

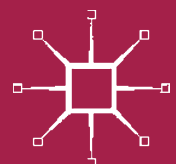
An abstract painting featuring a complex composition of warm colors, primarily yellows, oranges, and reds, with some dark brown and black accents. The style is expressive, with visible brushstrokes and a textured surface. The composition includes several dark, angular shapes that resemble architectural elements or stylized figures, set against a background of layered, textured washes of color.

Migration,
Diasporas and
Citizenship

MEMORIES ON THE MOVE

Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past

Edited by Monika Palmberger
and Jelena Tošić



Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship

Series Editors

Robin Cohen

Department of International Development
University of Oxford
Oxford, UK

Zig Layton-Henry

Department of Politics and International Studies
University of Warwick
Coventry, UK

Editorial Board: Rainer Bauböck, European University Institute, Italy; James F. Hollifield, Southern Methodist University, USA; Daniele Joly, University of Warwick, UK; Jan Rath, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

The Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship series covers three important aspects of the migration process: firstly, the determinants, dynamics and characteristics of international migration. Secondly, the continuing attachment of many contemporary migrants to their places of origin, signified by the word 'diaspora', and thirdly the attempt, by contrast, to belong and gain acceptance in places of settlement, signified by the word 'citizenship'. The series publishes work that shows engagement with and a lively appreciation of the wider social and political issues that are influenced by international migration and encourages a comparative perspective.

More information about this series at
<http://www.springer.com/series/14044>

Monika Palmberger • Jelena Tošić
Editors

Memories on the Move

Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Monika Palmberger
Department of Social and Cultural
Anthropology
University of Vienna
Vienna, Austria

Jelena Tošić
Department of Social and Cultural
Anthropology
University of Vienna
Vienna, Austria

Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities
Research Centre
University of Leuven
Leuven, Belgium

Institute of Social Anthropology
University of Bern
Bern, Switzerland

Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship

ISBN 978-1-137-57548-7 ISBN 978-1-137-57549-4 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-57549-4

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016959036

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2016

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image © Olesya Karakotsya / Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature

The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

‘Contesting common assumptions about the rootedness of memory in nation, space and place, *Memories on the Move* explores the mobility of memory in our age of political change, migration and refugeehood. Through a series of excellent essays focusing on the mobility of people, objects, sites and paradigms, this volume uses concrete ethnographic analyses of memory practices in different parts of the globe to offer theoretical reflections on how memory shapes and is shaped by mobility in time and space.’

– Marianne Hirsch,
Columbia University, USA

‘*Memories on the Move* is a brilliant edited volume that fills an important gap in the field of memory studies as it weaves together issues of mobility and remembering. Drawing on fine-grained ethnographical cases, it offers a rich and complex portrait of mnemonic constructions in the context of forced migration, exile and transnationalism. It is clearly a must-read for anthropologists, sociologists, historians and political scientists as well as for all scholars interested in the contemporary dynamics of memory, identity and mobility.’

– David Berliner,
Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

‘This thought-provoking volume disentangles, ethnographically, the complexity of meaning-making practices of memory/forgetting in various contexts of (im)mobility. By doing so, it brings into scholarly dialogue, in a very productive and engaging way, two virtually disconnected fields of study.’

– Noel B. Salazar,
University of Leuven, Belgium

Acknowledgements

This book is based on the workshop ‘Contested Histories on the Move: Rethinking Memory through Mobility and Agency’ that took place at the 13th biennial EASA (European Association of Social Anthropologists) Conference 2014 in Tallinn, Estonia. We would like to thank all the speakers and participants of our workshop for their inspiring papers and contributions to the discussion as well as the conference organizing committee for providing us with the opportunity to convene the workshop and thus to embark on this inspiring publication project.

We wish to express our special thanks to our workshop discussant Tilmann Heil for his insightful comments to each paper and to the topic of memory and mobility more general. We are also grateful to Karen Fog Olwig for her interest in our workshop, for her thoughtful comments and finally for the afterword she wrote to this volume. We would also like to thank Robin Cohen for his interest in our work and his invitation to publish the volume in the *Migration, Diasporas and Citizenship* series edited by him and Zig Layton-Henry. Special thanks also go to Julene Knox for editing several parts of this book as well as to Judith Allan from Palgrave Macmillan for her highly professional and efficient coordination of the publication and the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions.

We are very grateful for the generous support we received from the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna and the Institute of Social Anthropology at the University of Bern and the Austrian Academy of Sciences (Jelena Tošić) and the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity in Göttingen, and the Austrian Science Fund (FWF T207) (Monika Palmberger).

Finally, we wish to thank our contributors for engaging in this inspiring exchange on memory and mobility with great enthusiasm. Without their individual contributions, this volume would not have been possible.

Contents

1	Introduction: Memories on the Move—Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past	1
	<i>Jelena Tošić and Monika Palmberger</i>	
Part I	Mnemonic Dimensions of Exile	17
2	Shifting Sites: Memories of War and Exile across Time and Place	19
	<i>Marita Eastmond</i>	
3	Refugee Camp as Mediating Locality: Memory and Place in Protracted Exile	47
	<i>Dorota Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska</i>	
4	Ambivalent Sites of Memories: The Meaning of Family Homes for Transnational Families	75
	<i>Sanda Üllen</i>	

