Presse 2015).

Mit den Entwicklungen, deren unmittelbare Effekte seit Sommer 2015 zwischen Donau, Inn und Ilz greifbar wurden, vergrößerte sich das Hinterland der Stadt erneut. Mit den neuen Mobilitäten, ausgelöst durch die gewaltsamen Konflikte im Mittleren Osten, wurde Passau zu einem Raum, in dem sich das konkrete Stadtgebiet über soziale, ökonomische und politische Verflechtungen mit den von gewaltsamen Konflikten betroffenen Regionen, ihren Menschen und Gesellschaften verknüpfte (Loibl 2009, Berking 2006). „Genauso wie die Vergangenheit in unsere Gegenwart, ragt die Präsenz des Fernen ‚dort‘ in unser Nahes ‚hier‘ hinein“, stellt die Geografin Doreen Massey (2006, 31) fest und beschreibt damit auch die Situation in Passau. Bereits seit einigen Jahren dient Schalding rechts der Donau nun erneut als Aufnahmeort für Asylsuchende. Im ehemaligen Bahnhof des Ortsteils, der als Manifestation von Mobilitäten verstanden werden kann, wurde eine Gemeinschaftsunterkunft eingerichtet, in der vor allem Syrer_innen, Afghan_inn_en und Iraker_innen leben, die im Zuge der großen Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen seit 2015 nach Niederbayern kamen.



Abb. 5: Landschaft, Niederbayern (Deutschland), 29.06.2015, Foto: Christine Egger



Mobile World Passau. Akteurinnen und Akteure, Beziehungen und Netzwerke

Die Macht des Lokalen in einer Welt ohne Grenzen ließ sich seit dem Sommer 2015 in Passau empirisch erfahren (Berking 2006). Seit der Ankunft von hunderttausenden Geflüchteten an den nahe gelegenen Grenzübergängen zwischen Deutschland und Österreich und am Hauptbahnhof der Stadt ragten Aleppo, Damaskus, Quamischi, Homs, Kabul, Kunduz und Bagdad so tief nach Niederbayern hinein wie nie zuvor. „Jetzt da sich die Welt neu ordnet, nimmt auch in Passau manches Leben einen anderen Verlauf. In der Stadt werden dringend Dolmetscher gesucht. Menschen, die Dari oder Paschtu sprechen und bislang Büros putzten oder Kebab verkauften, werden plötzlich zu Vermittlern, Welterklärern, Alltagsdiplomaten“ (Coen und Sußebach 2016). Das galt allerdings für viele Passauer_innen, nicht nur für die in die Stadt Geflüchteten. Ulf Hannerz (1993, 69-74) betrachtet vier Gruppen von Menschen und deren lokale wie transnationale Beziehungen und Netzwerke als konstitutiv für die kulturelle Bedeutung moderner Weltstädte: Geschäftsleute, Migrant_innen aus Ländern der so genannten „Dritten Welt“, Kreative und Wissensarbeiter_innen sowie Tourist_innen. In der Mittelstadt Passau lassen sich – angelehnt an Hannerz' Einteilung – ebenfalls vier soziale Kategorien ausmachen, die für die andauernde Transformation der urbanen Gesellschaft eine entscheidende Rolle spielen: Bürger_innen und Geschäftsleute mit und ohne Migrationshintergrund, Studierende und Mitarbeiter_innen der Universität sowie der Oberbürgermeister.

„Hier in Niederbayern gibt es kein Meer, höchstens ein Meer aus Feldern. (...) Fantasie ist dem satten und dennoch eigentümlich kargen Landstrich zwischen Donau und Isar nicht eingeschrieben. Hier herrscht die Ökonomie des Praktischen und Vernünftigen“, sagt der Journalist Gerhard Matzig (2015) über die Region. Mit Pragmatismus kommentierte auch Jürgen Dupper die Situation, als Passau im September 2015 zum Drehkreuz der Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen nach Westeuropa wurde (Coen und Sußebach 2016, Issig 2015). Der sozialdemokratische Kommunalpolitiker fühlte sich an das Jahr 1989 erinnert, als tausende DDR-Bürger_innen über Ungarn nach Niederbayern kamen, wo sie in „Übergangsheimen“ untergebracht wurden (Karl 2016, Georg-von-Vollmar-Akademie 2016). Vor dem Hintergrund seiner Erfahrungen bei der Hochwasserkatastrophe von 2013, bei der bereits viele Bürger_innen, Studierende und Mitarbeiter_innen der Universität mithalfen, um die verheerenden Schäden in der Stadt in einer absoluten Ausnahmesituation zu beseitigen, war er sich aber sicher: „Wir können Krise“ (Guyton 2015). Mit dieser Haltung schien der Oberbürgermeister von Passau wichtige Qualitäten, die nicht nur seiner Heimatregion, sondern nach der Definition des Kulturwissenschaftlers Rolf Lindner auch der Mittelstadt und ihrem Habitus zugeschrieben werden, in seiner Person zu vereinen: Maß, Mitte und praktische Vernunft. „Vielleicht können wir in dieser Erdung eine generelle *differentia specifica* des mittelstädtischen Lebens gegenüber der Metropole sehen. Erdung, Bodenhaftung, das meint ja nicht nur die Vermeidung eines die Verbindung zur materiellen Welt verlierenden Abhebens, sondern verweist auch auf das Gefühl von Zugehörigkeit als ‚sozialem Anker‘ in Zeiten von Globalisierung und beschleunigtem Wandel“ (Lindner 2010, 43).

Als weitere wichtige Merkmale der Mittelstadt gelten eine starke Identifikation mit dem Gemeinwesen und Bürgersinn. Beides stellten die Passauer_innen unter Beweis, die ab August 2015 die Unterstützung für die Ankommenden organisierten. Dazu nutzten sie die unkomplizierten Möglichkeiten der informellen Vernetzung in ihrer überschaubaren Stadt (Eckl 2016,



Abb. 6: Passauer Maidult, Passau (Deutschland), 05.05.2015, Foto: Christine Egger

Lugbauer 2016). So formierten sich gleich zu Beginn auch der „Helferkreis Bahnhof Passau“ und die „Medhilfe Passau“, die das gemeinsame Ziel verfolgten, die Geflüchteten am Hauptbahnhof mit Getränken, Essen und medizinischer Hilfe zu versorgen. Der Austausch lief zunächst über persönliche Kontakte. Schon bald verlagerten sich jedoch Kommunikation und Information der Beteiligten auf *Facebook*. Über das soziale Netzwerk mit seiner größeren Reichweite wurden organisatorische Fragen geklärt, Beziehungen zu anderen Hilfsprojekten in Deutschland und Österreich sowie zu Unterstützer_inne_n aufgebaut, aber auch Diskussionen geführt und Konflikte ausgetragen (Helferkreis Bahnhof Passau 2016, Medhilfe Passau 2016). In Folge dieser Aktivitäten konnten Asylsuchende ab Herbst in dem beheizbaren Bierzelt einer ortsansässigen Brauerei, die auch Toilettenwagen zur Verfügung stellte, auf die Überprüfung ihrer Personalien und ihre Weiterreise mit Sonderzügen in Aufnahmeeinrichtungen irgendwo in der Bundesrepublik warten. Eine Bäckerei versorgte die Zeltstadt am Hauptbahnhof mit Backwaren sowie einem Verkaufswagen für Tee und Kaffee, die lokalen Apotheken stellten die notwendigsten Medikamente zur Verfügung. Die Stadt und die Caritas als soziale Träger förderten die Initiative, die im Wesentlichen aber von freiwilligen Helfer_inne_n getragen wurde. Unter ihnen waren auch und gerade Passauer_innen mit eigener Flucht- und Migrationserfahrung, die vor allem als Dolmetscher_innen für die täglich in zwei Schichten in Stadt und Region tätigen Bundespolizist_inn_en unverzichtbar wurden (Brand 2016).

Passau ist keine klassische Universitätsstadt wie Jena, Göttingen, Marburg oder Tübingen. Dennoch bezieht die Stadt seit der Errichtung ihrer Universität im Jahr 1978 einen wesentlichen Teil ihres Selbstverständnisses daraus, Standort einer Hochschule zu sein (Metz-Becker 2010, 106). Durch die Etablierung neuer akademischer Eliten öffnete und modernisierte sich



das gesellschaftliche Leben in Passau seit den 1980er Jahren. Dazu trug auch die Präsenz einer jungen, studierenden und sehr mobilen Bevölkerung bei, die seither in der niederbayerischen Stadt lebt. Im Wintersemester 2015/16 zählte die Universität über 11.000 Studierende und etwa 1.600 Beschäftigte. Die Beziehungen zur bereits vorhandenen Stadtgesellschaft waren aber nicht immer unproblematisch (Wagner 2014, Caspary 2009, Weithmann 2014, 124-139, Lanzinner 1999a, 324-339). Der Bezug wandelte sich jedoch mit der Hochwasserkatastrophe vom Sommer 2013, als Studierende und wissenschaftlichen Mitarbeiter_innen der Universität die Aktion „Passau räumt auf“ ins Leben riefen, um die dringend benötigte, ehrenamtliche Hilfe zu koordinieren. In dieser Tradition stand auch das Netzwerk „Passau verbindet“, das sich im Herbst 2015 formierte, um die kurzfristige Flüchtlingshilfe in Stadt und Region abzustimmen, aber auch, um über mittel- und langfristige Projekte zur Unterstützung von Geflüchteten zu informieren (Henneberg 2013; Passau verbindet 2016). Dazu zählen unter anderem das „Asylcafé Passau“, das bereits 2010 gegründet wurde und sich als kulturelle Begegnungsstätte und Anlaufpunkt für Geflüchtete versteht, sowie die „Evangelische Studierendengemeinde Passau (ESG)“ und ihr umfangreiches Programm zum Erwerb der deutschen Sprache (Asylcafé Passau 2016, Evangelische Studierendengemeinde 2016, Singer 2015). Beide Angebote basieren auf der Initiative von Studierenden und Persönlichkeiten, die mit der Universität Passau verbunden sind, wie der evangelischen Studierendenpfarrerin Sonja Sibbor-Heißmann. Deren Idee, kostenlosen Einzelsprachunterricht durch freiwillige Lehrer_innen unter dem Titel „Come together for German“ zu organisieren, führte im Wintersemester 2015/2016 zu langen Schlangen von wartenden Migrant_inn_en auf den Fluren der Universität im Nikolakloster am Rande



Abb. 7: Klostersgarten, Passau (Deutschland), 24.06.2015, Foto: Christine Egger



der Innenstadt, ein Ort, der bereits nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs mehrere tausend Geflüchtete und Vertriebene beherbergt hatte (Friederich 2016, Lanzinner 1999a, Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte 2009).

Für das urbane Leben in Mittelstädten wie Passau stellt die Innenstadt das unangefochtene Zentrum dar, das sich alte und neue Bürger_innen jeweils auf ihre Weise aneignen, während sich dort alle zwangsläufig begegnen. Ein wichtiger Bestandteil dieses lebendigen, multifunktionalen Raums ist seit ihrer Fertigstellung im Jahr 2008 die „Stadtgalerie Passau“ – ein Einkaufszentrum, das sich über drei Stockwerke zwischen dem Hauptbahnhof und dem Eingang zur Fußgängerzone erstreckt (Stadtgalerie Passau 2016a).

„Der beste Ort für alle Flüchtlinge in ganz Bayreuth war zweifelsohne das Rotmain-Center. Dieses schöne warme Gebläse zur Begrüßung, wenn man die (...) Shoppingmall betritt! Überall war es warm und man konnte hier die Einheimischen beobachten, ohne gestört zu werden. Wir standen einzeln oder in kleinen Gruppen verteilt herum und schauten den Menschen beim Einkaufen oder beim Kuchenessen im Café zu. Durchs Rotmain zu spazieren war eine ideale Möglichkeit, die Zeit totzuschlagen. Denn wir konnten ja mangels Erlaubnis weder Deutsch lernen noch arbeiten oder sonst etwas Sinnvolles mit unserer Zeit anfangen. Zugleich gaben wir uns in diesem Laden unserer Sehnsucht nach Normalität hin. Zu gern wollten wir sein wie sie. Einkaufen, im Café sitzen, Getränke bestellen und mit einer der vielen jungen Kellnerinnen plaudern. Aber wie sollte das gehen? Wir standen mittendrin und doch waren wir meilenweit von all dem entfernt. Die Einheimischen gingen shoppen, wir wärmten uns an ihren Leben“ (Khider 2016, 66-67).

Das Phänomen, das der Schriftsteller Abbas Khider in seinem als Buch der Stunde gefeierten Roman *Ohrfeige* beschreibt, in dem er seine eigenen Erfahrungen mit der deutschen Bürokratie, in Gemeinschaftsunterkünften und mit engagierten Helfer_inne_n sowie den Blick der Deutschen auf die „Fremden“ als Geflüchteter aus dem Irak zum literarischen Thema macht, lässt sich auch in Passau beobachten. Zur Attraktivität der dortigen „Stadtgalerie“ für Geflüchtete trägt seit Oktober 2014 noch das kostenlose WLAN bei, das Besucher_innen des Einkaufszentrums täglich für 30 Minuten zur Verfügung steht (Stadtgalerie Passau 2014). „Alle Personen, Ereignisse und Orte in diesem Roman sind frei erfunden“ (Khider 2016, 4), dennoch kann mit dem fiktiven „Niederhofen“, wo sich ein wesentlicher Teil der Romanhandlung abspielt, nur Passau gemeint sein, wo der Autor selbst Ende der 1990er Jahre als Asylsuchender lebte (Mangold 2016, Bayerischer Rundfunk 2016).

