Introduction

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In 1948, four years after the end of World War II, 347 Estonian women, men and children boarded the SS *Walnut,* a retired British minesweeper, to find safety, freedom, and refuge in a place that was as far away from the Soviet Union as possible. They left Göteborg, Sweden, illegally on November 16 and landed in Canada on December 11. Their voyage was long and arduous, as well as physically, emotionally, and psychologically debilitating. It was very similar to most migrations by boat undertaken by individuals who have been forced to leave their homelands. Crossing the Atlantic in the winter months was cold and stormy. Many of the *Walnut*'s passengers were extremely seasick for the entire journey and many became seriously ill. There were only two toilet facilities for 347 passengers, very little food and water, a lack of fuel for the engine, and very little space for the passengers to move around in. Each passenger slept for the month-long journey in what they described as "cubbyholes:" a series of wooden boxes, two foot by two foot by six foot, stacked against the walls of the hull of a ship that was originally designed to sleep only seventeen crew members. It was an emotionally traumatic journey, and left an indelible mark on their memories and identity.[1] Thousands of people made similar journeys in the years following World War II. Those specifically carrying Baltic refugees from Sweden are only one example.

For centuries people have migrated by boat. The legalities of such migrations have become increasingly contentious since World War II, which is hailed as a defining moment in the creation of definitions concerning refugees (Malkki 1995; Nyers 2006; Zucker and Zucker 1996). Events surrounding the atrocities of this war left millions of displaced people homeless and stateless. Their necessary relocation precipitated the creation in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In Article 14.1, it states, "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecu-

tion." This is when refugee law became an "inseparable part of the code of Human Rights" (Noble as seen in Malkki 1995: 500). During this period, portrayals of refugees were most often positive. There was a consistent sympathy for so-called displaced persons who were generally represented as hard-working, mostly white, anticommunists in need of, and deserving of, protection, and who had the potential to become excellent and productive citizens with the correct ideological and economic values. Representations paralleled legal ideas about refugees that lasted until the end of the Cold War (roughly between the late 1940s to the late 1980s).

Beginning in the mid to late 1980s, publicized textual representations, visual representations, immigration policies, and laws shifted toward the "myth of difference," as coined by B. S. Chimni, an internationally renowned legal scholar. In 1998 he explained how refugees from the global South captured the attention of Northern policymakers as having a nature and character that was far different from the refugees who had left Europe after World War II. According to Chimni, refugees and migrants from the South were represented in the geopolitics of knowledge productions and legal policy, in terms of overwhelming (and possibly uncontrollable) mass movements of people who were looking for economic opportunities only, and therefore who were serious threats to national and economic security (Chimni 1998: 351). In media reports metaphoric descriptions align people who are forced to migrate with terms such as *tides, waves,* and, *floods,* exemplifying mainstream discrimination.

Refugees and others who migrate by boat have since been considered the most threatening within this schema. The "official" reason behind this designation is that their movements are uncontrolled and often uncontrollable and that their choice to migrate illegally is a criminal act of sorts, whether or not they are involved with smuggling rings. Although these voyages are currently described as "illegal," the passengers on these boats still fall under UN definitions allotted to refugees, and most are granted refugee status following their arrival at their destination. Modern nationalism is founded on a homogeneous system where all global space is marked, named, and accounted for. This nationalism is accompanied by an unspoken ideology that being "rooted" in a place creates necessary morality and balance, and conversely, that being "uprooted" propels individuals to become amoral and, potentially, criminally minded (Malkki 1995). Within this Western obsession with national order, refugees and asylum seekers are viewed as an undifferentiated mass, an aberration. They are in between homeland and nation. They do not yet belong anywhere (Allatson and McCormack 2005). Arriving via the wrong channels or out of the bounds of state control can have devastating effects, even for individuals who fall legally under UN definitions. Traveling via water disallows sympathy for the migrants' plight and in fact often works to support state protectionist policies that are innately discrimi-

natory. Metaphorically speaking, travel via water is viewed as such a threat to the solidarity of national spaces that it has the power to wash away humanitarian sentiments. Michael Pugh (2004: 55) reminds us that asylum seekers who arrive by boat are often associated with natural disasters in international media descriptions where terms such as *engulfed, swamped, flooded,* and *washed away* are used to describe the effect they have on the nations they arrive in. Ironically, all who migrate by boat incur far greater risks, and their survival rates are increasingly shrinking.

Migration by boat is the most dangerous form of movement between nations for a variety of reasons; the scale of human tragedies associated with such migration are often overlooked or kept hidden from view. As explained above in the example of the *Walnut*'s voyage, most of the vessels are ill equipped for ocean crossings or for the large number of passengers they are carrying. Passengers are crammed into small, uncomfortable spaces, such as dark, airless hulls of decrepit ships, for long periods—weeks and even months. The boats often have unreliable engines, and a lack of fuel and appropriate navigational equipment, or equipment that breaks down during the voyage. Basic living conditions are minimal at best. Running out of food and water is common, and there are few if any sanitary (toilet) facilities. Therefore, even if they are successful in arriving at their intended destinations, which many are not, most passengers suffer illness and physical debilitation on the voyage, and all suffer psychological and emotional trauma to varying degrees. As Pugh explains, "Securitization of the issue in destination countries inverts the risks. For it is actually the boat people who are at the mercy of tides, waves, shipwrecks and drowning" (Pugh 2004: 55). There are also countless stories of refugees who have paid exorbitant amounts for these voyages; if they do arrive at their destination, they are left in dire financial straits.

