

## Introduction

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Whether voluntary or forced, migration has been part of human history since its commencement. It has acquired new prominence of late as one of the most controversial issues of our time. A few years ago, Jeffrey H. Cohen and Ibrahim Sirkeci warned against the widespread tendency of viewing twenty-first-century migration as “new and unique” (1). We should certainly heed their warning, while also acknowledging the complex reality and diverse transnational entanglements that shape migration at present. Paying due attention to changing historical circumstances, we should likewise bear in mind that the world, as we know it and experience it today, “was made by migrations,” and for this reason we should be sceptical about any group’s claims to absolute autochthony (Fernández-Armesto 5). Given the important role that migrations have played in human history, we can define all cultures as *cultures of migration*.

While there was never any single place even remotely comparable to the biblical Eden, “Africa is, on present evidence, the nearest thing to a ‘cradle’ of our species” (Fernández-Armesto 5) since it was out of this continent that *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* first spread into Europe and other parts of the world (Koser 2). Apparently, that happened about two million years ago.

The history of the ancient world provides numerous examples of migration, such as Phoenician and ancient Greek colonization of coastal territories bordering the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. Various waves of resettlement took place within the vast Roman Empire as well as within other empires in Asia, Africa and the Americas (Koser 2). Migrants in the ancient world relocated from their initial homelands to new territories for a variety of reasons, ranging from search for new trade opportunities and profit to flights from military violence. During the Middle Ages, Viking raids and Crusades to the Holy Land resulted in the migration of considerable numbers of people. Islamic expansion into north Africa and south-western Europe, which started in the seventh century, also led to the displacement of large masses of people (Martell 133), as did the Ottoman conquest of extensive territories in south-eastern and central Europe, from the late fourteenth to the late seventeenth centuries.

In the early modern period, clashes between representatives of different religious denominations caused the dislocation of masses of people, both within Europe and across the Mediterranean into north Africa and the Middle East. Christian and Muslim pirates used religious difference as a pretext for their raids, which usually resulted in the capture, enslavement and transportation of people for profit.<sup>1</sup> In addition, western European territorial expansion during the so called “Age of Discovery” or “Age of Exploration” (at a rough estimate, early fifteenth-seventeenth centuries) led to *long-distance migration*, defined by Jürgen Osterhammel as “a definitive or long-term shift in the location of one’s existence across great distances to a different social environment” (128). Many Europeans resettled to the Americas. A lot of places in that part of the world retain traces of those resettlements, such as language, culture or ethnic mixes. Later on, large-scale migrations also occurred in the aftermath of the “discovery” by European navigators of Australia and other territories in the Pacific basin.

Many examples of forced long-distance migration are provided by the slave traffic, which involved the transportation of huge numbers of people out of Africa to the Americas. The massive dislocation of Africans was due to a drastic decrease in the numbers of the indigenous populations of the “new” world, the so-called “great dying” of native Americans caused by ruthless exploitation and epidemics of contagious diseases

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<sup>1</sup> For a long time, it was assumed that it was Muslim pirates, based on the Barbary Coast, who enslaved Christian Europeans. Recent historical research has demonstrated that “this phenomenon had a significant counterpart in Christian Europe” (D’Amora 169).

imported from the “old” world (see Boehmer 20), as well as by the insufficient influx of migrants out of Europe (see Cohen 15). According to Khalid Koser, the slave traffic was “the predominant migration event” of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: it involved the compulsory transportation of about twelve million people across the Atlantic Ocean (2). Elleke Boehmer places the beginning of the slave trade earlier, in the mid-seventeenth century, and according to her, this predominantly European undertaking was spread over a period of 200 years (20). The consequences of the slave traffic are still felt especially among African Americans in the United States (see Koser 2). The abolition of the slave trade in the United States and European-dominated colonies throughout the world in the early nineteenth century did not put an end to forced migration and labour exploitation: indentured labourers from China, India and Japan were transported to the Caribbean basin and elsewhere to replace some of the freed African slaves.

