Academics in Exile

Networks, knowledge exchange, and new forms of internationalization in academia. An introduction

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Since the founding of the modern university, academic mobility has been a key element in knowledge transmission and production. The *Authentica Habita Act* or *Privilegium Scholasticum* of 1158, among others, guarantees the freedom of travel for scholars. It is among the founding documents concerning academic freedom. The pursuit of knowledge has always involved moving toward unknown places and sources. Yet, when academic mobility is placed in the context of exile, it becomes a paradox because exile is the opposite of free movement. It is the result of forced mobility and severe limitations on academic freedom in places that once may have been hubs of learning and knowledge production. When academics are in exile, we can expect that academic freedom is under severe pressure in their countries and their institutions of origin.

One of the primary objectives of this book is to unpack the paradoxes of exile and contrast the often romanticized pictures of émigré life with the daily experiences of academics who did not leave their home countries voluntarily. When we think about academics in exile, prominent figures such as Albert Einstein, Hannah Arendt, and Edward Said come to mind. While the literature often stylizes them as heroes of their time, most exiles have struggled and continue to struggle with border regimes, bureaucratic hurdles, and the burden of adapting to new social and academic environments. Moreover, many exiled academics remain *de facto* invisible unless they are mentioned in one of the support organization reports for at-risk and displaced scholars. What Edward Said (2000, p. 173) wrote in his famous reflections on exile years ago remains valid:

> Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted. And while it is true that literature and history contain heroic, romantic, glorious, even triumphant episodes in an exile's life, these are no more than efforts meant to overcome the crippling sorrow of estrangement.

These years in the early 2020s are a particularly apt time to inquire into the lived experiences of academics in exile. Never before have so many academics who had to leave their home countries found refuge in Germany. Some observers even now speak of Berlin as the capital of the Arab Exile (Ali, 2020). While countries such as the USA and Great Britain have longer histories of receiving threatened scholars, few comprehensive studies exist on the professional trajectories of these scholars and their contributions to knowledge production and exchange. We know little about the individual pathways and the networks of these scholars in their home and host countries. How do their forced migration experiences affect their professional careers? To what extent do different support programs allow them to resume their research activities, and thus produce and share new knowledge in host environments? How do these scholars navigate the often quite different academic systems and an academic labor market that is by far not as internationalized as it would seem? Do networks of exiled scholars have an impact on transnational scientific collaboration, and do their presence and activism contribute to the reform and internationalization of academia? It is time to address these questions in order to understand the bigger picture of how involuntary academic mobility impacts transnational knowledge exchange and how the emergence of exiles as new actors in internationalization processes affects higher education across the globe.

This book sheds light on these questions by combining two perspectives: that of displaced and at-risk scholars, examining their individual trajectories, lived experiences, professional networks, and contributions to knowledge production, and that of host country institutions, uncovering the opportunities and challenges of what has been termed "forced internationalization" (Ergin et al., 2019) experienced by university leadership, research funding organizations, and government agencies. Before discussing these two perspectives more in-depth and thus focusing on what happens *in* and *as a result of* exile, we must engage with the reasons for involuntary academic mobility – what pushes scholars *into* exile.

Why scholars flee: From "inner exile" to "physical exile"

Restrictions on academic freedom and the struggles that result from these restrictions are among the main reasons for scholars' displacement worldwide. These struggles are often long-term because the constraints to academic freedom can be manifold. According to Grimm & Saliba (2017, p. 48), academic freedom includes the right to expression, distribution of research results through publications and conferences, teaching, and conducting research on any topic. The authors operationalize the constraints to academic freedom along personal, legal, and economic dimensions (p. 56). Personal aspects play out at the individual level, from travel restrictions to imprisonment or murder. Legal aspects include censorship or limits to the freedom of association. Finally, economic aspects refer to the denial of funding or termination of employment as a preemptive or retaliatory measure. These restraints occur to various degrees and often accompany times of change and crisis in a country.

In recent years, we have seen many of these restrictions levied in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, but also elsewhere. In Iraq, Syria, Yemen, and Libya, devastating wars have led to the destruction of university buildings and academic infrastructure to the extent that "universities were barely able to continue to function in a regular manner" (Saliba, 2018, p. 313). In addition, security forces or militias pose physical threats to scholars through intimidation, imprisonment, kidnapping, and even torture and murder. In other cases, such as in Turkey and Egypt, scholars and, more broadly, intellectuals have been pressured because their political opinions opposed the regimes' interests. Saliba (2018, p. 314) speaks of a "systematic crackdown on critical students and researchers" in these countries, resulting in arrests, expulsions, or disciplinary actions against academics.