Den wichtigsten Anlaufpunkt für die „neuen Leute“ (Gespräche mit Geflüchteten 2015-2016), die im Sommer 2015 in Passau ankamen, bildete allerdings weder der Hauptbahnhof noch die Universität oder die „Stadtgalerie“, sondern ein anderer Ort in der Innenstadt von Passau. Für die Organisation ihres lokalen Alltags und die Aufrechterhaltung ihrer transnationalen Beziehungen war ein zentral gelegener Handyladen, der unter anderem Guthabenkarten des Mobilfunkanbieters Lycamobile – der entsprechende Werbeslogan lautet: „Call the World for less“ (Lyca Mobile 2016) – verkauft, für die Geflüchteten von wesentlich größerer Bedeutung. Der Besitzer, der mehrere Sprachen des Mittleren Ostens sowie Deutsch und Englisch spricht und sein Idiom je nach Bedarf wechseln kann, bezeichnete sein Geschäft daher auch als „zweites Einwohnermeldeamt“, so der Besitzer des Handyladens (Gespräch 2015) der Stadt.



In Anlehnung an den Soziologen Ludger Pries könnte man von einem transnationalen sozialen Raum sprechen, in dem sich Alltagspraktiken, Symbolsysteme und Artefakte der Migration sichtbar verdichten. An dieser Schnittstelle zeigte sich nicht nur die Macht des Lokalen in aller Deutlichkeit, an diesem Ort eröffnete sich auch das globale Hinterland der niederbayerischen Stadt (Pries 2008, 229-236, Schmidt-Lauber 2010, 23). Die Hauptfigur Karim Mensy im Roman *Ohrfeige erzählt*:

„Am Tag, an dem ich Geld vom Sozialamt bekam, kaufte ich mir ein Handy mit Prepaidkarte, rief sofort meine Familie in Bagdad an und behauptete, ich hätte bereits einen guten Job gefunden, eine nette Wohnung im Zentrum von Niederhofen angemietet und sei in guten Händen. Ganz bald würde ich mit meinem Studium anfangen. Dann war mein Guthaben aufgebraucht und mitten im Gespräch wurde die Verbindung unterbrochen“ (Khider 2016, 159).

„Asylheimat“. Identitäten und Zugehörigkeiten

Unter der Rubrik „Was Passauer denken, aber nicht sagen“ veröffentlicht das Stadtmagazin *Pasta!* regelmäßig Sprüche, die per Email an die Redaktion geschickt werden und einen guten Gradmesser für die Stimmung in der Stadt darstellen. „D’Flüchtling mochan mia nix. Oba a bissal vui Polizei is unterwegs“ (Martens 2016a, 6), war im Februar 2016 an dieser Stelle zu lesen. Viele Passauer Imbiss-, Restaurant- und Hotelbesitzer_innen dürften sich in der touristischen Nebensaison auch über die andauernde Präsenz von bis zu 800 Beamt_inn_en der Bundespolizei, die aus ganz Deutschland in Stadt und Region zusammengezogen worden waren, gefreut haben. Das Leben in der deutsch-österreichischen Grenzregion veränderte sich seit September 2015 allerdings weniger durch die neuen Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen und ihre unmittelbaren Auswirkungen, als durch die Reaktionen darauf (Schweighofer 2016, Martens 2016b). „Früher haben wir uns für die Insel der Seligen gehalten, die Weltpolitik war irgendwo anders. Jetzt wissen wir, wie schnell man mittendrin sein kann“, formulierte der zweite Bürgermeister der kleinen Grenzgemeinde Wegscheid im Landkreis Passau im April 2016 gegenüber der *Süddeutschen Zeitung* (Eisenreich 2016). Der bayerische Ministerpräsident Horst Seehofer hatte bereits im Oktober 2015 eine Begrenzung der Zuwanderung gefordert und der Bundesregierung unter Angela Merkel nicht zuletzt mit einer Verfassungsklage gedroht. Diese Diskussion wurde losgetreten, noch lange bevor die Ereignisse der Silvesternacht in Köln der öffentlichen Debatte um Flucht, Migration und Asyl eine neue Richtung gaben und die „östliche Balkanroute“ im März 2016 geschlossen wurde (Schulz und Stadler 2016, Amjahid u.a. 2016).

„Wir kommen nicht um die Feststellung herum, dass das massive und plötzliche Erscheinen von Fremden auf unseren Straßen weder *von uns* verursacht wurde noch unter *unserer* Kontrolle steht. (...) Kein Wunder, dass die ständig neu eintreffenden Immigranten (...) als ‚Boten des Unglücks‘ empfunden werden. Sie verkörpern den Zusammenbruch der Ordnung. (...) Diese Nomaden – die nicht aus eigenem Antrieb, sondern aufgrund eines herzlosen Schicksals dazu geworden sind – erinnern uns auf irritierende Weise an die (unheilbare?) Verwundbarkeit unserer eigenen Stellung und an die epidemische Zerbrechlichkeit unseres hart erarbeiteten Wohlstands“ (Bauman 2016, 20-21, 24), fasst Zygmunt Bauman die Lage in Europa zusammen.

Der Soziologe und Migrationsforscher betrachtet es als allzu menschliche Gewohnheit, den Überbringer für den unerwünschten Inhalt seiner Botschaft verantwortlich zu machen, warnt jedoch vor politischem Populismus und Panikmache. Stattdessen plädiert er in seinem Essay ‚Die Angst vor dem anderen‘ (2016, 7-25) für Menschlichkeit, Solidarität, Gelassenheit und Empathie als einzigen Ausweg aus der Krise.

Spätestens im Frühjahr 2016 wurde die Angst vor den anderen, die Bauman als Reaktion auf das demütigende Gefühl der eigenen Hilflosigkeit beschreibt, im niederbayerischen Alltag hör- und spürbar (Heisl 2016, Heidtmann 2016, Rüttenauer 2016). Diese Stimmungslage wurde zum Beispiel am Gespräch von zwei Verkäuferinnen in einem Passauer Modegeschäft deutlich:

„Ab zehn Kinder kriegen die Syrer, die jetzt kommen, ein nagelneues Haus! Hast Du das schon gehört?“

„Und wir müssen jahrelang schufteln, damit wir uns überhaupt was leisten können. Nicht, dass es uns schlecht ginge, überhaupt nicht, aber da geht es ums Prinzip.“

Der Zorn gegenüber Geflüchteten als sichtbarem „Produkt“ der wachsenden Unsicherheit in der Welt entlud sich auch auf der Facebook-Seite der „Stadtgalerie Passau“ (Bauman 2016, 20-24):

„Mittlerweile Treffpunkt Nr. 1 fuer Fluechtlinge. Nach 3 Stunden einkaufen hat man keinen Platz sich irgendwo hinzusetzen und mal 5 Min auszuruhen weil alle Plaetze vun (sic!) Fluechtlingen belegt sind die dort den ganzen Tag abhaengen und sich die Zeit totschiagen indem sie Frauen nachstarren und auf ihren Handys rummachen. Hatten nach 3 Stunden die Nase voll und werden in Zukunft auf Einkaufcenter in Pocking oder Pfarrkirchen ausweichen“ (Stadtgalerie Passau 2016b).

Dabei kamen schon im Februar 2016 kaum mehr Migrant_inn_en in Passau an, und nicht nur *Die Zeit*, auch andere Medien waren voll des Lobes für „die bürokratische Präzision, die Herzlichkeit und das spontane Organisationsgeschick“, mit dem die Stadt in den vorausgegangenen Monaten fast eine Million Menschen aufgenommen und verteilt hatte (Schweighofer 2016, Eisenreich 2016, Glas und Kuhr 2016; Otto 2016).



Abb. 8: Aktuelles bei Bücher Pustet, Passau (Deutschland), 23.02.2016, Foto: Christine Egger



Damit war die „Flüchtlingskrise“ für Passau aber noch nicht ausgestanden. Seit Beginn des Jahres 2016 ging es, wie auch an anderen Orten, darum, sich eingehender mit den Menschen zu beschäftigen, die erst seit kurzem oder schon mehrere Jahre in Niederbayern lebten, und sie als neue Bürger_innen in die überschaubare Gesellschaft der Mittelstadt aufzunehmen. „Nur Essen austeilen alleine reicht nicht“, sagen die Aktivisten Turgay Ulu und Bino Byansi Byakuleka, die eine stärkere politische Auseinandersetzung mit den Fluchtursachen und einen würdevolleren Umgang mit den nach Deutschland geflohenen Menschen anmahnen (Arps 2016). Diese Notwendigkeit wird auch in Gesprächen mit Geflüchteten in Passau deutlich, die immer wieder um den Wunsch nach Respekt und Anerkennung als Individuum, abseits des Verwaltungsstatus als Asylbewerber_in kreisen (Petz 2016). „Zehn Jahre ich bin hier, immer noch keine Papier. Leute was soll ich machen, das Problem liegt nicht bei mir. Zehn Jahre in Deutschland, immer noch kein Aufenthalt. Jeden Tag, jeden Tag, eine Post von Sozialamt. Jeden Tag, jeden Tag, eine Post von Arbeitsamt. Ich erzähl den meine Sorgen, sie sagen zu mir, komm morgen“



Abb. 9: Theresienstraße, Passau (Deutschland), 11.04.2016,
Foto: Christine Egger

(Samo 2012), heißt es in einem Lied des Sängers Malek Samo, das einige syrische Migranten regelmäßig anstimmen, wenn sie an der Figur „Dialog Mensch / Fisch“ der Künstlerin Edeltraud Maria Göpfert vorbeigehen, die seit 2007 die Passauer Fußgängerzone ziert (Göpfert 2016). Der sitzende Mann, der seinen Kopf auf eine Hand stützt und – ein Bein über das andere gelegt – den Blick in die Ferne schweifen lässt, scheint ihre existenzielle Unsicherheit nach der Fluchterfahrung und die damit verbundenen Ängste zu spiegeln. Was wird die Zukunft bringen? Gibt es eine reelle Chance, ein neues und respektiertes Leben in Passau zu beginnen? Oder wird sich vielleicht doch noch die Gelegenheit ergeben, nach Syrien zurückzukehren?

Die gemeinsamen Herausforderungen und Anstrengungen der Integration brauchen Passau, seine alten und neuen Bürger_innen sowie die poli-



tisch Verantwortlichen angesichts der dargestellten historischen Erfahrungen und dem mittelstädtischen Habitus der Stadt eigentlich nicht zu fürchten, was Heimat im Sinne von Verortung und Zugehörigkeit im Einzelnen heißt, bleibt aber für jeden selbst zu definieren (Krauss 2016, 27; Egger 2015, 14). Zahlreiche Autor_inn_en gehen jedoch davon aus, dass Migrant_inn_en sich sehr viel stärker mit der Stadt und der Region als mit dem Land identifizieren, in dem sie ein neues Leben beginnen (Glick-Schiller u.a. 2006, 105). Das gilt auch für viele Geflüchtete, die auf den unterschiedlichsten Wegen – ob über Ägypten, Libyen, die „Balkanroute“ oder Brasilien – nach Passau gekommen sind und die überschaubare Mittelstadt in Niederbayern trotz aller Widrigkeiten als ihre vorübergehende, mittel- oder langfristige „Asylheimat“ (Gespräche mit Geflüchteten 2015-2016) angenommen haben und sich mit „Servus“ oder „Habe die Ehre“ begrüßen. „Oba ganz einischau'n kann ma do in koan. Oba sicher is ned wia im Fernseh'n, dahoam is dahoam“ (Ringelstetter 2016).

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Mündliche Quellen

Podiumsdiskussion zum Thema “Gekommen, um zu bleiben!? Perspektiven einer nachhaltigen Flüchtlingspolitik”, mit Jürgen Dupper, Oberbürgermeister der Stadt Passau 21.03.2016, Georg-von-Vollmar-Akademie, Passau, Großer Rathaussaal.

Gespräch mit dem Besitzer eines Handyladens im Stadtzentrum von Passau. Dezember 2015.

Gespräche mit Geflüchteten in Passau. Juni 2015 – September 2016.

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Mobile World Passau

A municipality in Lower Bavaria faces migration

Extended Abstract

Christine Egger

“Moments that change an entire continent are not very frequent. This is one such.” (Blume 2016, 2) This was to be read in *Die Zeit* in September 2016. The German weekly was discussing the events that had led to about 800,000 refugees – especially from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq – coming to Germany one year before. The first trains carrying refugees arrived from Budapest and Vienna in Munich on 4 September 2015 and were met with large public sympathy. Many more would follow, posing major challenges to the Bavarian capital. However, Chancellor Angela Merkel was sure that “We can manage, and where is something in the way, we have to overcome it” (Die Bundesregierung 2015).

In the political and journalistic excitement about refugees, migration and asylum, in Germany since then, one story has gained little attention: the story of Passau, the “German Lampedusa” (Coen and Sußebach 2015). Since the reintroduction of checks on the Austrian border by German police on 13 September 2015, most refugees stopped arriving in Munich after two weeks. Their new entry point was now the charming town at the end of the “Balkan Route”. Arriving in Passau during the winter of 2015 along with the 3,300 new university students were up to 10,000 refugees – women, men and children. Many stayed in the region or returned later. In summer 2016, it was estimated that around 1,500 migrants from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq were living in Passau and its surroundings.

Since then it has been possible to observe in Lower Bavaria what the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz and others observed especially in major Western cities such as New York or London in the early-1990s: the city is a place where all kinds of people meet. However, recent flight and migration movements have caused small and medium-sized German cities – where over half of the population lives – to become important nodes and interfaces. This was true especially for Passau, with its approximately 50,000 inhabitants, its geopolitical and socio-cultural significance as a border town and regional center, as well as its specific habit as a “middletown” (Schmidt-Lauber). Since September 2015, everyday life in the middletown of Passau has been negotiated in a way similar to life in the big cities of the future.

