Nationalities Papers, 2017
Vol. 45, No. 6, 1189–1198

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

REVIEW ARTICLE

Refugees and refugee studies

What is a refugee?, by William Maley, London, C. Hurst & Co., 2016, 280 pp., £12.99 (paperback), ISBN 9781849046794

Asylum policy, boat people and political discourse: boats, votes and asylum in Australia and Italy, by Irial Glynn, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, 218 pp., £62.59 (hardback), ISBN 9781137517326

Migration by boat: discourses of trauma, exclusion and survival, edited by Lynda Mannik, New York, Berghahn, 2016, 290 pp., $110.00 (hardback), ISBN 9781785331015

The politics of suffering: Syria's Palestinian refugee camps, by Nell Gabiam, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2016, 191 pp., $30.00 (paperback), ISBN 9780253021403

Migrants, refugees and the stateless in South Asia, by Partha S. Ghosh, New Delhi, Sage, 2016, 384 pp., $65.00 (hardback), ISBN 9789351508540

Elusive refuge: Chinese migrants in the cold war, by Laura Madokoro, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2016, 352 pp., $45.00 (hardback), ISBN 9780674971515

Refugees – that is to say, some refugees – are in the news. Politicians and media outlets have been quick to advertise the impact of the Syrian civil war on mass population displacement, particularly the attempts by Syrian refugees to find a place of safety in Europe, although far larger numbers remain stranded inside Syria or lodged precariously in camps in adjacent states. Policy-makers have attempted to keep pace, but without fashioning an agreed strategy at an inter-governmental level, with the result that policies have been improvised, fragmented, and usually unhelpful in providing refugees with meaningful prospects of security. Gains have accrued to far-right politicians for whom the so-called refugee crisis presented a golden opportunity to gain ground.

Meanwhile, specialists in the field of refugee studies have authored extended think-pieces in an attempt to influence the course of government policy to the advantage, as they see it, of refugees who are trapped in refugee camps and other sites. A recent intervention insists that refugees are people with "needs" that should be recognized through targeted development projects in situ, not through encouraging mass migration to industrialized countries in the global north (Betts and Collier 2017).[1] Other specialists have contributed to the growing body of work on the mechanisms and economics of people-smuggling and on related policies of deterrence that are filed under the insipid term, "migration management" (Mountz 2010; Tinti and Reitano 2016).

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

University presses and trade publishers have done their best to track these changes by developing lists devoted to improved understanding of the consequences of forced migration. Notably, some publishers have a distinguished record of disseminating high-quality scholarship in refugee studies. Lynda Mannik's edited book, *Migration by Boat*, is volume 35 in Berghahn's series, Studies in Forced Migration, which was launched 20 years ago and which includes several landmark works with a particular strength in cultural and social anthropology. The emphasis of the series is predominantly on the meanings of displacement for refugees. This is not to say that it neglects the politics of dispossession and displacement, or the politics of humanitarian assistance.

History is a rather different matter. There is a growing body of work by historians addressing case-studies of refugees and "refugee crises," but very few works of synthesis (Marrus 1985; Kushner and Knox 1999; Gatrell 2013). Anyone interested in the genealogy of categorization, in practices of incarceration, in the history of "durable solutions" of refugee regimes, and in the historical conduct of governments and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) must consult standard treatments by political scientists (Skran 1995; Loescher 2017) or contemporary civil servants (Simpson 1939). Likewise, historians have been slow to engage with refugees' testimony and with the memory and commemoration of displacement, where anthropologists have made most of the running (Hirschon 1989; Knudsen 2005). It is as if historians regard refugees as transient figures or blips on the historical radar, but this is a myopic stance, not least given the longevity of displacement among Palestinian, Tibetan, Afghan, and other refugees (Gatrell 2017).

The books under review all have something to say about the manifestations of population displacement in the modern world and the responses it has evoked among actors, including governments, NGOs, and displaced people themselves. William Maley examines the history and politics of forced displacement in broad terms. Irial Glynn provides a systematic comparison of government policy in two receiving countries. Nell Gabiam adopts a national perspective on population displacement, Partha Ghosh a regional angle, and Lynda Mannik and Laura Madokoro a transnational approach.

