Cultures of Exile

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## CULTURES OF EXILE

## Images of Displacement

## Edited by Wendy Everett and Peter Wagstaff



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## INTRODUCTION

As the turbulent, terrifying and exhilarating twentieth century drew to its close, to be replaced by the even more terrifying beginnings of a new millennium, it has been particularly fascinating to observe the extent to which long-standing historical, political, and geographical experiences of exile came to assume a significance which both included and transcended their specific circumstances. Given that exile must now be recognised as a key concept affecting virtually every aspect of contemporary life, there could be no more fitting moment for the publication of this volume of essays, whose multiple perspectives and wide-ranging analyses explore and develop the simple proposition that the experience of exile constitutes the major defining experience of the modern world.

While narratives of exile are a cultural commonplace, deeply rooted in human consciousness and offering a founding myth that is readily translated into the everyday experiences of populations and generations, it is perhaps the coming together of the political and the economic on a hitherto unimaginable scale that has marked the last hundred years as the century of the migrant and the exile. Importantly, while the Irish, the Italian, and the Middle-European diasporas were crossing the Atlantic, other equally transforming if less spectacular journeys were also taking place. The inexorable spread of mechanisation and industrialisation, for example, caused whole generations to desert the stable if penurious existence of the peasant for the precarious world of the urban proletariat, and it is clear that the atomised culture of life in the city is a central factor in the sense of estrangement and alienation that characterises much twentieth-century thought and artistic creativity. Thus exile within the home, within the family becomes as potent a form of alienation and despair as its more spectacular corollaries. In all this, the unifying thread is the impact on individual human lives of a movement away from a fixed and trusted centre and into a fractured and disorientating world. Actual experience and myth come together in the realisation that the movement away from home is both a spatial and a temporal dislocation; that the unknown land beyond the borders of a previously secure existence is also an unknown and unforeseeable future.

It is not enough, therefore, to think of exile exclusively in terms of the spatial and temporal estrangement of individuals forced to abandon their place – and time – of origin. So pervasive is the trope of exile that it has come to be seen as a potent metaphor for a range of phenomena concerned with the distinctive, the disjunctive and the alienated. Just as the exiled individual may be robbed of birthright and cultural inheritance, so too she or he may be robbed of selfhood, of the holistic conjunction of mind, spirit and body, through violation or exploitation. The same sense of exile, or alienation, may result for the individual who is marginalised, cast adrift, by the inability or unwillingness to conform to the tyranny of majority opinion. In this light, exile becomes an essentially somatic experience, in which the subject's own body, or image, is appropriated by an external agency. Just as forced migration - mass or otherwise – threatens the autonomy of individuals by defining them in terms of economic value, so the commodification and expropriation of an individual's physical reality deprives her or him of the ability to live on her or his own terms.

The contributions that follow focus on the network of cultural, social, political and economic issues such as these to which the subject of exile gives rise. In order to provide insight into the multifaceted nature of exile, and understanding of the sorts of responses it engenders, a resolutely interdisciplinary approach has been adopted, and a range of different methodological perspectives have been chosen in order not only to illuminate the complex interpenetration of the historical and the contemporary, of suffering and opportunity, of memory and imagination, but also to demonstrate that interdisciplinarity itself offers an appropriate and productive means of gaining insight into the complex, transforming and challenging phenomenon of exile.

From the outset, one of the prime fascinations of the subject has been the paradox which lies at its heart: exile as manifestation of loss, suffering, and despair is also a concept which is creatively and intellectually stimulating. In an essay whose importance is highlighted by the number of references to it contained in this volume, Edward Saïd tellingly notes that exile is both 'a condition of terminal loss' and, at the same time, 'a potent, even enriching, motif of modern culture' (Saïd 2001: 173). By exploring themes and concepts of exile in relation to social experiences, to history and memory, to mappings and border crossings, to exclusion, change, and shifting identities, and to literature, photography, art, and film, this study will reflect this paradox. This multiplicity of forms, mirrored by the interdisciplinary perspectives from which they are considered, suggests not simply the pervasive nature of the subject but, in the rapidly evolving culture of postmodernity, the perilous and unstable – even exilic – relationship between reader and text, spectator and image.