Historic statistics concerning the number of people who have drowned trying to migrate by boat are vague at best. This is due to the clandestine nature of these voyages, the complex channels of migration, and the varying sizes and conditions of the boats. For an example, as Álvarez notes (chapter 6), it is impossible to track all the small duck-hunting boats (called *pateras*) that cross the Strait of Gibraltar, nor those who have lost their lives attempting to cross, which was estimated to be in the thousands by the end of the twentieth century.[2] As well, in the European Union (EU), for example, primary data concerning drownings is collected by organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and United Against Racism. Nation–states have not collected comprehensive data until recently (Robins et al. 2014). An unofficial estimate posted on the blog site "Fortress Europe" states that approximately 14,309 people died trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea between 1990 and 2013 (http://fortresseurope.blogspot.ca/2006/02/immigrants-dead-at-frontiers-of-europe_16.html). Other approximations are as high as 17,000 for a similar period (Horsti, chapter 4). It is

estimated that approximately two thousand people drowned off the coasts of Australia between 2000 and 2013. Many of the larger boats that sank are discussed in this volume, including the SIEV X (2001), which was carrying 353 passengers (146 children, 142 women, and 65 men, all Iraqi or Afghan); they all drowned (Hoffman, chapter 11; Briskman and Dimasi, chapter 13). The numbers of attempted, successful, and unsuccessful migrations by boat have increased exponentially in the past few years. European statistics are the highest they have ever been, with an estimated 580,000 people attempting to cross the Mediterranean between January and October 2015. For example, in April 2015, within one week (April 10–17), it was estimated that 13,500 people tried to cross the Mediterranean from Libya, most were originally from Syria, Eritrea, and Somalia. On April 19 an estimated seven hundred to nine hundred people (estimated because there were only twenty-nine survivors) all crammed onto one boat, drowned in freezing waters only seventeen miles from the Libyan coast.[3] The International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Missing Migrants Project (www.missingmigrants.iom.int) estimated that over three thousand, seven hundred people have drowned trying to cross the Mediterranean in 2015. Increased numbers and increasing tragedies garnered concern from the international community, but adequate measures focused on organized rescue missions as opposed to border control did not surface. The larger issues concerning the business of international human trafficking rings, and the reasons why people risk their lives to migrate by boat have yet to be tackled.

Over the years several scholars have discussed the myriad ways images and stereotypes about migration by boat marginalizes the people involved. These representations cross a wide berth and can have a profound influence on policymaking and public opinion, setting up a vicious cycle of discrimination. Labels are crucial to the attainment of rights and future citizenship protections. When human identities are naturalized through metaphors, it becomes easier to further subjugate individuals legally. What is left out of public representations is that asylum seekers who migrate by boat often have no other choice, and that this type of migration is their last chance for survival. The authors in this collection remind us of the power of stories, films, performance, and art to address these issues in creative ways for public consumption, but that also allow for shifts and changes to public perspectives, to give a voice to marginalized individuals, and to challenge dehumanizing policies. Even though the global realities concerning migration currently seem insurmountable, the need for fairness with a focus on humanitarian ideals is equally urgent. The physical movement of refugee and asylum seekers through water turns them into scapegoats for the imagined dilution of state power, when in reality these individuals are often forcibly managed, and sometimes kept in motion by state practices that are attempting to ensure an orderly flow.

A Thematic Synopsis

The essays that have been collected for this volume are all published here for the first time. They explore various contemporary case studies, artistic renditions, and literary interpretations of migrations by boat as events where cultures intersect and identities are reshaped, in both painful and creative ways. Each chapter features a particular kind of marginalization that exaggerates aspects of belonging, and the fluid borders that differentiate "us" from "them." Contributors represent a variety of scholarly disciplines and national interests; although the book is centered on refugee and migration studies it clearly contributes to debates in media and communication studies, cultural studies, anthropology, geography (in particular border studies), and history. Sprinkled throughout are conversations about policy directives and histories, and all contributors hope their work will have an effect on future decision-making processes.

The ambiguous nature of memories (both social and individual), media representations, and popular culture productions are highlighted in order to address negative stereotypes and, conversely, to humanize the individuals involved. To this end, it is important to reflect on the nature of terms and labels. Authors in this volume use the terms *refugee, asylum seeker, migrant, illegal migrant, and illegal immigrant,* and each author clarifies his or her individual choices. Generally speaking, all labels or terms are problematic because they suggest a naturalized category and never adequately distinguish specific aspects of identities for social groups such as nationality, political status, legal status, economic status, or intentions. The term *boat people* is currently perhaps the most derogatory term; it was coined in the 1970s to identify the hundreds of thousands of people who fled Indochina. The word *illegal* and the overall emphasis on "illegality" is a central problem because it exemplifies a disregard for international human rights in favor of securitization. In a response to the allocation of labels, Kieran O'Doherty and Amanda LeCouteur suggest the use of the term *unexpected arrivals* to "steer the focus away from claims about the legality of the method of arrival" (O'Doherty and LeCouteur 2007: 2).

To begin, I would like to highlight four themes that connect all chapters in this volume. These are different from the section breakdown that this book is organized around, but are critical to understanding the power and relevance of interdisciplinarity in analyzes of dominant discourses that circulate in regards to nation–state policymaking, and public opinion. Vacillations between well-understood binaries such as citizen/stranger, land/water, and victim/threat can be easily used to justify vacillations in policy according to the current political will of those in power. Simply put, "Elected leaders and bureaucrats increasingly have turned to *symbolic* policy instruments to create an *appearance* of control" (Massey et al. 1998: 288; emphasis in the original), yet, those leaders also manipulate that appearance through rhet-

oric in the media. Increasingly, scholars are attempting to understand how "transnational flows of people, media and commodities" (Escobar 2001) can be viewed outside of standard dualistic terms and away from the clear-cut juxtapositions of citizen/stranger, land/water, and victim/threat. All the authors in this volume focus on alternative modes of representation to facilitate humanitarian perspectives that are often left out of policy decisions, public conversations, and media reports.

Water as Ambiguous Space

The only spaces considered "free" within the system of modern nations are the high seas.[4] Ulf Hannerz (1997) attempts to piece together a brief history of theoretical ideas associated with the term *flows* by quoting a variety of scholars that have used water-related terms in reference to culture. He suggests that a systematic analysis of the use of such terms needs to take place (Hannerz 1997: 4). Hannerz begins with Alfred Kroeber, who stated that civilizations should be viewed as "limited processes of flows in time" (1952, as seen in Hannerz 1997: 4). He quotes Johannes Fabian and his playful suggestion that scholars have been "liquidating the culture concept" (1978, as seen in Hannerz 1997: 5), and Roland Barthes, who in 1984 suggested that cultural movement could be viewed as "an imagery of streams and currents within a river" that has the power to "transport objects" and "create whirlpools" (Hannerz 1997: 5). Overall, Hannerz suggests that the fundamental importance of cultural "flows" is in their ability to have direction, reorganize, and move without destroying their source, and that words such as *crisscross, multicentric,* and *counter* can act as appendages for further analyzes that attest to notions of freedom associated with bodies of water. He concludes by stating that as a root metaphor for culture, myriad forms of water such as "tiny rivulets," "mighty rivers," and "whirlpools" may work well as primary organizing principles (Hannerz 1997: 6–7). In fact, the word *flows* is used frequently in many forms of textual expression, ranging from academic writing to media reports, as a seemingly well-understood term that exemplifies refugee movement in general.