The outlined restrictions on academic freedom and the effects on individual scholars can force them to give up their work, refrain from publishing, or even leave the country. Thus, flight can take the form of an *inner exile*, which involves ceasing certain research that is considered sensitive or includes political opinions. It can also result in *physical exile*, pushing scholars out of their home countries. Kettler (2011, p. 204) argued that "political exile is not a metaphor of estrangement, but a political condition." This implies the need for scholars to relocate due to external pressure. This has hardly anything in common with voluntary academic mobility when scholars relocate for their

research, field work, or fellowships. Exile takes on a very different kind of "forced mobility" than the one Cantwell (2011, p. 430) described as "coerced movement from job to job resulting from differences in pay and opportunity and normative pressures in internationalization."

Several organizations have recently engaged in monitoring the state of academic freedom worldwide. The New York-based organization Scholars at Risk (SAR) provides systematic vetting for endangered scholars. Based on this vetting, it records infringements on academic freedom in its annual reports. In 2020, SAR reported 342 attacks on academic freedom worldwide, among them 124 killings, violence, disappearances, 96 imprisonments, 52 prosecution cases, 30 losses of positions, and 7 travel bans (Scholars at Risk, 2021). Based on these findings, we can reasonably surmise that the actual number of these types of incidents is even higher on a global scale.

The Academic Freedom Index (AFI), developed collaboratively by the Global Public Policy Institute (GPPi), the Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU), the Scholars at Risk Network, and the V-Dem Institute, since 2020 has provided a more general overview of the situation and measures academic freedom country by country.[1] It relies on expert opinions and paints the world map in assorted colors according to the state of academic freedom. The AFI authors distinguish between attacks on individual and institutional academic freedom. According to the AFI map, academic freedom is being diminished in many countries of the world as well as in Europe and the Americas. One might still question whether the overall degree of academic freedom has decreased in comparison with the state of affairs in the interwar period of the twentieth century or the time of the Cold War. Nevertheless, it is important to underscore the volatility of the situation, the fragility of academic freedom, and the entanglement of historic trajectories.

A "transnational historicization" of watershed moments for forced migration

In the past ten years, the exile theme has gained new prominence in academic and practitioner discourses. Varied factors account for this newly discovered interest in the phenomenon, which had long remained largely unattended. Among these factors are the political and social repercussions of the Arab

1 See the presentation at https://www.gppi.net/2021/03/11/free-universities.

uprisings. These uprisings, which started in Tunisia in 2010, fueled new hopes for democratic openings and freedoms of thought and expression. In places such as Egypt and Tunisia, they created a window of opportunity to reform the university and engage in free scientific inquiry (Kohstall, 2015). However, the promises of democratization did not bear fruit. In Egypt, where authoritarian rule was quickly reestablished, academics, especially from the humanities and social sciences, still suffer under severe restrictions. In Syria, Yemen, and Libya, the uprisings turned into armed conflicts, forcing millions to flee, among them many students and scientists.

By the end of the 2010s, Turkey had become another large "sender" of academics in exile. Many were part of the Academics for Peace (BAK in Turkish) initiative. This initiative was founded in 2012 by scholars concerned with the government's unlawful treatment of Kurds in Turkey's eastern provinces. In January 2016, BAK initiated a petition exclaiming, "We will not be a party to this crime!" The petition referred to the heavy-handed repression of the Kurds by the Turkish government and was initially signed by 1,128 Turkish academics. Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan immediately slammed these academics as "so-called intellectuals," calling on their universities to punish them (Hürriyet Daily News, 2016). He argued that the petition aimed at destabilizing the Turkish state and jeopardized the security of its citizens. The signatories were criminalized: dozens were immediately imprisoned, and hundreds lost their jobs (Baser et al., 2017, p. 275).

The mass exodus of scholars from Turkey was a watershed moment in the annals of academic exile because it illustrated how singular events in one country could lead to a mass displacement of politically oppositional and otherwise threatened scholars. In recent history, similar watershed moments – although under different political circumstances – have occurred in Venezuela with the tightening of civic spaces by President Hugo Chávez from the 2000s to early 2010s, in Belarus following the suppression of mass demonstrations against the autocratic rule and re-election of Alexander Lukashenko in 2020, in Afghanistan after the reestablishment of the Taliban regime in 2021, and in Ukraine (and Russia) during the war in 2022.