Part II	Mediating Memories on the Move	99
5	Memory in Motion: Photographs in Suitcases <i>Natalia Alonso Rey</i>	101
6	Mobile Temporalities: Place, Ruination and the Dialectics of Time <i>Annika Lems</i>	127
7	‘We Do Really Need Hollywood’: Filmmaking and Remembrance of Acts of Genocide in the Kurdish Transnation <i>Maria Six-Hohenbalken</i>	157
Part III	Legacies and Politics of Memory	185
8	Remembering the Unfulfilled Dream of Jewish Life in Post-War Communist Poland <i>Kamila Dąbrowska</i>	187
9	Nomadism and Nostalgia in Hungary <i>László Kürti</i>	217
10	A Past That Hurts: Memory, Politics and Transnationalism between Bangladesh and Portugal <i>José Mapril</i>	247
11	Moving Memories and Memories of Moves: Some Afterthoughts <i>Karen Fog Olwig</i>	271
Index		287

Notes on Contributors

Natalia Libertad Alonso Rey obtained a BA in Social and Cultural Anthropology from the Universidad de la República (Uruguay) and an MA in Migrations and Social Mediation from the Universitat Rovira i Virgili (URV, Tarragona, Spain). Since 2011, she has been working on her PhD in Anthropology (URV), on the topic of migration, material culture, identities and memory. She is also a member of a research team in the area of urban anthropology and migrations at URV. Her recent publications include ‘Emociones, objetos y sujetos en contextos migratorios’ *Actas del VIII Congreso sobre Migraciones Internacionales en España*, 2015), “Me tuve que traer lo justo”. Una mirada a las migraciones desde los objetos de la maleta’ (*Anuario de Antropología Social y Cultural en Uruguay*, 2014).

Kamila Dąbrowska is a researcher at the Museum of the History of Polish Jews (POLIN), where she is responsible for the museum’s guides unit and programmes of anti-discrimination trainings for professional groups. She holds a PhD in Social Science from the University of Warsaw. Her PhD thesis concerns the issues of collective memory of the post-war generation of Polish Jews. Her academic interests include post-war Jewish history in Poland, Jewish diasporas, collective and individual memories, museums and informal education, anti-discrimination issues. She is the co-editor of the volume *Anthropology Towards Discrimination* (in Polish, 2016) and author of *Controversial Citizenship. Narrations About Exclusion* (in Polish, 2013).

Marita Eastmond is Senior Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. Her studies of forced migration from societies in conflict (Chile, Bosnia and Herzegovina) illuminate the social constructions of self and 'exile' in different political contexts and their shifts over time, with return or transnational life forms. A current focus is how these 'life histories on the move' are studied in their interaction with the memories and silences generated in post-conflict societies. Her recent publications include 'Refugees in Anthropology' (*International Encyclopedia of Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2015), 'Refugee Trauma as Mobilising Metaphor: Policy and Practice in the Integration and Care of Refugees in Sweden' (2014) and 'Silence as Possibility in Postwar Everyday Life' (*The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, 2012).

László Kürti is a cultural anthropologist with extensive fieldwork experiences in Hungary, Romania and the USA, and holds a PhD from the University of Massachusetts (1989). He taught at the American University in Washington, DC, and the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest, and presently teaches at Institute of Political Science, University of Miskolc, Hungary. His books include *The Remote Borderland* (2001), *Youth and the State in Hungary* (2002). He served as co-editor for *Beyond Borders* (1996), *Working Images* (2004), *Post-socialist Europe* (2009), *Every Day's a Festival: Diversity on Show* (2011). From 2001 to 2006, he was secretary of the European Association of Social Anthropologists. He serves on the international editorial advisory board of *Visual Studies*, *Urbanities*, *Anthrovision* and *Region: Regional Studies of Russia, Eastern Europe and Central Asia*.

Annika Lems is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute of Social Anthropology at the University of Bern, Switzerland. She is working on an SNF-funded research project on the educational pathways of young unaccompanied asylum seekers in Switzerland. She holds a PhD from Swinburne University of Technology in Melbourne, Australia (2013). In her thesis, she explored existential questions surrounding the lived experiences of place and displacement by zooming in on the lifeworlds of three Somali-Australians. Her work is influenced by existential and phenomenological approaches in anthropology and philosophy. Her recent works include 'Placing Displacement: Place-making in a World of Movement' (*Ethnos*, 2016), 'New Myths of OZ: The Australian Beach and the Negotiation of National Belonging by Refugee Background Youth' (*Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, 2016) and 'Ambiguous Longings: Nostalgia as the Interplay of Self, Time and World' (*Critique of Anthropology*, 2016).

José Mapril is a visiting lecturer at the Department of Anthropology, New University of Lisbon, and a researcher at CRIA (Center for Research in Anthropology). Together with João Leal, he coordinates the research group on Circulation and Production of Places, within CRIA. His main research interests are transnationalisms, migrations, diasporas, subjectivities, cultural citizenship, Islam and Muslims, Islamophobia, and secularisms and have been developed through multi-sited ethnographies in Portugal, Bangladesh and the UK. He is the co-editor of *Experiencing Religion: New Approaches to Personal Religiosity* (2016). His recent publications include ‘Scenarios of Death in Contexts of Mobility: Guineans and Bangladeshis in Lisbon’ (*The Power of Death*, 2015) and ‘The Dreams of Middle Class: Consumption, Life-course and Migration Between Bangladesh and Portugal’ (*Modern Asian Studies*, 2014).

Karen Fog Olwig is Professor of Anthropology at the University of Copenhagen. Her research has centred on Caribbean migration to North America, Britain and Denmark, focusing on the interrelationship between family networks, gender and belonging as in her widely read ethnography ‘Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of migration and home in three family networks’ (2007). She also explored care relations within institutional and domestic contexts, as in ‘Migrating for a Profession: Becoming a Caribbean Nurse in Post-WWII Britain’ (*Identities*, 2015) and ‘Migration and Care: Intimately Related Aspects of Caribbean Family and Kinship’ (*Transnational Families, Migration and the Circulation of Care*, 2013). She has also looked at immigration and integration issues in Danish society and is examining the use of biometric technologies in connection with family reunification in Denmark.

