# **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

# THE SEA IN THE 20TH-21ST CENTURIES & THE FORBIDDEN MIGRATIONS

28-29 NOVEMBER 2019

BIBLIOTECA DA IMPRENSA NACIONAL - CASA DA MOEDA R. DA ESCOLA POLITÉCNICA, 135 - LISBON

Organizing Committee: Marta Silva and Yvette Santos (IHC - NOVA FCSH)

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# PROGRAMME

#### Biblioteca da Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda Rua da Escola Politécnica, nº135 Lisbon, November 28th-29th

# November 28

9:00 – Registration

**9:30** – **10:30** – Keynote Speaker: *Irial Glynn* (Institute for History, Leiden University) - Thinking through oceans and comparing boat refugees across time and space

10:30-10:45 - Break

10:45-12:35 - The sea and migrations in political discourse

Alice Cunha

Harini Sivalingam (York University) - Waves of Fear: Navigating the Experiences of Maritime Forced Migrants

**Bruno Madeira (CITCEM/FLUP)** - O mar como devir e obsessão no discurso das Direitas radicais portuguesas (1974-1985)

**Graziele Frederico (Università degli Studi di Milano) -** Por uma gramática que nos permita ler como nostrum o Mediterrâneo

**Sara Hussein (American University in Cairo) -** Cross-Mediterranean Egyptian Migrants: A Discursive Analysis

**14:30-16:00** - Securitization at the border: Surveillance and Rescue (I) Yvette Santos

**Celia Miralles Buil (CIUHCT/Universidade de Lisboa) -** The sanitary control of migrants in Lisbon's Port (1901-1947)

**Iain Johnston-White (University of Roehampton) -** Enforcing a Hostile Environment: The Police and Lascar Immigration to Britain, 1925-40

Mattea Weihe (German Institute of Global and Area Studies (GIGA)/University of Hamburg) - The Vulnerability of Migrants in Libya in Three Stages: From Historical Roots to Current Developments

16:00-16:15 – Break

16:15 -17:45 - Securitization at the border: Surveillance and Rescue (II) Yvette Santos

**Rafael Peláez Martín (NOVA/FCSH), Dulce Pimentel (CICS.NOVA/FCSH) e Carlos Ribeiro Medeiros (CIEJD) -** Repensar o Mare Nostrum: rotas migratórias contemporâneas e a ação política da UE

**Chloe Howe Haralambous (Columbia University) -** "Playing Politics on the Backs of Migrants": The Politics of Sea Rescue in the Central Mediterranean Passage

Michael Gordon (McMaster University) - Boats, Borders and Containment at Sea

# November 29

10:30-12:20 - Narratives, life stories and trauma

Adriana Marcolini (LEER/Universidade de São Paulo) - Crossings of Italian emigrants: the narrative accounts of ships Remo and Galileo

Mattia Vitiello (National Council of Research - Institute for Research on Population and Social Policies) - Crossing Mediterranean and the migrant children narratives as a coming-of-age story. The unaccompanied minor migrants' journey to Italy.

**Gerhild Perl (Institute of Social Anthropology/University of Bern) -** One death, multiple losses: Everyday mourning in the aftermath of a shipwreck.

14:30-15:30 - Keynote Speaker: Luigi Achilli (Migration Policy Centre/European University Institute) - Chasing the smuggler: new glimpses into the facilitation of irregular migration across the Mediterranean Sea. Marta Silva

15:30-15:45 – Break

15:45-17:35 - Smuggling, irregular migrations and identity building

**Maja Grundler (School of Law, Queen Mary University of London) -** A Future Fear of Dangerous Journeys? – The Role of "Trafficked" and "Smuggled" Persons' Vulnerabilities in Establishing Future Risk under Refugee Law

**Björn Siegel (Institute for the History of the German Jews)** - The Zionist conquest of the Sea: A strategy of Immigration and Survival, 1933–1948

**Gerald Maher (University of Limerick)** - The Revolution at Sea: The Irish Transatlantic Smuggling Network During the Irish Revolutionary Period, 1912-23



# **ABSTRACTS AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES**

# **November 28**

# **KEYNOTE SPEAKER**

## Irial Glynn **Thinking through oceans and comparing boat refugees across time and space**

#### Abstract

In 2015, over one million boat refugees sailed across the Mediterranean. Yet, it is important to remember that the recent European refugee 'crisis' is not the first time that people travelled by boat in search of asylum. In the 1940s, tens of thousands of Jewish boat refugees tried to cross the Mediterranean to reach Palestine. In the 1970s and 1980s, hundreds of thousands of 'boat people' took to the South China Sea to escape Vietnam. In the 1980s and 1990s, huge numbers of Cubans and Haitians tried to reach the US by crossing the Caribbean. All through the 1990s and 2000s, boat refugees from Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan sailed on the Indian Ocean in an attempt to reach Australia. However, contemporary commentators have largely overlooked previous journeys and experiences when discussing events on the Mediterranean, despite the lessons that the past can provide. How, for example, does Europe's reaction compare to how other regions in the past received boat refugees? Why have boat refugee numbers increased so significantly in recent years considering the modern transport revolution and the risks associated with taking to the high seas, as evidenced by the deaths of so many on the Mediterranean in recent years? What does this trend tell us about how immigration and asylum control have developed? To answer these and other questions, this paper will analyse how states have reacted to boat refugees across time and space, and examine how boat refugees and NGOs navigated that reception. I will pay particular attention to what occurred on water, since using seas and oceans as spaces of analysis is, I contend, a novel way to study the encounter between refugees, civil society, states and, in some cases, supranational entities.

#### **Biographical note**

Irial Glynn is a lecturer in social history at Leiden University. He is the author of *Asylum Policy*, *Boat People and Political Discourse* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

## Harini Sivalingam Waves of Fear: Navigating the Experiences of Maritime Forced Migrants

#### Abstract

Maritime forced migration is not a new or recent phenomenon (Miltner, 2006; Mannik, 2016, Barnes, 2004, Mawani, 2018; Mereno-Lax and Papastavridis, 2016). For centuries forced migrants have embarked on voyages across the world's seas and oceans fleeing persecution, violence, disasters, and unstable conditions in their homelands (Mann, 2016). However, as the avenues for conventional means of migration and seeking asylum are shrinking and becoming more unattainable (Hyndman and Mountz, 2008; Macklin, 2005), those who are forced to flee their homelands are increasingly relying on desperate, dangerous and deadly maritime journeys (Mann, 2016; Mannik, 2016). The specific dynamics and experiences of maritime forced migration are distinguishable from forced migration by land and air and warrant increased academic scrutiny. However, as Mawani notes, migration scholarship centers land and territory and "seldom problematize oceans as prominent sites of global mobilities in their own right" (Mawani, 2018: p. 13).