Historically, such watershed moments occur intermittently, often with unforeseen outcomes, both for the scholars themselves and for academic knowledge production. Scholarly accounts of these outcomes differ in their assessments of what exile means for academics as individuals when they encounter new university cultures (Dauphinee, 2013; Vatansever, 2020), and

as a collective of knowledge producers who – through their exile experiences – change that very cultures, creating new research trends and traditions (Rösch, 2014).

These different assessments also find their way into this volume. **Azade Seyhan**, for instance, illuminates the history of German scientists and intellectuals who fled from Nazi Germany to Turkey and contributed to a substantial refurbishment of the higher education system. The exiled scholars made a strong and lasting contribution to the establishment of secular Turkish universities and the translation of knowledge from one cultural context into another. Seyhan also recalls the role of lesser-known German emigrants to the southern US states at that time, demonstrating how they participated in the preservation of knowledge that was under attack by the Nazis by adapting themselves to a completely different cultural and political environment. Through her reinvestigation of the archive of exiled knowledge, she wonders if the displaced scholars of today might have a comparable lasting effect on the translation of knowledge in their host countries or if their voices will remain marginalized.

The path into personal marginalization and the limited possibilities for knowledge translation are illustrated in another contribution to this volume. **Rika Theo** and **Maggi Leung** focus on parts of the 1965 student generation in Indonesia, which was soon to become the country's new elite after studying abroad but could not return home because of the Suharto lead military coup that abolished the previous political regime. Theo and Leung vividly show the precarity, isolation, and degradation of professional prospects faced by these young academics, especially at the beginning of their lives in exile. Yet, the authors also demonstrate how – with time – these academics were able to establish networks with later generations of Indonesian students abroad and thus nourished a collective memory and passed on an alternative narrative of Indonesian politics that was not told in the official textbooks. The fate of these academics recalls other examples of students who became victims of sudden political change, such as the "generation Tahrir," which preserves abroad the memory of the Egyptian and the Arab uprisings.[2]

Seyhan's chapter on German scholars in Turkey and the US and Theo and Leung's discussion of the Indonesian 1965 student generation document the complexity of "refugee routes" (Agnew et al., 2020). While Turkey received

2 For an example, see the documentation of the Génération Tahrir project at http://www.generationtahrir.net

many threatened scholars in the past and continues to offer refuge to academics from Syria, it now also belongs to the countries that force their own citizens into exile. The experience of Indonesian scholarship holders is a historic precedent for many intellectuals who could never return home. Largely isolated in the early years of exile, they later offered "refuge" to the alternative history of political developments in Indonesia, sharing it with younger generations. Reattending this entanglement of "refugee routes" and the "transnational historicization," proposed by Vanessa Agnew (2020, p. 18) in the first volume of this book series, is necessary to tell the manifold stories of academics in exile. It requires revisiting the places of flight and destruction as much as the places of arrival and reconstruction and involves a "travail de memoire," as well as reworking the individual and institutional memory.

Forced internationalization: The relationship of the protection of academic freedom, humanitarian intervention, and the quest for excellence

For a long time, political developments on the southern shores of the Mediterranean seemed to affect mainly the countries and societies there. Europe observed the transformations with interest but without much enthusiasm and engagement. Only with the so-called "summer of migration" in 2015, when hundreds of thousands of refugees entered the European Union did EU Member States face the immediate need to react. For countries such as Germany, 2015 became a watershed moment. Suddenly, the country could prove its "Welcome Culture" (Streitwieser et al., 2017), which was concisely stated in Chancellor Angela Merkel's famous sentence, "Wir schaffen das" ("We can do it"). Numerous institutions set up initiatives to support the newly arrived. Universities soon took center stage, launching language courses, mentoring programs, and labor market counseling for displaced students and scholars.

Whereas during the 1930s thousands of scholars fled from the Nazi regime to the US, Turkey, and other countries, in the mid-2010s, Germany became one of the first countries to receive scholars under threat. In 2015, these scholars were mainly from Syria, but then also from other countries of the Middle East, and soon – in a historic irony – mainly from Turkey. In this context, a new narrative gained ascendancy among non-governmental organizations (NGOs), funding agencies, and state institutions that were

involved in support of threatened scholars: a narrative that would embed initiatives for hosting exiled scholars into the logic of protecting academic freedom worldwide.