Oceanic voyages have metaphorically represented liminal periods where human beings are "betwixt and between" (Turner 1964) real lives and identities. It has been argued that the ambiguous nature of liminality, associated with the sea and ocean travel, also facilitates many negative associations for refugees. As mentioned earlier, these ideas are fed by Western obsessions with binarisms and a "categorical order of nation–states," where refugees come to represent an objectified, undifferentiated mass that is in between homeland and outside of other nations; in essence, they do not belong anywhere (Allatson and McCormack 2005: 13–16). On many levels, refugees signify and have come to represent "an emptiness, an incompleteness vis-

à-vis the meaningful positive presence to political subjectivity that state citizenship provides" (Nyers 2006: 16).[5] This is echoed in Jennifer Rutherford's links to ideas about "holing"—"casting refugees out into a state of un-being"—to metaphorically describe the extent of the marginality experienced by asylum seekers (Rutherford chapter 5). Susan Coutin says that during the actual movement of refugees, when they are imagined to be are at their most liminal, they are viewed as non-human, which often leads to extremely dehumanizing treatment (Coutin 2005: 199). Elizabeth Colson and Thayer Scudder list negative emotional responses that are a direct result of relocation including grief, depression, loss, and anxiety. Here, the stress incurred is viewed as a temporary vacuum, which can be extremely difficult to recover from (Colson and Scudder 1982: 269–70). Emotional voids experienced by the Tunisian families of individuals who have disappeared while migrating by boat are brought forward in Oliveri (chapter 8) where even their grief is left unrecognized by state authorities. Therefore, an emphasis on liminality could be considered one of the prevailing problems for refugee identity because of its ambiguous implications. While metaphorically, the movement that is suggested by this concept may aid in understanding shifting cultures and the creation of new identities, the actual experience of physical movement often positions refugees ideologically, psychologically, legally, and physically in a void where marginality, loss, and fear prevail.

Conversely, water possesses the ability to traverse across land in a variety of ways; its movements have always been relegated to powerful ideas about freedom and borderlessness. When fluidity is epitomized in this way, it washes away any remaining trace of grounded existence and as Escobar reminds us, it is imagined that "transnational flows" lead to deterritorialization and that "fluidities of time and space" lead to the erasure of "place" as something we can rely on (Escobar 2001: 146). However, oceans and seas are also social (human) spaces both in terms of social constructions and in terms of geographical borders. Moreover, real life experiences and connections are made while people move through it (Steinberg 2013). As Vinh Nguyen explains, water and mass migration via water have the ability to solidify collective identity, to create "ties, attachments, and relations not circumscribed by terrestrial nationalism" (Nguyen chapter 3). The complex circulations of identities and relationships linked to ocean travel and the positive dynamics of movement through water are also central to understanding the ambiguous nature of metaphors and migrants' experiences. Here, liminal experiences can be viewed in a positive way because they allow for creativity and the production of new meanings. Chapter 12, "En Route to Hell: Dreams of Adventure and Traumatic Experiences among West African Boat People to Europe" (Sow, Marmer, and Scheffran), highlights the fluid and creative connections and human relationships that are forged because of the desperate need to migrate by boat.

Trauma vs. Agency

In 1951 a detailed definition pertaining specifically to refugee status was created. Article 1 A(2) of the United Nations Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees determines that a "refugee" is someone, who, "Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reason of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality but being outside of the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (UNHCR 2014). This definition is based on two core indicators–fear and protection–that resonate in stereotypes applied to illegal migration where individuals are positioned as threatening or victimized. If individuals do not express a "well-founded" fear that propels them into homelessness and helplessness, they cannot expect to acquire protection. This would suggest that any form of agency on their part could be viewed as detrimental to the attainment of refugee status, and possibly put them in the position of an unwanted intruder. However, in reality, fear and agency are most often conjoined in the refugee experience. As Mansouri and Leach state, individuals would not risk "their lives in [an] unseaworthy boats [if] they [we]re not in danger"(Mansouri and Leach 2004: 121). Fear also becomes prioritized where the term *economic refugee* establishes unsuitability and where the declaration of ideological fear is elevated, as in the case of Eastern Europeans and communism following World War II (Nyers 2006: 46).[6] On the other hand, if refugees are viewed as too problematic or too threatening, state control is increased and much, if not all, humanitarian aid is refused. In Australian media and policy discussions, refugees arriving by boat are often described as "queue jumpers," (Gale 2004: 330), viewed as undeserving, and considered "illegal migrants" (Briskman and Dimasi chapter 13). For state policymakers, *fear* and *protection* become key terms that are manipulated to exclude, to manufacture categories of difference, and to strengthen social and political order. The fate of migrants of all sorts are colored by this juxtaposition. All individuals or groups who migrate in a so-called "illegal" way, by boat, are viewed as the most threatening types of migrants, and therefore as having the most agency.

Even though migration by boat is undertaken for a variety of reasons, it is always a clandestine experience. Often family, neighbors, and friends are not told about plans, either to protect them or those leaving. "Push factors" as discussed by Mansouri and Leach (2004: 15), are historically linked with political conflicts that originate internally, regionally, or internationally, as well as with natural disasters. Personal accounts provide gruesome details of torture, imprisonment, death threats, and other forms of persecution that are

common to the experience of forced migration. Lan, a Vietnamese woman in her forties, stated, "You want to know why we left Vietnam? We saw no future for the next generation. … We lived in a house with Dan's parents, and we stayed in the house and waited for the communists to come. We thought that if they did not kill us, they would put us in jail" (Gilad 1990: 35). And in Iraq Aisha claimed, "Saddam's people used to come and threaten me, ask about my husband and children. I wasn't staying in the same place, I was always moving. My daughter was fourteen and she couldn't go to school because we kept moving houses. I kept moving because Saddam's people used to threaten me that they'll arrest me and kill my daughter if I didn't tell them about my husband and other children" (Mansouri and Leach 2004: 20). Implicated in these comments is a deep sense of loss accompanied by betrayal, pain, humiliation, and fear. It is very difficult to imagine that there would be any sort of debate about "well-founded fears" in reference to refugee aid for these individuals. It is even more difficult to imagine that "push factors," such as those mentioned above are not specifically reflected in UN designations. A solid argument can be made for the incompetence of critiques in the media and/or arenas of policymaking that fail to explicitly reflect the realities these voices portray. This argument, along with personal expressions of trauma, is clearly articulated in chapters 11, 12, and 13.