Monika Palmberger holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Oxford. She is a visiting professor at the University of Leuven and a Hertha Firnberg Research Fellow at the University of Vienna. Her central research interests are memory, generation and the life course in contexts of war and migration. She is the author of the books *How Generations Remember: Conflicting Histories and Shared Memories in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina* (2016, Palgrave Macmillan) and *Caring on the Move: Ethnographic Explorations of Aging and Migration Across Societies* (forthcoming with Azra Hromadzic, Berghahn). Her recent publications also include ‘Social Ties and Embeddedness in Old Age: Older Turkish Labour Migrants in Vienna’ (*Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2016), ‘Ruptured Pasts and Captured Futures: Life Narratives in Post-War Mostar’ (*Focaal*, 2013) and ‘Practices of Border Crossing in Post-War Bosnia and Herzegovina: The Case of Mostar’ (*Identities*, 2013).

Maria Six-Hohenbalken is a researcher at the Institute for Social Anthropology, Austrian Academy of Sciences and a lecturer at the Department for Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna. Her fields of interest are political violence, migration, refuge and memory. She is the co-editor of the volume *Memory and Genocide: On What Remains and the Possibilities of Representation* (2016), in which she wrote ‘Remembering the Poison Gas Attack on Halabja: Questions of Representations in the Emergence of Memory on Genocide’. Her recent publications also include ‘Transnational Spaces Between Dersim and Vienna’ (Turkish Migration Conference Selected Proceedings, 2015).

Jelena Tošić is a research fellow and lecturer at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, Vienna, and the Institute of Social Anthropology, Bern. She has been a visiting/interim professor at the University of Konstanz and University of Bern. Her research interests include (forced) migration and border studies, political anthropology, diversity and multiculturalism, anthropology and history/memory, and religion. She is the co-editor of *Anthropology of Migration: Theoretical Foundations and Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Facultas, 2009, with Marianne Six-Hohenbalken, in German) and *Localizing Moralities: Power and Temporality in SEE* (special section, *Southeastern Europe and Black Sea Studies* 2015, with Sabine Strasser). Her recent publications include ‘Travelling Genealogies: Tracing relatedness and diversity in the Albanian-Montenegrin Borderland’ (*Border Crossing—Border Moving*, 2017) and ‘Localized Islam(s) in the Balkans: National Paradigms, New Actors and Contingent Choices’ (special issue in *Nationalities Papers*, with Arolda Elbasani, forthcoming).

Sanda Üllen is a PhD candidate and a lecturer at the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna. In her PhD thesis, she analyses transnational family networks between Bosnia and Scandinavia and their family home(s) and houses as sites of memory. She focuses on the dynamic interplay between what people remember and/or silence, belonging and practices of emplacement. Her recent publications include ‘Memories of Migration(s) in School’ (*Journal for Educational Research Online*, forthcoming, together with C. Markom) and ‘Involving Pupils in Migration Research: Debating the “Other” in Textbooks and Classrooms’ (*Journal of Educational Media, Memory and Society*, 2014, together with C. Hintermann/C. Markom and H. Weinhäupl).

Dorota Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska is an assistant professor at the Faculty of International and Political Studies, University of Lodz. She holds a PhD in Social Sciences from the Polish Academy of Sciences and a BA in Arabic

Linguistics and Culture from the University of Warsaw. Her PhD dissertation focused on the experience of protracted exile and living in a Palestinian refugee camp in the West Bank. Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska has been a visiting fellow at the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, and Birzeit University, Palestine. Her recent publications include 'Internally Displaced Persons and Elections Under Military Conflict in Ukraine' (*Journal of Refugee Studies*, 2016, with N. Palaguta), 'The Meanings of Ordinary in Times of Crisis: The Case of a Palestinian Refugee Camp in the West Bank' (*Polish Sociological Review*, 2014).

List of Figures

Fig. 3.1	The tomb of a 7-year-old refugee from Al-Am'ari who was killed during the second <i>intifada</i> . The information about the child's city of origin, Al-Ludd, is given directly below the deceased boy's name	57
Fig. 3.2	Bird's-eye view of Al-Am'ari	62
Fig. 4.1	Outside view of the house, including the yard and the Čingilingi, located behind the spruce on the left	83
Fig. 6.1	Driving through Mogadishu	128
Fig. 6.2	A square in the centre Mogadishu	129
Fig. 6.3	Remnants of a church in Mogadishu	137
Fig. 6.4	'Bullet on a stony path'	140
Fig. 6.5	Small market in Mogadishu	142
Fig. 6.6	Armed bodyguards	146
Fig. 8.1	Participants of reunion in Israel recognizing their friends	206
Fig. 8.2	Participants of return journey in Poland (Dzierżoniów) looking at old photographs	206
Fig. 10.1	Celebrations of the Mother Language Day, União Cultural Bangladesh Portugal, Lisbon 2006	256

1

Introduction: Memories on the Move— Experiencing Mobility, Rethinking the Past

Jelena Tošić and Monika Palmberger

Movement and memory are closely intertwined. Memories connect places, and preserve and establish new forms of social relations. The past takes a particularly prominent role in times of mobility and biographical rupture. Already, when setting off for another place, in the process of moving, hopes and imaginaries become reminiscences of lives lived before or in between. When stuck in a place or within a pattern of movement—as immobility represents a crucial dimension of mobility—we tend to dwell

We wish to acknowledge that the phrase ‘Memory on the Move’ has already been used in memory studies (see for example Assmann and Conrad 2010; Rigney 2012).

