



REFUGEE
STUDIES
CENTRE

RSC Conference 2019

Democratizing Displacement

18 - 19 March 2019
New College, University of Oxford



#RSC2019

#DemocratizingDisplacement



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Welcome from the RSC Director

We are delighted to welcome you to Oxford. Our conference, 'Democratizing Displacement', offers an opportunity to stand back and reflect upon different ways that refugees might become more effective political actors in shaping the institutions and forces that govern their own lives.

This is a question of great significance at the current time. The displacement associated with the war in Syria and the revival of populist nationalism, as well as the huge numbers of displaced people in the world today, have exposed the need to think anew about forced migration. Our world needs new institutions, new practices and new ways of responding to the displaced that ensure protection, guarantee rights, and acknowledge the dignity of those on the move. However, these practices and institutions will only be legitimate if refugees and forced migrants participate in their elaboration and working.

This conference is an unabashedly academic one. It is one that asks scholars to reflect upon what can we learn from history, from social and political theory, and from the workings of institutions at local, domestic and global level. Our aim is not to devise blueprints for new systems of governance. But instead to bring together reflections on and examples of refugee political agency in order to highlight its moral and practical importance and potentialities as an area of academic investigation.

Given the RSC's history as the 'home' of Refugee Studies and the importance it has always attached to seeing refugees as agents, we are privileged to host a conference that can catalyse this process of reflection. The subject of this biennial conference is somewhat narrower than our previous ones. This is deliberate. We aim this year for a tightly focused discussion on a theme significant to the protection of refugees and forced migrants.

We were overwhelmed by the response to our theme. Over 200 applications were received for the roughly 50 places available on the programme. We have thus had to make difficult choices on which papers to accept. Our decisions were based on judgements of academic excellence, focus on the conference theme, and coverage of a broad range of subjects, disciplines, and geographical areas.

We are sure that you will agree that the result is a superb and exciting programme of speakers.

On behalf of the RSC, I wish you an enjoyable and productive conference.



Matthew J Gibney

Elizabeth Colson Professor of Politics and Forced Migration, and
Director of the Refugee Studies Centre

Cover photos, left to right: Röszke makeshift refugee camp from the Hungarian side of the Serbia-Hungary border, 2016. Credit: © UNHCR/Zsolt Balla. Refugees voting for new representatives, Lóvua Resettlement Centre, Angola. Credit: © UNHCR/Omotola Akindipe. Refugees at the Greece-Macedonia border plead for the border to reopen to the thousands stranded there due to border closings, 2015. Credit: Steve Evans (CC BY-NC 2.0).

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CONFERENCE TIMETABLE

Monday 18 March

Registration (with tea/coffee available) <i>North Undercroft (adjacent to Dining Hall)</i>	9:00–9:30
DIRECTOR'S WELCOME Professor Matthew J Gibney <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	9:30–9:45
OPENING PLENARY Professor Lea Ypi <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	9:45–10:45
Coffee break (<i>North Undercroft</i>)	10:45–11:15
PARALLEL SESSIONS 1 Reckoning with Refugeeedom: Refugee Voices in Modern History, 1919–1975 <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Pathway to Durable Solutions <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	11:15–13:00
Lunch (<i>Dining Hall</i>)	13:00–14:00
PARALLEL SESSIONS 2 Displacement and Peacebuilding: Everyday Practices of Negotiation, Participation and Citizenship <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Beyond Empowerment <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	14:00–15:45
Coffee break (<i>North Undercroft</i>)	15:45–16:15
PARALLEL SESSIONS 3 International Organisations, Accountability and Humanitarian Settings <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Political Participation and Citizenship <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	16:15–18:00
Drinks Reception (<i>Cloisters – please dress warmly or bring an extra layer</i>)	18:00–19:00
Conference Dinner (<i>Dining Hall</i>)	19:15
After Dinner Speech: Farhat Khan (<i>Dining Hall</i>)	