While boat arrivals of forced migrants are not a new modality for forced migrants, the spectacle created by such arrivals have elicited securitized reactions from state authorities, the popular media, and the general public within destination states (Mountz, 2010; Mares, 2002; Perera, 2007). Forced maritime migration is often framed in public discourses as being "crisis-driven" despite the relatively and comparatively infrequent numbers of forced migrants have consistently been characterized by state and public discourses in apocalyptic terms that invoke maritime terminology, such as "floods", "tides" and "waves" (Mannik, 2014; Mountz, 2006; Park, 2010; Krishnamurti, 2013; Bradimore and Bauder, 2011). Building from the insights of Mawani towards envisioning 'oceans as method', I utilize oceans as an analytical concept to foreground the experiences of Tamil maritime forced migrants that arrived in Canada via the *MV Ocean Lady* (2009) and the *MV Sun Sea* (2010).

#### **Biographical note**

Harini Sivalingam is currently a PhD Candidate in the Socio-Legal Studies program at York University. Her doctoral research examines legal, political and public discourse's around maritime forced migration to Canada. Harini obtained her law degree at Osgoode Hall Law School and a Masters of Law degree in International Comparative Law from McGill University. She has worked as a lawyer in private practice and at a community legal aid clinic in the area of immigration and refugee law. Harini has a diverse set of research interests including forced migration and refugee law, international and domestic human rights, critical security studies, and postcolonial studies.

Recent Publications:

Sept 2013 "Comparing Racist Discourses in the Tamil Canadian Protests and the Idle No More Movement" *Refugee Review*, Vol. 1 (2013) , p. 65 -73. Available online: <u>https://refugeereview.wordpress.com/practitioner-reports/sivalingam-harini/</u>

Oct 2012 Book Review of *Undesirables: White Canada and the Komagata Maru Story* in the Canadian Graduate Journal of Sociology and Criminology Vol. 1, No. 1 (2012), p. 58-59. Available online: <u>https://cgjsc-rcessc.uwaterloo.ca/index.php/cgjsc/article/view/26/9</u>

Toronto Star "Deportation fails to consider best interests of children" Feb 7, 2014. Available online:

https://www.thestar.com/opinion/commentary/2014/02/07/deportation\_of\_mothers\_fails\_to\_c

onsider\_best\_interests\_of\_children.html

Toronto Star "Sri Lankan government moves closer to authoritarian rule" Jan 17, 2013. Available online:

https://www.thestar.com/opinion/editorials/2013/01/17/sri\_lanka\_government\_moves\_closer\_ to\_authoritarian\_rule.html

Toronto Sun "Tamils caught on sinking ship" April 24, 2009

#### Bruno Madeira O mar como devir e obsessão no discurso das Direitas radicais portuguesas (1974-1985)

#### Abstract

O mar tem sido alvo de abordagens económicas, que o encaram como fonte de receita e de subsistência alimentar, sociais, que o vêem como estando associado a momentos e a práticas de lazer, políticas, que nele privilegiam a dimensão soberanista e a de via de comunicação, literárias, que dele retiram decisiva inspiração, históricas, que lhe destacam a associação ao período da expansão portuguesa, e filosóficas, que procuram, a partir da conjugação de todas as anteriores, formular sistemas de justificação dos pretensos pathos e ontos nacionais. Por outro lado, é evidente, o mar tem tido também cabimento nos programas político-ideológicos que, ao longo do século XX, foram sendo propostos ou impostos aos portugueses. Essa preponderância do elemento marítimo enquanto devir nacional é particularmente verificável no discurso e nas ideias das Direitas radicais.

Com efeito, para a Extrema-Direita portuguesa, o mar, enquanto representação e conceito identitário, foi uma verdadeira obsessão, um modelo de explicação da natureza, da missão e do desígnio dos portugueses no mundo, uma compensação pela reduzida dimensão física do território, uma prova de que Portugal nunca se inclinara para a Europa, ou para a europeização, mas que, logo que lhe foi possível, se lançou às possibilidades e aos riscos que o horizonte marítimo estimulava na sua imaginação colectiva. O mar, foi de facto, enquanto abstracção teórica, fundamentação ôntica e definição teleológica do país uma constante no discurso e na narrativa direitistas.

Por conseguinte, e entendendo ser essa dimensão da mundividência das Direitas radicais preponderante para as compreender no quadro mais amplo do seu tempo e das suas coordenadas doutrinárias, realizaremos, relativamente ao período entre o 25 de Abril e a assinatura do Tratado de Adesão à CEE, e partindo sempre das fontes da própria Extrema-Direita, uma discussão do lugar e do significado que o mar assumiu nos seus discursos e posicionamentos políticos.

#### **Biographical note**

#### Doutorando em História, CITCEM/FLUP

Licenciado em História (2014) e Mestre em História Contemporânea pela Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (2016). É investigador integrado no Centro de Investigação Transdisciplinar Cultura Espaço e Memória, estando inserido no grupo Valores em Transacção/Valores em Transição.

É bolseiro de doutoramento da FCT e frequenta o 3º Ciclo em História, estando a desenvolver uma investigação acerca da dimensão cultural das direitas portuguesas entre 1974 e 1985.

Tendo participado em diversas conferências e congressos científicos, viu publicada a sua tese de mestrado – «Não foi para morrer que nós nascemos»: o movimento ecológico do Porto (1974-1982) – pelas Edições Afrontamento/CITCEM em 2018.

#### Graziele Frederico Por uma gramática que nos permita ler como nostrum o Mediterrâneo

#### Abstract

Depois da passagem pela Líbia, a travessia do Mediterrâneo é uma das etapas mais perigosas da viagem dos migrantes que partem da África em busca de uma Europa que os acolha. No último ano na Itália, a prestação de socorro feita por embarcações de organizações nãogovernamentais, assim como pelas guardas costeiras foram periodicamente criminalizadas por diversos sujeitos políticos e institucionais. A mensagem era cessar o socorro, porque assim cessariam de chegar os doentes.