J. Tošić (✉)

Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna,
Vienna, Austria

Institute of Social Anthropology, University of Bern, Switzerland

M. Palmberger

Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Vienna,
Vienna, Austria

Interculturalism, Migration and Minorities Research Centre, University of
Leuven, Belgium

© The Author(s) 2016

M. Palmberger, J. Tošić (eds.), *Memories on the Move*,

DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-57549-4_1

1

on memories of our former ways of life. In diasporic contexts, mnemonic images of ‘home’ prove to be especially pervasive, often implying a longing for—possibly never visited and virtual—faraway places. We could go on showing the myriad ways in which (im)mobility and memory are interrelated. Especially under today’s conditions of not only enhanced but also diversified mobility (see Vertovec 2007)—being not merely a manifestation of free ‘flows’ in an interconnected world, but also an expression of growing constraints, immobilities and inequalities (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013)—the interplay of movement and memory calls for closer inspection. The present volume takes up this task by assembling differing, yet pervasive, examples of how diverse patterns of (im)mobility (Salazar and Smart 2011) inform individual and collective mnemonic practices and how the latter in turn frame the ways in which (im)mobility is experienced. The different forms of lived and imagined (im)mobility with which the present volume engages include refugees remembering and ‘recreating’ in their settlements or during return journeys to homes from which they were expelled; post-socialist political elites glorifying and even embodying a foundational-nationalist past of nomadism in order to earn political points; and work migrants anticipating and framing their future ‘memory work’¹ by carefully choosing mnemonic objects to accompany their uncertain journeys. We show in this volume that remembering—as well as forgetting or even ‘amnesia’—is actually a constitutive part of movement. Rather than conceptualizing memory or memories as being temporally located ‘before’ and ‘after’ mobility, we are interested in the mutual constitution of remembering and movement.

While going beyond methodological nationalism (Glick Schiller and Caglar 2011; Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002) and the related ‘sedentarist bias’ (Malkki 1992)—but still acknowledging the nation state’s persistent impact on movement and representations of the past—the book focuses on concrete mnemonic social practices and is built around the following main questions: What impact do different patterns of mobility have on memory practices and how do they possibly contribute to the emergence of new forms of remembering? When does memory become a resource and when a potential burden in situations of (im)mobility? How does mobility particularly frame—strengthen or unsettle—hegemonic national memories? In what ways do memories serve to re-establish old and create new (forms of) transnational social relations and identifications?

Memory and Mobility: A Retrospection and Outlook

Memory (as well as its counterpart, forgetting) has been primarily explored on a macro level in relation to hegemonic and static national history narratives (see Kidron 2009). Considerable scholarly interest has been directed at the political instrumentalization of the past, but this has neglected the quieter, everyday mnemonic practices that constitute the ‘living presence of the past’ (Kidron 2009, 8). Thus it is no surprise that the focus of much literature has been on exploring memory as bound to particular ‘places’—such as memorials or works of art—that figure as essential reference points for national narratives, as captured by Nora’s seminal concept of the *lieu de mémoire* (see Nora 1989). Nora argues that the linking of memory to places enables individuals to remember, since *lieux de mémoire* ‘are fundamentally remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age’ (12). Memory, we could say, has been tacitly thought of as bound to commemorative places and territories in general—in other words, as narratives conveying significant events and processes as well as identity or territorial claims. This understanding of memory, however, crucially occludes the fact that memory is also, if not even more so, provoked precisely by mobility (see Creet 2011, 5).²

Explorations of memory—even when ‘decoupled’ from the materiality of particular places—have seldom been concerned with movement and mobility, and as such can be seen as an expression of a sedentarist bias. Speaking with Creet, ‘contemporary theories of memory have mostly considered memory in situ, and place itself as a stable, unchanging environment’ (Creet 2011, 4). Hence it is not surprising that memory studies and migration/mobility studies have generally remained two separate research fields with very little, if any, conversation between them. Migration and other forms of mobility have been peripheral in memory studies in a similar way to how memory has been a neglected topic in migration research.

As already indicated, memory has been studied first and foremost in the context of nation states and rarely in the context of migration, multilocality and transnationalism (for exceptions see, for example, Auchter 2013; Ballinger 2003; Bendix 2002; Berg and Eckstein 2015;

Chamberlain and Leydesdorff 2004). A further notable exception in this regard has been the field of diaspora studies, which has significantly engaged with temporality, and the insight that collective memories of common origin and ‘homeland’ play a decisive role in constituting a diaspora in the first place (see Armbruster 2013; Cohen 2008; Lacroix and Fiddian-Qasmiyeh 2013).

Scholars have only recently started exploring transnational and trans-cultural dimensions of mnemonic processes; however, often their primary interest has been in the mobility of commemorative objects, practices and media (see Assmann and Conrad 2010; Bond and Rapson 2014), rather than the mnemonic agency of people whose lives are substantially marked by changing mobility regimes (Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013), such as labour migrants, refugees or members of diasporas. This focus on mobility in connection with commemorative objects and practices is also central in the special issue edited by Crownshow (2011), which deals with ‘transcultural memories’, particularly from a cultural studies perspective. Erll therein understands transcultural memory as a research perspective that is ‘directed towards mnemonic processes unfolding *across* and *beyond* cultures’ (2011, 9). She defines transcultural memory as ‘the incessant wandering of carriers, media, contents, forms and practices of memory, their continual “travels” and ongoing transformations through time and space, across social, linguistic and political borders’ (11). In Crownshow’s collection, however, the focus remains on the mobility of artefacts and discourses, rather than on actual memory practices by mobile people ‘carrying’, creating and sharing memories across borders.