While university infrastructure destroyed by war and forced displacement were the initial reasons for constituting scholar rescue programs in the 2010s, the need to react to the systematic prosecution of academics in countries not affected by violent conflict soon became the various programs' common theme. This trend was reinforced through the perception that academic freedom was in decline worldwide, including in Europe and North America. In Hungary, for instance, the Central European University (CEU) had to relocate its study programs from Budapest to Vienna after the adoption of the so-called "lex CEU"[3] by the Hungarian parliament in 2017, which nearly drove the university out of the country completely. In the US, several states' legislative attempts to curtail tenure in public universities, which had been introduced as a tool against arbitrary firing and retribution over a century ago, raised concerns about the gradual deterioration of faculty members' rights (Worthen, 2021). Furthermore, the reputation of academic institutions and public trust in science were damaged under the presidency of Donald Trump, who on many occasions challenged scientific evidence, creating additional pressures on scholars as knowledge producers. Under these conditions, the need to protect academic freedom became the dominant narrative in support programs for at-risk scholars, complementing and partly replacing the initial appeals for humanitarian intervention in response to war and forced displacement.

Despite its history, and unlike the UK or the US, Germany did not have large-scale initiatives for supporting threatened scholars prior to 2015. One of the first and most prominent programs set up for this purpose in the country was the Philipp Schwartz Initiative (PSI) of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation. It was named after the Austrian pathologist Philipp Schwartz, who lost his professorship in Frankfurt under the Nazi regime in 1933 and founded the *Notgemeinschaft deutscher Wissenschaftler im Ausland* (Emergency Society of German Scholars Abroad) in Switzerland. Inspired by this historical act of solidarity, the PSI provides funds to German universities for hosting at-risk and displaced researchers and serves as an example of national support

3 "Lex CEU" was a modification to Hungary's 2011 higher education law, which targeted the operation of foreign universities in Hungary. It ruled that such universities could only operate in Hungary if they did so in their country of origin as well.

programs established throughout Europe after the "summer of migration" in 2015.

These programs are complemented by subnational and transnational initiatives, such as the Leipzig-based *Chance for Science*, aimed at matching refugee scientists with their German peers, *Academics in Solidarity*, based at Freie Universität Berlin and actively engaged in the mentoring, network-building and further training of displaced scholars residing in Germany, Jordan, and Lebanon, or the *Academy in Exile*, established in 2017 as a residency program for endangered scholars in Essen and Berlin (for a comprehensive overview of the latter, see Konuk, 2020). European-level initiatives, such as the *InSPIREurope* project launched in 2019, aim at cross-country coordination between national and subnational rescue and support programs.

The establishment of different programs to support scholars under threat is part of the phenomenon that Ergin et al. (2019) have dubbed "forced internationalization." Interestingly, similar to the "voluntary internationalization" of higher education, forced internationalization is expected to produce positive effects on the host academic environment through brain gain and an increased diversity of scientific perspectives. Yet, in contrast to the former, forced internationalization is not a proactive and deliberate policy pursued by universities and ministries of education. It can be framed as a humanitarian reaction to the forced displacement of academics resulting from violent conflicts, restrictions to academic freedom, and the systematic persecution of scholars. At the same time, scholar rescue and support programs need to be situated in a wider context that includes at least two other drivers behind internationalization processes, namely, the ambition of universities and funding organizations to play an active role in science diplomacy and the continuous quest for excellence as the DNA of the international research system.

At their annual meetings, the different organizations in support of at-risk scholars oftentimes put the worldwide protection of academic freedom at the core of their keynote speeches. Also, in countries where academic freedom is a sensitive issue, other narratives, such as the protection of cultural heritage in the MENA region, are brought to the fore to justify intervention in support of displaced scholars. In both cases, the discourse embraces a certain missionary statement: the defense of a common good that necessitates diplomatic action in other countries. Simultaneously, excellence in research and the potential for success in pursuing scientific work remain concurring references in the narratives promoted by science diplomacy. Moreover, academic excellence

and the potential for success have been two important selection criteria in support schemes for at-risk scholars, which results in moral dilemmas and contradictions in implementing these programs.