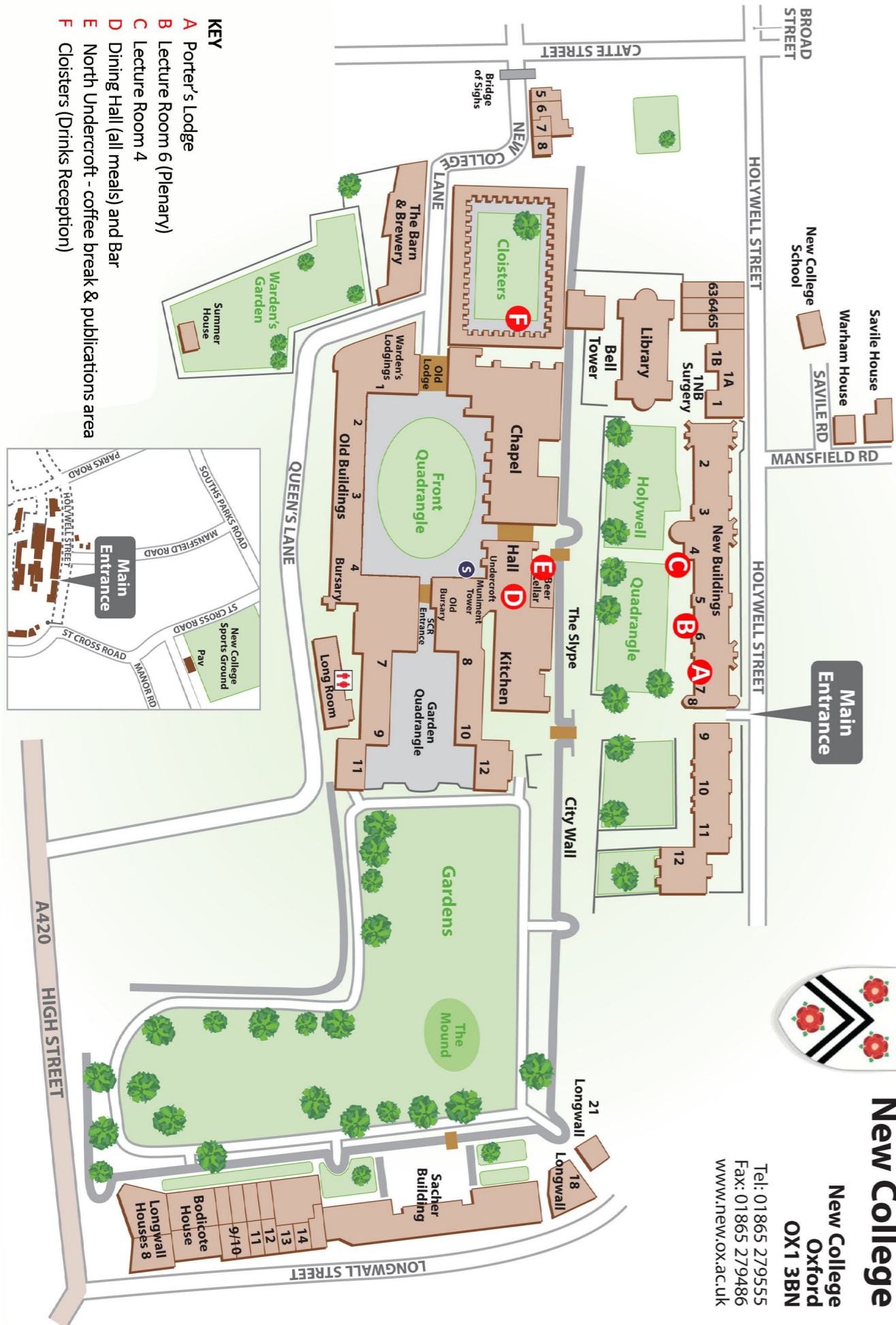
CONFERENCE TIMETABLE

Tuesday 19 March

PARALLEL SESSIONS 4 Internal Displacement and Political Action <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Contesting Deportation and Exclusion <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	9:00–10:45
Coffee break (<i>North Undercroft</i>)	10:45–11:15
PARALLEL SESSIONS 5 Resistance, Political Action and Participation I <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Political Participation of Refugees in their Countries of Asylum: Between Theory and Practice <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	11:15–13:00
Lunch (<i>Dining Hall</i>)	13:00–14:00
PARALLEL SESSIONS 6 Rethinking Refugeehood <i>Lecture Room 4</i> Resistance, Protest and Participation II <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	14:00–15:45
Coffee break (<i>North Undercroft</i>)	15:45–16:15
CLOSING PLENARY Professor Karma Nabulsi <i>Lecture Room 6</i>	16:15–17:15