The edited volume *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation* by Glynn and Kleist (2012) is another recent attempt to come to terms with the interrelation of memory and migration. It focuses on the link between narratives of the past and state (im)migration policies and discourses of (non-)belonging. It deals with the question of whether and in what way immigration has the potential to change hegemonic (state) narratives of history and demography, as well as how migrants themselves ‘navigate’ different mnemonic arenas (see also Hintermann and Johansson 2010). It highlights the fact that state narratives often evoke the image of the autochthonous and homogeneous—or at least ‘completed’ multicultural—nation and thereby

exclude migrants' 'incorporation' into the state narrative. While Glynn and Kleist (2012) focus on the important link between memory and (im) migration policies, their volume to a certain degree reproduces the binary of the society of origin and host society, which implies an image of migration as a one-way process and neglects the diversification and complexity of mobility patterns.

With the publication of the interdisciplinary volume by Creet and Kitzmann (2011), *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, the debate on memory and migration received an important impetus. On the ground of a thorough theoretical-historical assessment of why 'place' figures so prominently as the main 'locus' of memory in the seminal approaches—not only by Pierre Nora as already elaborated, but also in the works of Paul Ricoeur (2006) and Maurice Halbwachs (1980)—Creet (2011) primarily focuses on the ways in which we can explore 'memory that has migrated or has been exiled from its local habitations' (Creet 2011, 3). She argues that 'migration rather than location is the condition of memory', since 'displacement intensifies our investments in memory' (Creet 2011, 9–10).

In the present volume we take the exploration of the mutual constitution of memory and migration important steps further. Without neglecting the fate of 'exiled memories' in the terms of Creet (2011), we are primarily interested in how individuals and collectives act as mnemonic agents by engaging in memory practices in a context of (im)mobility and/or transnationalism. Hence, our engagement with memory and mobility here proceeds beyond the binary between objects/media and agents of memory often implicit in approaches to transnational memory (see Bond and Rapson 2014).

The chapters in this volume offer ethnographic insights into the ways in which memory practices using different mnemonic media enable us to make sense of and integrate experiences of (im)mobility across different times and places. Be it through photographs (see Lems and Alonso-Ray) or film (see Six-Hohenbalken), reinhabiting pre-exilic homes (see Üllen and Eastmond), through pseudo-historical performances (see Kürti), transgenerational mnemonic travels and gatherings (see Dąbrowska), by 'domesticating space' (see Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska) as well as transnational political activism (see Mapril), the case studies in this collection

show how remembering—or anticipating the remembrance of—movement is an essential way in which we make sense of our lives and act as political subjects. By being particularly attentive to these agentive dimensions of mnemonic practice/‘memory work’, this volume engages in the actual ways of how, when and by which means individuals remember and communicate memories in contexts of various forms of (im)mobility.

By conceptually focusing on mobility instead of migration, which is the focus not only in Creet’s and Kitzmann’s (2011) volume but also in most of the literature already mentioned, we include a wide range of different types of movements such as forced mobility, labour migration, diaspora and transmigration as well as ideologies of historical mobility. While acknowledging the importance of the ‘mobility’ and ‘new mobilities paradigm’ (see Cresswell 2010; Scheller and Urry 2006) in the social sciences in general and anthropology in particular, we join the anthropological critique of a simplifying ‘celebratory’ and ‘normalizing’ stance towards mobility (see Salazar and Smart 2011). As already mentioned, in this volume we aim to go beyond the binary of mobility and stasis and explore ways in which precisely immobility is also an essential aspect of contemporary mobility regimes (see Glick Schiller and Salazar 2013; Salazar and Smart 2011).

Finally, the prism of mobility allows for a more substantial engagement with temporality. Mobility specifically can be uniquely illuminating for exploring how individuals produce continuities and ruptures between different life periods (past, present and future) and historical periods, as well as between different localities through ‘memory work’. In this vein, a focus on mobility can also help to illuminate the mutual constitution of ‘temporality’ and ‘spatiality’. Resonating with Massey’s (1992) seminal critique of an often tacit static and a-temporal (and a-political) conceptualization of space and Cresswell’s insight that ‘mobilities are key constituents in the production of senses of place’ (2015, 84), the contributions in this volume explore different ways in which space is at once a condition, result and medium of memory as well as itself ever transforming under changing mobility regimes.

While the authors in this volume draw on a wide range of transdisciplinary research and theory, all are trained anthropologists offering a specific anthropological approach to the discussion of memory, mobility and

social practice.³ Even if the authors of this edited volume work with different disciplinary strands, they have in common that they all draw their theories and conclusions from concrete ethnographic accounts. Thereby they offer a specific anthropological approach that puts memory practices carried out by individuals as well as groups at the centre of attention. The focus thus lies on the actual carriers and creators of memory, navigating structural constraints and possibilities composed of the legal, political and socio-economic aspects of different mobility regimes.

Book Outline

Part I: Mnemonic Dimensions of Exile

Prolonged exile and/or building a new life away from (although transnationally tied to) one's (former) 'home' strongly marks the lives and memory practices of an ever-increasing number of people worldwide. The former figure of the 'uprooted' and 'culture-less' refugee (see Malkki 1992) has today become a key mnemonic agent for whom memory forms one of the essential modes of reconstituting oneself in the face of an often traumatic past, a radically new present and an uncertain future: remembering the existential rupture of flight that often included a threat to life itself, as well as the loss of objects vital for an individual's or a family's sense of identity and belonging; wanting to forget or not being able to remember traumatic experiences of flight and exile; longing for and realizing the impossibility of return; and finding different ways of reinhabiting pre-exilic 'homes'. Beyond the steady increase of forced migration on a global scale, the diversification of patterns of displacement (Vertovec 2007) and multilocality crucially frame forms of 'memory work' in exile.

Exploring the particular constellations of exile 'illuminates the complexity of the ways in which people construct, remember, and lay claim to particular places as "homelands" or "nations"' (Malkki 1992, 25). The chapters in this part explore how the different facets of the entanglement of forced movement and memory show that, rather than tacitly implying a simple temporal framing of 'before' and 'after', the mnemonic practices of exile imply a complex 'everydayness' of shifting temporalities in

the course of negotiating pasts, presents and futures between and across generations.