Passau has experienced large refugee and migration movements before: especially after 1945, but also during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, after the construction of the Berlin Wall, at the end of the GDR and with the arrival of Russian Germans in the 1990s. However with the



developments of summer and autumn 2015, the hinterland of the city was enlarged once again. The new mobilities triggered by the conflicts in the Middle East made Passau a space in which the city, because of social, economic and political interdependences, was linked to regions affected by war, and their people and societies. “Just as the past looms into our present, the presence of the far ‘there’ looms into our near ‘here’ (Massey 2006, 31), writes sociologist Doreen Massey, thus exactly describing the situation of Passau.

“If Arabs end up stranded in a Bavarian front yard, the world must be in disarray” (Coen and Sußebach 2015). The new mobilities caused by the violent conflicts in the Middle East have in recent years made the German town of Passau a base for many people from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq. This study analyzes the effects of refugee movements and migration in the Lower Bavarian town in terms of the concept of the “arrival city” (Saunders 2011, 7-11). The study is based on findings from participatory observation, conversations with volunteer helpers, students and other residents of Passau, intensive exchange with refugees and a discursive media evaluation. Has urban society experienced any transformations? What kind of changes have occurred both for long-term and new residents, whether to their life worlds, their networks and opinions or to the institutions and structures of the city?

Extended Abstract of:

Christine Egger, ‘Mobile World Passau. Stadt und Migration in Niederbayern’, *Mobile Culture Studies. The Journal* 2, 2016, 115-133. <<http://unipub.uni-graz.at/mcsj>>

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Cultural displacements and intellectual moorings

A conversation with Peter Burke

Abstract In October 2015, historian Peter Burke gave a conference in Graz¹ on “Exiles and expatriates in the history of knowledge”. Having started as a specialist of Renaissance, the theme of displaced people and knowledge makes up his forthcoming book². The days around that date saw the peak of refugees’ transit through Styria, an estimated 3000 people a day travelling North across the Slovenian-Austrian border. It is rare in intellectual life that a large scale social process happens in reach of scholarly workplaces, as it is rare that this coincides with a debate on the theme of displacement within the history of ideas. The accompanying use of an escalating language in media, which was using words like “Völkerwanderung” or “mass migration” aroused our interest in the relative size of the phenomenon. How will a historian reframe topical questions?

Keywords migration, displacement, history and memory, knowledge migration

1 Keynote by Peter Burke in “Dimensionen des Wissens – normativ : kreativ : subversiv”, Graz University, October 20th, 2015.

2 Peter Burke. *Gains and Losses* (forthcoming, 2017)



I

Justin Winkler: *The experience of the last months of the year 2015 often provoked the use of the word “mass migration”. Do we have historical bases for comparing the scales and assessing the importance of the respective migrations?*

Peter Burke: How big a migration does it have to be to be a ‘mass migration’? It was only hundred-and fifty thousand French Protestants who left at the end of the seventeenth century, and they were spread between three countries, England, Prussia, and the Dutch Republic. Each of those places had a population of several million, and so they were getting about fifty thousand migrants in a relatively short time, five to ten years. If that is a mass migration, then that would be a parallel to explore.

Currently an “old” vocabulary reappeared in all political shades that insinuated large scale onslaught, by using the term “Völkerwanderung”.

“Völkerwanderung” is baldly “Barbarian Invasion” in English... We have to look way back, to the end of the Roman Empire, or the early Middle Ages or to c1000, when the Magyars arrived in Hungary, in order to find entire peoples migrating in Europe. Don’t forget that the coining and use of “Völkerwanderung” is a 19th century concept that opposed uncontrolled conflict-laden migrations of a dark age to the enlightened nation-state.

The historical phenomenon led to a politico-cultural redefinition of the territories formerly commanded by the Roman Empire. Take the Anglo-Saxon advance in the second half of the first millennium. Historians will check to what extent the Anglo-Saxon class has displaced the Celtic “autochthonous” Britannic population, and if they have been acting from a cultural tabula rasa or eventually have adopted certain traits from the remaining “Anglians”. A famous study by the archaeologist Cyril Fox¹ of 1932 noted that the Angles and Saxons drove the Celtic inhabitants into the hills in the North (Scotland) and West (Wales) where they remain to this day. Similarly the Varangians in the Rus who have been assuming mores and language of the Slave population.

The vocabulary of the “mass” always has a declamatory side; it is kind of a battle cry. What terms would fit better than “mass migration”?

If one wants to study how people in the host country react, then one must remember the fact that the migration is not evenly spread over a whole country but is concentrated in certain cities and sometimes in certain parts of certain cities. And it is there where problems arise, where the locals feel they are being drowned by the newcomers – which is true on the micro scale even though on the macro scale these are not large numbers, London used to have a Little Italy, used to have a Little Germany. Today, there is Leicester, which is half Asian; Bradford is forty percent Asian. The problem in Bradford is that newcomers almost all come from the same area, a small town in Kashmir that provides a disproportionate number of the Pakistani migrants.

¹ Cyril Fox. *The Personality of Britain. Its influence on inhabitant and invader in prehistoric and early historic times* (Cardiff: National Museum of Wales, 1932)



And so, people who have been living sixty years on a street will remember when it was all English speakers, and suddenly they see that they live in a foreign country, the foreign country has arrived and surrounds them.

Refugee camps of enormous size exist in Lebanon and Turkey, similar in size to the ones in Africa, along the Chad-Sudan border, that we tend to forget. Is packing refugees together into camps a rather new phenomenon?

I haven't indeed come across anything like that from before the twentieth century. I don't think governments felt they had had any responsibility for who came into the country, in an age when people didn't need passports. So, the newcomers were free, but then of course nobody was going to help them and they had to make a new life on their own. The first government intervention I know is when in the United States it was decided they would look at everybody on Ellis Island² before they let them through. There is nothing like that here in the UK. Like so many things passports were thought of as being temporary but became permanent.

The term "displaced" persons was invented shortly after 1933³ and became commonly used shortly after 1945. Previous waves of "migrants" were not called that. For centuries refugees have thought that their situation was just temporary, in that sense they are in denial. After a few years they realise that they do not have much chance of going back, but still they do not like being called "refugees". Some say, "I am not a refugee, I am an exile", some say, "I am not an exile, I am an emigrant".

Was this terminology imposed by the host nations?

Yes, in more recent times. The term "refugee" was coined in the late seventeenth century in English and French, by the people *themselves*, because they were taking refuge. But now, it is true, it is official organisations that create the vocabulary. However, within the group there can be differences. There was a rather good television series about Asians in Britain, made by an Asian director.⁴ He staged a conflict between generations in which the father says "we're Pakistanis", and the sons say "we're not Pakistanis, we're British, we were born here". So he feels one thing and they feel the other inside the same family, and they use a different vocabulary because of this.

We were talking about scales as a matter of perception and representation of migratory movements. Compared to the overall forced mobility in the Near East and Central Africa, but a small percentage makes it to Western Europe. Not a few "experts" try to appease anxious citizens by saying that only the best would get through to us.

2 Ellis Island NJ in function 1892-1954; after 1924 a detention and deportation processing station.

3 Although the term is ascribed to E. Kulischer in 1943, a *List of Displaced German Scholars* was published in London in 1936 already.

4 *Goodness Gracious Me*, on BBC Two, 1998 to 2001.



It depends what they mean by “best”. The migrants probably have to be more adventurous than the average person. Historical studies of certain migration movements in the past by people who went from England to the United States – which was not the United States yet – in the seventeenth century, show that migrants were more literate than average. And that might mean that it was easier for them to imagine an alternative way of life. As for statistics today, the Poles who have arrived in the UK over the last two decades were more highly skilled than the average level in Poland, and more highly educated. I think half of them have been to university – not half the Polish population has yet been to university. So, that may be what you mean by “best”:

Philosopher Bernard Andrieu reminded of the potential of skills and knowledge that arriving people carry with them, formal professional skills, but also informal skills in mobilities due to having travelled under excruciating conditions.⁶ Do we have evidence of skilled migrants from the past?

There have been major skilled migrations, the most famous one in English history, I think, was when the French Protestants arrived in the late seventeenth century. There were many silk workers and people who made clocks and watches, there were silversmiths, and these were highly skilled workers who were very much in demand and made a contribution to the British pre-industrial economy which was going to become industrial a century later. Of course it was a skill drain from France, and people knew this at the time, just as when Spain expelled the Moriscos, the people of Arab origin (although they were officially Christian), 300'000 of them were expelled at the beginning of the seventeenth century. And people were aware that this was to be going to be bad for Spain economically. But the Spanish in the early seventeenth and the French in the late seventeenth century officially said that this was a price worth paying, because we are a Christian country.

There is also the struggle, the competition for employment. The French who arrived in London in the seventeenth century and the Irish who arrived in the nineteenth century were unpopular among other people trying to practice the same crafts. Highly skilled immigrants were of course a threat for established professions; if you were an English silk-weaver you did not welcome all these highly skilled Frenchmen.

5 See echo from an OECD survey, mentioning “One education source said: ‘Polish parents who come to the UK say they cannot believe how easy the national curriculum is compared to what they are used to.’” Steven Swinford, ‘Poland is leading the way for England’s schools’, in *The Telegraph*, January 19, 2015, URL <<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/education/educationnews/11355797/Poland-is-leading-the-way-for-Englands-schools-Education-Secretary-says.html>> [accessed 2016-01-16] ; “The stock of the migrant population more than doubled from 1993 to 2013. [...] India is the most common country of birth among the foreign-born, but Poland tops the list of foreign citizens in the UK.”, says *The Migration Observatory at University of Oxford*, URL <<http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/migrants-uk-overview>> [accessed 2016-01-16]

6 Bernard Andrieu. ‘La migration des savoirs des migrants’, *VEI Enjeux* 123(12/2000), pp. 118-126.



Today, Western Europe is definitely made up of a secular society. When currently islamophobic emotions are aroused by media and politicians, this cannot build on strong confessional Christian beliefs: those who behave islamophobic are no longer substantially Christian⁷.

It does not matter whether the West Indian arriving in the UK are Christian, they are not treated better than the Muslims when they come. People who dislike the migrants dislike them because they are “different”, because they have a “different” culture. I think even UKIP here does not talk much about Christianity, it talks about ‘England for the English’⁸.

Ironically, the immigrants are leading to a kind of revival of Christianity in the UK. It is not the Anglican Church, though, that is reviving. The Poles go to the Catholic church, the West Africans found their own, usually Pentecostal, churches. But it means that a greater number of people are going to churches of some kind on Sunday than thirty years ago.

Today, religion is not as decisive as in the past, when a prince made it his political principle. “Islamophobia” is rather a disguise for other goals. I am not sure that I agree. Religion is part of a package of differences in clothing, food, skin colour, customs etc. For some inhabitants of London, Paris, Zurich etc, to see a mosque opening in ‘their’ city is a shock (think of the recent minaret controversy in Switzerland). We state indeed that in this debate we become more Christian. But although we observe that churchgoing practice is increasing in recent years – in every religious segment equally – this doesn’t mean that religious differences constitute a line of conflict. At issue is “difference” and “making difference”.

There is often kind of a book keeping of gains and losses in migratory movements, politically intended to soothe concerns. But is book keeping on cultures, knowledges and practices ultimately possible?

It is book keeping metaphorically, because you cannot quantify it. You can simply say there are gains and losses which we cannot weigh properly. At a personal level there is lot of loss. People have lost their identity because they are in a totally strange culture. They have lost their original occupation and they might not be able to find a job doing what they did. You may be a professor at home but you may be a taxi driver in the new country. There is nostalgia for the homeland, there is the problem of learning the new language.

There is a difference with generations, too. For people who are going to migrate aged fifty or sixty it is not reasonable to expect them to change their habits very much or even to learn

7 A brief review of German internet fora shows that “islamophobes” are easily equated with “bad Christians”. It is more complicated in the case of France, where laicism is considered the basis of the nation state: “Le Front national accuse les musulmans non pas d’être de « mauvais chrétiens » mais de « mauvais laïques » et donc de « mauvais Français ».” See Vincent Geisser. 2011. ‘L’islam au tribunal de l’identité’, in *Témoignage Chrétien, politique et société*, January 6, 2011, URL <<http://temoignagechretien.fr/articles/politique-societe/lislam-a-tribunal-de-lidentite>> [accessed 2016-01-17]

8 *Christian Soldiers of UKIP* express what Christian minded people expect from UKIP: “Some Christians of a conservative persuasion have been drawn to UKIP due to its support of tradition. They see the party’s defence of British values – rooted in Christianity and democracy – as being admirable”, they assume that the party would act against secular liberalism and follow its stance against same-sex marriage. See: Christians in Politics. 2016. ‘Christian involvement in UKIP’, in *Show up, Guide to UKIP*, URL <<http://www.christiansinpolitics.org.uk/showup/showup-parties/guide-to-ukip/>> [accessed 2016-01-17]



much of a new language. But it is the next generation, above all the children, who are going to school in the host country, who are going to make the transition without anybody forcing them. We must not be in too much of a hurry.

Who is, in the end, gaining, who is losing?

From a personal point of view it seems that loss is predominant, but for the country as a whole the gains in skills and knowledge are very considerable. And as far as employment is concerned it seems that migrants do certain kinds of job which the natives don't want to do: the English don't like to be waiters in restaurants, but in which restaurant can you go in Cambridge and *not* find a lot of migrants as waiters – Indians, Italians, Poles. And the agricultural workers too. If it wasn't for the eastern Europeans who take the plane over to come and pick strawberries or whatever it is, farmers would have a real problem. In agriculture you can't find English people who would do the job, partly because what the farmers pay is not big enough an incentive. But the difference between the level of income here and the corresponding level in Poland makes it worthwhile for the Poles to come and do it.