One of the key migration events of the “long” nineteenth century (1789–1914) was the relocation of considerable numbers of people out of Europe to various parts of the “old” continent’s far-flung colonial empires. Foremost among those was the British Empire: at its height in the early twentieth century, it comprised one quarter of the earth’s land surface and ruled over 500 million people, one fifth of the planet’s population. The majority of imperial migrants were involved in a process of “global colonization,” which has been seen as “the special preserve of the British” (Jackson 1), but was not limited to them only.

The establishment of the United States as a major economic power led to the migration of thousands of people out of different parts of Europe, ranging from famine-stricken Ireland in the west to the Jewish Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire in the east. Koser maintains that this wave of migration started in the mid-nineteenth century and lasted until the Great Depression in the 1930s (3). During the Great Depression, there were numerous cases of internal economic migration. *Grapes of Wrath*, the novel for which the American writer John Steinbeck was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1940 and the Nobel Prize in 1962, tells the story of a family of economic migrants travelling westwards out of the dust-bowl of Oklahoma to California, which they initially perceive as a land providing unlimited economic opportunities.

Massive population movements also took place during and after the two World Wars as state borders were re-drawn. Post-war nation states usually adopted policies favouring ethnic homogeneity, and this resulted in acts of ethnic cleansing as minorities were forcefully evicted and compelled to migrate elsewhere.

Another major migration event was an outcome of the disintegration of colonial empires following the Second World War. Decolonization led to reverse flows of people back to Europe, such as members of colonial administrations in former British dependencies or the so-called *pièdes noirs* in the case of France (see Koser 3). Insofar as labour was needed by the post-war economies in Europe, North America and Australia, there were also flows of migrants out of Asia, Africa, the Caribbean islands and, in the case of Germany, Turkey (Koser 3–4). As a result, starting from the late 1940s and early 1950s, societies in what the French economist and politician Alfred Sauvy designated as “the First World” became increasingly multi-ethnic, with diasporic communities coexisting with more traditional populations. There were cases of migration within “the First World” itself: for instance, one million people migrated out of Britain to Australia and New Zealand on the Assisted Passage Migration Scheme initially issued in the late 1940s.

The collapse of the state socialist<sup>2</sup> system in eastern Europe and parts of Asia in 1989 and the early 1990s led to migratory flows, which were relatively modest at first but intensified following the enlargements of the European Union in 2004 and 2007 and the accession of countries from the former “Eastern Bloc” to it. A lot of people from the new member states have moved westwards for economic reasons. Unfortunately, this has given rise to a tendency in the older member states to exaggerate the level of migration out of eastern and central Europe. Local fears of unfair economic competition and unjustified access to social and health benefits have been fuelled by statements by politicians and prejudicial stories circulated by certain mass media. The UK referendum of 2016 may be seen as an outcome of such propaganda. Significantly, xenophobic

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<sup>2</sup> A number of scholars have drawn attention to the difficulty of *naming* the political regime which dominated the so-called “Eastern Bloc” from the end of the Second World War until 1989 and, in some cases, the early 1990s. Thus, Miglena Nikolchina remarks that the regime’s enemies called it “communism,” which “was [and is] a misnomer” (107). She rejects “totalitarianism” on the grounds that after Stalin’s death it was not a proper totalitarian regime either (107). Nikolchina does not accept “socialism,” the name by which the regime called itself, because “the term clearly does not fit . . . western usages” (107), and despite her earlier reservations, chooses “communism” as a “provisional” designation (107). While I share her view of the difficulty of naming the old regime, I cannot condone the choice that she has made, and opt for *state socialism*, a term which is used by a considerable number of social scientists.

violence, targeted at eastern Europeans, has been on the rise in Britain following the Brexit vote (see Rzepnikowska 61).

Because of military clashes in the Middle East, Africa and other parts of the world, migration is currently on the rise, and this has caused a moral panic across Europe. According to the Bulgarian political scientist Ivan Krastev, “fear of Islamic terrorism and a general anxiety over the unfamiliar are at the core of [this] moral panic” (41). The tendency to view migrants out of the Middle East in particular as actual or potential terrorists is widespread in Europe. In the United States, ever since the attacks of 11 September 2001, a lot of migrants from Muslim countries have been subjected to the worst kind of discrimination on account of their presumed connection with terrorism. In addition, migration out of Mexico and other Latin American countries has been repeatedly represented as a serious threat to American security and the lifestyle of American citizens. Underlying such representations is the view that migrants, especially migrants from the so-called “Third World,” could never be fully integrated into their host society, and for this reason should be refused admission into it.