Em uma propagação midiática com evidências de inveracidade, questiono como podemos imaginar uma gramática que possa dar conta de fragilizar esse imaginário que vota por políticas de restrição e portas fechadas, enquanto divide em categorias vidas que são passíveis de luto e outras não.

Após as experiências da Segunda Guerra Mundial, Emmanuel Levinas em sua obra *Totalidade e Infinito*, debate o próprio conceito de humanismo e propõe o rompimento com a lógica da tradição filosófica ocidental. Segundo ele, essa tradição impõe a resolução dos conflitos a partir da dissolução do Outro, no sentido de reduzi-lo ao Mesmo. Sua proposta é uma relação partindo não da violência da redução, mas do acolhimento do rosto dessa alteridade que nos interpela através da linguagem.

Na conjuntura política italiana e europeia da última década, a retórica contra imigração é bastante específica: o imigrante indesejado, ainda que em menor número, é aquele que chega pelo mar. O Mediterrâneo, conhecido também como *Mare Nostrum*, não é nosso na verdade; ele pertence aos que nomeiam e deliberam sobre os mares interiores. Ainda que seja um mar compartilhado entre Europa, África e Oriente Médio. O direito à viagem escasseia de um lado da margem. Diante de embarcações que se encontram impedidas de lançar âncoras, a demanda por uma responsabilidade ética, a meu ver, torna-se urgente. Proponho então a releitura dessa gramática sobre os discursos em torno do Mediterrâneo a partir da obra "*Diritto al viaggio. Abbecedario delle migrazioni*". Organizada por Luca Barbari e Francesco de Vana, a reunião de quarenta e cinco verbetes tenta apontar uma epistemologia que nos leve a aprender ou reaprender a ler e escrever o fenômeno migratório, em um mar que ainda reivindica para si o adjetivo de nostrum.

#### **Biographical note**

Doutoranda no programa de Estudos Línguisticos, Literários e Interculturais em âmbito Europeu e extra-Europeu na Università degli Studi di Milano com um projeto sobre pósmemória e representação das ditaduras militar brasileira e salazarista-portuguesa nas narrativas recentes. Jornalista formada pela Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, foi bolsista do Conselho Nacional pelo Desenvolvimento Científico (CNPq) brasileiro durante o mestrado em Literatura na Universidade de Brasília. Apresentou no final de 2016 a dissertação "Ausências e silenciamentos: a ética nas narrativas recentes sobre a ditadura militar brasileira". Entre suas publicações mais importantes está o livro reportagem Entrada proibida: o relato de um refugiado (2ª edição, Edições Carolina, Brasília - Brasil) realizado em 2008-2009, que conta história do combate à imigração - especialmente aquela africana - na Itália. Mais recentemente, organizou o volume Literatura e direitos humanos, em conjunto com Regina Dalcastagnè e Paula Dutra, publicado pela editora Zouk, Porto Alegre (Brasil) no ano de 2018. Além desses, organizou junto com Paula Dutra e Lúcia Mollo, um dossie de entrevistas sobre autoria negra na literatura brasileira contemporânea para a Revista Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporânea, em 2017. A partir de 2018, passou a colabora também como assistente na edição da Veredas - Revista da Associação Internacional de Lusitanistas.

#### Sara Hussein Cross-Mediterranean Egyptian Migrants: A Discursive Analysis

#### Abstract

In the past couple of years, footage of overloaded migrants' boats and tragic death tolls of drownings at sea have become a reoccurring headline. The Central Mediterranean route to Italy from either Egypt or Libya has become one of the most popular passageways for those chasing the dream of a more promising life in Europe. Among these individuals are Egyptians whose attempts to migrate across the sea from Egypt's north coast via smuggling vessels comprise a rapidly growing phenomenon. According to figures by UNHCR, the number of Egyptians arriving in Italy by smuggling boats from 344 in 2015 to 2,634 in 2016, making Egyptians one of the top ten nationalities of crossing the Central Mediterranean through irregular means during that period, although this population remains understudied in cross-Mediterranean migration literature. My research investigates how the Egyptian migrant subject who chooses to cross the Mediterranean through irregular means to reach Europe is discursively constructed in Egyptian media, particularly in the wake of the 2016 Rashid boat sinking. In both official and unofficial discourse, this highly visible spectacle at sea raised questions on accountability and the role of the state. By identifying and analyzing themes collected from various Egyptian media, official statements, and cultural production, I use a discursive lens to study the dynamics of Egyptian irregular mobility, identifying the particular ways the Egyptian clandestine is imagined, comparing them to depictions of migrant narratives. This research employs critical discourse analysis tools to examine how these individuals and this type of movement has been represented by hegemonic narratives by linking these representations to the material conditions of local socio-economics, state-society relations, and wider securitization and border control regimes. Engaging and unpacking this discourse offers a way to understand the purposes specific themes serve in shaping the production of knowledge on unauthorized mobility.

#### **Biographical note**

I am a recent graduate of the American University of Cairo's MA program in Middle East Studies. My research interests include migration flows in the Middle East, state-society relations, and Egyptian modern history.

# PANEL 2 - Securitization at the border: Surveillance and Rescue (I)

#### Celia Miralles Buil The sanitary control of migrants in Lisbon's Port (1901-1947)

#### Abstract

This paper explores the construction of a sanitary border and its impact in migrants' itineraries in Lisbon. It focuses on a period that witnessed -in theory- the end of quarantine stations and the establishment of new spaces of retention and control for migrants arriving at the port by sea or by land.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Lisbon aimed at becoming "the gate of Europe". For this purpose, it planned to improve the port to facilitate the traffic of goods and people. But these ambitions were quickly frustrated by the obligation to maintain the quarantines in the Lazaretto of Porto Brandão. Physicians and healthcare authorities justified these measures by the numerous epidemics of the time.

In 1901 an intermediate solution was found: the Portuguese authorities set up a disinfection station through which all travelers and goods had to pass. They also reinforced measures to supervise migrations through the creation of a Maritime Health Service. This service had both the duty to supervise the arrival of migrants and travelers by sea and, later, to prepare the departure of emigrants coming from the rural provinces, who embarked to America via Lisbon. This paper intends to provide an overview of health control measures for migrants in Lisbon's Port. The sources available in the archives of the Maritime Health Service help us to follow the migrants who embark and disembark and to observe their own experience in the place of exit, transit and arrival. In 1919, the control of the emigrants' departures increased, with the creation of Health Assistance Service for emigrants. This new health service was located at the port and was in daily collaboration with the Maritime Health Service. One question we want to address here is how these two services, which shared same space and building, worked together, and how the migrants' journeys were affected by this double control.