The chapter ‘Shifting Sites: Memories of War and Exile across Time and Place’ by Marita Eastmond focuses on an extended Bosnian refugee family living in Sweden, and on generational differences among the family members in dealing with their post-war lives and experiences of displacement and the multiple mnemonic practices in which they engage. These practices include different means of active remembering as well as forgetting, gaps and silences that seem essential in restoring continuity in individuals’ biographies endangered by the rupture that war caused to their lives. By drawing on two decades of multisited fieldwork, Eastmond unpacks the interplay of mnemonic processes (in which forgetting takes a prominent position), movement and placemaking in the case of this Bosnian refugee family. Her chapter vividly shows how a focus on memory and migrants’ lives can ‘yield important insights into how migrants creatively engage, or disengage, their memories in constructing meaningful selves and the sites of attachment that they call “home”’ (this volume, p. 20). The chapter demonstrates how processes of homemaking and ‘memory work’ within and beyond national borders vary along generational lines related to the generations’ different historical experiences.

Both in the popular imagination and in academic literature, refugees’ growing attachment to their place of residence in exile is understood to occur at the cost of their commitment to their place of origin. In her contribution ‘Refugee Camp as Mediating Locality: Memory and Place in Protracted Exile’, Dorota Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska shows how the experience of prolonged exile challenges the transitional character commonly attributed to refugee status. Based on a case study of Al-Am‘ari, a Palestinian refugee camp in the West Bank, she conceptualizes the refugee camp as a ‘mediating locality’ where the two seemingly conflicting spatial loyalties can be reconciled. In that sense, Al-Am‘ari expresses the mutual constitution of time and space that can be captured by Foucault’s heterotopia—being ‘a place defined by its relations with other spaces, a place that represents different, and at times conflicting, political struggles and functions on different temporal registers’ (this volume, p. 68). In her ethnographic account, Woroniecka-Krzyzanowska analyses how residents’ efforts to preserve the refugee character of the camp community

amid a prolonged exile have allowed the site to maintain its symbolism, and have framed the refugees' attachment to the camp as an expression of their commitment to their place of origin.

The chapter 'Ambivalent Sites of Memories: The Meaning of Family Homes for Transnational Families' by Sanda Üllen explores the meaning of houses for former Bosnian refugees—now citizens of Denmark—as sites of negotiating memories and of 'the interconnectedness of past and future in the present' (this volume, p. 94). Through her multisited ethnography of a Bosnian family and their regular visits to their reclaimed house in Bosnia, Üllen shows how in post-war times the family house is both a physical location for family gatherings and reunions and a mnemonic space, since it serves as a site for negotiating memories between the different generations in regard to the past as well as the future. However, at the same time as being 'a place where one makes one's memories and can be private' (this volume, p. 75), the revisited house is also an ambivalent space. The traces of 'the other'—be it the memory of having been served 'coffee in one's own coffee cups', or of a former piggery and smoke-house—generate complex affects: 'often pain, combined with rejection and confusion' (this volume, p. 88). Furthermore, while for the young generations the house in Bosnia represents both a place of relaxation and the burden of being exposed to their parents 'living in the past', the latter try to bind their children to the house through regular visits and pre-war memories, and thus save the past from being forgotten.

Part II: Mediating Memories on the Move

As already mentioned, one of the aims of this volume is to go beyond the often implicit gap between the mnemonic agency of objects and media on the one hand and people as 'the actual' mnemonic agents on the other, by highlighting their necessary mutual constitution in the course of 'memory work'. In doing this, the chapters in this part highlight the 'agentive' and mediating potential of photography and film. Embodying possible 'relief' by carrying the burden of (painful) memories as well as having the potential to frame and support our process of remembering by reminding us of specific moments and encounters,

photographs represent one of the most common mnemonic media accompanying mobility. As narratives of forced migrants reveal, it is often photographs—in addition to money, documents and other necessities as well as personal objects—that find their way into limited luggage space. Furthermore, photographs often play a crucial role in the placemaking practices of labour migrants, who are trying to establish a sense of ‘home’ in their often provisional initial living quarters. Films, on the other hand, although today equally portable due to their ‘parallel’ and ‘real-time’ temporality, by representing a ‘stage’ on which different actors can meet and interact, enable the viewer to ‘step out’ of her everyday into a mediated mnemonic space. Moreover, art and documentary films in particular have the potential to convey and politicize traumatic memories across generations and diasporic spaces.

In her chapter ‘Memory in Motion: Photographs in Suitcases’, Natalia Alonso Rey explores the relationship between memory and mobility by analysing the role of photographs in the case of four Uruguayan female migrants living in Catalonia, Spain. Adapting the choice of photographs as mnemonic objects to fit the ‘tourist habitus’ and thus not revealing the ‘irregular’ character of their migratory intentions, the Uruguayan female migrants’ emotional and temporal management of photographs takes into account restrictive border regimes. Alonso Ray also analyses the practice of anticipating memory by photographically capturing the ‘real-time’ process of departure, travel and arrival, which creates a continuity in the course of emigration—an event commonly experienced as one of the crucial ruptures of one’s biography. The potential for the ‘condensation’ of memories by means of a specific selection of photographs—according to particular events, the number of close people ‘captured’ by the camera or the photograph’s uniqueness—reveals another dimension of the specific temporal management enabled by photographs as mnemonic media in the context of constrained and ‘irregular’ mobility. Alonso Ray’s contribution also demonstrates the mutual constitution of memory and space. Having left the suitcases, photographs as mnemonic media on the move have a crucial function in the process of migrant placemaking: inhabiting new ‘homes’ through remembering old ones.