From some countries there has been a tradition of migration to a particular foreign country, which means that it is easier for new people to migrate because there is a community speaking their language already established. However, there is no tradition of Syrians coming here. So it is going to be much harder for them. And the fact that there is a Muslim community doesn't necessarily help, because there isn't such a great solidarity between Muslims speaking different languages, to say nothing of the difference between Sunni and Shia ... For Syrians who escape to Lebanon or Turkey it is easier.

You do not have to believe that the immigrants have to be completely assimilated and become Englishmen with a different skin colour. If a democracy is going to work the citizens must know about at least the political organisation of the country of which they are going to be citizens with votes. I think, England has gone too far with the citizenship test. I had a look at it: I would fail it myself. There are, in 2015, dozens of questions about sport which I do not take an interest in – questions that are not necessary for being a good British citizen. What we do need to know is that there is a House of Commons, a House of Lords, that there are parties called the Labour Party, and the Conservative Party and so on. So, I am a minimalist, in this sense, that for the country to function harmoniously the people who stay long enough to become citizens do need a certain minimum of knowledge. They need a certain minimum of English, but it does not mean that they have to speak it at home, as Labour Home Secretary David Blunkett⁹ some fifteen years ago recommended – I am happy to say to the shock of many English people who thought the government should not interfere with what goes on in peoples' houses.

9 Gaby Hinsliff. 'Speak English at home, Blunkett tells British Asians', *The Guardian* September 15, 2002, URL <<http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2002/sep/15/race.immigrationpolicy>> URL [accessed 2016-01-18]], referred to in Talbot, Mary, and Karen Atkinson, David Atkinson. 2003. *Language and power in the modern world* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), p. 271.



II

A couple of years ago, when discussing losses and gains of historiographic paradigms¹⁰, you were addressing the different and mutually exclusive perspectives and scales of history. How do history and memory as expressions of levels of historical knowledge relate to the horizons of tradition?

It is normal for memories to be more vivid at the level of village or family rather than the nation. Take the case of my late mother-in-law, born in Brazil of Italian parents. Her mother came from South Italy, a very catholic and conservative family, and her father from Tuscany, very anticlerical. And so, what she remembered were the stories of the family, it is understandable, she did not read histories of migration. I believe that this is the case not only for migration history, it's the way that people remember the past versus what they read in history books. We need the view from both sides, to understand something we need both the macro approach and the micro approach. And that was why a group of Italian historians had to invent micro history as a compensating opposition to the dominance of a macro sociological social history of peoples, most famous in German *Strukturgeschichte*, Wehler¹¹ and all that. I think that both are needed, unfortunately the historians who belong to the two groups often fight.

How do you address the incommensurable scales of history and memory?

To reconstruct the experiences of migration we need the micro approach. In collecting the statistics it is very interesting to know just how many people went from a particular place to another place. But then, to know what the move felt like is also important, and you have to use a totally different method to discover this.

I think that migration is perceived very differently in big countries and small countries. If you live in a place like the Netherlands which is small and relatively crowded, you feel invaded. But in Brazil people are much more relaxed about migration, partly because there is actually a lot of space. And they put up monuments to migrants, which you do not get very often in Europe. Probably they are paid for by the descendants of the migrants, but they are put up in public places, a monument to the Ukrainians in Brazil, for example. There is a discussion now whether there should be a monument in London for the ship the *Empire Windrush*¹² which brought the first West Indians to England after the Second World war. But still it has not happened. And if it happens, it is likely not to be in the centre of London, they will probably put it in Vauxhall¹³.

10 Peter Burke. 'Paradigms Lost: From Göttingen to Berlin', *Common Knowledge* 14(2) 2008, pp. 244-257.

11 Hans-Ulrich Wehler, 1931-2014, author of *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. 5 Bände, C.H. Beck, München, 1987-2008.

12 HMT Empire Windrush has brought one of the first large groups of post-war West Indian immigrants in 1948 from Jamaica to London. British Caribbean people who came to the United Kingdom in the period after World War II are occasionally referred to as the "Windrush generation".

13 Vauxhall is a district along Thames River in London's ethnically mixed Lambeth borough. – In 1998 the Windrush Consortium has placed at the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the event a memorial plaque at the Pitzhanger Manor Museum, Walpole Park, Ealing. See Danya Bazaraa. 'Walpole Park Windrush Memorial re-dedication ceremony', in *getwestlondon*, June 20, 2014, URL <<http://www.getwestlondon.co.uk/news/local-news/walpole-park-windrush-memorial-re-dedication-7299135>> [accessed 2016-01-16]



Language is as often essential as religion or occupation for outlining a diaspora. You mentioned how craftsmen were settling in proximity of one another, eventually resulting in ethnically and professionally specialising suburbs. What prompted the emergence of such clusters?

This differentiation is linked to chain migration where people follow relatives, friends and neighbours into the place that the first people had migrated: You need to know somebody to start with. And you may practise the same occupation as the person in whose house you live and whom you knew in your village back home. And so you get these clusters. In the eighteenth century in Paris many chimney-sweepers came from Savoy, they simply took over that occupation. In London, to day car-washing is very often done by people from Eastern Europe. We have a flat in London where it is Albanians who have the local car-wash. It is very explicable; it may create a problem, in the sense that because they live together the newcomers are more visible. And that disturbs the older inhabitants more than if they came one by one and were more scattered over the city. But for the migrants this is a strategy of defence and survival, you feel safer if the street is occupied by people from your home country speaking your language. More than two hundred and fifty first languages are spoken by children in London schools now.

Recently, an Arab friend said, “You [Europeans] have already had your religion wars, we [Muslims] need another 300 years in order to arrive in your cultural position”. Is this a debatable everyday understanding of “history”, or is it a legitimate comparison of assumedly asynchronous series of events?

The hostility between Sunni and Shia goes back quite a long way. But there are interesting analogies with the Protestant reformation of the 16th century and the Muslim reformation today, analogies which a number of scholars have pointed out. Especially the role of new media which allow the participation of ordinary people in religious debate. In protestant Europe it was the new printing press. And today in the Muslim world it is the video of lectures or sermons. Because people can play the video at home and then they are discussing, they are not simply following what the Imam says, but they are discussing themselves who is a good Muslim and who is not. But I don't want to link that change to the violence because I think that the history of the violence is much older – though much more acute now – than your friend was suggesting. Muslims were fighting Muslims in the past for religious reasons.

If you are thinking of the Syrians, it is necessary to give them a few years. Because you don't know months after you arrive what kind of life you are going to have, but in ten years' time maybe.

Whilst history humbly explores concrete cases, the grand universalistic human rights' discourse seems to have re-gained momentum. Is this more than compensatory wishful thinking?

It is a big problem, because there are these two traditions of thinking which were very well analysed by Karl Mannheim¹⁴ who talked about the French tradition of universalism culminating

14 Karl Mannheim. *Ideology and utopia. An introduction to the sociology of knowledge* (London: Routledge & Kegan 1952 (1936))



in the rights of man in the French revolution, and the German tradition of local knowledge, particularism, historicism. It is controversial now, because after the Second World War the UN took this French universalism on board. There is a reaction in so many parts of the world, saying that human rights are an imposition of western culture on other cultures. Should things like female genital mutilation and burning witches in Africa be outlawed, whatever the culture? There is no easy solution.

Chakrabarty⁵ has coined the term of “Provincialising Europe”, asking for a more multi-sided perspective. Wouldn’t this compromise all universal concepts?

That’s right. I think people in the Reformation had a solution. Philip Melanchthon had this idea of *adiaphora*, *things that are not important*. There are many situations in which we can just accept cultural difference. But there are a few situations in which we cannot. Although it is arrogant to say that you represent a generic human point of view as supposed to the point of view of your culture you have to make a stand against stoning to death or whatever. But for the rest, let people follow their own customs.

III

Imagine: a philanthropic Fund with good intentions and least hidden agenda grants five doctoral theses in a historical anthropology of movement(s). As its scientific adviser, which themes would you like to impose?

If I were a scientific adviser I don’t think I would recommend the money be spent on individual PhD projects when it could be spent on a multidisciplinary team, which would have historians, anthropologists, sociologists, geographers, economists. The strategy would be comparative: history and sociology of migration today is a wonderful subject to study comparatively. You study people who come to the same place but come from different cultures; or people from the same culture who go to different parts of the world. It’s the nearest to laboratory conditions that the historian could hope for. In the end of the nineteenth century the Italians went to North and South America, to Australia: how were they received in these different places? You do need a collective investigation because it is just too much for individual students. The most they could do would be to study Italians (say) in two cities in two different countries.

And then they would have to combine the macro approach how many skilled people, how many women, younger or older people – combine all that with oral history interviews or the study of letters home to reconstruct the experiences of migration, what it felt like to arrive in a new country, how people were treated, whether they made friends outside their language group.

Great opportunities have been lost in oral history. I am now interested in the scholars who migrated after Hitler came to power and came to this country. I knew quite a number of them. In the sixties there were so many of them and one could have interviewed them. For the book I

15 Dipesh Chakrabarty. *Provincializing Europe : postcolonial thought and historical difference* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000)



am writing, by accident I have been to interview Mikuláš Teich¹⁶, because he has had the good fortune to live to 97 and still to be very lucid. He used to teach history of science. He heard of my seminar “Exiles in the history of knowledge” and he wrote to me saying, could he see my script, because he couldn’t come to the talk, being unable to walk well anymore. He was a double exile: he left Slovakia in 1939 because he was Jewish. Then, he was a communist, he went back after 1945, he was close to Dubcek, so he was out again in 68 and he never went back except for a visit. It was fascinating to talk to him, but I never planned a set of interviews and it is really too late for oral history. It would have been a great thing to do in the sixties. So many highly articulate people, a few were persuaded to write an autobiographical essay, texts which I have been using, but asking particular questions would have led further. But it is too late.

In France, for instance, “national” intellectuals (philosophers, anthropologists) have a stage when important political issues are up for debate. Charlie Hebdo and the November attacks are examples. Is there anything comparable in other countries?

The intellectual has less status here and is less likely to be asked to give his own views on a public issue just because he is a well-known academic scholar. The danger of the French approach is that there is pressure on certain people to make public statements on subjects they don’t know about. That happens in Italy and Brazil a lot.

In Brazil a historian like me gets asked by a journalist to make comments on who should be the next governor of São Paulo – I always avoid that kind of question. During Nine-eleven we were in Recife in North-east Brazil, working in an archive. The archivist came and said “you have got to come and look at the television”. The next day somebody from the newspaper interviewed me and asked “Is this a major turning point in history?”. But in England there is no chance of such an interview. Some people like Bertrand Russell give themselves this role of a public intellectual, but they have to work hard to do it. Where intellectuals have something to contribute – because they have special knowledge of something, like e.g. a specialist of the Middle East – that is good. But where there is pressure on somebody just because he is well known just for something, to talk about another thing, I am sceptical. My friend Carlo Ginsburg has this nice word, he says he doesn’t want to be a “tuttologo”¹⁷.

Is there an idea that scholars could have a mission in supporting initiatives, a mission to fulfil in civil society in times like the present?

Yes – and there is a whole group of historians, a bigger group than you might think in the case of the UK, who decides to specialise in the history of another country. For this, to start with you need to go to the other country to look in the archive. But then, you are living in that country for years, and to make good use of the archive you need to understand the culture. The first time I went to Italy I didn’t realise that when Italians say ‘no’ they don’t mean ‘no’ in the

16 Mikuláš Teich, Slovak science historian. See the autobiographical account by his wife, historian Alice Teichova (1920-2015), and him: Alice Teichova and Mikuláš Teich. *Zwischen der kleinen und der großen Welt: Ein gemeinsames Leben im 20. Jahrhundert*. Autobiografie, *Damit es nicht verlorengeht*, bearbeitet von Gert Dressel und Michaela Reischitz (Wien: Böhlau, 2005)

17 There is an ironical turn in the use of the word, considering *un personaggio tuttologo*, a pretended know-it-all.



sense the English would, it is more of an invitation to negotiate. I formulated this contrast: in northern Europe the rules are relatively rational, but they are rigid; in southern Europe they are often absurd, but nobody takes them seriously. And that gives you more flexibility. They say, you can't have these documents, they are being restored; then you say, but there are a hundred volumes, you are not naturally working on them all at once. Then they smile and say, I will go and have a look, and they bring you something.

British historians work on German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian history, not to mention Indian or African history. If they didn't do because they were already interested in other cultures they become interested through these prolonged encounters.

Would historians as ambassadors of other cultures make a substantial difference with colonial attitudes?

I think so. There are immigrant intellectuals. Most of them decide that they will mediate between the culture of their homeland and the culture of the host land. Culture is one thing that they can bring with them, if they do not have any other luggage. A few adventurous ones, especially the ones who came in as teenagers, decide that they will specialise in the culture of the host land, looking at it from a different point of view: Eric Hobsbawm¹⁸ is a good example. He left Vienna when he was 16, he had just time to go to school in England and pass the exams to go to Cambridge. And these people often have, as one of them calls it, "bifocal vision"¹⁹: Fritz Stern was twelve when he went to the United States. He said that he looks at Germany with American eyes, but he looks at the United States with German eyes. A certain detachment makes academics more original. They haven't been brought up in the conventional wisdom of the host land. They may take up a position that this conventional wisdom is actually wrong. Lewis Namier²⁰ wrote English history, the history of the English Parliament, but he didn't believe in the importance of Whigs and Tories, he undermined the English myth about themselves. He was a real outsider, because Niemirowski, as he originally was, was from Poland, but he was an outsider in Poland because he was Jewish, and he was an outsider among the Jewish community, because his father was a landowner. That meant he was going to have an original take on everything. He tried to become English in a way; he was very pleased to have a knighthood in his adopted country. But he still never saw things in a way that the English did.