Follow and contribute to live discussions at the conference via Twitter following [@refugeestudies](https://twitter.com/refugeestudies) and using the hashtags [#RSC2019](https://twitter.com/RSC2019) and [#DemocratizingDisplacement](https://twitter.com/DemocratizingDisplacement).



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NEW COLLEGE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

Founded in 1379 and situated in the very heart of the city, New College is one of the largest and most architecturally striking colleges in Oxford, combining outstanding facilities with spectacular buildings and gardens set against the medieval city wall.

Among the College's most celebrated features are the Great Quad, the Cloisters, the Chapel and Ante-Chapel, the Dining Hall (with medieval kitchen beneath), and the 13th century City Walls which enclose the garden.

For more information about New College, please visit the website at: www.new.ox.ac.uk



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Getting Around New College

The main New College buildings for the conference are indicated in red on the map of the College on the adjacent page.

Conference keynotes and panel sessions will be conducted in **Lecture Room 4** and **Lecture Room 6**.

Arrival coffee for Monday and refreshment breaks will be held in the **North Undercroft area next to the Dining Hall**. Lunch on Monday and Tuesday, and dinner on Monday evening, will be held in the **Dining Hall**. The Drinks Reception on Monday evening will be held in the **Cloisters**.

Visitors staying in New College accommodation are to check in at the Porters' Lodge, next to the main entrance on Holywell Street.

Visiting Oxford

Oxford is a beautiful city of stunning architecture, history and culture. You will find ancient and modern colleges, fascinating museums and galleries, and plenty of parks, gardens and green spaces in which to relax. Plus, the city centre is small enough to cover on foot, and only a few minutes walk from the main rail and coach stations. For more information on exploring Oxford and to download a copy of the university-provided leaflet which contains a map and information on opening times of colleges, museums and other places of interest, visit the University website at:

www.ox.ac.uk/visitors/visiting-oxford

MONDAY 18 MARCH

9:00 - 9:30 **Conference Registration** (with tea/coffee available)
North Undercroft (next to Dining Hall)

9:30 - 9:45

DIRECTOR'S WELCOME

Lecture Room 6

Matthew J Gibney

Director, Refugee Studies Centre

9:45 - 10:45

OPENING PLENARY

Lecture Room 6

Lea Ypi

Professor in Political Theory, Department of Government, London School of Economics

Illegal Migration, Adverse Possession and the Obligation to Obey the Law

Chair: **Matthew J Gibney**, Refugee Studies Centre

10:45 - 11:15 **Coffee Break** (North Undercroft)

Session 1
11:15 - 13:00

Reckoning with Refugeedom: Refugee Voices in Modern History, 1919-1975

Lecture Room 4

JULIA DEVLIN, Center for Flight and Migration, Catholic University Eichstaett-Ingolstadt: "They have chosen their own national leaders" - self-governing in camps for displaced persons (1945-1949)

ALEX DOWDALL, University of Manchester: "The greatest parliament of men": refugees' petitions to the League of Nations, 1919-1938

PETER GATRELL, University of Manchester: Individual case files as a historical source

KASIA NOWAK, University of Manchester: "To reach the lands of freedom": resettlement petitions of Polish displaced persons to the American Poles, 1948-1951

Chair: **TOM SCOTT-SMITH**, Refugee Studies Centre

Pathway to Durable Solutions

Lecture Room 6

INGI IUSMEN, University of Southampton: Unaccompanied migrant children, child participation and durable solutions