Is the moral panic that currently shapes attitudes to migration in Europe and, as the examples above show, the United States likely to put an end to it? Predictably, the answer is negative: migration will not disappear from the international scene. It is a crucial component of the ongoing processes that make up globalization as well as a response to political instability and military violence in many parts of the world. Migration’s routes, though, might change in the future. For instance, rather than opting for countries in Europe and North America, more economic migrants might choose to re-settle to the so called “tiger” economies of Asia (see Koser 99).

A more apposite question may be: are attitudes to unwanted migrants and refugees,<sup>3</sup> whom, following Krastev, we may define as “the anti-heroes of globalization” (18), likely to change? It is impossible to provide a definitive answer to this question, but it is worth noting that the moral panic that he diagnosed is to a considerable extent conditioned by negative stereotypes of foreignness and their successful incorporation into damaging media representations of migrants and migration, damning speeches by politicians and the spread of fake news. While such phenomena cannot be made to disappear overnight, attitudes to migrants might nevertheless change under more favourable circumstances. Despite the prominence of the moral panic, not everyone in Europe or North America is hostile to migrants. The view of migration as culturally enriching and of migrants as *givers*, who bring gifts to their host societies, such as new food recipes, new musical styles or unique handmade artefacts, rather than as *takers* of hard-earned social benefits, which was part of the mindscape of western liberals in the 1990s,<sup>4</sup> is not extinct yet.

Combined with the *small* narrative of migrants, and possibly, even refugees, as *givers* enriching everyday life in developed countries, are the *grand*, “redemptive narratives of global trade, transnationalism and cosmopolitanism” (Gikandi 28). Central to the latter is the image of “the autonomous migrating subject” (Gikandi 28), who makes his/her own choices and freely contributes to the prosperity of the societies to which s/he moves for shorter or longer periods of time. This subject is unmistakably the *hero of globalization*. However, as Simon Gikandi pointed out some years ago, “global cultural flows are still dominated by ... *coerced* migrants rather than by ... free-willing cosmopolitan subjects [my emphasis]” (28), and the presence of poorer economic migrants and refugees seriously challenges the *grand* narratives of globalization. Gikandi’s view has by no means lost its validity today.

Despite the fact that migrants do not constitute a uniform mass of people and the experiences of educated members of cosmopolitan global elites differ markedly from those of refugees, certain similarities may be discerned. According to Doris Bachmann-Medick, migrants’ experiences could be approached in terms of “border politics,” which would be different for different categories of migrants, but also through “a multiplicity of often *conflicting translation activities* [my emphasis]” (275). Bachmann-Medick maintains that a translational perspective on migration would enable us to see migrants as “mediators and active agents of translation” while also alerting us to the danger of their being “translated by others” (276). Significantly, even when they are *subjects*, who are actively engaged in processes of cultural mediation, migrants may become *objects* of translation (276). The translational model thus sheds light on the duality of the migrant

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<sup>3</sup> On the 1951 United Nations Convention on the Status of Refugees and the continuing validity of the definition which it provides, see Koser (64).

<sup>4</sup> For a commentary on the liberal view of migration and migrants as exemplified by Cynthia Ozick’s reading of the Book of Ruth, see Honig (48–54).

experience, defined as it is by “active attempts [at] ‘translation’” as well as by those attempts’ “simultaneous irritations” (Bachmann-Medick 279).