How can this originality be sustained in an age that no longer honours polymaths?

My first job was at University of Sussex. I volunteered to go there because they were interdisciplinary. And I felt at Oxford I had been forced to specialise too much, despite having a good

18 Eric John Ernest Hobsbawm (1917-2012)

19 Fritz Richard Stern (1926-2016). "I mention McCarthyism to suggest that no country is completely safe from political unreason; some countries have stronger habits of resistance than others. I mention it as well to suggest that perhaps I gradually acquired something like a bifocal view – others might call it impaired vision: I tend to see things German also with American eyes, and things American also with German eyes." Fritz Stern. *Five Germanies I have known*. Uhlenbeck lecture 16, 12.6. 1998 (Wassenaar: NIAS), p. 14. URL <http://www.nias.knaw.nl/Publications/Uhlenbeck%20Lecture/16_Fritz%20Stern>

20 Lewis Bernstein Namier, born Ludwik Bernstajn Niemirowski (1888-1960)



traditional historical training. It was very exciting to have these joint seminars with people in other disciplines, including sociology, but not anthropology: I was interested, but the anthropologists were not. They are more tribal, you know, the sociologists are more open to interlopers like myself from history. One day, I borrowed the book by Malinowski²¹ from the university library and I was walking along the path and met the anthropology professor. He looked at this book in my hand and he said, “We anthropologists don’t believe in this any more”. Which may be true, but although we were quite friendly, the subtext was “What are you doing, you’re invading my discipline”.

You mention Sussex, which has been one of the young plate-glass universities and had a reputation of a radical atmosphere. How much did innovation depend on detachment from the ancient structures?

A number of universities had an exciting first decade in which there was a lot of contact between teachers in different disciplines. That would go back to the new universities like Chicago and Johns Hopkins in the late 19th century, and in France it would include Strasbourg, when it became French, because it was composed of totally new people after 1919. In this favourable situation the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs went to history lectures and the historian Lucien Febvre went to sociology lectures. But you can’t keep this up when the university becomes bigger.

Is this a plea for the “periphery”?

The periphery can be a place of freedom. When the Soviet Union existed, Lotman²² being where he was, far from Moscow, it was possible for him to do things more freely and invent his version of semiotics in peace, in Tartu.

I used to have a talk at the beginning of the year to my doctoral students and I used to say, this is a marvellous time to learn more languages and you will find the first half dozen are the most difficult, then you get used to it. And then there was a year when I had two students and they didn’t even smile. I eventually discovered that one was from Estonia, the other from Latvia. They knew eight languages each already, so of course they did not know what I was talking about. Only a million people speak Estonian, so they realise very quickly that if you want to communicate with the world, you learn other peoples’ languages because they aren’t going to learn yours.

21 Bronisław Malinowski. *Argonauts of the western Pacific. An account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (Prospect Heights Ill: Waveland Press, 1984 (1922))

22 Juri Lotman (1922–1993)



Encounters with a Syrian

How two worlds converge

Lisa Eidenhammer und Omar Khir Alanam

Abstract Two people, from two different cultural backgrounds, with two different pasts, meet each other. The following article deals with the process of these two people's becoming acquainted. Two years ago, Omar Khir Alanam was forced to leave his native Syria; he eventually arrived in Austria. In the spring of 2015, we met in Graz. We got together frequently, talked about everyday life and Syrian food. However, we never talked about our pasts. After a van attack in Graz on 20 June 2015, in which three people were killed and several badly injured, we became aware of how differently this affected us. Only then, after this horrible incident, did our individual pasts which colored our perceptions of the event become a major topic of interviews and discussions. During the process, the research took on a dialogic character. Only the mutual interest in the seemingly foreign enabled us to understand each other.

Keywords intercultural encounters, Syria, Austria, violence, the Self and the Other, dialogic research



therefore also over me. The *Multikultiball* – a ball with international guests and artists that takes place every year – that was to have taken place that evening, and where our choir was to have sung was cancelled. Omar, who is a member of the choir, was the only one who did not know that the town hall had cancelled all events in town. He had come from Gratkorn, a suburb of Graz, especially for the occasion. So I invited him to our place for tea. It was an absurd moment when we spoke face-to-face. I was shocked by the van attack, in contrast to Omar, who was slightly astonished by my reaction. In Syria, violence and crime had been part of everyday life. Nonetheless, he understood that such events were a grave exception and respected my reaction.

The encounter occupied me for a long time afterwards. I kept asking myself why the situation had seemed so absurd. What do I know about Syria or the individual fates of the Syrian people? By then, I had known Omar for several months. Why had I not asked him about his past?

Four months later, we were sitting again in our kitchen. Omar had received his decision on asylum a few days before. Omar smiles most of the time, but that day a very wide grin was on his face. He had arrived, finally. In one of his prose poems, Omar writes that he can live and love here. Through his girlfriend, he can visit Syria and see “sad Damascus smile through her eyes”. That is one of her special traits, Omar explains.

On that day, I got the feeling that the time for just talking about Syrian food and customs was over. I wanted to seize the opportunity and talk to him seriously about the strange meeting we had had on the day of the van attack. I wanted to find out why we had differing degrees of emotionality and sense of the importance of the event. In our first topical interview, on 4 November 2015, he told me that he had seen so many people being killed – friends, children, older people and women – that the events of Graz did not shock him that much (Khir Alanam 2015a). Omar adds that before the war, it was a disturbing event when a young person died. Although he always despised the cruel incidents, the many deaths which the war had brought had in some way made it easier to bear the pain. The Syrian author Fawwaz Haddad (2014, 34f) explains this daily confrontation with death in a similar fashion. He claims that death has become a steady companion of the people and can strike at any moment. However, even though Omar was used to the daily news of people dying in his home country, he is far from accepting this or calling it “normal”. He told me that people who went out on the street to sing for freedom had been killed by the state police and the militia. According to him, 30 people die every day. Of course that fact that was not “normal” to him (Khir Alanam 2015a).

Haddad states that the Syrian people are currently living under the reign of a militia and do not have a democratically voted government. He illustrates this irregular political and social situation in Syria and points out that this is not the real Syria (2014, 31). Omar also told me how he had been arrested by the militia. Alongside with his cousin and his two uncles, he had been tortured in the most degrading way. They had been blindfolded, beaten and humiliated severely. For hours, they had been forced to kneel with their arms crossed behind their backs. Again and again, Omar recounts memories of this mistreatment. Omar was released within a day. His cousin and one uncle were released a month later. However, one of his uncles is still imprisoned. No cruelty seems unimaginable for the militia. It was hard for me to grasp the immensity of the difference of our two pasts. Nonetheless, our different experiences constitute



a major part of our respective everyday lives. In our continuing encounters, we have found not only contrasts, but also similarities that connected us – for example, our shared love of literature or simply laughing together.

Omar already speaks fluent German. I interrupt only occasionally, to clarify a foreign expression or to ask for more information on a specific topic. Frequently, he uses examples from literature and philosophy to illustrate his interpretation of certain proverbs. In order for me to get a better understanding of the current power system in his country, he told me about a Syrian stage director who had studied in France: Mustafa Khalifa. He had called Hafiz al-Assad a “donkey”. For this he had been sentenced to 13 years in prison. In all those years, the hardest part had not been to endure the constant beating, but to have been forced to thank the dictator for his liberation.

Omar is saddened by the ongoing war in his country. His dream of a revolution is over. War was never been the intention of anyone who had protested peacefully; the people who had sung and danced for freedom, bare-chested and with flowers in their hands. One of them had presented the soldiers with white flowers and had subsequently been arrested and killed. Omar told me that by cutting people’s throats, the soldiers demonstrate that they want to silence their voices. He explained that it is forbidden to raise your voice. Omar claimed that the government had educated them to be merciless. Recently Omar started to write poetry in German and composed the following poem:

Die Diktatur hat immer Angst vor der Liebe...
Die Diktatur will nicht, dass wir die Liebe lernen,
deshalb habe ich immer über die Liebe gesprochen und von ihr erzählt.
(Khir Alanam 2016a).

Dictators are always afraid of love...
Dictators don’t want us to learn about love,
That is why I always have spoken about love and told about it.

The risk of being conscripted was the main reason for Omar to flee. Many young men act in the same way because they do not want to be a part of this system. Omar interprets this as a good sign. According to him, they do not want to fight and kill, but to live a peaceful and good life (Khir Alanam 2015ab). Even though Omar’s dream of a peaceful revolution has been disappointed, his call for freedom has not been silenced.

For Omar, the revolution was an explosion of creativity. Suddenly, he had a host of ideas that he wanted to put to paper. The things that occurred to him were frequently quite contradictory, as in his life: Love, Death, Blood, Revolution, Social Wrongs and Freedom. Once, he wrote a text about the revolution and a friend put a melody to the lyrics. They went into the streets to sing their song together in company of other people. Omar wanted to be part of the revolution. It was very dangerous, but he wanted to show that all people are the same (Khir Alanam 2015b). He had written poems before the revolution, but the cry for freedom had sparked his sense of self-awareness in a much more intense way.



Audio file 1: 'Wir wollen sein', (Deutsch):
<https://soundcloud.com/user-655623594/wir-wollens-sein-deutsch>



Audio file 2: 'Wir wollen sein', (Arabisch)
<https://soundcloud.com/user-655623594/wir-wollen-sein-arabisch>
Icon: CC BY Plainicon, Online unter www.flaticon.com

A poem by Omar Khir Alanam in which he describes dream sequences. He tries to convey the message that the suffering of the Syrian people must come to an end and that freedom should be regained.

Developing dialogical research

After we finished our second interview, Omar remarked that next time I should talk about me. It was obvious to me that this field study was gradually developing in the direction of dialogical research. When I reflect on the research process, I realize that from the beginning there existed a dynamic of mutual interest. However, I had not been aware of this dialogical character from the start.² For me, Omar had ceased to be a mere interviewee. He was now a research partner.³ It was in our mutual interest to understand each other and to fully embrace the complexity of the issue.⁴

Our conversations often triggered strong emotions, ranging from anger, incomprehension of the unjust situation, and deep dismay concerning Omar's memories and the van attack in Graz, to optimism and cheerfulness. Repeatedly, our different approaches to literature, art, music or films sparked new discussions. In the field of arts, I want to mention the works of

2 There had been no preconceived connecting threads leading through the questions for the interviews. Only outlines, for the themes which should be covered, existed. Thus, there was a lot of space for free associations and improvisation (Sauer mann 1982, 147). Eventually, I realized that there was no sense in excluding myself from the study in order to take a, seemingly, objective point of view. According to Rolf Lindner, Cultural Analysis requires to think in relations (2003, 179). I was, and still am, part of this research, for it took both of our sides to produce the contradiction of that moment.

3 According to Sauer mann (1982, 151), in such a case it is crucial to disclose the dialogical character of the process as transparent as possible, in order to maintain the scientific assessment.

4 As Lindner (2003, 186) proposes, I wanted to involve myself with all my senses into the topic and fully set my mind on it. Or, as Bourdieu (1997, 782) put it, to achieve a relationship between active and methodical listening. Bourdieu claims that it combines complete frankness with the subordination of oneself to the uniqueness of the story.



the painters Wissam Al Jazairy and Tammam Azzam, as well as music by the singer Samih Choukeir and short films at the Syrian audiovisual arts NGO Bidayyat.

Schiffauer states that the experience of the Self and the Other are inseparably interrelated (1988, 255). As a result of the dynamic approach, we were constantly confronted with the issue of questioning ourselves as well as the other, in order to unravel the stories that had been spun around us. Hamid Reza Yousefi (2008, 41) argues that that encyclical hermeneutics, especially in the area of interculturality, provide a tool with which to respond to the mutuality of meeting others. It is about both sides: how do I perceive myself and how does the other perceive me? Interculturality should be committed to communication which promotes multi-dimensional thinking and rejects monocausal thinking. Yousefi states that you have to try to understand if you want to be understood (2008, 27). More important than completely understanding the other was the mutual respect with which we dealt with each other's stories. Moreover, it is a shared desire of both of us to add our voices to the ongoing debate about refugees. In other words, our throats should not be cut but release our voices to communicate with the people of our society and to challenge them to interact and communicate in their turn.

Syria, a complex reality

According to Bourdieu, revealing the mechanisms that make life painful does not mean solving them: "It takes more than that" (1997, 825). It is foreseeable that the people who try to escape from these mechanisms of violence in Syria will encounter extremes here in Europe when seeking asylum. In every place where human beings gather, there will be contrasts and similarities. It is a crucial task of cultural studies to draw attention to smaller shades and bigger contrasts and to highlight their complexity. Of course, conflicts or mechanisms are not solved by this. However, it leads to a more differentiated and, probably, more sensitive view of things; one becomes critically aware of the complexity of contrasts without over-generalizations and prejudice.

The essential difference between the van attack in Graz and the current situation in Syria is that while the van attack was an absolute exception, the war in Syria remains a daily reality in which several systems of power and violence are involved. The Syrian conflict has long ceased to be merely regional. Syrian civil rights activist and journalist Ali Atassi and producer Christin Lüttich (2014, 175) point out that the story of Syria also tells about the petrified international humanitarianism. A solution of the unfathomable conflict and the restoration of democracy drifts out of sight with every passing day in which the world does not act. Larissa Bender (2014, 10) also notes that the Syrian war has transformed into a proxy war, however, a war fought at numerous frontiers at the same time: Sunnites against Shiites, Saudi-Arabia against Iran, Turkey against the Kurds, USA against Russia, just to name a few. According to Bender, "The ones who suffer are the Syrian people who took to the streets against a brutal regime and who see how their power to decide on their future has been taken out of their hands entirely."