SABINE LEHR, Royal Roads University: Sponsorship is not charity: refugee empowerment in complementary pathways to protection

PATRICIA MARTUSCELLI, Universidade de São Paulo: Fighting for family reunification: the Congolese experience in São Paulo, Brazil

JANINA STÜRNER, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg (PETRA BENDEL, University of Erlangen-Nürnberg; HANNES SCHAMMANN, University of Hildesheim; CHRISTIANE HEIMANN, University of Hildesheim): Tailored to whom? Rethinking resettlement as participatory strategy to empower refugees and host communities

NICHOLAS VAN HEAR, COMPAS, University of Oxford: Furthering Refugia: responding to critics

Chair: **ALEXANDER BETTS**, Refugee Studies Centre

13:00 - 14:00 **Lunch** (Dining Hall)

Session 2
14:00 - 15:45

Displacement and Peacebuilding: Everyday Practices of Negotiation, Participation and Citizenship

Lecture Room 4

DAVID CANTOR, Refugee Law Initiative, University of London: *IDP returns in Colombia: negotiating insecurity and building political identity*

KIRSTEN McCONNACHIE, University of East Anglia: *Displacement and peacebuilding: an agenda for inclusion*

ELISABETH OLIVIUS, University of Umeå: *Claiming rights in exile: women's insurgent citizenship practices in Myanmar's borderlands*

ANDREA PURDEKOVÁ, University of Bath: *Respacing for peace? Mobility strategies and resistance to post-war integration in Burundi*

SIMON TURNER, University of Copenhagen: *Visible and invisible repatriation to Rwanda after genocide: the effects of political and moral categories*

Chair: **KIRSTEN McCONNACHIE**, University of East Anglia

Beyond Empowerment

Lecture Room 6

SUSAN BANKI, University of Sydney: *Political precarity among Myanmar's refugees: resistance and reality in Thailand and Bangladesh*

HANNAH LEWIS, University of Sheffield: *Community-based research with people who are refugees. Which community?*

GIORGIA DONÁ, University of East London (**GEORGE SHIRE**, Independent Cultural Theorist; **ISABEL MEIER**, University of East London): *Disrupting the normativity of the political subject in displacement*

Chair: **SUSAN BANKI**, University of Sydney

15:45 - 16:15 Coffee Break (North Undercroft)

Session 3
16:15 - 18:00

International Organisations, Accountability and Humanitarian Settings

Lecture Room 4

FELIX BENDER, Central European University: *Should refugees govern refugee camps? A normative evaluation*

ANNE IRFAN, London School of Economics / University of Sussex: *Agency and resistance: Palestinian refugee activism against UNRWA since 1950*

CLAIRE WALKEY, Refugee Studies Centre: *Where are the refugees? Understanding the exclusion of refugees in the management of refugee affairs in Kenya*

QAABATA BORU, Kakuma News Reflector: *Refugee-run media and humanitarian accountability: a case study of a refugee press from Kakuma, Kenya*

Chair: **CATHRYN COSTELLO**, Refugee Studies Centre

Political Participation and Citizenship

Lecture Room 6

JEAN-THOMAS ARRIGHI DE CASANOVA, Université de Neuchâtel (**ROBIN STUNZI**, Swiss Migration Forum, Université de Neuchâtel): *Humans, or citizens? Opportunities and constraints on refugees' political participation in asylum granting liberal democracies*

PUNSARA AMARASINGHE, Institute of Law, Politics and Development, Scuola Superiore Sant Anna, Pisa: *A critical analysis of the political participation of Sri Lankan Tamil refugee community in Canada*

KAREN SCHOUW IVERSEN, SOAS, University of London: *Desplazado protests and struggles over citizenship in Bogotá*

ANGELA SHERWOOD, Queen Mary University of London School of Law: *"Insurgent citizenship" and resistance to property exclusion in post-disaster Haiti*

SARAH VANCLUYSEN, Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp: *Resolving conflicts: how South-Sudanese refugee leaders mediate disputes within and around the settlements in Northern Uganda*