In our volume, **Isabella Löhr** embeds an analysis of these dilemmas and contradictions in a reflexive approach to migration. She demonstrates how global asymmetries in knowledge practices and possibilities to establish (seemingly universal) standards of scientific excellence translate into selection processes of scholar rescue programs, which end up prioritizing academics with better employability prospects in host countries, at times to the detriment of those who are more at risk. Thus, the strive for excellence – measured by the criteria dictated by the academic job market – clashes with the humanitarian logic of providing support to those who need it most, creating a moral dilemma for participants in the selection processes. Löhr further argues that such selection mechanisms are nothing new or specific to scholar support programs. They are rooted in the "contested politics of migration" and border governance, whose primary function is encouraging the mobility of certain groups (e.g., highly skilled professionals) while immobilizing others.

Echoing Löhr's argument, **Lizzy Anjel-van Dijk** and **Maggi Leung** unveil the contradictions between a highly neo-liberalized (and largely commodified) higher education system and the support of exiled scholars in the Netherlands. They argue that the competition-driven academic system takes a high toll on researchers in general, but a much greater one on scholars who were forced to flee their home countries. The latter must adjust to the requirements of the Dutch academic job market within a short period of time in order to be employable in research and teaching, regardless of their personal circumstances. The different administrative and structural hurdles exiled scholars are facing suggest that their international experiences and alternative theoretical and methodological perspectives have little "value" in the Dutch research system, despite the official rhetoric behind the state-aided support programs.

When taking a closer look at the situation in Germany, the experiences of exiled scholars supported through the various programs also contrast with the dominant narrative of the "Welcome Culture." Despite the humanitarian credo of opening doors to displaced scholars, rescue and support initiatives cannot offer them long-term perspectives in a system largely based on short-term employment. In her chapter, **Aslı Vatansever** argues that in the highly competitive and polarized German higher education market, "exiled scholars

. . . are effectively incorporated into the reserve army of precarious academic workforce." This raises the question of to what extent the principles of academic freedom can really be upheld in light of high job insecurity. At least for Vatansever, the relatively easy entry of displaced scholars into the system through at-risk scholarship remains a lure (see also Vatansever, 2020).

The emergence of "third spaces" as a result of forced internationalization

While the arrival of displaced scholars in the German and European systems remains in flux, and it is too early for a final assessment, we argue that the processes of forced internationalization can have lasting effects on the academic systems in the host and home countries of exiled scholars as well as on the lives and intellectual legacies of the scholars themselves. Despite the obstacles faced by displaced researchers, they establish new academic networks and intervene in the complex fabric of knowledge production in their host environments. Although the politics of forced internationalization are reactive rather than proactive, the resulting opportunity structures can lead to intensified exchanges among epistemic communities that otherwise have few chances to intersect. The long-term effects thereof could go as far as bridging the global gap in knowledge production. By joining host academic institutions in the Global North, exiled scholars – many of whom are from countries of the Global South – bring with them ideas, concepts, and theories that are not necessarily part of the mainstream academic debates in the countries considered to be "core" producers of science (Demeter, 2020). Thus, these ideas, concepts, and theories enter the "core spaces," potentially altering the mainstream scientific discourses and complementing them with alternative perspectives and methodological approaches.

Furthermore, the exchange of knowledge facilitated through the processes of forced internationalization may question and shift the common understanding of what is "important," "excellent," and "useful" science. What may appear to be of crucial importance to scientists in the Global North might be of less relevance in other world regions (Kraemer-Mbula et al., 2020). And yet, rooted in colonial legacies of modern science and what has become known as "intellectual imperialism" (Alatas, 2000), theoretical approaches and concepts originating in the Global North dominate international scientific and policy debates. Enabling greater interconnections

among knowledge producers across the invisible Global North–South divide, research internationalization – including that which results from involuntary academic mobility – can serve to empower those whose voices are less heard in the World Scientific System (Beigel, 2014). While this process will not reshape "the geography of science" (Skupien & Rüffin, 2020), it may still contribute to reducing the existing global inequalities in knowledge production.

Again, these developments imply a great deal of hardship for the individuals involved, and it may take time until they come to the forefront. The three chapters combined in this volume's section on the emergence of "third spaces" explore how scholars in exile struggle with pursuing their research under precarious conditions, how they establish new formal and informal networks in this environment, and how they create new spaces for teaching and research outside the formal arena of the university. Thus, they contribute to the goal of exploring new research foci and teaching formats and intensifying cross-regional knowledge exchange. Of course, these contributions also emphasize the hurdles that must still be overcome in order to facilitate the reentry into the academic market for displaced scholars, such as formal restrictions on teaching, dependence on "host professors," and language obstacles as well as the logic of the market itself.