Piotr Sztompka (2000: 457) says, "Trauma occurs when there is a break, displacement, or disorganization in the orderly, taken-for-granted universe," and that the trauma of forced migration "touches the core of collective order–the domain of main values, constitute rules, [and] central expectations," and therefore is deeply felt. The depths of this form of trauma is well documented by Briskman and Dimasi in respect to survivors of the sinking of the *Janga* in 2010, when more than fifty passengers drowned (chapter 13). Similarly, stories about incidents of hunger and very uncomfortable living situations accompanied by traumatic, near-death experiences are narrated by Norres and Messar in personal interviews with Sue Hoffman (chapter 11). Colson claims that a perspective that favors the idea that "forced migration releases human energy which can lead to new and better lives for those uprooted" is a dangerous conclusion because it does not take seriously the trauma that continues to plague refugees and the lives of future generations (Colson 2003: 15). Most often refugees and illegal migrants are victims of human rights abuses, and not of ideological concerns. A poignant historic example is the more than one hundred thousand child labor migrants–many orphaned in Britain–who were sent to Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Roseman chapter 1).

Refugees and asylum seekers do not confer feelings of empowered upon leaving or while in transit. They are under a great deal of stress and physical suffering, and they are often positioned as pawns of complex political and economic injustices, and of contradictions. Their decision to migrate

by boat is often spontaneous, or is a last resort. For most, logical thoughts of political agency, or of having any agency during this period in their lives is not likely because these are acts of desperation. Commentray about agency may be heard years later, once they have left detention centers or other places of transition, and are actually able to work and live in a place they can call "home." This transition usually takes a very long time. The studies presented here illustrate that the traumas experienced during flight remain one of the most enduring aspects of personal memories. One example of the long-term shift from an exclusive focus on trauma toward feelings of newness and agency can be found in Tao's description of Gina Sinozich's artwork that Tao says represents a "compelling intersection" that enables a convergence of memory, history, and a "powerful new evocation of home" (Tao chapter 2). Undertaking, enduring, and surviving this type of migration is a feat of determination and strength. "Strength through adversity" was one of the prevailing themes within a complex web of ideas concerning being a refugee that surfaced in my conversations with the *Walnut*'s passengers in 2006 (Mannik 2012). This is not an uncommon theme for those who have experienced forced migration (Holt 1997: 251). Many of the *Walnut*'s passengers explained to me on several occasions, there was a "certain type of strength" gained from having been a refugee that very few people can understand unless they have experienced it themselves. Some felt they were better people for having gone through it. A few made the same joke: "What doesn't kill you makes you stronger." These conversations took place 60 years after their traumatic voyage. Similarly, Nguyen emphasizes migration by boat as a powerful indicator of community and solidarity for a now diverse Vietnamese diaspora (Nguyen chapter 3). Overall, individuals who migrate by boat incur far greater risks, leave in more-desperate situations and generally arrive in a more dilapidated condition, yet are publicly discriminated against in a more dehumanizing manner. It takes a very strong individual to survive all of that.

Original to this volume are examples of human agency, both in humanitarian acts and in selfish acts that can be seen in the actions and comments of host communities. Karina Horsti explains how the funds for the construction of the Porta d'Europa (Gateway to Europe) memorial on the island of Lampedusa were donated by people and organizations in Italy who wanted to draw attention to the thousands of drownings that had occurred in the past two decades (Horsti chapter 4). Mannik explains how the residents of Charlesville, Nova Scotia, welcomed the 174 Sikh refugees that arrived unannounced in their tiny village in the middle of the night with water, tea, and sandwiches, and, conversely, how many capitalized on this event by promoting tourism in the area (Mannik chapter 9). Briskman and Dimasi explain how many islanders ran to assist *Janga*'s passengers when they heard screams from the shoreline and how their valiant efforts did not coincide

with a state-directed rescue plan (Briskman and Dimasi chapter 13). All of the chapters mentioned above provide examples of humanitarian activities that are happening outside of, and often in contrast to, political discourses and state-funded practices.

Control and Protectionism

As noted by Peter Nyers, "To invent the citizen is to invent its opposite, the refugee" (Nyers 2006: 9). This idea is discussed by all authors in this volume either in overt or in indirect ways. One of the primary problems inherent in definitions and representations surrounding refugees in general is that even though UN designations dictate that certain people are entitled to refugee status, there are no state obligations attached to these designations. This sets up a paradox whereby international law confirms that nations are obliged to protect refugees, but that their obligations are only voluntary. Consequently, state leaders have total control over the management of refugee rights to asylum and their own responsibilities toward aid (Adelman as seen in Agar 1999: 93–94). Coutin refers to this as a "legal limbo" (Coutin 2005: 201). In reality, state responsibility is most often predicated on a tension between immigration policies and asylum policies (Mansouri and Leach 2004: 115), which do little to support the specific needs of refugees. In Canada, for an example, refugees can be rejected if they suffer from health problems or cannot financially support themselves (Gilad 1990: 126).[7] Historically, state-supported racial prejudice affects the outcome of "who" gets in. Legal realities place refugees in an "ambiguous 'inter' zone, whereby they are paradoxically included within the realm of humanity by virtue of their exclusion from it" (Nyers 2006: 46). This exclusion is legally malleable and is fashioned and refashioned in myriad ways at the state level.