Chair: **ROBIN VANDERVOORDT**, Refugee Studies Centre

18:00 - 19:00 Drinks Reception (Cloisters - Please dress warmly or bring an extra layer)

19:15 Conference Dinner (Dining Hall)

After Dinner Speech
Farhat Khan

Founder of Women Asylum Seekers Together (WAST) Manchester, who was granted asylum in the UK in 2007

TUESDAY 19 MARCH

Session 4 9:00 - 10:45

Internal Displacement and Political Action

Lecture Room 4

DALEL BENBABAALI, University of Oxford: [Indigenous resistance to development-induced displacement: the case of the Polavaram dam in South India](#)

ANA DE FRANCESCO, Instituto Socioambiental: [Self organization and territorial rights as a response for forced displacement in Xingu river, Amazon, Brazil](#)

ILEANA DANA NICOLAU, European University Institute: [Comparative perspective on the political participation of the IDPs: experiences in Colombia and Peru](#) [by Skype]

MRUTUYANJAYA SAHU, Birla Institute of Technology & Science, Pilani, Dubai Campus: [Contesting development induced displacement and contemporary social movements in India](#)

Chair: DERYA ÖZKUL, Refugee Studies Centre

Contesting Deportation and Exclusion

Lecture Room 6

EVELIINA LYYTINEN, Migration Institute of Finland: [Multiscalar activism on asylum seekers' deportability in Finland](#)

OTIENO ONG'AYO (ANTONY), International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University (**HELEN HINTJENS**, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University): [Rejected and destitute asylum seekers as actors: reflections on ongoing experiences and negotiating agency in the UK and the Netherlands](#)

RUTH ELIZABETH PRADO PEREZ, ITESO, Jesuit University of Guadalajara: [Does empowerment really help refugees? The Central American migrant caravans in 2018 and the US and Mexico response](#)

ROBIN VANDEVOORDT, Refugee Studies Centre: [Subversive humanitarianism. Rethinking the politics of refugee solidarity](#)

Chair: MATTHEW J GIBNEY, Refugee Studies Centre

10:45 - 11:15 **Coffee Break** (North Undercroft)

Session 5 11:15 - 13:00

Resistance, Political Action and Participation I

Lecture Room 4

KHADIJA ABBASI, The Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies: [Hazaristan online: mobilisation and community construction of the transnational Hazaras and the role of digital media](#)

DANIEL DAVIES, St. Andrew's Refugee Services (**JULIA PACITTO**, Refugee Studies Centre): [Moving beyond perfunctory participation: two models of refugee participation in Cairo, Egypt](#)

ANNA DI GIUSTO, University of Florence: [Refugee empowerment. A case of study in Calabria](#)

CHRISTA KUNTZELMAN, Northwestern University: [Examining variation in tactics and targets of refugee political behavior in Uganda](#)

SURAINA PASHA, University of Sydney: [Sustaining the 'revolution': the symbolic and social dimensions of Syrian civic volunteerism in Jordan](#)

Chair: ALI ALI, Refugee Studies Centre

Political Participation of Refugees in their Countries of Asylum: Between Theory and Practice

Lecture Room 6

NAOKO HASHIMOTO, University of Sussex: [How has refugees' agency challenged Japan's refugee protection structure?](#)

NORA RAGAB, Maastricht University: [The case of Afghan and Syrian refugees in Germany](#)

RUVI ZIEGLER, University of Reading: [Refugees as political beings in their country of asylum](#)

Chair: CATHERINE BRIDDICK, Refugee Studies Centre

13:00 - 14:00 **Lunch** (Dining Hall)

Session 6
14:00 - 15:45

Rethinking Refugeehood

Lecture Room 4

ALEXANDER BETTS, Refugee Studies Centre (KATE PINCOCK, Refugee Studies Centre; EVAN EASTON-CALABRIA, Refugee Studies Centre): [The global governed? Refugees as providers of protection and assistance](#)

TRISTAN HARLEY, Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law, University of New South Wales (HARRY HOBBS, University of New South Wales): [Refugee participation, decision-making and the right to be heard](#)