#### **Biographical note**

Celia Miralles Buil is an historian, post-doctoral researcher at CIUHCT, Universidade de Lisboa in Portugal. She hold a PhD in History and Urbanism from the Université Lumière Lyon 2 and the Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya (PhD Dissertation: *Tuberculosis and social space in Barcelona: 1929-1936*).

Main research interests: Health and urban environment in Southern Europe (20th century); Sea, ports, migrations and health controls in mediterranean and atlantic cities (20th century)

Current research project: "Controlling the Sea? Environment and Health in mediterranean and atlantic cities (1870-1940)"

Publications (selection): "Tuberculosis and urban overpopulation in Spain in the early twentieth century". *Histoire, Economie, Société*, n°1, 2017, p.57-75; "Architecture in the service of health: the example of the anti-tuberculosis dispensary of Barcelona, 1934-1936"] *Carnets du LARHRA*, 2016, p. 131-149; "Controlling the city to eliminate the disease: the case of anti-tuberculosis prevention in Barcelona, 1920-1936" in *Espacios de control y regulación social. Ciudad, territorio y poder (S. XVII-XX)*, Ediciones Serbal, 2014, p.235-252.

#### Iain Johnston-White Enforcing a Hostile Environment: The Police and Lascar Immigration to Britain, 1925-40

#### Abstract

The 'Hostile Environment', a recent policy intended to deter immigration to the UK, has been the subject of considerable press attention. This approach to immigration is not, however, a new phenomenon. British governments across the twentieth century also adopted deterrence methods targeted at immigrant groups considered less desirable at a given time. This article addresses an earlier period of hostile environment, beginning in the 1920s, to examine the methods used to dissuade and impede non-white immigrants from settling in Britain.

My paper looks at the experience of 'Lascars', a loosely-defined group who were mainly considered to be comprised of South Asian seafarers. Merchant seafaring was one of the oldest occupations in the British Empire, and its organization reflected imperial ideology: pay, leave entitlement and conditions of employment were all determined along racial lines. Lascars were only given round-trip contracts that originated outside Britain, designed to preclude the possibility of settlement when ships docked in British ports. Nevertheless, the British Government's approach to this issue was complicated by a number of factors; not least was the fact that merchant seafaring was a private industry and that Indians, as subjects of the British Empire, were legally allowed to reside in imperial domains.

This paper will specifically highlight the role of the police as enforcers of government policy. Occupying a key position between the state and the immigrant, the police were often the first point of contact for Lascars who wished to settle in Britain; these interactions shaped the effectiveness of government policy, as well as the experiences of Lascars. The variable willingness of police to enforce tough restrictions and employ the full power of legislation determined how successful the hostile environment was in practice, shaping the ability of the British Government to enforce restrictive immigration policies.

#### **Biographical note**

Iain Johnston-White received his PhD from the University of Cambridge and is currently Lecturer in British History at the University of Roehampton. His research explores the British Empire and war in the twentieth century. His current project considers the impact of the Second World War on colonial port cities around the British Empire, with particular emphasis on colonial labor, economics and the politics of imperialism.

Previously, he was Lecturer in the Department of International Politics, Aberystwyth University. In 2017, he published The British Commonwealth and Victory in the Second World War with Palgrave Macmillan.

Refereed Journal Articles:

2014 'The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan and the Shaping of National Identities in the Second World War', Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History, December 2014

2014 'The Dominions and British Maritime Power in World War II', Global War Studies, 11:1 Book Chapters:

2016 'Gold and Dollars: Canada, South Africa and British War Finance, 1939-45', An Imperial World at War: The British Empire, 1939-1945, editor Ashley Jackson

2015 'Imperial Settler-Regions in the Second World War: The Case of British Air Training in Southern Africa', Fighting for Britain: Negotiating Identities in Britain During the Second World War, editors Wendy Ugolini & Juliette Pattinson

#### Mattea Weihe The Vulnerability of Migrants in Libya in Three Stages: From Historical Roots to Current Developments

#### Abstract

Paper Proposal The Vulnerability of Migrants in Libya in Three Stages: From Historical Roots to Current Developments The migration history of Libya from the 80's and 90's is showing the historical roots of today's vulnerability of migrants in the region. Due to Gaddafis new focus on the south and the rise of PanAfrican ideas, migrants from Sub-Sahara Africa were witnessing a constant interplay of closing and opening of Libyan borders. Economic goals were demanding foreign labor force, while nationalist ideologies, security concerns and racism were asking for a closure of the border. The result of this contradiction was on one side a discursive opening of the borders – especially seen in the Gaddafis speeches and his slogans like Africa for Africans – and on the other repressive measures and restrictive migration laws that were making it nearly impossible to enter the country legally. Currently, migrants are reaching a new level of vulnerability. A high number is located in Tripoli which is characterized by a new out breaking of a civil war. International Organizations like the UNHCR are expressing that they are currently evacuating migrants, but these official information differ from what researches and journalists have been informed about by migrants in detention centers themselves. Instead, we read in reports that they are being forced to participate in the events of war and images are circulating that are showing migrants being wounded from gunshots. Due to the lack of evacuation measures and the terrible conditions in the centers, a high number of migrants don't see an alternative but fleeing the country by boat. As soon as they enter these boats, migrants are reaching the peak of their vulnerability. The chances of safely reaching Europe have become increasingly smaller because of the termination of national sea rescue operations and the criminalization of civil rescue organizations. Migrants that have been rescued by NGOs despite all criminalization measures have been reporting about torture and human rights violations in Libya, which is not only leading to questioning the cooperation between the EU and the so called Libyan coastguard, but also making it untenable. The paper outlines three phases of vulnerability of migrants that stress that the termination of a national sea rescue operation is unacceptable. The historical as well as the current developments demonstrate the reasons why civil sea rescue NGOs are still feeling obligated to undertake the task of rescuing migrants at sea.