William Maley poses a question – "what is a refugee?" – that has preoccupied generations of lawyers, political scientists, and social theorists (Shacknove 1985; Zetter 2007; Chatty and Marfleet 2013). It is a question that recurs directly or indirectly in all the other books reviewed here. Maley's book, which is written with the general reader in mind, and which rests upon extensive reading in the literature and in a scattering of relevant legal cases, can be recommended for its clarity of exposition. One of its strengths is to remind the reader that "Europe is not the center stage of a global refugee crisis" (73). The author is attentive to the analytical challenges in seeking to understand the various motives that cause people to flee, and to the relationship between refugees and the state (Haddad 2008). In a deft summary, Maley insists that states create refugees through a failure to protect their citizens, or through a concerted attack on their rights, such as experienced by the Hazaras in Afghanistan under the Taliban. He does not explore the converse proposition, namely that refugees can help to constitute the state, a consideration to which I return later.

States also conspire to place obstacles in the way of people who seek asylum. Maley outlines the difficulties faced by asylum seekers, for example, in being believed by immigration officials and more generally being obliged to negotiate restrictive bureaucratic policies. He offers a brisk explanation of "people-smuggling" as a strategy, and makes a side-swipe at former Australian prime minister Kevin Rudd for excoriating them as plyers of "the world's most evil trade" (97). In an extended passage (89–94), he devotes attention to individual initiatives designed to assist refugees to find a place of safety. He brings a

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

good grasp of history to bear on his discussion of the dangers faced by asylum seekers and refugees, and of inter-governmental measures to protect refugees, such as through the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNHCR. It would have been interesting to devote more attention to refugees from Afghanistan, whose history he knows well. Likewise, Maley says relatively little about refugees as agents (148–152). Overall, *What is a Refugee?* is an accessible and also a humane book. He points out that "how we treat those we define as refugees may tell us little about them, but a great deal about ourselves" (41, 195).

Maley's survey ends with the poignant story of Fazel Chegeni, a Kurdish refugee who found himself trapped in a legal-bureaucratic quagmire when he gained sanctuary in Australia. Faced with the prospect of being detained indefinitely for a minor infraction in a detention center on Christmas Island, he took his own life. This vignette prepares the reader for the new book by Irial Glynn. Glynn's work stands as a testimony to what it is possible to pack into a relatively short space. It can profitably be read alongside a recent history of Australian refugee policy (Neumann 2015). The decision to compare political discourse in two prosperous countries, Australia and Italy, pays rich dividends. Glynn knows the literature inside out, and deploys his knowledge of European languages to good effect. He draws the reader's attention to the contours of political debates and to the ways in which the policies pursued by governments in these countries diverged and then converged.

In Australia, Glynn detects agreement among contemporary political leaders on the need to impose and retain control, and to limit or reject entirely the claims of "boat people" who evade the official channels for admission. In the 1970s, politicians managed to convince the Australian public that Vietnamese refugees should be admitted in order to guarantee their safety, although the numbers were relatively modest. By the following decade, the tide had turned against asylum seekers who were seen as very visible "queue jumpers," even though the numbers were very small. In the late 1990s, anti-immigration parties did most of the acrobatics, jumping on the bandwagon for political gain. Bringing things closer to the present day, Glynn supplies a good deal of information on mandatory detention and on the so-called Pacific Solution in 2001, and on the shared consensus among political parties on the need to "hold the line." Australia historically imposed controls over migration, since migrants tended to regard it as a final destination. (Business leaders were not uniformly in favor of such controls.) Compared to Italy, Australian policy was more consistent – but also more restrictive, and even ruthless when it came to detention offshore and to "pushing back" boats under the "Operation Sovereign Borders" procedure (161). There was a broad consensus among Australian politicians on the left and right of the spectrum, for whom control of migration (and its corollary, the ability to select those who could be admitted) had become a core principle. Leftist politicians did not want to cede control of migration lest it threaten the job security of Australian citizens. Glynn ends his discussion of the 1990s with the externalization of asylum policy through bilateral agreements with China and Indonesia, and brings things up to date by considering the legacy of the so-called Pacific Solution and Papua New Guinea Solution, and the implications of interception and detention.