Any division of the theme of exile into categories can, of course, only be provisional, given the fluid and interconnected relationship between the varieties of human experience it represents. The three sections into which the book is divided – space, time, and the body – reflect, however, the dominant preoccupations of the essays grouped within them and suggest a coherent progression from the marginalities and dislocations of spatial movement, through the unsettling interactions of time and memory, to the core of the exilic experience focused on the body.

In Part One, Carrie Tarr's essay on exile and displacement in the cinema of the French-Algerian-Gypsy filmmaker Tony Gatlif exposes in particularly acute form the impact of spatial exile and marginality. What is at issue here is not a single historical expulsion or retreat to a distant land but the perennial exile that results from the marginalisation and persecution of a community and a culture whose nomadic life is at odds with the historically fixed territories it inhabits. Whilst the Gypsies constitute one of the oldest cultural social groups in Europe, they have nevertheless always been defined as 'other' within its borders, considered inherently inferior, and ostracised and/ or persecuted precisely because they are not seen to belong to a 'nation'. Gypsies thus provide a graphic example of a group of people who are systematically criminalised, and condemned to remain at the fringes of society, by virtue of their ethnic identity. Looking at two of Gatlif's films in particular,

Les Princes (1983), and Gadjo dilo (1998), Tarr examines their depictions of the absolute 'otherness' of Gypsy culture, and of the prejudice and intolerance shown to them by 'respectable' citizens, and by social and state institutions in general. The sombre images and grim setting of the concrete estate in the desolate outskirts of Paris, where Nara and his family are briefly housed before being brutally evicted in Les Princes, and the flat and inhospitable, snow-covered roads of Romania in Gadjo dilo (the final part of Gatlif's 'Gypsy Trilogy') vividly depict the marginalisation of the group, and the fragility and instability of their status. Both films may perhaps be seen as an elegy and, at the same time, a lament for the cultural traditions of the nomadic Gypsy. As Gatlif himself comments, in what is perhaps yet another example of an internalisation of the physical and historical experience of exile, 'their identity is the only country the Roma people possess' (Morier 1998).

If Simon Rattle chose Leaving Home as the title of his study of twentieth-century music, it is a notion which could equally well be applied to all cultural forms in a century in which identity, like history, has been irrevocably shaped by exile, displacement, and the loss of certainty. Nowhere can this trend be more clearly identified than in European cinema whose long-standing concern with the exploration and articulation of identity is increasingly approached through the device of journey, with its self-conscious portrayal of movement, change, and the transgression of frontier and frame. With particular reference to the Icelandic film, Cold Fever (Fridrik Thor Fridriksson, 1994), Wendy Everett examines ways in which the physical displacement involved in the journey of a stranger across a strange land reveals identity as an open-ended process which is both articulated in, and constructed by, the stories we tell ourselves. Examining Cold Fever as a European version of the road movie, a quintessentially Hollywood genre, Everett reveals the ways in which Fridriksson's subversive and self-conscious narrative strategies enable him to construct yet another journey whose route leads across the unmappable topographies of the self to the creative whiteness of the screen.

Catherine Lupton's exploration of the work of Chris Marker, and specifically of his 1982 film *Sans Soleil*, focuses on the way in which travel exemplifies varieties of exile, in both time and space. The disorientating experiences of perpetual travel and cross-cultural encounter are a familiar feature of Marker's films and multimedia projects, provoking and highlighting his consistent refusal to establish a centred authorial identity in his work. Marker, for whom geographical displacement manifests itself as dispersed subjectivity, is thus seen as an archetypal figure of contemporary intellectual interest in exile. This fascination with movements across geopolitical space in Marker's works is interwoven with his consuming preoccupation with memory, and the constellation of different orders of time. Lupton examines Marker's use of geographical displacement as a means of figuring an experience of temporal and historical exile, suggesting that the decentred subjectivity which emerges is not so much 'out of place' as 'out of time'. Central to this exploration is Marker's interest in new media - prefigured in the concluding 'Zone' section of Sans Soleil and the possibilities they offer for translating literal journeys as virtual ones. Contrary to the widespread assumption that new technologies are in some sense inimical to the process of remembering, Marker values the distorting effects of digital and virtual media as the most appropriate means of conveying in representation the fundamental inaccessibility of the past.