#### **Biographical note**

Academic career: University of Hamburg, Germany; B.A. Art Theory (Universität der Bildenden Künste Hamburg); B.A. Middle Eastern Studies (Universität Hamburg); Taking up M.A. Peace and Security Studies (Universität Hamburg) in October

Other: Advocate and Cultural Mediator for Sea-Watch e.V., German civil sea rescue organization, Cultural Mediator for Refugee Rescue; Intern at Institute of Middle Eastern Studies, GIGA Hamburg; Paper presentations at WOCMES Sevilla and DAVO Hamburg

# PANEL 3 - Securitization at the border: Surveillance and Rescue (II)

Rafael Peláez Martín, Dulce Pimentel, Carlos Ribeiro Medeiros **Repensar o Mare Nostrum: rotas migratórias contemporâneas e a ação política da UE** 

#### Abstract

Ao longo de séculos, o mar tem constituído uma via privilegiada de acesso à Europa, no entanto, nos últimos anos o Mediterrâneo transformou-se numa das fronteiras mais mortíferas para migrantes e refugiados que tentam alcançar o continente europeu. Em 2015, ano que correspondeu ao pico da designada crise migratória, registou-se mais de 1 milhão de requerentes de asilo, devido à intensificação dos conflitos armados e à repressão exercida por regimes autoritários em países africanos e do Médio Oriente e, em 5 anos (outubro de 2013 a dezembro de 2018) o número de mortos no mar ascendeu a 18 000 (OIM, 2019).

Até à data, a UE tem adotado medidas para fazer face à pressão migratória. Estas medidas passam pela revisão da jurisprudência em vigor, pela criação de novos instrumentos legislativos e pelo desenvolvimento de mecanismos de resgate e segurança (Piçarra, 2016). Assim, a vaga migratória dos últimos anos, a divergência entre as prioridades de salvamento e as exigências da defesa da segurança europeia conjuntamente com a ação e, por vezes, a incapacidade da UE perante esta emergência no Mediterrâneo, constituem o tema central da investigação.

Em primeiro lugar é feita uma reflexão geográfica e política das rotas migratórias no Mediterrâneo, as quais se têm revelado as mais mortíferas. A crise humanitária e a falta de respostas eficazes tem tido como consequência a criação de canais irregulares de migração. Tendo como base os dados oficiais mais recentes, é feita uma avaliação sobre as práticas das redes de tráfico de pessoas, pondo o foco na organização das travessias por mar e no reforço das fronteiras como solução temporária perante esta nova realidade migratória. A segunda parte do artigo inclui dados relativos às tendências migratórias e aos fluxos de entrada. É feita uma análise quantitativa, com recurso à informação estatística disponível, sobre a entrada de migrantes, requerentes de asilo e refugiados

e sobre as detenções e deportações registadas ao longo dos últimos anos (Eurostat, 2019; OIM, 2019).

É ainda traçado um quadro geral da agenda europeia da migração, salientando a relevância que têm adquirido os seus instrumentos, financiamento e operações em curso como resposta à vaga migratória de 2015, a qual afetou os países mediterrânicos de forma mais direta (Arango, 2016). Por último, será discutido o efeito político que a pressão migratória tem gerado em alguns setores da sociedade europeia, com o avanço da extrema-direita e a formação de grupos xenófobos e antiimigração, destacando os casos do VOX em Espanha, do governo de Salvini e as políticas securitárias em Itália e das persistentes recusas de resgate e desembarque de migrantes em Malta e Itália.

#### **Biographical notes**

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# Chloe Howe Haralambous "Playing Politics on the Backs of Migrants": The Politics of Sea Rescue in the Central Mediterranean Passage

#### Abstract

On June 10 2018, Italy's newly instated Eurosceptic Minister of Interior, Matteo Salvini, issued an order to close all Italian ports to humanitarian ships bearing refugees rescued in the Central Mediterranean passage. The decision, which caused a diplomatic standoff between Italy and other members states of the European Union, came at the cusp of a political and legal campaign for the criminalization of sea rescue that had seen the emergence of a new controversial figure in the consolidation of the European border regime: the rescuer, and of the humanitarian rescue vessel as a site – real and imagined – of political contestation. Drawing on ethnographic research conducted on board a rescue vessel in June 2018 as well as the legal archive surrounding the criminalization of humanitarian aid, this paper traces the development of the rescue vessel into a space for the transference of political conflict within the European Union. By focusing on an analysis of the international legal context and philosophical underpinnings surrounding the duty of rescue as well as the police dossier and legal case for people smuggling brought by the Sicilian anti-mafia judiciary against the Search and Rescue ship, Iuventa, the first part of this paper traces activists' and prosecutors' competing imaginaries of the moment of encounter with the migrant at sea as foundational acts of political community. The second part of this paper draws on ethnographic research conducted on board the rescue ship, Sea-Watch 3, as well as the development of the Search and Rescue Wars ("SAR Wars") in order to contextualize them as expressions of intra-European conflicts that do not solely concern migration, but also speak to histories of inter-regional rivalries born of the recent experience of austerity, indebtedness and contested sovereignties within Europe. This paper thus reads the SAR Wars as efforts to export the contradictions and tensions of European integration onto the Central Mediterranean Sea.

#### **Biographical note**

Chloe Howe Haralambous is a graduate student in Comparative Literature and Society at Columbia University. Her research focuses on sovereignty, migration, the maritime and island imaginary, and the political economy of the European Union. Her writing on contemporary migration in the Aegean and Central Mediterranean has appeared in *The Intercept, Politics/Letters* and *The Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. In addition to her scholarship, she has worked extensively on migration-related activism on Lesvos, Greece and in the Central Mediterranean.

#### Michael Gordon Boats, Borders and Containment at Sea

#### Abstract

In recent years, the Mediterranean Sea has been transformed into a hyper-visible site of exclusion in the production of the European border spectacle characterized by graphic imagery of crowded boats en route to the European Union (EU). Often marked with tragedy, these narratives are routinely accompanied by vivid depictions of sea rescue operations often being carried out by civil society search and rescue (SAR) NGOs operating in the Mediterranean. Despite efforts to mitigate death and suffering at sea, these NGOs face increasing criminalization with threats of criminal indictments, fines and boat seizure. Recent developments in the EU political landscape has also meant that 'stand-offs' commonly occur between EU member states and SAR NGOs following rescue operations at sea. As a result, migrants are often stranded on NGO vessels for an extended period of time, creating rescue boats an intermediate space of off-shore containment in the migration process. The act of containment on boats moves beyond the territorial confinement experienced by people on the move and becomes manifest in these specific mobile border sites. The stand-off process represents yet another attempt by EU actors to manage migrant mobility, criminalize rescue and extend European borders. The paper critically examines civil society SAR NGO boats at sea as a political space in the contestation of European borders, arguing that despite EU efforts to contain mobility, rescue boats also represent mobile sites of resistance that enable the enactment of political subjectivity. The involvement of civil society SAR NGOs interrupts regional bordering practices and contests the perceived singularity of state authority at sea as EU actors seek to re-articulate international space as the sole purview of the state. Developing an understanding of the spatiality and politics in these acts of rescue I look at vehicles of migration, namely boats, as sites of politics and containment highlights the evolution in state efforts to control migration and mobility in the Mediterranean.