Bachmann-Medick’s model of cultural translation is linked to the broader issue of the representation of migration and migrants. Traces of the numerous displacements and migrations, which have shaped human history in the course of millennia, have been incorporated, in one way or another, into a lot of texts, ranging from ancient Sumerian and Hindu religious writing to the Bible. The Bible preserves memorable narratives of migrants and migration, such as the tale of the Egyptian acculturation of Joseph, the son of Jacob: a coerced migrant – since he was sold into slavery by his own brothers. There is also the story of the Exodus, directed by Moses, who may have been an Egyptian rather than an ethnic Israelite.<sup>5</sup> The Book of Ruth presents the Moabite Ruth as a model immigrant, willing to accept the social and religious codes of her host country.<sup>6</sup> All three narratives show the difficulties of displacement and the challenges of adjusting to new conditions.

Predictably, representations of migrants and migration have imprinted a vast amount of later writing. Certain tropes, such as metaphors of discovery, self-discovery and re-birth, recur in texts by and about migrants. Images of a homeland that has been abandoned also play a major role in writing dealing with temporary or permanent displacement. Strategies of “domesticating”<sup>7</sup> cultural translation as a way of keeping in touch with the homeland and its culture may likewise be used in representations of relocation to a new land. For example, in texts by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European explorers and colonizers foreign landscapes often acquire symbolic meanings interpretable through references to the Bible or classical mythology (see Boehmer 15–17). The mapping of new territories, which was essential to European colonization, could likewise be seen as an instance of domesticating cultural translation insofar as map-makers tended to make use of place names that “harked back to home ground” (Boehmer 17). As a result, “[c]olonial maps grew dense with old toponyms applied to new contexts – names like New York, Windsor, Perth, East London, Margate, or the many Newcastles the world over” (Boehmer 17–18). While redolent of nostalgia for the homeland, such acts of re-naming placed colonized territories in a position of contiguity to, and dependency on, Europe (see Boehmer 18).

More recently, issues of migration, identity and territoriality have become prominent in postcolonial literature<sup>8</sup>, which has repeatedly questioned and problematized Eurocentric views of history, political organization and culture. Seeking to expose the distorting effects of cultural myopia, postcolonial writers have made full use of “the potential of literature as a special discourse to open a dialogue between different positions and world views” (Liewald 2). A lot of them have themselves experienced the effects of dislocation in one form or another and this may account for their insightful representations of the complexity of the migrant experience in a world marked by inequalities that are to a considerable extent due to colonial expansion and exploitation in the past.

Currently, the theme of migration is also central to literary texts produced by spatially and culturally mobile writers of eastern and central European extraction, who write in languages of international communication, such as English, German or French, rather than in their mother tongues. Among others, Bulgarian-born Kapka Kassabova and Miroslav Penkov, who write in English, have explored migration and migrancy from what may be termed a *post-socialist perspective*. Insofar as their texts represent characters, who find it impossible to shake off the burdens of the past, they are part of the ongoing debate, in post-socialist countries, about guilt, personal/collective responsibility and compensation for what happened under state socialism. At first glance, such texts appear to challenge a much-quoted passage from Salman Rushdie’s 1983 novel *Shame* according to which “[a]ll migrants leave their pasts behind... because it is the fate of migrants to be stripped of history” (63). This passage, however, is ironic – as is frequently the case with misleadingly general statements by narrators in Rushdie’s books. In fact, migrants are rarely completely alienated from their personal or familial pasts. Besides, in fictional narratives of migration personal and familial pasts are often portrayed as having been shaped by the turns and twists of history. Kassabova’s novel *Reconnaissance* (1999), for instance,

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<sup>5</sup> For a commentary on the foreigner as founder, see Honig (15–40).

<sup>6</sup> See New International Version, Ruth 1: 16–18. For a commentary on the Book of Ruth, which also considers readings by other scholars, see Honig (41–73).

<sup>7</sup> On the concept of “domestication,” see Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility. A History of Translation* (1995). For a more recent commentary on “domestication” or “nativizing” in translation, see César Domínguez, et al. (78–80).

<sup>8</sup> For a commentary on postcolonial literature, its historical coordinates and its global scope, see Robert J. C. Young (215–218).

features a central character, who is unable to adapt to life in her host country of New Zealand because of unhealed traumas in her family history, which largely reflects the history of the country of her birth. Penkov's 2016 novel *Stork Mountain* focuses on an "Americanized" protagonist, who has to deal with acts of deceit and betrayal within his own family. Like the book's readers, the protagonist has to decide to what extent such acts were caused by personal moral failures or were due to the workings of the repressive pre-1989 regime.