In particular, political arguments favoring protectionism and state-centered securitization prevail when it comes to refugees who arrive by boat because water borders are often more difficult to police and survey. As well, media representations sensationalize them as a dire threat or crisis to the security of citizens on a variety of levels including economic, health, and basic safety that is translated in direct quotes from politicians The framing of their identities in the media, often suggesting criminality, has an impact on public opinion and government policies concerning immigration, and vice versa. Generally speaking, refugees are positioned as voiceless, helpless victims, or, conversely, "masses" or "waves" that threaten to destroy intact homeland security. As has been already stated, individuals who migrate by boat are usually equated with the threatening side of this dichotomy. Tamara Vukov (2003) explains that "affective processes" that focus on illegal refugees as intruders and as a threat to national security circulate through the media, other forms of public culture, and government logic. There is a "governmentaliza-

tion of affect itself," where media culture becomes "a key site through which the affective dimensions of government policies and practices can be traced" (Vukov 2003: 339). Arrival by boat has a profound effect precipitated by heightened media coverage, which further translates into justification for policies that attempt to shore up national borders.

Securitization and impromptu controls at the level of state policy have roots in sensationalized media representations, but the power of the media also lies in interpretation of the facts. As Daniele Salerno explains (chapter 7) media narratives can hide just as much as they seem to reveal. Here Salerno is referring to the lack of inclusion of the fact that in 1997 the Italian government chose not to rescue the *Kater I Rades,* and consequently eighty-one Albanian refugees drowned. Mannik provides another example that explains how media representations inspire public opinions that are then manifested in discriminatory public performances. She explains how for weeks large groups protested the arrival of the 174 refugees with slanderous placards, saying, "Deport AND Prosecute" outside a detention center in Halifax where the *Amelie*'s passengers were being held and investigated (Mannik chapter 9). Mannik thus highlights Ahmed's comments about the ways events that are promoted in the media as crises of security invite citizens to police national boundaries–to monitor suspicious others (Ahmed 2004: 76).

In this volume, Rutherford (chapter 5), Hoffman (chapter 11), and Briskman and Dimasi (chapter 13) provide detailed accounts of the history of policy formation in the Australian context concerning arrivals by boat. These authors explain how, over time, offshore camps or holding places have become increasingly decrepit and volatile situations–as Rutherford puts it, "grim realities." They explain how refugees' rights are stripped from them for long periods of time while they wait to be released. In particular, harsh and punitive policies are responsible for locking up more than a thousand children indefinitely in Australian-run immigration detention centers (Hoffman chapter 11), and the callous government attitude toward humanitarian aid for ships in distress. All of these measures are justified by rhetoric that lays claim to the need for tighter state securitization. Álvarez (chapter 6), Oliveri (chapter 8), and Sow, Marmer, and Scheffran (chapter 12) focus on the reinforcement of Europe's external frontiers historically, and in particular since the early 1990s, in efforts to detract so-called illegal migrants from arriving at various points by boat. Arrivals most commonly come from countries in North Africa, providing the perfect example of the contemporary "war on refugees," the term coined by Hintjens (chapter 10) that supports "the myth of invasion" (de Haas 2008). Also, as Sow, Marmer, and Scheffran (chapter 12) explain, dominate discourses that define migration to Europe by boat as a security problem work to obscure underlying structures that demand cheap migrant labor from places like Africa.

Memory: Personal and Public

Language often falls short of enabling a memory of a traumatic experience due to severe confusion over the actual events that cannot be understood in a logically way; emotions take over. Ernest Van Alphen (1999: 32) uses the metaphor of "killing the self" to emphasize the dynamic way that trauma can kill memory and meaning. Nevertheless, it is only through memory and remembering the past that trauma can be understood and negotiated; it is only when traumatic experiences are given a voice through narratives that painful memories and losses can be integrated into the present. The relation between trauma and memory is complex. For example, symptoms of posttraumatic stress dissipate over time, yet acute memories and extreme emotions can lie dormant for a lifetime. In general, we compose memories and retell memories that help us feel at ease with our lives, our pasts, and our identities; memories aid in the creation of appropriate contemporary meanings. However, traumatic experiences are so powerful and unusual that meaning cannot always be allotted to them because there is no appropriate context. Theorists have suggested that trauma can be experienced only in a belated form, "when it returns in the form of dreams or flashbacks" (Edkins 2003: 40), for example.

The details of personal memories, such as those expressed by young Senegalese men in dangerous crossings in small dinghies (Sow, Maramer, and Scheffran, chapter 12), aptly express the impact trauma can have. Similarly, for those leaving Vietnam by boat in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the 1 percent survival rate was obviously deemed less risky than staying. Gilad relates the story of Ly Fang, who was taken by bus in the middle of the night to a small town and who then spent thirty-two hours in a canoe to get to the sea. Once on board the canoe he encountered a litany of life-threatening experiences, including having no food for four days and being beaten by pirates. Fang was forced to watch the rape of a young girl and finally found refuge on an old oil rig with 112 other people for twenty-six days. Fang describes his experience on the oil rig: "It was very hot, not enough water. The Thais do not treat people well so that you will not write relatives to come and join you. The Thais also encourage the pirates to discourage people from coming. We eventually ran out of water even though we had rice. We would die if we cooked with salt water. It looks ridiculous to die on an oil rig. We were very hungry" (Gilad 1990: 64). These detailed accounts, although often difficult to read, give voice to actual experience and enlighten readers to the realities of forced migration, which in turn, hopefully, engenders empathy. These stories remind us that "there are stories lying 'behind' the stories that are told, and the emotions they arouse may never be fully known" (Donnan and Simpson 2007: 24). It could also be argued that mi-

gration stories provide the fuel for future creative expression as explained by Nguyen (chapter 3).

Maurice Halbwachs was the first theorist to analyze the importance of social memory. In 1951 he wrote *The Collective Memory,* in which he initiated a discussion concerning the pubic and sharable nature of memory as it differed from dreams (Halbwachs [1951] 1980: 9–13).[8] He is most well cited for his commentaries on the importance of social frameworks as guiding factors in the production of individual memories, made obvious in his renowned quote, "The memory of a society extends as far as the memory of the groups composing it" (Halbwachs [1951] 1980: 82). Roseman's chapter attests to the important social role memory activism can play concerning traumatic migrations that took place as long as a century ago, their relationship to nationalisms, and how individually authored literary genres, such as children's historical fiction, can perpetuate the social memory of mass migrations by boat (chapter 1). This role also extends to the creation of counter-narratives and the ability to initiate social and political agency (Bell 2003; Confino 1997). Federico Oliveri discusses the powerful role those outside of the nation, in this case Tunisian mothers and sisters, can play in depoliticizing national memories in Italy with the intention of shifting public opinion through protest (chapter 8).