J. OLAF KLEIST, Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies (IMIS), University of Osnabrück: [Democracy and its contentious sovereignty to protect: the politics about asylum](#)

BLAIR PERUNIAK, Refugee Studies Centre (JAMES SOUTER, University of Leeds): [Rethinking refugee markets: institutional design and refugee participation](#)

Chair: CATHERINE BRIDDICK, Refugee Studies Centre

Resistance, Protest and Participation II

Lecture Room 6

ALI ALI, Refugee Studies Centre: [Discarded populations and their resistance to the displacement process in occupied Iraq](#)

SUBHASREE GHOSH, Asutosh College, University of Calcutta: [Whose land? The tussle between squatter-refugees and the government in West Bengal, 1947-1960](#)

SHAI TAGNER, The Ben-Gurion Institute for the Study of Israel and Zionism, Ben-Gurion University: [Let us be heard: asylum seekers' mobilisation in Israel 2013-2018](#)

VIKI ZAPHIRIOU-ZARIFI, SOAS, University of London: ["United we stand": the collective mobilisation of African women in 'crisis' Greece](#)

Chair: TOM WESTERN, Refugee Studies Centre

15:45 - 16:15 Coffee Break (North Undercroft)

16:15 - 17:15

CLOSING PLENARY

Lecture Room 6

Karma Nabulsi

Associate Professor in Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford

Bearing Civic Gifts: Refugees' Essential Contributions to the Democratic Polity

Chair: Cathryn Costello, Refugee Studies Centre

Lea Ypi

Professor in Political Theory, Department of Government, London School of Economics



Lea Ypi is Professor in Political Theory in the Government Department, London School of Economics, and Adjunct Associate Professor in Philosophy at the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University. Before joining the LSE, she was a Post-doctoral Prize Research Fellow at Nuffield College (Oxford) and a researcher at the European University Institute where she obtained her PhD.

A native of Albania, Lea has degrees in Philosophy and Literature from the University of Rome, La Sapienza, and has held visiting and research positions at Sciences Po, the University of Frankfurt, the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, the Australian National University and the Italian Institute for Historical Studies.

She is the author of *Global Justice and Avant-Garde Political Agency*, and (with Jonathan White) *The Meaning of Partisanship*, both published by Oxford University Press. She has co-edited *Migration in Political Theory* (Oxford University Press 2016, with Sarah Fine) and *Kant and Colonialism* (Oxford University Press 2015, with Katrin Flikschuh). She was the recipient of the British Academy Brian Barry Prize for Excellence in Political Science and her article 'What's wrong with colonialism' was selected by *The Philosopher's Annual* as one of the ten best published in philosophy worldwide.

Lea's research interests are in normative political theory (including democratic theory, theories of justice, and issues of migration and territorial rights), Enlightenment political thought (especially Kant), Marxism and critical theory, as well as nationalism in the intellectual history of the Balkans (especially Albania). She is a co-editor of *The Journal of Political Philosophy*.

Karma Nabulsi

Associate Professor in Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford

Professor Karma Nabulsi is Fellow in Politics at St Edmund Hall, and lectures at the Department of Politics and International Relations (DPIR), University of Oxford. Her research covers 18th and 19th century political thought, and the international collective rights of the Palestinian people, particularly of Palestinian refugees. While research fellow at Nuffield College, she directed a civic needs assessment that was co-designed and run by Palestinian refugees themselves, in over 24 countries, and edited its register: *Palestinians Register: Laying Foundations and Setting Directions* (2006). From 2011-2015 she directed the civic voter registration for elections to the Palestine National Council, the parliament-in-exile of the Palestinian people, working with UNRWA, UNHCR,



the Central Elections Commission, and other national and international institutions and bodies, as well as with world renowned scholars at Oxford who designed a safe and robust electronic voting machine that can be used by refugees living scattered across regions and continents.

She is currently co-editing a volume on 'Radical Republicanism' for Oxford University Press, and contributing to the Oxford Handbook on Rousseau, with the chapter 'Rousseau and Emancipation'.