#### **Biographical Note**

Michael Gordon is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Political Science at McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada and specializing in International Relations. His research broadly surrounds irregularized migration, humanitarianism and border control in Europe, with a particular focus on the role of humanitarian sea rescue NGOs. He holds a B.A. in Political Science from McMaster University and a M.A. in Global Governance from the Balsillie School of International Affairs, University of Waterloo. Michael is a Visiting PhD Research Student at the University of Warwick and a former Graduate Research Fellow at the Centre for International Governance Innovation (CIGI).

# November 29

# PANEL 4 - Narratives, life stories and trauma

#### Adriana Marcolini Crossings of Italian emigrants: the narrative accounts of ships Remo and Galileo

#### Abstract

L'Odissea del Piroscafo Remo ovvero Il disastroso viaggio di 1500 emigranti respinti dal Brasile, de Cesare Malavasi, e Sull'Oceano, de Edmondo De Amicis, são um precioso documento das péssimas condições em que viajavam os emigrantes italianos com destino à América do Sul, no final do século XIX. O primeiro relata a trágica travessia do navio Remo, de Gênova ao Rio de Janeiro, em 1893. Atingido por uma epidemia de cólera que matou quase todos os passageiros, o navio foi impedido de atracar pelas autoridades brasileiras e obrigado a retornar à Europa. A viagem de ida e volta durou de agosto a outubro de 1893. O drama dos passageiros foi registrado pelo jornalista Cesare Malavasi, que estava a bordo e publicou L'Odissea del Piroscafo Remo ovvero Il disastroso viaggio di 1500 emigranti respinti dal Brasile (Mirandola: Tipografia Grilli Candido, 1894). Já Sull'Oceano (Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2005), de Edmondo De Amicis, revela com nitidez os dramas dos emigrantes italianos, que afloravam com mais veemência durante a travessia. Toda a narrativa se passa em 1884 a bordo do navio Galileo, que transportava 1.600 emigrantes italianos de Gênova para Montevidéu. A grande maioria tinha como destino a Argentina. De Amicis viajava na primeira classe. Lançado em 1889, Sull'Oceano teve um sucesso estrondoso na época, chegando a dez edições em apenas duas semanas. Não foram poucos os casos de epidemias e de naufrágios de navios de emigrantes italianos, mas a importância dos dois livros acima reside na força do testemunho em primeira pessoa e no registro histórico. Mais de um século depois, com as tragédias no Mar Mediterrâneo, ambos adquirem contemporaneidade. São como uma manivela que atica a memória. Proponho analisar os dois livros à luz dos acontecimentos de ontem e de hoje.

#### **Biographical note**

Laboratório de Estudos sobre Etnicidade, Racismo e Discriminação (LEER/Universidade de São Paulo, Brasil). Doutora em Letras (área de Língua, Literatura e Cultura Italiana) -Universidade de São Paulo. Publicações mais recentes:

Unprecedented Atlas Analyzes Change in Migration Flows to Brazil. Revista del CESLA. International Latin American Studies Review. [S.l.], n. 22, p. 441-445, dec. 2018. ISSN 2081-1160. Varsóvia: Centro de Estudos Latino-Americanos, Universidade de Varsóvia, 2018. https://www.revistadelcesla.com/index.php/revistadelcesla/article/view/520

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http://remhu.csem.org.br/index.php/remhu/article/view/580

*Pátria, nação e língua em Edmondo De Amicis.* Diaspore. Quaderni di ricerca. Simbologie e scritture in transito – A cura di Vanessa Castagna e Vera Horn. ISBN 978-88-6969-113-3 [print]. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari, 2016.

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#### Mattia Vitiello

# Crossing Mediterranean and the migrant children narratives as a coming-of-age story. The unaccompanied minor migrants' journey to Italy.

#### Abstract

This paper deals with the unaccompanied minor migrants' journey to Italy. In particular, it takes into account the minors arrived in Italy during the so-called summer of the refugee crisis. It aims to analyses the interrelation between the journey, the reasons to leave and how they affect the migration process. The present proposal illustrates the results of analysis of 21 interviews collected during a field survey carried out in 2016 by the author for the Institute for Research on Population and Social Policies of National Research Council (CNR-IRPPS), on behalf of the Italian Committee of Unicef - United Nation Children Found.

The key objective of research was of detecting the minor's experience in relation to their migratory experience and to reconstruct their journey towards Italy which can be considered as true turning point for their biography. So, the key research questions regarded the interrelation among the journey, the reasons to leave, the events and how they affect the migration process and what will happen after their arrival in the country.

#### **Biographical note**

Sociologist, is a researcher at the National Council of Research - Institute for Research on Population and Social Policies in Rome CNR - IRPPS. He deals with emigration and immigration. His main research interests are the integration processes of immigrant population, with particular reference to the working insertion. In recent years his interests have focused on migration policies even in their historical aspects. Among his recent publications: Bonifazi C., Strozza S., Vitiello M., Measuring integration in a reluctant immigration country in B. Rob & Verweij A. (eds.), Measuring and monitoring immigrant integration in Europe Comparing integration policies and monitoring systems for the integration, social participation and citizenship of immigrants and ethnic minorities in 17 European countries, The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, The Hague, 2012; M. Vitiello, The importance of being recognized as workers. Irregular immigrants and the access to the Italian welfare state, 21st Century Migrations: Fluxes, Policies and Politics in ed. by S. Cavasola and R. De Mucci, LUISS University Press, Roma, 2016; Vitiello M., La ripresa dell'emigrazione italiana e i suoi numeri: tra innovazioni e persistenze in "la Rivista delle Politiche Sociali/Italian Journal of Social Policy", n. 4, 2017.; Accorinti M., Demurtas P., M. Vitiello, Unaccompanied Minors in Italy and Arrivals by Sea. Migration Data, Patterns, and Pathways. in ed. by M. Paradiso Mediterranean Mobilities. Europe's Changing Relationships, Springer, London, 2018; Vitiello M., The common European asylum system after the refugee crisis: history of a crisis in ed. by the crisis in G. Laschi; V. Deplano; A. Pes, Europe between migrations, decolonization and integration, Routledge, London (Forthcoming).