The productions of social memory that occur in museums, memorial sites, and in various forms of media are all clear examples of the multiple ways nationalisms are produced. Often these productions provide an alternative voice for public and political debates surrounding migration by boat. In this volume, Mannik provides a detailed analysis of what was described as a media frenzy that took place when the *Amelie* arrived on Canadian shores in 1987, and how it was responsible for much controversial political debate about the nature of Canadian national ideologies and innate tensions between hatred, fear, and tolerance. This event has had a lasting effect on the ways the Canadian public views and reacts to subsequent arrivals by boat (chapter 9). Tao explains how the Australian National Maritime Museum consistently provides an arena for public debates and the memorialization of Australia's long and continuing history of arrivals of refugees and asylum seekers by boat (chapter 2). Horsti compares two outdoor public art installations to demonstrate the pivotal role art plays in critical questions about humanitarianism versus national security for Italian sea borders and islands such as Lampedusa. Greek artist Costas Varotsos's work titled, "L'approdo. Opera all'umanità migrante" [The landing. Art work for the migrant humanity] is built on the wreckage of a ship carrying eighty-one Albanians that needlessly sank off Italy's coast (chapter 4). Salerno explains that this art work/memorial site engendered some debate about issues related to humanitarian aid for refugees migrating by boat, but failed to address a primary issue–the all-too-common lack of government will to finance rescue missions–so therefore, in essence, it created an incorrect public memory (chapter 7).

Fiction and film are also valuable outlets for exploring the depths of remembering. Helen Hintjens (chapter 10) compares media reporting and film to look at the ways islands near Europe's Southern Mediterranean shores are symbolically depicted as both places of refuge and places of horror. Mediated images circulate and infuse public memories with ideas about islands as heterotopic places and islanders as conflicted and divided. Books and novels are also places where this type of migration is imagined and reimagined. As has been mentioned, Roseman provides an original examination of Canadian children's literature, as a neglected medium that aptly inscribes shared social memories about migration by boat (chapter 1). David Álvarez compares a Moroccan novel, *Cannibales,* with a performance piece by an artist from Belgium to highlight the symbolic function of small boats that travel frequently across the Strait of Gibraltar (chapter 6). In chapter 3, "Nước/Water: Oceanic Spatiality and the Vietnamese Diaspora," Vinh Nguyen compares two contemporary short stories to explore how literary narratives reflect on, and regenerate, the paradoxical role that ideas about water have played in terms of loss and belonging. When these experiences are given a voice through narratives, it is often with the intention of making sense of painful memories (chapter 3). Overall, the authors in this volume demonstrate how pain and trauma can be intimately linked to creativity and agency.

Conclusions

All of the chapters in this collection are original, and all explore ocean travel undertaken by refugees, asylum seekers, labor migrants, and so-called illegal migrants to show how migration by boat is symbolically aligned with notions of deterritorialization that often support fears of invasion, yet in reality these voyages represent the most physically and emotionally devastating form of forced migration. The contradictions in representation and lived experience are brought forward through stories, memorials, literature, media, and art. Contributions are interdisciplinary, and sometimes multidisciplinary in scope, to empathize the myriad ways migration by boat is imagined and reimagined, lived and experienced, and how the individuals involved are represented in ambiguous ways, which both challenge and reinforce cultural and legal structures. It draws attention to the fact that, symbolically, boats and water are viewed as spaces and places where hopes and fears along with "poetics and politics are mobilized" (Perera 2013: 78). The "boat" as an object, becomes a vehicle for finding refuge, and an experience that can quickly turn into a nightmare, and sometimes end in death. Bodies of water, the only viable spaces between nations, become battle fields; places that primarily foster ideas about human agency in terms of invasion, and only sometimes, foster humanitarian ideals; places where national security is contested and where innocent victims are often hidden and forgotten.

Organization of Chapters

The chapters within each of the four sections are structured to show a comparison between topics and places with the intention of moving conversations about migration by boat from histories and memories to literature and media representations, from artistic renditions to personal accounts, and from politics to popular culture. There is an intentional balance between theory and empirical research. Every chapter is a case study of either migration by boat over time between certain geographical areas, or a certain event(s) within a specific time period and set of locales. All are based on challenging stereotypical representations of individuals who migrate by boat and some, particularly in Section IV titled, "Stories of Smuggling, Trauma, and Rescue," include qualitative interviews. Migration routes are varied and cover the globe: from Britain to Canada, Tunisia to Italy, Iraq to Australia, and Morocco to Spain. In this context, boats carrying asylum seekers, refugees, and so-called illegal migrants not only move people and cultural capital between places, but also fuel cultural fantasies, dreams of adventure and hope, along with fears of invasion and terrorism.

Section I, "Embedded Memories for Public Consumption," consists of three chapters that focus on histories of migration by boat ranging from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. Sharon Roseman analyzes Canadian children's fiction to explore contemporary memory activism concerning the over one hundred thousand British "home children" who were forced to migrate to Canada between the 1860s and the 1930s. Philanthropists imagined at the time that they were involved in rescuing these children, whereas Canadian authorities agreed to this migration program only because of a dire need for farm laborers. The children were either orphans or had parents who were unable to take care of them. The youngest were only three to four years old and labor contracts often lasted until they were eighteen years old. Roseman highlights three literary motifs that inspire this category of historical fiction, to emphasize the power of children's books to affect social memory over time.

In "Representing Migration by Boat at the Australian National Maritime Museum," Kim Tao (chapter 2) explores the centrality of migration by boat in Australia's history and at the Australian National Maritime Museum (ANMM). This chapter examines three different ANMM exhibitions to demonstrate how arrivals of refugees by boat are remembered in the Australian context over time. Various creative interpretative processes are discussed in terms of meaning and practice, all of them aimed at detailing the pain and traumas of forced migration and its central role in Australian history. The individualized case studies cover arrivals from Vietnam in the late 1970s, the broad history of arrivals from British convicts, free settlers, and Indochinese boat people, to seaborne asylum seekers from Iraq and Afghanistan in an exhibi-

tion titled "Waves of Migration," and finally, the individualized experiences of one Croatian family in 1957. Collectively, these case studies are intended to challenge mainstream discourses about identity that are linked to forced migration.