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The articles in the specialized part of this issue engage with different aspects of migration, migrancy, territoriality, violence, terrorism, cultural identity, forms of self-definition and globalization. To start with, Pavlin Atanasov explores migration from a historical perspective. He examines the settlement of freed black slaves from England and Nova Scotia in Sierra Leone at the end of the eighteenth century. Significantly, this settlement was represented as a "repatriation" project insofar as the freed slaves were descendants of Africans, who had been forcefully transported to other parts of the world via the slave traffic. However, the new settlers found it extremely difficult to adjust to life in west Africa. Nor were they found congenial by the local people for whom they were not all that different from the white invaders of their territory. Despite the fact that some of the white participants in the Sierra Leone project had humanitarian motives and opposed slavery and the slave traffic, there was also an admixture of racism and imperialism in the undertaking. Some Britons were opposed to having black Africans in their "all-white" society and saw the "repatriation" project as a solution of that problem. Besides, the project eventually resulted in the establishment of a British colony in west Africa which was used as a base for naval operations.

Focusing on Salman Rushdie's best-known (and worst denigrated!) novel *The Satanic Verses* (1988), Petya Tsoneva looks at the ways in which the topos of home is "inscribed and subverted" in the rhetoric of migration which plays a major role in it. Generally speaking, migration plays a key role in all of Rushdie's work: it has been suggested that his own experience of it explains his distinctive "reading of culture" in terms of "the mongrelization of our lives, ... the chutnification of history, and [the] importance given to the moment when 'newness' enters the world" (Mishra 11). Tsoneva takes the author's specific interpretation of culture into account as she analyses the text's numerous problematizations of the traditional rhetoric of belonging and homecoming.

Stephen Ogheneruro Okpadah singles out civil wars, political chaos, ecological revolutions, separatist agitations, ethnic conflicts and religious clashes as the outward signs of *postnormality*, a condition ably theorized by the cultural critic Ziauddin Sardar. Cases of forced migration are also part of the global context of postnormality. Okpadah's main concern in his article is with the portrayal of migration and postnormality in in Biyi Bandele's film *Half of a Yellow Sun* (2014). The film is analysed in juxtaposition with other cinematic works about crisis and migration. Considering the subtle ways in which the complexities of different forms of displacement are rendered in African films, Okpadah concludes that migration cinema has established itself as a significant genre in African cinematography. He also stresses the social importance of this cinematic mode as a viable response to the postnormal conditions characteristic of postcolonial and postmodern African societies.

Irina Perianova's article "Food and the Imaginary Other" reminds us that not just people but foods and culinary practices also migrate across the world. Food plays a key role in definitions of identity along the lines of class, gender, nationality/ethnicity and history/memory. It easily lends itself to symbolic usage while never relinquishing its materiality. Building upon these and other cultural-theoretical ideas about food, (acquired) tastes and eating, Perianova analyses a wide variety of sources, ranging from literary texts through journalistic articles to posts on the internet. She examines changing representations of foreign food and concludes that while the food of the Other may have been a source of disgust in the past, consuming certain foreign foods today may be a sign of cultural sophistication. Such changes in culinary tastes testify to, among other things, the increasingly interconnected nature of social life on our planet which manifests itself in the intensified exchanges of material goods and customs. Perianova likewise argues that food can function as a new discursive currency in certain contexts, thus signalling a desired or unwanted identity. She considers the symbolic parameters of fashionable longings for "original" foods but concludes that the "original" of a particular food item may not exist and what is provided for consumption is a simulacrum. Overall, the article aims at presenting the numerous symbolic functions of food and culinary taste in a changing world that is made to appear progressively "smaller" by globalization.

The four articles under consideration above approach this issue's key theme from very different perspectives. We regard this as a strength rather than a weakness and hope that the dialogue in which the four authors have been involved through their texts will stimulate further discussion.

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