Australia enjoyed the kind of regional leverage that Italy could not, particularly because Italy had to abide by judgements handed down by the European Court of Human Rights. Glynn also pinpoints a consistent humanitarian strand in Italian left-liberal politics. In general, Italians of all political opinions regarded their country as a country of transit for migrants seeking a final destination further north, as in the 1990s with refugees from the war in Yugoslavia. Unlike Australia, Italy was a latecomer to policies of managed

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migration. Italian NGOs, Catholic Church leaders, and those on the left continued to adhere to a liberal humanitarian stance. Government ministers wobbled: they adopted "a changeable stance," and offered an "incoherent response" (4, 88). Glynn supplies a powerful account of the crisis in Italy brought about by the arrival of tens of thousands of Albanian asylum seekers in 1991, who were held for weeks on end in the overcrowded football stadium in Bari before being returned to Albania. Local politicians and members of the public in cities such as Brindisi criticized government ministers in Rome, who scarcely lifted a finger to help. Something of the same recurred in 2015–2016 in Lampedusa. The *Mare Nostrum* initiative devised in 2013 was an attempt to rescue "boat people," using the resources of the Italian navy, but the government soon abandoned it on grounds of cost. In general, Italian policy has been characterized by "erratic responses" (140).

As Lynda Mannik points out, boats and "boat people" have been a recurrent theme in the history of population displacement. The most famous episode is associated with Vietnamese refugees in the 1970s. Other moments and ordeals – such as the transatlantic migration of refugees from the Spanish Civil War, or the migration of Estonian refugees after World War II – have attracted much less attention from historians and social scientists, although there are important exceptions (Pugh 2004; Mannik 2013). The book she has edited provides an essential point of reference for anyone seeking to contextualize the dramatic crossings of the Mediterranean and the resulting loss of life, which the International Organization for Migration put at nearly 4000 in 2015 alone. (The high death toll in the Mediterranean needs to be set alongside the huge volume of migration; more than one million maritime migrant arrivals were recorded in 2015).

Mannik and her co-authors are well aware of international, regional, and national policy contexts. This emerges clearly in Federico Oliveri's chapter on migration from Tunisia, which criticizes depoliticized depictions of "deadly migration." Oliveri describes the vigorous efforts of Tunisians to identify and establish the whereabouts of family members who are missing believed drowned, a campaign in which they were joined by the feminist collective "2511." Other authors too connect the politics of migration to cultural dimensions and representations of "migration by boat," including the commemoration and memorialization of sometimes epic journeys. Boat migration is portrayed in multiple ways: by migrants, frequently, as an ordeal, and as an "invasion," by governments and hostile media outlets. Mannik rightly emphasizes that cultural representations are closely connected to the politics of attempts to manage displacement. Linda Briskman and Michelle Dimasi indicate in their chapter on the aftermath of the sinking of the *Janga* off Christmas Island in December 2010 how Australian politicians coupled expressions of sympathy with a determination to deter future arrivals. Most of the survivors were detained on Christmas Island and isolated from islanders who had helped rescue them in ways that both parties found unsettling.

Australia figures prominently in other chapters, in ways that reinforce the finding that Vietnamese "boat people" initially met with a positive reception. Kim Tao reminds us that Australia's national anthem includes the lines: "For those who've come across the seas, we've boundless plains to share." Her chapter on representing migration at Sydney's National Maritime Museum points to the significance of installations on the subject of migration by boat that coincided with Australia's post-1973 turn toward multiculturalism as a dominant national imaginary. The installation of the fishing boat, the *Tu Do*, whose passengers reached Darwin in 1977 after a 3700-mile journey, connects to the multiple meanings that attached both to Australia and to Vietnam. In a parallel contribution, Vinh Nguyen points out that the Vietnamese word for water, *nước*, is the same as for "country" or "homeland," but the homeland has to be reconstituted in diaspora.

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

One theme that emerges from this book concerns the porous state border that can be "breached" by a "flood" of unauthorized migrants, something that Lynda Mannik discusses in her chapter on the vessel *Amélie*, from which 174 Sikh asylum seekers disembarked in July 1987 at the tiny settlement of Charlesville, a remote part of Nova Scotia. The episode ("social drama") generated anxieties around Canada as being "pushed around" (a contemporary quotation) by people who were getting in "by the back door" (another contemporary quotation). At the same time, the event put Charlesville "on the map" for Canadians who had never heard of it (188) as well as presenting residents with the opportunity to celebrate the fact that something of note had occurred in their neck of the woods. These refugees were eventually allowed to remain, having been offered assistance by Canadian Sikhs. Charlesville regained its obscurity. It would have been useful to know more about the connection between this episode and federal-state relations, and to explore ideas of Canadian "hospitality" and "humanitarianism."