## Gerhild Perl One death, multiple losses: Everyday mourning in the aftermath of a shipwreck

#### Abstract

In October 2003, more than forty Moroccan migrants had lost their lives during the attempt cross the Strait of Gibraltar irregularly by boat. Only a short distance from the coast, around 200 meters, the boat overturned. The young men and women tried to hang on to the dinghy floating upside down. Yet, the water carried away most of them.

In this talk, I explore how the migrants' deaths have been received in their home villages, how the bereaved cope with the deadly event more than a decade after it had happened and what role the sea plays in their imaginations about death and disappearance. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, I argue that death or disappearance during migration not only leaves deep wounds in the country of origin, but, more specifically the absence of bodies keeps the lives of many in a limbo. By asking "what is lost when we lose somebody", I analyze how people cope with the emotional, economic and social losses that are caused through the disappearance of a husband, brother or father. If there is no body as proof of death, the Moroccan state rarely issues a death certificate. As a result, wives cannot become widows and thus cannot remarry, children cannot become orphans and thus get no state support and brothers cannot legally inherit the full property of their parents. My aim is to renders visible the complex experiences and complicated feelings of the families in Morocco who mostly remain outside public discourse and global politics of representation.

#### **Biographical note**

I am a lecturer and postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Social Anthropology in Bern, Switzerland, where I completed my PhD in February 2019. Before joining the University of Bern, I studied philosophy and anthropology in Vienna and Lisbon. For my doctoral thesis, I carried out ethnographic fieldwork in Spain and Morocco and held a six-month visiting fellowship at the University of Cambridge in 2017/18. My research and teaching interests include existential and political approaches to life and death, irregular migration as well as the past and present of the Moroccan–Spanish border region. Currently, I am working on my book manuscripts with the tentative title "Traces of Death. Affect, Ethics and Politics across the Spanish-Moroccan Sea" where I ethnographically recover a lethal boat sinking of 2003 through the traces it left behind and explore the polyvocal responses it elicited in Spain and Morocco. Most recent and relevant publications: Perl, G. (accepted, forthcoming 2019): Migration as survival. Withheld stories and the limits of ethnographic knowability. *Migration and Society;* Perl, G. and Sabine Strasser (2018): Transnational Moralities. The Politics of ir/responsibility of and against the EU border regime. *Identities. Global Studies in Culture and Power* 25(5): 507-523.; Perl, G. (2018): Lethal Borders and the alter-politics of "ordinary people". Anthropological Journal of European Cultures 27(2): 85–104.; Perl, G. with photography of Sarah Hildebrand (2018): Wasser/ Water. In: Hildebrand, Sarah (ed.): Hope. Christoph Merian Verlag, Basel: 125–175.; Perl, G. (2016): Uncertain Belongings: Absent Mourning, Burial, and Post-mortem Repatriations at the External Border of the EU in Spain. Journal of Intercultural Studies 37(2), 195–209.

# **KEYNOTE SPEAKER**

#### Luigi Achilli

# Chasing the smuggler: new glimpses into the facilitation of irregular migration across the Mediterranean Sea

#### Abstract

According to mainstream media and political discourse, human smugglers are among the cruellest figures of our time, individuals who prey on migrants' need for assistance. Motivated by the circulation of this pejorative view in media and political discourse, over the past five years, I carried out ethnographic research with Syrian refugees and smugglers in Turkey, Greece, Jordan, and Lebanon with the ultimate goal of documenting what being a smuggler entails for the very actors of this unfolding drama. Fieldwork showed me how human smuggling was rooted in patterns of cooperation and support. And yet, most if not all my interlocutors, including the "smugglers" themselves, spoke of smuggling in negative terms. What will be argued here is that the smuggler, a category functional to the security apparatus, is not only manufactured within law enforcement circles and mainstream media, but even by those very people who are discriminated or targeted by states' migration policies. By reiterating the same message, however, migrants and facilitators introduce minute displacements into the discursive regime in which this term is articulated, disrupting the connection between the smuggler as a concept and its referent in the field. To put it simply, the more people spoke about the smugglers and human smuggling in abstract terms, the less clear it was who (or what) exactly the smugglers were or stood for in the field. What the struggle to pin down the smuggler ultimately tells us is that "human smuggling" has lost its capacity to describe local contexts of human movement, becoming the taunting spectre of our age: easy to evoke, hard to locate.

#### **Biographical note**

Luigi Achilli is Marie Curie Fellow at the European University Institute in Italy and adjunct professor at the San Diego State University in California. He holds a Ph.D. in social anthropology from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). He taught at Cambridge, SOAS, and various universities in the Middle East. His work focuses on irregular migration, forced displacement, smuggling networks and transnational crime. His ongoing Marie Curie research – MAPS – project pushes these interests further toward a comparative analysis of the US-Mexico border and the Mediterranean smuggling routes. This has culminated with the publication of several articles and other influential work on the topic. His currently coediting the new edition of "Global Human Smuggling" (John Hopkins UP, New York, 2020).

# PANEL 5 - Smuggling, irregular migrations and identity building

#### Maja Grundler

#### A Future Fear of Dangerous Journeys? – The Role of "Trafficked" and "Smuggled" Persons' Vulnerabilities in Establishing Future Risk under Refugee Law

#### Abstract

Irregularized migrants undertake dangerous migratory journeys due to a lack of legal travel options. The main policy categories to distinguish different irregularized migrants are human trafficking and human smuggling. Trafficking and smuggling are criminal law concepts that focus on the actions and intentions of perpetrators rather than the experiences of trafficked and smuggled persons. Criminal law assumes that trafficked persons are forced into trafficking and experience harm, while smuggled persons are travel voluntarily and do not experience harm. In line with this conceptualisation, trafficked persons can claim asylum based on their trafficking experience while smuggled persons can make no such claim based on their experience of having been smuggled. Viewed from a human rights perspective, however, it becomes clear that trafficking and smuggling are difficult to distinguish, both in terms of the harm experienced and underlying reasons for both practices. This paper challenges the trafficked/smuggled distinction and examines which irregularized migrants need protection by analysing traffickingbased asylum claims in the context of establishing a future risk of re-trafficking. It emerges from the case law that future risk can be assessed with regard to "vulnerabilities," such as socioeconomic deprivation, ill health and societal stigma which may cause a trafficked person to "choose" to be re-trafficked. The paper suggests that these vulnerabilities also apply to smuggled persons who may thus be able to make protection claims based on a future fear of "re-smuggling." The paper also explores what other conditions need to be met in order to make a protection claim based on a future fear of a dangerous migratory journey.