She recently directed and co-curated 'The Palestinian Revolution', a bilingual Arabic-English digital teaching resource exploring Palestinian revolutionary thought and practice in the 1950s, '60s and '70s. Sponsored by the British Academy,

the endeavour was a collaboration with universities, institutes and museums across the global south specialising in anti-colonial history (<http://learnpalestine.politics.ox.ac.uk/>). Hosted at Oxford's DPIR, the resource is freely available to universities, students, and the general public. It is comprised of a 12-week course, an online gallery with original contemporary sources, including more than 80 filmed interviews with cadres, and over 300 primary sources of the period: revolutionary publications, memoirs, photographs, songs, posters, and film.

Karma is a UCU Equalities Officer at the University, and member of its BME Staff Network. Recent awards include OUSU's Special Recognition Award in 2016, the Guardian's Higher Education Network's 'Inspiring Leader Award' for 2017, and Arab Woman of the Year 2018. She is Chair of Trustees and co-founder of the HOPING Foundation, which raises awareness for Palestinian refugees and sponsors art, music, scholarships, and education for young Palestinians in refugee camps across the Middle East.

Farhat Khan

Founder of Women Asylum Seekers Together (WAST) Manchester

Farhat Khan founded Women Asylum Seekers Together (WAST) Manchester in 2005 and is currently trustee/chairperson. WAST is a self-help and self led group of asylum seeking women from different nationalities based in Greater Manchester who: are a source of support for each other, other women asylum seekers, and their families; raise awareness and lobby on issues of concern to women asylum seekers and their families – both in their countries of origin and in the UK; build and promote the skills, experience and self-esteem of individual women asylum seekers by involving them in organisational and community development activities; promote a positive image of asylum seekers; provide basic advice and sign-post to other organisations for help in setting up individual anti-deportation campaigns; and link with other community groups, organisations and individuals that provide support to women and asylum seekers. Farhat has been invited to Buckingham Palace in recognition of services as a volunteer, and to Downing Street in recognition of her voluntary work. She came to the UK from Pakistan in November 2000 and was granted refugee status in 2007.

International Summer School in Forced Migration

7-19 July 2019, Oxford

The RSC's Summer School fosters dialogue between academics, practitioners and policymakers working to improve the situation of refugees and forced migrants. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, combining the best of Oxford University's academic excellence with a stimulating and participatory method of learning, it aims to enable people working with refugees and other forced migrants to reflect critically on the forces and institutions that dominate the world of the displaced. The closing date for applications is 30 April 2019.



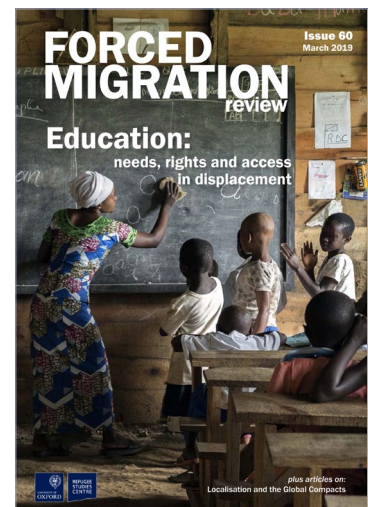
Further information: www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/summer-school

Forced Migration Review

Forced Migration Review (FMR) is the most widely read publication on forced migration – available in English, French, Spanish and Arabic, and free of charge in print and online. Through FMR, authors from around the world analyse the causes and impacts of displacement; debate policies and programmes; share research findings; reflect the lived experience of displacement; and present examples of good practice and recommendations for policy and action.

Scheduled and recent issues cover: 'Return' (October 2019), 'Ethics and Displacement', with a special Tribute to Barbara Harrell-Bond (June 2019), 'Education' (March 2019), 'Twenty Years of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' (October 2018), 'Economies: Rights and Access to Work' (June 2018), and 'Syrians in Displacement' (February 2018).

Online at: www.fmreview.org



Refugee Studies Centre

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