In a chapter on "Memorializing boat tragedies in the Mediterranean," Daniele Salerno makes the important point that the installation of *L'Approdo: Opera all'Umanità Migrante*, "a monument to the humanity that migrates," managed to efface the "human action that caused the sinking," namely the actions of the Italian warship (*Kater i Radës*) that rammed the boat carrying Albanian migrants, sending more than 80 of them to the bottom of the Strait of Otranto (see also Albahari 2015). The memorial became an opportunity for the Greek sculptor to advertise the suffering of Greeks during the financial storm that afflicted the Greek economy, as well as the hospitality of Italians, but it said nothing about Albanians or the militarization of the Mediterranean Sea. Karina Horsti discusses inter alia the construction of the *Porta d'Europa* (Gateway to Europe), a memorial designed by Mimmo Paladino, located outside Lampedusa, and built with funds donated by local people to commemorate those who drowned off the coast. The sculpture "honors the victims but does not blame anyone for the tragedy" (95). Other authors draw on film, media reports, and literature to make similar points about hopes abridged and lives lost. David Álvarez refers to the fiction of Mahi Binebine as part of a discussion of multiple perspectives on the small boats that navigate the Strait of Gibraltar, and the way in which novelists can help make the lives and deaths of clandestine migrants visible and audible. In a striking final remark, Álvarez reminds the reader that "strait" can refer to narrowness and distress, but that in Arabic the strait has historically been known as Bab az-Zakat, or "gateway of charity" (127–128).

Vinh Nguyen suggests that migration by boat may help to crystallize new social relations in ways that are distinct from those on land. This finding emerges also in the chapter by Pap Sow and colleagues on West African migration, particularly fishermen from Senegal who make the treacherous journey in search of better fortune in the Canary Islands (their misfortune is a result in part of the depletion of local stocks by overfishing on the part of European trawlers), and who form part of a complex network of relations involving intermediaries, "conveyors," boat-builders, and boat captains.

Nell Gabiam's book is a fine ethnographic, historically well-informed, illustrated study that unlike the other books under review takes the reader inside the social world of the refugee camp. Her particular focus is on Palestinian refugees in three camps inside Syria, Neirab, Ein el Tal (both close to Aleppo), and Yarmouk (in Damascus), where she carried out field work in 2004–2006 and where most of that country's intake of Palestinian refugees settled after the 1948 Arab–Israeli war and *Nakba* or "catastrophe." She draws attention to the reception of refugees by the Syrian government and population. But the main purpose of her ethnography was to analyze the proposal by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) to "rehabilitate" refugees

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

by relocating them from Neirab in purpose-built houses in Ein el Tal. UNRWA committed resources to urban development in the expectation that the project could be rolled out to other camps in Lebanon, Jordan, Gaza, and the West Bank, under the banner of "sustainability" and "capacity building." The central chapter of *The Politics of Suffering* is devoted to the Neirab Rehabilitation Project. There was no doubt that Neirab refugee camp was ripe for "rehabilitation," in the sense that the buildings were in a dire state: the camp itself had been created by appropriating a World War II-era barracks, and it had become dilapidated and insanitary. Gabiam demonstrates that although it was conceived as a top-down initiative on the part of UNRWA, nevertheless some Palestinian camp leaders justified it on the grounds that by alleviating poverty it would improve educational provision and prepare refugees to focus on political goals (81–85, 125), whereas others regarded the old barracks as the physical embodiment of territorial loss (106–107). Sure enough, by the time of the uprisings in 2011, UNRWA had come to the view that at least some barracks should remain intact as "witness" to the ordeal of the *Nakba* (133).

Gabiam's point is that "development" and "sustainability" had major implications for Palestinian refugees for whom a "temporary" camp was consistent with ideas of suffering and prospective "return." In the political climate that followed the Oslo Accords, UNRWA encouraged refugees to embrace development as a viable and acceptable alternative. But its official stance fails to understand the significance of suffering – both historic and current – as a constituent and core element of Palestinian politics. One of the strengths of her book is that she draws out the complex relationship between UNRWA and Palestinian refugees. Although she endorses fashionable ideas of the camp as a "space of exception," it is clear that the refugee camps she describes have also been sites of dynamic cultural activity and creativity, as well as political consciousness.

In a moving epilogue, Gabiam considers the impact of the civil war in Syria on Palestinian refugees. Yarmouk became an important base for Syrian rebels, and Ein el Tal became a military zone. Islamic State forces entered Yarmouk in April 2015, by which time the camp had already been emptied of Palestinians. Meanwhile, the UN articulated a "Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan" in 2015 that reiterates the need for emergency relief combined with development assistance to refugees who fled Syria. Many of her informants subsequently made their way to Germany and Sweden. It remains to be seen what this secondary displacement entails for Palestinian politics and notions of Palestinian identity in adjacent states of refuge as well as in the global Palestinian diaspora (Hammer 2005).