#### **Biographical note**

PhD researcher at Queen Mary University of London, School of Law. My research focuses on the connections between human trafficking, smuggling and asylum. My research interests include the elements and boundaries of the refugee definition, as well as freedom of movement. I hold an MA in British Studies from the Humboldt-University of Berlin and an MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies from the University of Oxford. Publications: Maja Grundler, "Disadvantage or discrimination? C-437/17 Gemeinsamer Note Betriebsrat Case EurothermenResort Bad Schallerbach GmbH 13 March 2019," ILPA Quarterly European Update (May 2019).; Maja Grundler, "From DIY Simple to DNA Sample: Obstacles to Family Reunification for Afghan Children with Refugee Parents in Germany," with Melanie Torres Gutiérrez, Refugee Review Vol 4 (2019) - forthcoming.; Maja Grundler, "Refugee Status for Survivors of Dangerous Journeys? - Establishing a Nexus to Nationality" in Veronica P. Fynn-Bruey and Steven W. Bender (eds.) Deadly Voyages: Migrant Journeys Across the Mediterranean (Lexington Books 2019) - forthcoming.

#### Björn Siegel The Zionist conquest of the Sea: A strategy of Immigration and Survival, 1933–1948

#### Abstract

In the 1940s the "conquest of the sea" emerged as an important pillar in Zionist ideology next to the return to the ancient homeland and the restoration of a Hebrew culture. Against the background of rising Antisemitism and racial persecution in Germany many Zionist thinkers were eager to rethink traditional ideas of migration and envisioned a new Zionist maritime mission. Consequently, leading Zionists praised Jewish maritime activities and celebrated the inauguration of the modern harbour in Haifa (1933) and the opening of the one in Tel Aviv, like the mayor of Tel Aviv Meir Dizengoff. They perceived this time as a crucial phase in the history of the Jewish nation and understood it as a strategy to survive and to revive the Jewish existence at the Eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Even though migration was highly restricted and even forbidden, the Zionist Organization had established co-operations with European shipping companies, which aimed to enhance immigration to Mandatory Palestine and by doing so, make the Zionist vision of a Jewish home in Palestine a reality.

Thus, the paper will examine these developments, which led to growing discussions in Zionist circles on maritime mobilities in times of persecution and oppression, which combined aspects of immigration, tourism and nationalism. The paper will analyses how oceanic spaces and the domination of the sea developed into an important pillar in modern day Zionism and study how important these discourses and practices on maritime mobilities were in the ideological struggle to preserve the cohesion of a movement and to create a "revitalised", "healthy" and "maritime nation" at the Mediterranean.

#### **Biographical note**

Björn Siegel is a researcher at the Institute for the History of the German Jews in Hamburg (IGdJ). He studied at the Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich and Tel Aviv University. Prior to working at the IGdJ, Björn was a post-doctoral research fellow at the Franz Rosenzweig Minerva Research Centre at the Hebrew University Jerusalem and worked as a DAAD lecturer at the University of Sussex/Centre for German-Jewish Studies (UK). He has authored Austrian Jewry Between East and West: The Austrian Jewish Alliance 1873–1938 (Campus, 2010) and co-authored Kurt Fritz Rosenberg: Einer der nicht mehr dazugehört (Wallstein, 2012). His research interests focus on Jewish migration, the evolution of Jewish philanthropy and Jewish maritime studies. His current research project is dealing with the ship as a place in Jewish History and re-evaluates migrations to Mandatory Palestine.

In accordance with the field of maritime studies he published amongst others, "Deutscher, Jude, Amerikaner: Der Hamburger Reeder Arnold Bernstein zwischen den Welten," in: Fluchtpunkt Hamburg: Zur Geschichte von Flucht und Migration in Hamburg von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart, Neue Maya Fahnenbruck/Johanna Meyer-Lenz (Hg.) (Hamburg: transcript, 2018), p. 73–88; "Envisioning a Jewish Maritime Space: Arnold Bernstein and the Emergence of a Jewish Shipping Industry in the Interwar Years," Studies in Contemporary Jewry XXX (Place in Modern Jewish Culture and Society) 2018, p. 178–190; "Arnold Bernstein." (2019) In Immigrant Entrepreneurship, Retrieved June 3, 2019, from Immigrant Entrepreneurship: <u>http://www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=242</u>

#### Gerald Maher

# The Revolution at Sea: The Irish Transatlantic Smuggling Network During the Irish Revolutionary Period, 1912-23

#### Abstract

Maritime history features little in the historiography of the Irish revolutionary period, 1912-23, save for a few isolated events which unfortunately lack both interconnectedness and contextualisation. Nevertheless, there exists a rich, though hidden, maritime history within the wider context of the Irish revolution, much of which is centred on clandestine migratory networks. A complex network of actors, directed by an underground organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, conducted an operation which appropriated the busy transatlantic shipping industry in order to advance the fight for an Irish Republic. Leaning on port cities that were populated with Irish diasporic communities, in particular New York and Liverpool, the network successfully smuggled people, communications, funds and arms across the Atlantic, and eventually into Irish port cities such as Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Belfast. And yet despite British suspicions of the operation, the network conducted its mission virtually without detection.

This paper places the transatlantic smuggling network in the wider context of the Irish revolution. First, it will detail those involved, among whom included elected officials, customs officials, shipping agents, union workers, dock workers and seamen, as well as the particulars of the methods they used to conduct the mission. The paper then attempts to show how crucial the smuggling mission was to both the political and military situations in Ireland by analysing, among other things, how it sustained a tangible connection between the Irish diaspora in American and the Irish revolution.

#### **Biographical note**

Gerald Maher is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Limerick. A significant portion of his Ph.D investigates the transatlantic smuggling networks operated by Irish nationalists during Ireland's revolutionary period, 1912-23. Prior to his doctoral studies, he was an engineering watchkeeper in the Irish Navy. Gerald also holds an LL.M in Marine and Maritime Law from University College, Cork.