The inaccessibility of the past similarly emerges as the central preoccupation of Georges Perec's and Robert Bober's documentary exploration of European migration to the United States, the subject of the chapter by Peter Wagstaff that opens the second section. In Récits d'Ellis Island: histoires d'errance et d'espoir, a thoughtful and moving film essay from 1980 on the trauma of exile and abandonment, Perec focuses on the dilapidated Ellis Island immigrant reception centre as an emblem of loss and disorientation, setting his own personal quest for a past and an identity against the broader canvas. In a complex interweaving of past and present, still and moving images, he posits the impossibility of recreating the past and the difficulty of coming to terms with that past in the present, relying instead on a terse and understated filmic narrative and a telling juxtaposition of past and present images. Searching for ways to express the inexpressible core of identity and loss, Perec contrasts the arrival of European migrants in the New World with the history of his own family, whose migration remained within the borders of Europe, and ended at Auschwitz. In creating unsettling, allusive correspondences between the methods used on Ellis Island to sort and codify migrants, and the triage techniques employed in the extermination camps of Europe, Perec's narrative constitutes a displacement of personal traumatic and irreversible exile, from family, past, and memory itself.

The shadow of mid-century Middle Europe hangs heavily, too, over the work of Arnold Daghani, whose visual re-workings of the experience of war-time deportation, imprisonment, and exile in Romania and the Ukraine are analysed by Deborah Schultz. Drawing on the extensive archive of Daghani's work at the University of Sussex, Schultz examines the relationship between forced migration and the workings of involuntary memory, with regard to representations of this relationship in the visual arts. In sharp contrast to Perec, however, Daghani experiences and responds to a constant interplay of past and present, through a range of interconnected memories – from the homeland, from previous places of exile, as well as shortterm memories from the present place of residence, all of which change over time, in turn becoming more prominent or receding further as they are overlaid by experiences in the present. Visual works were continually remade by Daghani, and diaries were rewritten with ever more details remembered over time so that, while his work is very much located in the place in which it is made, the past and present of his experiences coexist at every level. Essentially fluid and mobile memories thus form their own ever-changing sequences and run at their own speeds, sometimes quickly, at other times in slow motion or repetitively. In this way, the relationship between external circumstances and internal memory, between absence and presence, are juxtaposed and constantly interact with each other. Above all, although memories may be called up at will, they often impose themselves upon the mind by force, appearing and reappearing, so that the past becomes a persistent component of the present. In this way, Schultz argues, the forced state of exile is closely reflected in the involuntary nature of memory.

If the functioning of memory resides in the desire to make the absent present – whether, as in the case of Perec, a forlorn hope or, as with Daghani, a repetitive overlayering of memory and experience – the experiments of the Belgian filmmaker Chantal Akerman offer a fascinating insight into the relationship between the human desire for a stable location through memory and the problematic status of the moving image. Lieve Spaas explores this edgy interface initially by underlining the contrast between the stability of the still photographic image, with its apparent access to a durable view of self, and the essential transience of the moving image. She raises the question as to whether film merely embeds the viewer's sense of exile from selfhood, or transfigures that sense to provide a response to the fractured visual experiences of our digitised, multimedia environment. Much of Akerman's early work reflects a wish to address the impact of the 'plethora of tantalising images' that prompt a sense of exile in the viewer. The use of the fixed, immobile camera and lengthy shots leads both to a refusal to interpret and a determination to produce an awareness of the ways in which the fast-moving images to which film accustoms the viewer result in a visual distortion which is itself a form of exile. Akerman's later work integrates this preoccupation with a formal, visual exile and a more traditional geographical displacement. Her family background, with its experience of displacement between Eastern and Western Europe, is repeatedly evoked, and extended to embrace the exile of Eastern European Jews in New York and indeed the twentieth-century diaspora as a whole. Most striking of all Akerman's explorations of visual exile is perhaps D'Est (1993), in which a multimedia installation of simultaneous film projection and multiple television images confronts the viewer with a fragmented view echoing the fragmentation of exile itself.