The great merit of Partha Ghosh's study is that it seeks to examine migration in South Asia in the round, but this is both its strength and weakness. Alongside the dominant discussion of Partition-era refugee flows, he considers the flight of refugees from Tibet and Bangladesh. He also takes account of displacements brought about by other conflicts, such as the civil war in Sri Lanka (148–151). It is helpful to be reminded of the situation of stateless Urdu-speaking Bihari refugees who moved to East Pakistan in 1948 and their descendants who continue to live in precarious conditions in Bangladesh as they have done since its independence in 1971, notwithstanding the agreement reached by the Dhaka High Court in 2008 (47–50, 86–88). Readers will find useful data on population movements as well as the background to the conflicts that resulted, although the breadth of focus does produce a somewhat unwieldly and fragmented result. Ghosh adopts an avowedly empirical approach to the subject matter, although there is some discussion of theoretical insights from social sciences and cultural studies. He alludes to the political radicalization of refugees who contributed to the rise of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951, the forerunner of today's BJP (60–62).

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Ghosh argues that there is no regional refugee regime, because the key state actors cannot agree on what it should look like (296), although a broader conceptualization of "regime" does in fact disclose multiple actors and practices, as the author himself does in an extended discussion of "relief and rehabilitation" measures (177–212). He has a nice line about accepting migration as a fact of life and the need to explore manifestations of cultural enrichment. Readers will find lists of works of fiction and films – some of them, such as Nemai Ghosh's *Chhinnamool* ("The Uprooted," 1950), deserve to be better known – but unfortunately there is little analysis of these intriguing cultural products.

Madokoro's impressive monograph provides a well-informed and contextualized discussion of the enduring post-World War II refugee regime, arguing that our grasp of its chief features is woefully incomplete unless we take proper account of the crises of displacement in Asia and in particular the Far East, and their wider ramifications. She looks in detail at the movements of Chinese who left the mainland at different stages after the formation of the People's Republic in 1949. What responses did these movements evoke? To answer this question, Madokoro maintains that we have to understand the power relations at work, including the role played by the governments of white settler societies; and how decision-makers engaged with humanitarian organizations, and vice-versa. Generally speaking, destination countries responded to newcomers from China in a different manner than they did, for example, to European "escapees" from Soviet Communism. Governments regularly pleaded that they had reached the limits of "absorptive capacity" (13). Although humanitarian organizations often challenged this unsympathetic and intransigent stance toward resettlement, they made little headway until and unless domestic political and economic circumstances changed in favor of refugees. But this is only partly about the geopolitics of the Cold War (Oyen 2015): governments were concerned as much if not more so about "ensuring social stability and economic prosperity" (165).

Madokoro's argument is framed in transnational terms, allowing the author to navigate between different sites, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, mainland China (PRC), the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, and the USA. Connecting to the book by Glynn and the chapter by Lynda Mannik in *Migration by Boat*, we can gauge the distinctive response of white settler societies (notably Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) to the "problem" of refugees who wished to resettle or who were encouraged by Western humanitarians to consider resettlement. This went hand in hand with maintaining government discretion over the admittance and deportation of illegal migrants, including those who were considered to pose a security risk. The Australian delegate to the UN conference that debated and drafted the 1951 Refugee Convention argued that his country had offered temporary refuge to thousands of immigrants from Pacific countries that had been occupied by the Japanese, but that now Australia had to reckon with "illegal immigrants claiming refugee status," complicating and undermining the White Australia policy (30).

While governments such as those in Canada and Australia also discriminated against refugees and asylum seekers (with South Africa as a particularly egregious example of racial discrimination), NGOs and church leaders deployed the language of humanitarianism to keep Chinese refugees in the public eye. She engages productively with what she terms the "refugeeing process" and with the plasticity of the term, "refugee," and how Western humanitarians emphasized refugees' immediate needs in order to supplement and sometimes circumvent legal-bureaucratic definitions that prioritized political persecution. She has a great phrase about how migrants were "people in motion … who read and deciphered the landscape of possibilities available to them" (6, 7).