In "Nước/Water: Oceanic Spatiality and the Vietnamese Diaspora," Vinh Nguyen emphasizes the symbolic association of water with community and belonging for hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese survivors who fled a new communist government in the late 1970s. "This mass migration captured the world's attention and gave rise to a new cultural lexicon: the 'boat people'" (chapter 3). After years of reflection, memories have surfaced in cultural and literary representations. Nguyen examines two short stories that describe the unique experiences of this group and how, over time, the cultural significance of water as a metaphor and as a particular kind of space has become central to the construction of diaspora memories to produce a contemporary sense of collective identity that was forged through loss and trauma, yet that emphasizes agency, connection, and mobility.

Section II, "The Artist and the Illegal Migrant," examines links between various forms of artistic productions that explore migration by boat in attempts to enlighten the public about the politics and problems for refugees who chose this type of movement. It looks at migration by boat, both historically and symbolically, through fiction and public visual arts. It also juxtaposes European and Australian experience and perspective. In chapter 4, "Imagining Europe's Borders: Commemorative Art on Migrant Tragedies," Karina Horsti draws on theories about borders and the practice of bordering in the context of southern European sea borders through a comparison of two public art works. One is an installation of damaged migrant boats that were collected on the shores of a Greek island named Chois and then displayed in Berlin in 2009, at the Brandenburg Gate. The second is a monument that was erected on the island of Lampedusa in the form of a gate. Both exemplify the gate as a metaphor for borders, liminality, humanitarianism, and state securitization. Her analysis is critical to understanding how art works can effectively commemorate the trauma and suffering associated with migration by boat, yet that nevertheless, become ineffective in eliciting policy shifts and empathy in terms of public opinion.

In chapter 5, "Washed Clean": The Forgotten Journeys of "Irregular Maritime Arrivals" in J. M. Coetzee's *Estralia,*" Jennifer Rutherford examines J. M. Coetzee's novel, *The Childhood of Jesus* (2013). In this fictional work Coetzee creates a shadow-land called Novilla, "a cosmos of being *in absentia*" where "there is a room but no key, a place to sleep but no shelter, food but no flavor," a place filled with holes (chapter 5). She links Coetzee's complex use of metaphor to the experiences of irregular maritime arrivals to Australian shores. Accordingly, she demonstrates how holing (the act of propelling an object into a hole) becomes one way to think about stringent legal policies

that have become more severe over time, policies that create disparaged subjects and express the will to hole. Although *The Childhood of Jesus* is neither just about refugee policy nor about Australia, Coetzee's mythical Novilla is a place where asylum seekers dwell in limbo, "stripped of all but the barest necessities of life" (Rutherford, chapter 5 this volume), and therefore is a space that allows us to imagine the logic of inhumane practices, ideologies, and policies.

The Strait of Gibraltar is the narrowest waterway between Europe and Africa. David Álvarez looks at migration by boat that takes place in this strait where illegal migrants cross either in duck-hunting boats called *pateras,* or in various kinds of inflatable crafts called by their brand name, Zodiac. These small boats frequently capsize and many people have drowned in their attempts to find refuge in Europe. Álvarez explains the historic significance of the Strait of Gibraltar as a geopolitical site that links the global North and South through a comparison of Mahi Binebine's novel, *Cannibales,* and a performance piece by artist Francis Alÿs, called "Don't Cross the Bridge before You Get to the River." After providing a history of one of the busiest maritime channels in the world, he explains how these two works function to critique increasingly stringent immigration policies that strip migrants of their rights and endanger their lives. Álvarez also brings to light counter discourses about clandestine migration and the important role that boats, as objects, play in fragile circumstances and experiences.

In section III "Media, Politics, and Representation," there is shift toward comparing art and performance with media representations. While making a variety of connections between imagined and real events, section III provides avenues for understating how public opinion is formed by myriad media representations and popular culture venues. As well, resistance to discriminatory state policy is explored alongside explicit racism and indignation toward refugees. Daniele Salerno begins this section by looking at news media, monuments, and art installations that revolve around the *Kater I Rades* tragedy when eighty-one people died in the Strait of Otranto. These individuals were attempting to escape a civil and economic crisis in their homeland of Albania. The meanings associated with this event were "shaped, readapted and rewritten in order to meet the shifting narratives on which Otranto and its community base their collective identity" (Salerno, chapter 7, this volume). Even though the opening of Costas Varotsos's work, "L'approdo. Opera all'umanità migrante" [The landing. Art work for the migrant humanity], was framed by narratives of hospitality and humanitarianism, interpretations in the media surrounding it function to erase the specificities of the event, in particular the fact that eighty-one people died because of the Italian government's refusal to rescue their sinking vessel. In this way Salerno reminds us that representational practices and media reports can often hide more, or just as much, as they claim to memorialize.

In chapter 8, "'Where Are Our Sons?'": Tunisian Mothers and the Repoliticization of Deadly Migration across the Mediterranean Sea," Federico Oliveri looks at the southern European sea borders where it is estimated that 13,000 people have lost their lives since 2000, although the political responsibility and will for searching and mourning for them is rarely apparent. He focuses on the case of missing Tunisians who left after the Revolution of 2010 and reconstructs protests that took place in a variety of ways over time, from the perceptive of the lost Tunisians' mothers and sisters. In this chapter Oliveri combines the analysis of multiple sources, including public petitions, newspapers, press releases, videos, and Web sites to demonstrate how these family members are repoliticizing issues of injustice based on race, class, and gender through demands of respect, which are grounded in parental feelings of love and protection. He argues that even though shifts and changes to Euro-Mediterranean immigration policies will be extremely difficult to achieve, it will be impossible without the active involvement of the migrants and their families.