In her chapter ‘Mobile Temporalities: Place, Ruination and the Dialectics of Time’, Annika Lems provides insights into the memory practices of two Somalis who left their hometown, Mogadishu, at the outbreak of the war in the 1990s. While they choose two different paths to engage with the past—one through visual storytelling around photos of present-day Mogadishu marked by war and the other through detailed storytelling—they were both ‘struggling to make sense of the intense destruction that has transformed their former hometown into a landscape of ruins, they produced an assemblage of memories—snapshots of the past that weave into a mosaic of unfinished story fragments, murmurs and silences’ (this volume, p. 134). Lems introduces the concept of ‘mobile temporalities’ to capture the ‘ceaseless processes of temporal switching in everyday life’ (this volume, p. 136). She makes a case for how places and memories of them are tightly entangled with individuals’ present lives, regardless of geographical distances or the radical transformation of these places. Photos therefore are an essential medium for reconnecting with the past and the places that characterized it, even if the photos are proof of the brutal transformation of those places. Similar to Alonso Ray, Lems shows how photos become tools for migrants to enter the past and to link it to their present lives, and they thus offer mobility through time and across geographical distances.

The chapter by Maria Six-Hohenbalken, “‘We Do Really Need Hollywood’—Filmmaking and Remembrance of Acts of Genocide in the Kurdish Transnation’, focuses on the role of artistic and documentary films in dealing with the violence experienced by the Kurdish transnation in the past by paying particular attention to the young generation. Those who experienced the crimes against humanity committed by the Baath regime as children now struggle with the limited information that older generations are willing or able to share about these traumatic events. Six-Hohenbalken identifies the transnational cinematographic memoryscape as a mediator between the generations that has the potential to develop ‘more diversified and less homogenized (trans)national narratives, thus strengthening the victims’ voice and agency’ (this volume, p. 164). Furthermore, film as a mnemonic medium makes accessible what are often verbally inexpressible experi-

ences of extreme violence by working with survivors' 'involuntary memories, forms of tacit knowledge, or bodily habits' (this volume, p. 179). At the same time, however, 'Kurdish cinema' as an essential element within the diasporic memoryscape carries the danger of fuelling feelings of 'dispossession and abuse' (this volume, p. 178), as survivors are expected to share their traumatic memories repeatedly in order to make genocidal processes tangible for others.

Part III: Legacies and Politics of Memory

This part highlights the colonial, socialist and national socialist 'legacies' of memory and the way in which memory interrelates with the complex realm of politics. Taking into account political-ideological legacies (see Rothberg 2009) enables both individual and collective (for example of families, communities in exile) mnemonic agency to be situated in wider historical and political-economic contexts, thus better understanding its specificities in the present. From this perspective, the narratives of both the hegemonic state and (transnational) individuals—and their entanglements and tensions—do not appear as synchronic processes 'out of time'. Rather, they represent aspects of political-economic formations and their continuities, shifts and ruptures—such as the collapse of real-socialism and the rise of nationalism (see Kürti) and the 'opening' of post-socialist countries' borders (see Dąbrowska), post-colonial migration and the related immigration into South European countries from the 1970s onwards (see Mapril).

In her contribution 'Remembering the Unfulfilled Dream of Jewish Life in Post-War Communist Poland', Kamila Dąbrowska explores the mnemonic practices that take place during collective gatherings of Polish Jewish emigrants and their return journeys to their former home country that allow a Jewish presence to re-emerge in the post-socialist era. Focusing on the immediate post-Second World War generation of Polish Jews, Dąbrowska analyses two parallel ongoing processes: first, the active community building in a diasporic context around shared childhood memories; and second, the creation of a counter-memory/alternative history to the established Polish national narrative that has for a long

time silenced the presence of Jews in Poland. For both mnemonic processes, movement across geographical and temporal distances is vital. In her analysis Dąbrowska pays close attention to the agency of key actors' rituals of performing the past. She thereby shows how the silenced Jewish past that already seemed lost for its witnesses has been 're-enacted' in places as distant as Israel, North America and Scandinavia.

In his chapter 'Nomadism and Nostalgia in Hungary', László Kürti explores a late socialist ideology that could be referred to as a foundational and idealized mobility. Grounded in a bricolage of prehistoric legends, neo-shamanism and medieval Christian symbols (such as the Holy Crown), the 'nomadist movement' in Hungary puts forward an alternative version of history. Interestingly, in this case a nationalist (and beyond that racist, anti-Semitic and xenophobic) ideology is not based on a sedentarist image serving as a 'foundational' repository. Rather, it is precisely a glorified image of a nomadic social order and way of life, which grounds the claim to a superior collective identity. By offering a constructive critique of the theoretical usage of 'nostalgia' in the works on post-socialism, Kürti shows how nomadism exhibits a politics of memory, which is primarily future oriented and serves as a discursive and performative resource for enhancing political power.

Although the Portuguese colonial legacy in Bangladesh (15th–17th centuries) is a less significant register than British colonial rule (from the 18th century onwards) for present-day Bangladeshis, the post-colonial migration regime that they have encountered in Portugal has been crucial in the process of framing their transnational mnemonic practices. José Mapril's chapter, 'A Past That Hurts: Memory, Politics and Transnationalism between Bangladesh and Portugal', explores the politics of memory among Bangladeshi migrants who in the 1980s joined a number of post-colonial migrant communities in neighbourhoods close to Lisbon city centre, and managed to establish themselves as 'ethnic entrepreneurs' in this 'multicultural' urban space. Focusing on the debates among Bangladeshis about the role played by a political party and its main leaders during the Bangladeshi liberation war in 1971, the aim is to reveal how the struggles for a dominant/hegemonic narrative about the past are fought out in a transnational context. The chapter concludes

that due to mobility, in this case migration, the convergence of past and present in everyday and political life is enhanced.