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On the specific case of Hong Kong, Madokoro demonstrates that the legislation introduced by the colonial administration in 1950 to control movement from the Chinese mainland to Hong Kong risked alienating Beijing, which protested at the obstacles put in the way of Chinese migrants who had migrated on a regular basis. (This did not stop the People's Republic from seeking to ban unauthorized migration in the following year.) In order to maintain neutral relations with the PRC, the colonial authorities characterized the 700,000 Chinese refugees who fled to Hong Kong between 1949 and 1951 as economic migrants ("rice refugees"), rather than recognizing them as people fleeing persecution. But the establishment of the fiercely anti-Communist Free China Relief Association reinforced the dilemma for the colonial administration. An additional complication derived from the stance of the Taiwan government, which made much of the flight of refugees from Communism. Another actor in the refugee regime was UNHCR, which had no mandate to assist refugees in Hong Kong but which lent its support, particularly during World Refugee Year (Gatrell 2011), which identified Chinese refugees among others – Displaced Persons in Germany and Austria, and Palestinian refugees – as a category "of concern" to the United Nations.

At the same time, many faith groups looked askance at the anti-Communist stance of groups that lobbied on behalf of Chinese intellectuals. On Western humanitarianism, Madokoro has important things to say about the "sentimental terrain" occupied and portrayed by different humanitarian organizations – something that one aid worker termed a "denominational scramble" (70). The scramble pointed to divisions between those NGOs dedicated to relief work (such as Lutheran World Federation) and those, such as the American Friends Service Committee, who advocated development projects as the preferred "solution." In any case, the injection of Western humanitarian aid enabled the colonial government to shift resources into housebuilding and other infrastructure projects.

As this review has indicated, historians along with social scientists have done a great deal to develop a research agenda that seeks to explain the mainsprings of population displacement, the construction of the refugee category, the evolution of the refugee regime, the constant reassertion of state sovereignty in respect of asylum policy, the contours of humanitarianism, and the ways in which refugees themselves have negotiated and commemorated displacement in different sites and at different times.

What emerges in respect of policy-making is a disturbing portrait of government intransigence, modified by occasional gestures designed to alleviate the suffering of refugees in accordance with much-vaunted claims about a "proud tradition of welcome," such as have for decades been part of the currency of political debate in the UK. Although in Australia, as Irial Glynn points out, politicians overrode public opinion up until the 1990s in driving forward policies that promoted immigration of non-white groups, there is a consensus that "boat people" should be denied entry in order to preserve control over the orderly admission of asylum seekers. In other words, countries may continue to insist on core values of humanitarianism, but this does not necessarily translate into policies of protection. The result of policies to restrict their resettlement is that refugees continue to face hardship and uncertainty. Deterrence and detention have become the standard practice of EU states and Australia. In the Middle East, the overwhelming attention devoted to Syrian refugees has consigned Palestinian refugees to the margins of international politics. Where repatriation is deemed impractical, "development" in situ has come to be regarded as an appropriate policy choice. This is not a new strategy; rather, it has run like a thread through policy "solutions" for at least a century. Innovation in policy has however manifested itself in a combination of international development assistance with a drive to externalize asylum and to

https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359 Published online by Cambridge University Press

deter refugees from attempting to reach European shores. The consequence of these measures is evident in the alarming numbers of deaths at sea (Albahari 2015).

These policies and practices can only be understood by setting them in a historical context, and the books mentioned in this review have contributed to a better understanding of the ways in which refugees have been fashioned as an object of legal-bureaucratic concern, whether by governments, inter-governmental organizations, or NGOs, without losing sight of the means by which refugees themselves sought a place of safety, the stories they have told, and the resources they deployed in negotiating displacement. A fuller picture of refugees will require new approaches, however. One such approach is to establish how the "refugee problem" was closely bound up with constituting the state, as in the case of interwar Syria, as well as Pakistan and India after 1947, where state controls of movement across newly drawn borders, intervention in determining property rights, and investment in development, became critical components of state formation. Refugees were not mere objects of government policy, however, but could also be active participants in shaping its outcome (Zamindar 2007; White 2017). Here is a particularly rich vein for future research. It will require a broad historical and geographical perspective that moves behind the current preoccupation with a "refugee crisis" in Europe that is regrettably only one manifestation of a global challenge.

Note

1. The authors' starting point is that refugees no longer flee persecution but are instead the product of "fragile states" and thus victims of insecurity. They insist that "refugees are not migrants," and that refugees must be enabled to work in "haven" countries. Perhaps because of a shortage of space, or perhaps a cavalier approach to history, the authors neglect to mention that arguments in favor of development to address refugee crises have a long ancestry, stretching back to the 1920s.

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https://doi.org/10.1080/00905992.2017.1355359
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