Omar Khir Alanam sung for freedom on the streets of Damascus. Today, on the anniversary of the revolution, he sings on the streets of Graz for freedom. He will not let his voice be taken away from him and he will not stop fighting for freedom. Like Sadik Al-Azm (2014, 19), a retired university professor of philosophy, Omar keeps insisting on the fact that the Arab Spring in Damascus started as a peaceful protest movement, and only after the extremism of



the regime turned into a violent confrontation with the police and the army. Omar could not see a future for himself in Syria, which is why he attempted the long and weary journey which finally led him to Austria. Here, he writes and has found a new home. Frequently, he puts his fears and sorrows into lyrics to get them from troubling his mind. Therefore, he feels most at home in his poems (Khir Alanam 2016b).

Conclusion

The process of the converging of two people from two seemingly different worlds is at the core of this article. On the day of the van attack in Graz, we became aware of our different perceptions of this act of violence. Gradually, we noticed that we were moving towards each other, despite our completely different experiences from our respective pasts, which tinted our perceptions of the event. We were both of the opinion that violence against innocent people, whether it be exceptional case or a systematic mechanism of violence, must always be condemned. Nonetheless, our emotions and perceptions were rather different. To Omar, who had himself experienced torture in Syria, violence had become a part of every day reality; to me, it remained extraordinary.

During the research process, a dynamic of mutual interest developed. Repeatedly, we revolved around a determination of the Self and the Other, and the feeling of wanting to understand the other as well as the desire to be understood in return. Several times we used art, music, literature, films etc. to find new impetus for our discussions, in which we gradually moved together, one step at a time.

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Mobilitätserfahrungen und Grenz-Infrastruktur

Bus-Stop Nickelsdorf 2015, eine Bestandsaufnahme

Michael Hieslmair und Michael Zinganel

Abstract

A video animation serves to characterise the mobilities and processes around the arrival of refugees at a border checkpoint. The municipality of Nickelsdorf (province of „Burgenland“) and the refugee arrivals in fall 2015 serve as field. The authors consider borders neither as simple thresholds nor as ramparts, but as socio-political places that de-mobilize or accelerate transit and sustained movement. The refugees'/migrants' routes in the Balkans coincide with the biographical mobilities of the bus drivers who transport the arriving people, traffickers are in connivance with customs officers, and infrastructures in proximity of borders boost or collapse in accordance with the changing border regimes. Transnational networks continue to operate in spite of routes and borders that are politically declared as being “closed”.

Video

<https://vimeo.com/196291205>



Keywords

Mobilities; trafficking; border regimes; check points; border crossing strategies



Die hier vorgestellte Animation ist die grafische Übersetzung der im Rahmen eines Forschungsprojektes gewonnenen Erkenntnisse über die Veränderungen am österreichisch-ungarischen Grenzübergang Nickelsdorf im Herbst 2015, als dieser kurzfristig zu einem Hot Spot des Managements der Flüchtlingswelle über die sogenannte Balkanroute wurde.

Die der Animation zugrunde liegende Zeichnung der Grenzinfrastrukturen basiert auf den Angaben des Bürgermeisters von Nickelsdorf, der maßgeblich in die Ereignisse involviert war.¹

Die Animation zeigt in einer zeitlich und räumlich verdichteten Darstellung die Abfolge der ‚Grenz-Erfahrungen‘ aus dem Blickwinkel von drei Busfahrern: dem Lenker eines Tourist_innenbusses, der die noch offenen Grenzen passiert; dem Lenker eines Busses mit Arbeitsmigrant_innen, der in den von der Flüchtlingswelle ausgelösten Stau gerät; sowie dem Lenker eines Busses, der explizit angefordert wurde, um Flüchtlinge vom Grenzübergang in die Notquartiere in Wien, zu den Bahnhöfen und später bis zur Deutschen Grenze zu transportieren. Mit der Schließung der Grenze zwischen Serbien und Ungarn endete nur wenige Monate später der Flüchtlingsstrom plötzlich und die Busfahrer konnten wieder ihre eingeübten Reise-Routinen und Rhythmen – nun aber stichprobenartigen Kontrollen ausgesetzt – fortsetzen.

Forschungsreisen im pan-europäischen Mobilitätskontinuum

Das Forschungsprojekt *Stop and Go. Nodes of Transformation and Transition* (2014-2016) war am Institut für Kunstgeschichte und Kulturwissenschaften der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien angesiedelt. Es hatte sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Transformationen von Halte- und Knotenpunkten entlang der Pan-Europäischen Straßenverkehrs-Korridore in einem geographischen Dreieck zwischen Wien, Tallinn und der türkisch-bulgarischen Grenze, zu untersuchen.²

Der Terminus technicus *Paneuropäische Verkehrskorridore* wurde bereits 1991 von den EU-Verkehrsministerien eingeführt. Er bezeichnete die bedeutendsten Verbindungen zwischen dem ehemaligen kommunistischen Osten und den Ländern West-Europas, deren Ausbau als eines der vorrangigen Ziele der EU-Erweiterung definiert wurde. Diese Korridore fungieren wie Magnete, die sowohl Dinge als auch Individuen anziehen, die sich auf ihnen bewegen, an ihnen anlagern und deren Erfahrungen und Erlebnisse in den Statistiken der Kontrollorgane, den News-Clips der Massenmedien, in den Alltags-Geschichten der Straßenbenutzer_innen und Anrainer_innen, und in Forschungsberichten und künstlerischen Arbeiten verzeichnet werden. Insbesondere an Knoten, an denen der Verkehrsfluss angehalten wird – wie Bus-Terminals, Logistik-Zentren, Autobahnraststätten, Märkten oder Grenz-Stationen – lassen sich sowohl die Kontroll-Strategien (supra-)staatlicher Institutionen und großer Unternehmen ablesen, als auch die Motive und Biographien der

1 Gerhard Zapfl, Bürgermeister von Nickelsdorf, Interview am 18.03.2016.

2 Das Projekt wurde vom Wiener-, Wissenschafts-, Forschungs- und Technologiefonds (WWTF) auf Basis einer Ausschreibung aus dem Jahr 2013 zum Thema „Public Spaces in Transition“ im Programm „Social Sciences and Humanities in Vienna“ gefördert. Leiter_innen des Projektes sind Michael Hieslmair und Michael Zinganel, die internationalen Forschungspartner_innen in Tallinn Tarmo Pikner und in Sofia Emiliya Karaboeva. Siehe dazu die Projekt-Homepage: <<http://stopandgo-transition.net>> [besucht am 26.10.2016]. Ein Paper zu den Thesen und dabei angewandten Methoden: Michael Hieslmair und Michael Zinganel, ‚Stop and Go. Nodes of Transformation and Transition‘, in *Digital Migration. Konstruktionen – Strategien – Bewegungen*, herausgegeben von Günther Friesinger, Judith Schoßböck und Thomas Ballhausen (Wien: edition mono/monochrom, 2016), pp. 149–166. Einen Zwischenbericht über das Forschungsprojekt bildet die vom Forschungsteam redigierte Sondernummer: *derive - Zeitschrift für Stadtforschung* 63/2016, Schwerpunkt: Korridore der Mobilität - Knoten, Akteure, Netzwerke, <<http://www.derive.at>> [besucht am 26.10.2016].



sie passierenden Akteur_innen. Dabei entsteht ein dynamischeres Modell von ‚polyrhythmischen‘ Ensembles³, die sich aus statischen Architekturen, mobilen Objekten und Individuen konstituieren, die abhängig von den täglich, wöchentlich oder saisonal wechselnden Rhythmen des Verkehrsflusses zu unterschiedlichen Nutzungsdichten anwachsen und schrumpfen. Solche Knoten sind keine singulären Entitäten, sondern Bestandteile eines Netzwerkes aus mehreren Knoten, die jeweils Stationen einer Tour von Individuen oder Objekten darstellen und sich mitunter von Nicht-Orten⁴ zu intimen Ankerpunkten im Alltag ihrer multilokalen Existenz verwandeln.

Der Einsatz von Kartographie und Comic sowohl als Kommunikationswerkzeuge im Forschungsfeld als auch als Darstellungsmethoden der Zwischenergebnisse unserer Forschungen folgte den Forderungen aus dem Feld der Mobilities Studies nach visuellen Darstellungsmethoden.⁵ Diese beziehen sich auf Gilles Deleuze und Bruno Latour, die Kartographie zur bestgeeigneten Methode zur Analyse von dynamischen Rhizomen oder Netzwerken aus menschlichen Akteuren- und nicht-menschlichen Aktanten erhoben haben.⁶ Aus dem Blickwinkel der Stadtforschung sind die Entwicklung einer universell verständlichen Bildsprache durch den Wiener Sozialwissenschaftler Otto Neurath von Bedeutung, der bereits in 1930 Jahren grafisch abstrahierte Zeichensysteme und comichaftige Darstellungen als Werkzeuge der Sozialforschung und Erwachsenenbildung etabliert und damit die Grundlagen für moderne Piktogramme und Verkehrsleitsysteme gelegt hatte.⁷

Flucht als Reisemotiv bildete dabei keineswegs den Forschungs-Schwerpunkt unseres Projektes. Flucht verstanden wir vielmehr als eines von vielen Mobilitätsmotiven und -modi in einem Mobilitätskontinuum,⁸ das vor allem vom alltäglichen Güter- und Personentransport auf diesen Korridoren geprägt ist, das aber den Transport legaler und illegaler Güter und Personen mit und ohne Papiere mit einschließt, deren Motive sich von touristischem Interesse, über Handels- und Geschäftsreisen, bis zu Migration und Flucht aufspannen.⁹

2013, als wir das Forschungsprojekt eingereicht hatten, waren Flüchtlinge aus Syrien noch kein massenmedial wirksames Thema obwohl schon damals längst tausende unterwegs waren. Stattdessen wurden von populistischen Politikern und Medien noch Schreckensszenarien einer Invasion von Migrant_innen aus Bulgarien und Rumänien verbreitet, die zwar 2007 zu Voll-

3 Michael Crang, ‚Rhythms of the City. Temporalised Space and Motion‘, in *Timespace. Geographies of Temporality*, edited by Nigel Thrift and Jon May (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 187-207; basierend auf Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis. Space, time and everyday life* (London: Continuum, 2004).

4 Marc Augé, *Non-places. Introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity* (New York: Verso Books, 2005).

5 Tim Cresswell & Peter Merriman (eds.), *Geographies of Mobilities. Practices, Spaces, Subjects*. (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011). Zu den Methoden vgl. Mimi Sheller, ‚Mobility‘. *Sociopedia. isa* 2011, <<http://www.sagepub.net/isa/resources/pdf/mobility.pdf>> [12.01.2016] Als ersten dokumentierten Hinweis auf die Anwendung unserer Methoden siehe: Michael Zinganel und Michael Hieslmair mit Tarmo Pikner, ‚Test Run – Stop and Go. Mapping Nodes of Mobility and Migration‘, in *Urban Place-making Between Art, Qualitative Research and Politics*, herausgegeben von Judith Laister und Anna Lipphardt, =*Anthropological Journal of European Cultures* 24(2) 2015, pp. 117–127.

6 Gilles Deleuze & Félix Guattari, *A thousand plateaus. Capitalism and schizophrenia*, translated and foreworded by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the social. An introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

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9 Vgl. Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).



mitgliedern der EU wurden, deren Bürger_innen aber erst 2014, nach dem Ende der siebenjährigen Übergangsfrist, endlich auch in Deutschland und Österreich legal einer Arbeit nachgehen durften. Die Route der imaginierten Invasion entsprach der sogenannten Balkanroute bzw. richtiger dem Bündel an Straßen, die Südosteuropa durchqueren. Wir beabsichtigten in unserem Projekt nicht, diese These einer Invasion zu stützen, sondern – im Gegenteil – die Normalität der multi-lokalen Existenz, des kontinuierlichen Unterwegssein und des sich Einrichtens im Transit zu dokumentieren. Dabei zählen für alle, die kein eigenes Fahrzeug besitzen, Kleinbusse und der transnationale Linienbusverkehr zu den bevorzugten Verkehrsmitteln, in denen sich zudem auch Güter in beträchtlichem Ausmaß mitführen lassen.

Für diese Busreisenden bildete – und bildet in der Gegenwart immer noch – der Internationale Busbahnhof in Wien einen bedeutenden Knoten. Aus unserem Blickwinkel war der Busbahnhof auch deshalb interessant, weil er heute an einem auf den ersten Blick äußerst unattraktiven Standort unter eine Autobahnbrücke angesiedelt ist und aussieht wie ein Nicht-Ort par excellence. Der Grund liegt darin, dass die Busbahnhöfe aufgrund des bis vor kurzem dominierenden Images von Busreisen als Verkehrsmittel einkommensschwacher Migrant_innen aus Südosteuropa von ihren bisherigen Standorten neben den innenstadtnahen Bahnhöfen weg-gentrifiziert wurden.¹⁰ Außerdem – so unsere These – ließe sich an diesem Busbahnhof nachweisen, dass es sich hier keineswegs bloß um einen geschichtslosen Ort handelt. Vielmehr treffen hier zu den Stoßzeiten sehr wohl unzählige mobile Akteur_innen mit Mobilitäts- und Migrations-Erfahrungen aufeinander, tauschen sich aus, wobei sich in ihren individuellen Geschichte/n die Transformationen in den Regionen entlang ihrer Routen widerspiegeln. Uns erschienen die Busfahrer der internationalen Linien als wichtige Akteure des Wissenstransfers, denn sie stammen aus der Nähe der Orte, die sie anfahren, kennen viele ihrer Stammkund_innen seit Jahren, und wissen was sich wie über welche Grenzen transportieren lässt. Auch die Fahrer des großen privaten österreichischen Busunternehmens Blaguss, das diesen Bahnhof betreibt, haben in der Regel Migrationshintergrund, sind selbst aus den Kriegshandlungen und vor den ethnischen Säuberungen im ehemaligen Jugoslawien oder vor deren wirtschaftlichen Folgen geflohen, oder sind die Kinder ehemaliger Gastarbeiter_innen oder Flüchtlinge.