Some events seem to monopolize the international "mediascape" (Appadurai 1990) for periods of time. Arrivals of refugees by boat are one such event. Often, for weeks following, social dramas are created in representations that rely on systems of shared values and meanings, which are politically charged and highly emotional. In "Mysterious Refugees: Social Drama Ensues" (chapter 9, this volume), Lynda Mannik adopts Victor Turner's theories about social dramas to explore how mass media affects and alters everyday discourses, solidifies public opinion about migration by boat, and inspires public, political performances. In 1987 the arrival of the *Amelie*, a freighter carrying 174 refugees (mostly young, Sikh men) that landed in a small, isolated fishing village (population seventy-seven) on the shores of Nova Scotia, created a media frenzy, and a subsequent social drama. Within the first week, national Canadian newspapers alone had published over 150 articles. This chapter explains how the event brought to light tensions in national ideologies between hospitality and humanitarianism that subsequently highlighted racism and public fears concerning those who arrive illegally in Canada by boat. It also highlights the fluidity between media and performativity in descriptions of individual and collective responses.

Helen Hintjens shifts this conversation specifically to islands and focuses on understanding how media and film work to represent islands, such as Lampedusa and Linosa (both off the coast of Italy), as contradictory places of refuge and horror in "Islands and Images of Flight around Europe's Southern Rim: Trouble in Heterotopia" (chapter 10). Several tiny islands on southern Mediterranean shores have become clearinghouses for the detainment of asylum seekers. Hintjens focuses on the heterotopic nature of these places that are surrounded by water, alongside the conflicting relationships between tourists, island inhabitants, and refugees. In general, islands are imagined as

paradises and safe havens, places where it becomes easier to imagine utopian lives. In recent years, hundreds have died trying to get to Lampedusa and Linosa, trying to survive and to escape political oppression from locations such as Libya, Syria, and Tunisia. Subsequently, these islands have become places of increased military securitization where refugees are confined, rejected, and buried.

Finally, the last section, "Stories of Smuggling, Trauma, and Rescue," gives an intimate view of the complex sets of human relationships that are inculcated in traumatic experiences of people who are forced to migrate by boat. The stories of survivors, smugglers, and members of host nations are told in the hopes that discriminatory, stereotypical attitudes will be altered in favor of balanced and empathetic viewpoints. In chapter 11, "'If We Die, We Die Together': Risking Death at Sea in Search of Safety," Sue Hoffman focuses on the Australian context and relationships between so-called people-smugglers and the so-called illegal migrants, who are typically from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Iran, and Iraq. Through personal interviews she focuses on themes that are central to the experience of migration by boat, including fear, insecurity, and risk. People smugglers are most often depicted as callous opportunists and their passengers are most often viewed as victims who are preyed upon. Real relationships, however, are varied; and sometimes smugglers concern themselves with the safety of their customers, particularly if they are working with citizens from their own country. Refugees' accounts demonstrate that a small number believe that the smugglers they were involved with did help them find a safe place to live and did treat them with humanity. Hoffman reminds us of the dire need for international aid and protection for refugees, so that ultimately they do not have to resort to trying to find safety in unsafe boats.

Migration from West Africa to Europe has escalated in recent years. In chapter 12, "En Route to Hell: Dreams of Adventure and Traumatic Experiences among West African Boat People to Europe," Papa Sow, Elena Marmer, and Jürgen Scheffran explore the plight of young Senegalese men who undertake clandestine journeys with the aid of complex organizations, including travel agents, ship captains, *touts,* and *borom gaals*. After providing a thorough analysis of sophisticated and pricey passport controls, they analyze qualitative interviews to highlight the individuated complexities of relationships that are forged through the risky experience of migration by boat. They uncover symbolic and emotional elements that explain the associated trauma. Dominate discourses that position migrants who travel by boat as a threat accompanied by restrictive immigration policies fail to deter men who are in search of an income to support families who are living in dire poverty due to the increasing destruction of marine ecosystems. Dominate discourses focused on securitization obscure the fact that these migrations are fuelled by

"the structural job demand for cheap migrant labour in informal sectors in Europe" (chapter 12).

In 2010 the *Janga* crashed on the rocks at Christmas Island, killing fifty people. It is one of many such events linked to what has recently been described as a global crisis. In the final chapter, chapter 13 "Re-living *Janga*: Survivor Narratives," Linda Briskman and Michelle Dimasi narrate this event through survivors' stories and the voices of the citizens of Christmas Island. Islanders talked about their courageous efforts to save lives and the trauma of witnessing. Survivors recalled the horrors of almost drowning at sea while watching friends and family members die. Dimasi was conducting research on the island at the time of the crash and the conversations she engaged in contrasted dramatically with successive political discourses that promoted increasingly stringent deterrence and interception policies as life-saving requirements. Both authors argue that the failure of the Australian government to focus on human security, empathy, and compassion was a factor in the deaths of the *Janga*'s passengers, and that lessons can be learned about compassion and humanity from the stories that islanders and survivors told.

Notes

1. I have discussed this voyage in more depth in *Photography, Memory and Refugee Identity: The Voyage of the* Walnut*, 1948* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).
2. L'Association des amis et des families des victims de l'immigration clandestine (AFVIC) claimed that 3,286 bodies were recovered from the Strait of Gibraltar beaches from 1997 to 2001.
3. The mass drowning of hundreds on one boat made international headlines and drew attention to what was described as an international crisis in need of UN intervention. The tragedy that occurred on April 19 happened when most of the passengers tried to get to one side of the ship in order to be rescued by a merchant ship. For more details BBC 2015.
4. In 1982 the UN adopted an international agreement called the Law of the Sea. It defines a national boundary of twelve miles from any shoreline as territory, and two hundred miles where state authority has power over resources. Areas outside this range are considered high seas, where there is no national ownership. The high seas are considered mutually owned by all peoples. Having said that, even on the high seas pirates and drug runners (for example) can be detained.
5. Here, Nyers (2006: 46) also reminds us that, as a liminal category, refugees "unhinge" humanitarian ideas associated with citizenship.
6. By this I am referring to the marked hatred of communism following World War II as discussed by Jacobson 1998; Troper 2000; Whitaker 2014.
7. In response to Canada's policy restrictions, Gilad quotes a Polish immigrant: "Now, Sweden is really humanitarian because it takes deaf people and people with diseases" (Gilad 1990: 129).