Notes

1. We understand ‘memory work’ in a broader sense of everyday active engagement with the past that exceeds common understandings of memory work in terms of civil engagement and activism (see Till 2008).
2. Furthermore, we do not subscribe to Nora’s strict conceptual differentiation between history and memory. Rather, speaking with Lambek (2003), we see both history and memory as mnemonic practices characterized by different modes and grades of institutionalization and power.
3. At different moments and from different perspectives, anthropologists have been intrigued by the issue of memory and so contributed to the interdisciplinary field of memory studies. Still, it is difficult to redraw a genealogy of the anthropological engagement with memory. This has to do with a certain ‘implicitness’ of memory in any anthropological endeavour and hence its potential fusion with the notion of ‘culture’ (Berliner 2005).

References

- Armbruster, Heidi. 2013. *Keeping the Faith: Syriac Christian Diasporas*. Canon Pyon: Sean Kingston Publishing.
- Assmann, Aleida, and Sebastian Conrad, eds. 2010. *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, and Trajectories*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Auchter, Jessica. 2013. Border Monuments: Memory, Counter-Memory, and (B)ordering Practices Along the US–Mexico Border. *Review of International Studies* 39 (2): 291–311.
- Ballinger, Pamela. 2003. *History in Exile: Memory and Identity at the Borders of the Balkans*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bendix, Regina. 2002. Capitalizing On Memories Past, Present, and Future: Observations on the Intertwining of Tourism and Narration. *Anthropological Theory* 2 (4): 469–472.
- Berg, Mette, and Susan Eckstein, eds. 2015. Re-Imagining Diasporas and Generations. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 18 (special issue) (2/3).

- Berliner, David. 2005. The Abuses of Memory: Reflections on the Memory Boom in Anthropology. *Anthropological Quarterly* 78 (1): 197–211.
- Bond, Lucy, and Jessica Rapson. 2014. Introduction. In *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory Between and Beyond Borders*, ed. L. Bond and J. Rapson, 1–29. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Chamberlain, Mary, and Selma Leydesdorff. 2004. Transnational Families: Memories and Narratives. *Global Networks* 4 (3): 227–241.
- Cohen, Robin. 2008. *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.
- Creet, Julia. 2011. Introduction: The Migration of Memory and Memories of Migration. In *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*, ed. J. Creet and A. Kitzmann, 3–29. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Creet, Julia, and Andreas Kitzmann. 2011. *Memory and Migration: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Memory Studies*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Cresswell, Tim. 2010. Towards a Politics of Mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28 : 17–31.
- . 2015. *Place: An Introduction*. Chichester: Blackwell.
- Cronshaw, Rick, ed. 2011. Transcultural Memory. *Parallax* 17 (special issue) (4).
- Erl, Astrid. 2011. Travelling Memory. *Parallax* 17 (special issue: *Transcultural Memory*, ed. R. Cronshaw) (4): 4–18.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, and Ayse Caglar. 2011. Introduction: Migrants and Cities. In *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*, ed. N. Glick Schiller and A. Caglar, 1–19. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Glick Schiller, Nina, and Noel B. Salazar. 2013. Regimes of Mobility Across the Globe. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (2): 183–200.
- Glynn, Irial, and Olaf J. Kleist. 2012. *History, Memory and Migration: Perceptions of the Past and the Politics of Incorporation*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. 1980. *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper Colophon Books.
- Helms, Elissa. 2007. ‘Politics is a Whore’. Women, Morality and Victimhood in Post-War Bosnia-Herzegovina. In *The New Bosnian Mosaic*, ed. X. Bougarel, E. Helms, and G. Duizings, 235–253.
- Hintermann, Christiane, and Christina Johansson. 2010. *Migration and Memory: Representations of Migration in Europe since 1960*. Innsbruck: Studien Verl.
- Jackson, Michael. 2002. *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity*. University of Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.

- Kidron, Carol A. 2009. Toward an Ethnography of Silence: The Lived Presence of the Past in the Everyday Life of Holocaust Trauma Survivors and Their Descendants in Israel. *Current Anthropology* 50 (1): 5–27.
- Lacroix, Thomas, and Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh. 2013. Refugee and Diaspora Memories: The Politics of Remembering and Forgetting. *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 34 (6): 684–696.
- Lambek, Michael. 2003. *The Weight of the Past. Living with History in Mahajanga, Madagascar*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Malkki, Liisa. 1992. National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees. *Cultural Anthropology* 7 (1): 24–44.
- Massey, Doreen. 1992. Politics and Space/Time. *New Left Review* I (196): 65–84.
- Nora, Pierre. 1989. Memory and History. Les Lieux de Mémoire. *Representations* 26 (special issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*) (Spring): 7–24.
- Ricoeur, Paul. 2006. *Memory, History, Forgetting*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rigney, Ann. 2012. *The Afterlives of Walter Scott. Memories on the Move*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rothberg, Michael. 2009. *Multidirectional Memory: Remembering the Holocaust in the Age of Decolonization*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Salazar, Noel B., and Alan Smart. 2011. Anthropological Takes on (Im)mobility. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 18 (6): i–ix.
- Scheller, Mimi, and John Urry. 2006. The New Mobilities Paradigm. *Environment and Planning A* 38 : 207–226.
- Till, Karen E. 2008. Artistic and Activist Memory-Work: Approaching Place-Based Practice. *Memory Studies* 1 (1): 99–113.
- Vertovec, Steven. 2007. Super-Diversity and its Implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30 (6): 1024–1054.
- Wimmer, Andreas, and Nina Glick Schiller. 2002. Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks* 2 (4): 301–334.