Die Verkehrs-Spinne, das Netzwerk der transnationalen Bus-Routen, die von hier ausgehen oder hier zusammenlaufen, stellen die Verbindungen von Ziel und Quellregionen von Tourist_innen, ehemaligen Gastarbeiter_innen und ihrer Angehörigen, Pendler_innen und Arbeitsmigrant_innen dar. Der am stärksten frequentierte Strang führt aktuell über die A4 Ostautobahn nach Ungarn und entweder in Richtung Rumänien oder über Serbien weiter nach Bosnien und Bulgarien. Natürlich finden sich in diesen Bussen auch Personen, die von der Mehrheitsbevölkerung in Wien als unerwünscht angesehen werden: Bettler_innen, Prostituierte, Diebe und Personen ohne gültige Papiere.¹¹ Mehrheitlich sind mit den Bussen jedoch jene Dienstleister_innen unterwegs, deren bescheiden entlohnten Arbeitsleistungen den von einer überdurchschnittlichen Lebensqualität gekennzeichneten Alltag des Mittelstandes in Wien erst ermöglichen.

10 Friedrich Haberfellner, Leiter und Koordinator Vienna International Busterminal, Firma Blaguss, Interview am 28.04.2014.

11 Gerald, Tatzgern, Leiter der Zentralstelle Bekämpfung Schlepperkriminalität und Menschenhandel im Bundesministerium für Inneres, Bundeskriminalamt, Interview am 08.09.2016.



Grenzerfahrungen

Ungeachtet der Flüchtlingskrise wäre die Transformation des Grenzüberganges zwischen Österreich und Ungarn und die Geschichte der kleinen Grenzgemeinde Nickelsdorf eine eigene Untersuchung wert. Die Straßenverbindungen wurden sukzessive ausgebaut und das Verkehrsaufkommen auf die jeweils neue Route verlagert: Als die alte Bundestrasse noch mitten durch das Straßendorf geführt hatte, vorbei an alten Zollhäuschen und Schlagbaum, herrschte in den Wirtshäusern und Läden noch rege Geschäftigkeit. Die Straße wurde jedoch ausgebaut und ein moderner Grenzübergang weit außerhalb der Gemeinde errichtet, die 1996 schließlich durch eine vollwertige Autobahn ergänzt wurde. Während im ehemaligen Grenzdorf völlige Stille eingekehrt ist entwickelte sich der neue Grenzübergang mit den Autobahn-Auf- und Abfahrten beiderseits der Grenze und mit seinen noch moderneren Kontrolleinrichtungen zu einer sich scheinbar ungeordnet verdichtenden Agglomeration von Straßen und Gebäudekomplexen, einem für die moderne Mobilitätslandschaft typischen urbanen Archipel: Mehrere Tankstellen, Hotels und Motels, Restaurants und Märkte, teils als Themenparks gestaltet und gebranded (Paprika), Nachtclubs, Bordelle und Wettlokale, Kioske und LKW-Parkplätze entstanden entlang der jeweils neuesten Route, buhlten um die jeweils beste Lage und setzten sich – insbesondere auf der ungarischen Seite – einem harten Verdrängungswettbewerb aus. Wir hatten in unserem Forschungsprojekt jedoch andere Schwerpunkte gesetzt, andere Fallstudien vorgesehen, andere Grenzübergänge entlang unserer Routen für bedeutender gehalten und daher vorerst keine Kapazitäten frei gehabt.

Die in ihren Dimensionen unabsehbare Flüchtlingswelle vom Spätsommer und Herbst 2015 drohte alle Diskurse über Mobilität und Migration völlig zu überformen – so auch unser Forschungsprojekt, dem nun ganz besondere Aktualität zugesprochen wurde.¹² Wir beschlossen, den Grenzübergang Nickelsdorf – den wir auf unseren Rechercheisen bereits mehrmals passiert hatten – stärker in die Untersuchung mit einzubinden. Zu diesem Zweck organisierten wir im Dezember 2015 im Rahmen eines Workshops eine eintägige öffentlich zugängliche Bus-Exkursion, die am Internationalen Busbahnhof in Wien ihren Anfang nahm und nach dem Besuch anderer Knotenpunkte der Mobilität und Migration, anderer urbaner Archipele entlang der A4 Ostautobahn den Grenzübergang erreichte, wo uns der Bürgermeister Gerhard Zapfl zu all den Orten führte, an denen nur zwei Monate zuvor noch der enorme Zustrom von Flüchtlingen ganz ohne Vorbereitungen bewältigt werden musste.

Die Grenzübergänge entlang der Route unserer Forschungsreisen betrachteten wir – wie andere Haltepunkte auch – bis dahin bloß als Schwellen in der Mobilitätslandschaft, mit dem Unterschied, dass sich aus der Angst vor Kontrollen, Expertise zu deren Umgehung verkaufen ließ, und die Unterschiede von Verfügbarkeit und Preisen von Gütern und Dienstleistungen beiderseits der Grenzen boomende Grenzökonomien produzieren, die Akteur_innen anziehen und natürlich von anderen Akteur_innen im Transit genutzt werden.¹³

12 Beispielsweise von Andrea Braidt, Vizerektorin für Forschung an der Akademie für bildende Künste Wien, und Michael Strassnig, stellvertretender Leiter der Wiener Wissenschafts- und Technologie-Fond WWTF, anlässlich ihrer Ansprachen zur Eröffnung des Workshop und einer Ausstellung in unserem Projektraum vom 3. Bis 5.12.2015. <<http://stopandgo-transition.net/publication/conference-vienna>>

13 Vgl. Karl Schlögel, *Marjampole oder Europas Wiederkehr aus dem Geist der Städte* (München: Hanser, 2005); Yulian Konstantinov, 'Patterns of reinterpretation. Trader-tourism in the Balkans (Bulgaria) as a picaresque metaphorical enactment of post-totalitarianism', *American Ethnologist* 23(4) 1996, pp. 762-782.



Wir hatten vorerst kaum beachtet, dass Zoll und Grenzpolizei in den Grenzregionen bedeutende Arbeitgeber_innen sind. In fast jeder Familie in einem der Dörfer beiderseits einer Grenze hatte zumindest eine/r dort Arbeit gefunden oder arbeitete immer noch dort.¹⁴ Schmuggler_innen, die nicht mindestens eine_n Grenzbeamt_in persönlich und dessen/deren Dienstplan kennen, und die nicht wissen, wie viel Schmuggelgüter dessen/deren Toleranz erträgt oder kostet, gelten als inkompetent. Die Verlässlichkeit dieser sozialen Netze hat daher Einfluss auf die Wahl der Schmuggelrouten, um möglichst viele am Mehrwert mitverdienen zu lassen.

Das gilt nicht nur für den Schmuggel von Gütern, sondern auch von Menschen. Während der Flüchtlingswelle vom Spätsommer 2015 fuhren die allermeisten Flüchtlinge nicht etwa mit regulären und preisgünstigen Busverbindungen von der Türkei nach Bulgarien und dann innerhalb der EU weiter nach Wien. Viele wurden über die viel gefährlichere Route über das Mittelmeer nach Griechenland geführt, und von dort auf dem Landweg nach Mazedonien und nach Serbien. Aber die meisten, die es nach Bulgarien geschafft hatten, wurden wieder aus der EU hinaus nach Serbien geschmuggelt und dann nach Ungarn zurück in die EU. Dieses unnötig erscheinende Passieren zweier EU-Außengrenzen lässt sich nicht alleine damit begründen, dass die Grenze zwischen den beiden EU-Nachbarstaaten Bulgarien und Rumänien besonders stark kontrolliert wird (was tatsächlich zutrifft), sondern mit den über lange Jahre gewachsenen Netzwerken entlang der serbisch-bulgarischen und der serbisch-ungarischen Grenze, die zuletzt während der Jugoslawienkriege eine besondere Bedeutung erlangt hatten.

Von Ungarn aus passierten die Flüchtlinge den Grenzübergang bei Nickelsdorf, der seit der EU-Mitgliedschaft Ungarns 2004 ein innereuropäischer Grenzübergang und seit 2007 ein Grenzübergang zwischen zwei Schengen-Staaten, seit 2007 demnach eine offene Grenze ist, wo Kontrollen nur mehr in Ausnahmefällen stichprobenartig durchgeführt werden. Dementsprechend wurde die Infrastruktur zur Grenzkontrolle sukzessive auf ein Minimum reduziert und die riesigen Parkflächen für LKWs wurden entweder zu Brachland oder wurden für andere Nutzungen adaptiert.

Mobilisierung statt Kontrolle

Ab Juli 2015 wurden entlang der A4 Ostautobahn von der Grenze bis nach Wien immer häufiger und in immer größerer Zahl Flüchtlinge aufgegriffen, die von Schlepper_innen von Ungarn über die Grenze nach Österreich gebracht wurden. Am 27. August wurde ein auf dem Pannenstreifen der A4 Ostautobahn – nahe des Designer Outlet-Centers bei Parndorf, 22 Kilometer von der österreichisch-ungarischen Grenze entfernt – abgestellter Kühl-LKW mit 71 toten Flüchtlingen entdeckt, deren Leichen zur forensischen Untersuchung und Identifizierung in eine Kühlhalle am Grenzübergang gebracht wurden. Die Halle war ursprünglich zur Kontrolle von Lebensmittelimporten errichtet worden. Nur eine Woche später, ab 4. September, während die Leichen noch vor Ort gelagert waren, begannen täglich mehrere tausend Flüchtlinge aus Ungarn kommend am Grenzübergang einzutreffen. Zuerst wurden sie mit Sonderzügen der ÖBB zum Westbahnhof Wien transportiert und weiter nach Deutschland, später mit Autobussen und Taxis. Ab dem 16. September übernahm das Militär österreichweit die Koordination der Transportlogistik vom Grenzübergang zu den Bahnhöfen und Notunterkünften. Zu diesem

14 Gerhard Zapfl, Bürgermeister von Nickelsdorf, Interview am 18.03.2016; N.N., serbischer Gebrauchtwarenhändler, Niš, Interview am 12.03.2014.



Zeitpunkt waren bereits Busse des Militärs im Einsatz. Als diese ihre Kapazitätsgrenze erreichten, wurden vom Krisenstab¹⁵, der im Zuge der Ereignisse eingerichtet worden war, zusätzlich Busse eines privaten Unternehmens eingesetzt. Diese waren flexibler als die Sonderzüge, um die Flüchtlinge direkt an die jeweiligen Zieldestinationen zu bringen.¹⁶ Viele der Busfahrer stammten wie schon erwähnt aus den Nachfolgestaaten Jugoslawiens, ihre Familien hatten selbst die Erfahrungen von Migration oder Flucht gemacht.

Zur Bewältigung der Flüchtlingswelle wurden auch die seit dem Ende der EU- und Schengen-Grenze kaum genutzten Parkflächen und Grenz-Infrastrukturen reaktiviert und mit ephemeren Infrastrukturen aus der Katastrophen-Hilfe und Eventindustrie ergänzt. Der große Parkplatz vor einer ehemaligen Grenzland-Diskotheek und Raststätte auf österreichischer Seite diente als Wartezone für die angeforderten Busse, die von dort aus einzeln an die Grenze geschickt wurden. Der Veranstalter eines grenznahen Rockfestivals öffnete seine Backstage-Halle und die Festivalwiese als Zeltplatz zur Unterbringung von Flüchtlingen. An der Autobahn wurden der LKW-Parkplatz vor der überdachten Kontrollzone und der Raum unter dem großen Flug-Dach zur Erstversorgung der Flüchtlinge adaptiert. Auf der großen Asphaltfläche wurden später zwei große beheizbare Zelte errichtet. Diese mussten nicht mehr in Betrieb genommen werden, denn schon am 15. Oktober endete der Flüchtlingsstrom auf dieser Route. Die medial groß inszenierte „Schließung“ der Grenze zwischen Serbien und Ungarn durch die ungarische Regierung lenkte die Ströme nun auf einen anderen Strang der Balkanroute um.

In den kritischen Tagen waren die verantwortlichen Regierungspolitiker in Wien untergetaucht. Die an der Grenze zusammengekommenen Hilfskräfte und Kontrollorgane, die staatlichen eingeschlossen, reagierten in der Notlage und in Ermangelung von Anweisungen eigenmächtig, sie widersetzten sich den Regulativen des Dublin II Abkommens, indem sie nicht kontrollierten, sondern lediglich versuchten, die Menge an Flüchtlingen zu versorgen und gleichzeitig immer in Bewegung zu halten, damit es zu keinen Eskalationen vor laufenden TV-Kameras kommt.¹⁷ Die österreichische Willkommenskultur betraf mehrheitlich nicht das Bleiben der Flüchtlinge, sondern deren möglichst konfliktfreien Weitertransport nach Deutschland. Der reaktivierte Grenzübergang stellte im Herbst 2015 demnach nicht so sehr einen Ort der De-Mobilisierung dar, sondern vielmehr der Mobilisierung. Er offenbarte eine staatlich geduldete Strategie der ‚Weg-Mobilisierung‘, die Österreich mit anderen Ländern entlang der Flüchtlingsrouten teilte.¹⁸ Im Oktober 2016, zum Abschluss unseres Forschungsprojektes und genau ein Jahr nach der Flüchtlingswelle, wiederholten wir die Bustour zum Grenzübergang:¹⁹ Dort stellten wir fest,

15 Der Krisenstab bestand aus Vertretern des österreichischen Innenministeriums, des Militärs, der Österreichischen Bundesbahnen, und des Roten Kreuzes stellvertretend für alle beteiligten NGOs, der Wiener Magistratsabteilung MA70, und aus Vertretern der ÖBB-Postbus GmbH, sowie des größten privaten Busunternehmens Dr. Richard. Er war in der Verkehrs-Leitzentrale des ÖBB am Wiener Hauptbahnhof stationiert.