The faculty of memory is also central to the work of Scottish filmmaker Bill Douglas, whose haunting autobiographical Trilogy juxtaposes the experience of physical exile in a historical context with the intimate narratives of his own childhood estrangement from community, even family. Christine Sprengler shows how Douglas, by privileging the individual over the collective, focuses on the ways in which personal history is excluded from the broader canvas of History as it is habitually understood and envisioned. It is striking that a filmmaker notorious for his obsessive attention to the precise recreation of those concrete details, images and events that make up his memories of childhood should choose to foreground an entirely invented character, whose fictional presence as a German prisoner in war-time Scotland functions metaphorically through his status as an exile from both his own physical homeland and Douglas's autobiographical veracity. The unstable status of this early replacement father figure for the young Jamie/Bill Douglas raises intriguing questions about the level of his fictionality, as an invention of the mature filmmaker for aesthetic reasons or as imaginative creation of the child. By bringing together the personal and the historically-grounded collective memories that clearly privilege the notion of exile in its conventional (spatial) sense, Douglas can be seen to reveal a desire to censure his community for repeatedly exiling him

both physically and emotionally and for making what ought to be familiar – his home – an essentially unfamiliar locus of estrangement and alienation.

The idea of exile as estrangement and alienation is easily apprehended at the level of geographical dislocation or temporal displacement: forced from home, divorced from the past, the exile can find no solid ground. Of increasing urgency in late twentieth- and early twenty-first century thinking, however, is consideration of the body itself as a contested terrain. Gabriele Griffin, in 'Exile and the Body', the first chapter of the third section, contends that the body, configured as a site or location, no longer occupies a naturalised or uncontentious place. Subjectivity and the body no longer necessarily coincide; the body as site has thus become a place of exile, from which or into which subjectivities are ushered. Fundamental to Griffin's argument is the awareness that exile, far from being an abstract concept, is in fact founded in somatic realities: it is, she argues, about pain. This argument is persuasively advanced through a discussion of five categories of 'subjugated subjectivities', which include: the atrocities of rape and torture as an instrument of political repression and domination, sexual abuse in non-war situations, the commodification of the female body in the culture of late capitalism, the representation of HIV/AIDS, the experience of racism. In each instance it is overwhelmingly clear from Griffin's account that the least satisfactory response is what she calls 'the triumphalist narrative of overcoming'. Far more significant is the response adumbrated by Julia Kristeva, who argues for 'a reconciliation of self and other, a recognition of the strangeness that resides both within the self and the other'. The exile may recover, but will never heal.

This intimate correlation of outer and inner worlds is central to an understanding of Leslie Feinberg's novel *Stone Butch Blues*. In a subtle analysis, Feroza Basu brings together the concepts of physical displacement through travel, and transsexuality. In a text variously defined as transgendered fiction, fictionalised autobiography and lesbian literature, the narrator of Feinberg's novel describes her experiences in terms of both journey and exile. At issue, in particular, is the phenomenon of exile from, and return to, a gendered physical body, in that the transgendered narrating subject is seen in terms of metaphorical exile and actual physical displacement. Here North American society is depicted, in contradistinction to Baudrillard's image of a 'zone of sexual permissiveness', as brutally intolerant of transsexuality. Recent theories in the field of cultural geography offer the proposition that the body itself be considered as a constitutive part of physical space, and this in turn permits a view of exile based on the body as a site of travel, within which the mind seeks to find its home location. In Feinberg's novel, the narrator's body is seen as a zone within which various forms of microdisplacement can take place: subjectivity is a consciousness contained within an alterable physical exterior. As that body is also most at ease, in safety, during actual physical travel – by train or, ideally, motorcycle - the novel cuts across traditional definitions of home in chronological or cartographic terms. Basu argues that such definitions are too firmly rooted in heteronormative conceptions of home, denying the multiple possibilities of movement within the inner and outer geographies of the body.