16 Oberst Wolfgang Mayerhofer, Kommando Einsatzunterstützung, Leiter Verkehrsführung und Transport, Österreichisches Bundesheer, Interview am 08.09.2016.

17 Gerhard Zapfl, Bürgermeister von Nickelsdorf, Interview am 18.03.2016.

18 Vgl. dazu einen Text über die Situation in Italien: Federica Benigni und Marika Pierdicca, ‘Keep Moving! Strategien der Wegmobilisierung als Teil des italienischen Migrationsmanagements’, *TRANSIT* 10(2), 2016. <<http://escholarship.org/uc/item/6gpl1jfn>> [besucht am 26.10.2016]

19 Die Bustour vom Samstag, den 8. Oktober 2016 war Teil des Rahmenprogramms unserer Abschluss-Ausstellung in der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien: <<http://stopandgo-transition.net/publication/roadregisters/>> [besucht am 26.10.2016]



dass auf dem großen LKW-Parkplatz am Areal des Grenzüberganges neue, solidere Kontrollinfrastrukturen aufgebaut wurden, eine große Anlage aus Containern mit Schaltern zur Aufnahme der Personaldaten von Einreisewilligen, eine weitere Anlage aus Containern mit Unterbringungsmöglichkeiten zur Festsetzung von Personen ohne Einreiseerlaubnis, de facto ein Schubhaftgefängnis, sowie vorgefertigte Absperrelemente, mit denen sich bei Bedarf innerhalb von wenigen Stunden ein solider Zaun mit Stacheldraht-Abschluss zu beiden Seiten des Grenzüberganges errichten ließe – Maßnahmen, die in den Worten des Bürgermeisters der Gemeinde Nickelsdorf „hoffentlich nie gebraucht werden“.²⁰

Für die kleine Grenzgemeinde war die Erfahrung mit der Flüchtlingskrise einschneidend: Das Ereignis brachte die zuvor unbedeutende und leicht zu übersehende Gemeinde in die Weltpresse, und die Anstrengungen für die Hilfsleistungen wirkten – so der Bürgermeister mit Stolz – äußerst positiv auf die Stärkung der Dorfgemeinschaft. Der Herbst 2015 wird daher in Zukunft in der kollektiven Erinnerung des Dorfes eine bedeutende Rolle spielen. Der Bürgermeister betonte, dass der vorübergehende Ausnahmezustand durch das Massenfluchtereignis in der Geschichte der kleinen Grenzgemeinde keineswegs einzigartig war: Während der Ungarn-Krise durchschritten im November 1956 180.000 Flüchtlinge die Gemeinde, und nach dem Fall des Eisernen Vorhanges im Herbst 1989 mussten hier 40.000 erschöpfte DDR-Bürger_innen erstversorgt werden. Auch die seit Oktober 2015 geänderten Flucht-Routen waren nicht neu: Die Strecke von Serbien nach Kroatien, Slowenien und über die Grenzübergang Spielfeld nach Österreich hat seit den 1960er Jahren als Gastarbeiterroute Eingang in die Mobilitäts- und Migrationsgeschichte gefunden. Auf diesen Routen kamen viele der Busfahrer nach Österreich, die im Herbst 2015 die neuen Flüchtlinge durch Österreich transportierten.

Wenn heute die gesamte Balkonroute als „geschlossen“ gilt, stimmt das nur bedingt. Wo auch immer die Fluchthelfer über Logistik und funktionierende Netzwerke verfügen, die mitunter staatliche Kontrollorgane einschließen, werden wie bereits vor der sogenannten „Krise“ diskret Waren und Personen ohne die richtigen Papiere die Grenzen passieren – gleichzeitig mit unzähligen anderen mobilen Individuen – „Forschungsreisende“ wie uns selbst mit eingeschlossen.

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20 Gerhard Zapfl, Bürgermeister von Nickelsdorf, Interview am 08.10.2016.



Mobilität, Migration, Gesellschaft: Umkämpfte Politiken der Klassifikation

Tagungsbericht

Céline Bobillon, Jan Lange und Sophie Petzelberger

„Mobilität, Migration, Gesellschaft: Umkämpfte Politiken der Klassifikation“, eine Tagung in des Labor Migration am Institut für Europäische Ethnologie der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin und der Kommission Tourismusforschung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Berlin, 9 bis 11. Juni 2016.

Die Tagung „Mobilität, Migration, Gesellschaft. Umkämpfte Politiken der Klassifikation“, haben von Regina Römhild (Berlin) und Johanna Rohlshoven (Graz) eingeladen. Sie bewegt sich thematisch im Spannungsfeld der unterschiedlichen Mobilitätsformate der „neuen Migrationen“ aus krisenbetroffenen Regionen Süd- sowie Südosteuropas sowie der Flucht- und Migrationsbewegungen von aus den Krisengebieten des globalen Südens in die Industriestaaten. Ein Anliegen der Tagung ist es, die Tourismusforschung in Verbindung mit Fragen und Konzepten der kritischen Migrationsforschung in einen weiteren Kontext zu setzen. Dabei wird das Kategorisieren in Bezug auf Mobilitätspraktiken und Grenzziehungen kritisch hinterfragt werden. Zentral ist zudem die Reflexion der Vortragenden über den Einfluss ihrer eigenen Forschungspraxis auf das Feld und die dort bestehenden Hierarchien der Gewalt.

Nach der Begrüßung der Teilnehmenden im Namen des Instituts für Europäische Ethnologie und der Kommission Tourismusforschung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde leitet Noel Salazar (Leuven) in die Problemstellung ein. Salazar diskutiert in seinem Eröffnungsvortrag die dynamische Spannung zwischen Prozessen der Mobilität und Immobilität im Kontext von Bildung, Arbeit und Freizeit. Er schlägt ein Arbeitskonzept vor, mit welchem durch konstante Neuinterpretation von Ideologien und Imaginarien das Regime der Migration kritisch beleuchtet werden kann.

Stefan Wellgraf (Frankfurt/Oder) betrachtet im ersten Vortrag des Panels „Genealogien von Mobilitätskategorien“ die Konstruktion nationaler Zugehörigkeiten in der Produktions- und Zirkulationsweise von Postkarten zwischen Brasilien und der Schweiz (1900-1930). Im Anschluss führen Katrin Lehnert (Berlin) und Barbara Lemberger (München) anhand historischer Beispiele für „unordentliche“ Spannungsverhältnisse zwischen mobiler und immobilier Gesellschaft das auf Isabell Lorey zurückgehende analytische Konzept der Un-Ordnung ein. Dieses macht Ambivalenzen und nicht zuzuordnende Praxen sichtbar. Laut Lehnert und Lemberger ist un-ordentliche Mobilität seit jeher konstitutiv für moderne Gesellschaft. Svenja Reinke (Berlin) untersucht in einem Oral-History-Projekt die Bedeutungsverschiebung von Kategorien der Mobilität und Sesshaftigkeit in der Kaliningrader Regionalgeschichte. Anna Friedrich (Berlin) zeigt anschließend, wie rassistische Diskurse in der Bundesrepublik Deutsch-



land restriktiver Regierungstechnik zu Grunde liegen. Durch die rassistische Argumentation kann effektiv die Mehrheitsgesellschaft reguliert werden und gleichzeitig werden Sozialleistungen für bestimmte EU-Bürger_innen eingeschränkt. So werden Rom_nja stark diskriminiert, obwohl sie als EU-Bürger_innen Freizügigkeit genießen sollten. Sowohl Anna Lipphardt (Freiburg) als auch Persefoni Myrtsou (Berlin/Athen/Istanbul) beschäftigen sich in ihren Vorträgen mit der Schnittstelle zwischen Kunst, Grenzen und Mobilität. Myrtsou stellt insbesondere die Frage nach sozialen und künstlerischen Praxen geflüchteter Künstler_innen im urbanen Raum der Städte Athen und Istanbul. Lipphardt hinterfragt ihrerseits die Chancen und Einschränkungen von Mobilität als metaphorische und praktische Überschreitung und Auslotung der Grenzen in der künstlerischen Praxis.

Zusammenfassend wird im ersten Panel die Relevanz der historischen Betrachtung von (Grenz-)Forschung und klassifizierenden Begriffen anhand verschiedener Beispiele verdeutlicht. Besonders der Ansatz der Un-Ordnung erfährt unter den Teilnehmenden großen Zuspruch.

Das zweite Panel des Tages, „The Tourist Revisited“, wird von Noel Nicolaus (Berlin) eröffnet. Er diskutiert die Heterogenität touristischer Migrationen aus mediterranen Krisenregionen der Europäischen Union. Im Anschluss deutet Andrej Holm (Berlin) die Wechselwirkung zwischen Tourismus und Stadtentwicklung am Beispiel des Berliner Wohnungsmarktes. Die Touristifizierung und die Multiplikation von Ferienwohnungen sind nach ihm nicht die Ursache der Gentrifizierung, sondern ein Ausdruck grundlegender Veränderungen stadtpolitischer Verhältnisse. Die anschließenden Vorträge von Manfred Pfaffenthaler (Graz), Fabian Engler (Frankfurt/Oder) und Can Sungu (Berlin/Istanbul), sowie Michael Zinganel (Wien) situieren sich entlang der sogenannten Westbalkanroute. Pfaffenthaler vergleicht die ehemalige Gastarbeiter_innenroute mit der heutigen Westbalkanroute in der Steiermark in Bezug auf Spannungsfelder zwischen Anrainer_innengesellschaften und Transitmigration. Engler und Sungu stellen ihr Kunstprojekt „Sila Yolu“ vor. Dieses beschreibt, aus der Perspektive des Ferientransits in die Türkei, die Autobahn als flüchtigen Raum. Dieser wird durch generationsübergreifende Imaginationen und Narrative aufgeladen und konstruiert. Zinganel illustriert sein Bestreben, mit einem Ausstellungsprojekt zu Verkehrskorridoren und Knotenpunkten transnationaler Mobilität und Migration die Tourismusforschung zu positionieren. Zugleich diskutiert er die Möglichkeiten der Kunst und Kartografie als innovatives Werkzeuge für das wissenschaftliche Forschen und Schreiben. Ein weiteres Werkzeug, so Johanna Stadlbauer (Klagenfurt), ist die Selbstreflexivität bezüglich der eigenen Mobilitätserfahrungen für eine (herrschafts-)kritische Forschung.

Zum Abschluss des Panels wird der ethnographische Videoessay „This is Europe“ von Michael Westrich (Berlin) gezeigt und diskutiert. Westrich untersucht in seiner Forschung im Süden Spaniens den Kontrast zwischen der Idee des migrantischen Abenteurers von geflüchteten Afrikaner_innen und den Subjekten, die im Feld des Wartens geformt werden.

Den zweiten Tag der Veranstaltung mit dem Panel „Kategoriale Grenzen und transversale Bewegungen“ eröffnet Miriam Gutekunst (München) mit einem Vortrag zum Regieren der Migration durch Heirat. Sie beschreibt die intersektional diskriminierenden Differenzkategorien, die in diesem Grenzregime gebildet werden und die Art und Weise, wie diese von unterschiedlichen Akteur_innen, beispielsweise Beamten_innen in Ämtern, verhandelt und genutzt werden. Marika Pierdicca (Berlin) beschäftigt sich mit der Strategie des „Wegmobilisierens“ im



italienischen Migrationsmanagement. Sie zeigt, wie national-territoriale Grenzen durch verednete Hypermobilität überwunden werden. Jonna Josties (Berlin) untersucht, wie globale Austauschbeziehungen zwischen Berlin und San Francisco mobilisiert werden, um eine Startup-Community zu schaffen.

Zum Abschluss des dritten Panels stellt Anne-Kathrin Will (Magdeburg) die Frage, wie Klassifikation konstruiert und genutzt wird. Auch hier wird das Spannungsverhältnis zwischen nationalstaatlicher, statischer Bürokratie und Mobilität als bewegte, sich ändernde Realität deutlich.

Für die Abschlussdiskussion versammeln sich Regina Röhmhild, Johanna Rolshoven, Andrej Holm und Michael Zinganel auf dem Podium. Sie diskutieren die übergreifende und einleitende Frage, wie die verschiedenen Domänen von Mobilität, Migration, Stadt- und Tourismusforschung, sowie künstlerischer Praxis produktiv zu verschränken sind. Einig sind sich die Teilnehmer_innen darüber, dass der ständige Ordnungsversuch von mobilen Praktiken einem eigenen „Mobilitätsregime“ entspricht und deshalb in einem gesellschaftlichen Spannungsfeld der Un-Ordnung zu betrachten ist. Des Weiteren wird die Notwendigkeit einer transdisziplinären und transnationalen Sprache für Forschung und Austausch betont, um die Theoriebildung zu stärken und neue Ansätze zu diskutieren. Inklusiv Forschung und das Erforschen des ‚Nicht-Bewussten‘ sollen konstruktive Perspektiven auf Stadt, Tourismus, Migration und Gesellschaft geben.

Abschließendes Fazit der Tagung: Die kritische Auseinandersetzung mit Klassifikation fordert das Aufzeigen von Lücken, das Legitimieren von Abweichungen, das Sichtbar-machen von Paradoxien, kurz gesagt, das Verhandeln von Un-Ordnung.

Anschrift der AutorInnen

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