An interpretation of exile within theories of social action forms the basis for Chris Horrocks's analysis of the performative stances of Andy Warhol. The image of Warhol as an ambiguous, peripheral character, 'strangely present and absent' is examined in the context of theories of displacement, disidentification and role distancing, seen as strategies employed to destabilise and reconstitute norms and rules of social interaction. A constant evaluation and awareness of his relationship, both physical and mental, with the world around him enable Warhol to exploit his 'otherness' so as to reorder each social context on his own terms. Responding to an interviewer's questions with alternate 'yes' and 'no' answers enables Warhol slyly to refocus attention on the normative codes of the situation in which he is placed, while simultaneously distancing himself and appearing to conform. Blurring all distinctions and categories in this manner makes it increasingly difficult to decide whether it is the individual who is exiled from the enveloping social framework, or the reverse.

The final chapter of *Cultures of Exile* also draws on concepts of the norm, and on deviations from it, in relation to repesentations of the human body in visual, specifically photographic terms. Richard Sawdon Smith's experience as a practising photographer provides striking evidence for the limited awareness of, and tolerance for images of the body which contravene the normative and the socially acceptable. Such limitations have profound implications for, as Sawdon Smith explains, 'Issues of sexuality, gender and self-identity are bound up within photographic representations, as are issues of ideology, politics and power'. The starting-point for his analysis of these issues is a series of photographs of a friend with AIDS – photographs intended to document the physical changes to which he was subject. The selection of one such image as the winning portrait in a photographic competition, coupled with the refusal of the competition's media sponsor to publish it, prompts a sustained reflection on the apparently uncrossable border between what is seen as normal and what is seen as abnormal, or diseased. Examples of other photographic work, both by and of the disabled and diseased, suggest that the exile from normality which has become the lot of anyone failing to conform to society's expectations of the healthy body, can be challenged, since photography is a medium which requires the viewer to fill in and contextualise images in order to make sense of them. Writing about society and disability is too frequently rooted in a normalised sensibility which prevents identification with or understanding of anything beyond the scope of that norm, so that the marginalised or excluded are simply observed, classified, controlled. In enabling the spectator to confront sober and truthful images, rather than colluding in the construction of a barrier that excludes, the photographer can contribute to a reassessment of the 'abnormal' which is not exiled from normality.

Most of the cultural expressions of exile which have formed the basis for analysis in this volume have as a fundamental premise, whether explicit or implicit, the need to question and re-examine notions of heterogeneity, fragmentation, and the difficulty of access or return to an ontological centre, the place 'where distance no longer counts' (Berger 1984: 91). It would be invidious, therefore, to attempt to coax or coerce an overarching thematic unity from what follows, beyond that of the sense of loss, absence and dislocation, all of which are inscribed within the word 'exile'. And yet the mere existence, the necessary creation of these written, filmed, photographed, painted, sketched, performed expressions and impressions of exile(s) perhaps prompts a consideration of Saïd's assertion, echoing Adorno, 'that the only home truly available now, though fragile and vulnerable, is in writing' (Saïd 2001: 184). Not just writing, of course, but all the mobile, transformative, inexhaustible forms of expression available to the creative mind.

It is therefore evident that the concepts of exile and displacement, which loom so large and exert such fascination in contemporary thought and culture, resist and reject any form of polarisation or neat definition. Seizing and exploring these contrasting, often contradictory aspects of exile, the essays that follow, each of which examines in some way 'the perilous territory of not-belonging' (Saïd 2001:177), make a stimulating, wide-ranging, and important contribution to a vital and continuing debate.

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PART I SPACE