In her contribution, **Ergün Özgür** emphasizes the challenges that displaced scholars encounter in Germany when trying to reenter the academic labor market, but also the opportunities that arise by their inclusion into German academia. Among the challenges are not only short-term funding opportunities and precarious working conditions, but also the question of language proficiency, healthcare, social security, and bureaucratic mechanisms. While most scholars get support from their host institutions, Özgür highlights that this support can vary from one institution to the other and in terms of how much experience they have with hosting scholars. In turn, hosting exiled scholars also has an effect on the host institution: it prompts universities and research institutes to develop more cooperative mechanisms and create additional opportunities for the internationalization of the research that otherwise would not have emerged.

Carola Richter, on the other hand, provides important insights into the career trajectories of at-risk scholars and their modes of communication in German exile. Her analysis has revealed major ruptures and changes in the networks of the investigated scholars due to their forced mobility. The chapter underlines the strong dependencies on host persons, which often

contribute to a feeling of marginalization in the host country and the severing of relations with the home country. However, other scholars in the sample successfully strengthened their position in their host environments by relying on previously built transnational and newly formed connections. This seems especially true for the well-connected Turkish academics who today dominate the debate on the future of scholar rescue programs.

In addition to the existing state-sponsored programs, **Asli Telli** shows us how exiled scholars establish their own initiatives, cultivate and transmit alternative narratives, and revive otherwise "lost knowledge." Being one of the founders of such an initiative herself, she discusses the Mapping Funds Project, which acts as a repository for different national and transnational initiatives. She also maps the supportive network and relationships that exist among host and sending country institutions, research funding organizations, government agencies, and public/private donors. The chapter illustrates how stipends, which still remain the major source for integrating scholars into a new environment, are supplemented by grassroots initiatives, opening up new spaces for engagement on various levels in the host country but also in the home country. This provides hope that while addressing the needs of displaced scholars, these initiatives can address the issue of academic freedom at large, and as a result, create "widespread micro-organizations against a huge and multi-centered systemic power" (see p. 198) that restricts academic freedom.

Examples such as Off-University, Academy in Exile, and the New University in Exile Consortium further illustrate that parallel sites of knowledge production and transmission might emerge, producing courses and writings that are not part of the traditional curricula in the home or in the host countries of displaced scholars. This also tackles the question of how displaced and at-risk scholars might create "third spaces" in the academic system they become part of while in exile. These spaces are carved out by scholars negotiating their personal and professional sense of belonging in a new research environment. Similar to scholars who moved from the Global South voluntarily, displaced scholars have to establish themselves in Western academia (Martin & Dandekar, 2021), and additionally confront the reality of being driven out of their country into forced mobility. While exile often means a permanent and difficult to tolerate state of being in-between home and host country, between past and present, the third space may signal the obtaining of a future new home, at least in the sense that it opens new venues for participation and intervention.

Transnational perspectives on academic freedom and exile: The Global South as home and host

So far, we have touched upon different conceptions of academic freedom and the asymmetries in knowledge production between the Global North and the Global South. However, the forced migration of scholars does not occur solely along the North–South axis. On the contrary, many countries of the Global South become destinations of fleeing scholars. While the debate on academic freedom and support for at-risk scholars prevails in the Global North, it must be acknowledged that many countries where academic freedom is under threat are among the receivers and hosts of displaced scholars. The example of Turkey is one of the most illustrative in the recent history of exile. It is crucial to examine how countries and academic systems beyond the Global North respond to the displacement of scholars and to what extent Western conceptions of protecting academic freedom and humanitarian actions aimed to "save" scholars are echoed, emulated, and sometimes instrumentalized in these countries.

While the majority of contributions in this book concentrate on the German experience, we aim to open up the debate to the situation of displaced academics in other countries and regions. The goal is to move beyond a Eurocentric perspective emphasizing academic freedom and academic solidarity and to explore how the protracted displacement of scholars transforms academia in countries that find themselves among both senders and recipients of at-risk scholars. Through this transnational perspective, we intend to show that the boundaries between such categories as "home" and "host" countries are often blurred.

Thus, in this volume, **Olga Hünler** provides a historic account of the frequent dismissal of academics in Turkey during the twentieth century. Recurring military coups and coup attempts prepared the ground for the Turkish state's infringements on academics. Oftentimes, these infringements are linked to the rhetoric of reform and the construction of a national higher education system, which leaves little room for those who are regarded as "spoilers." Thus, the rhetoric on national emancipation through higher education and the interference in the autonomy of the university and the academic freedom of its staff are oftentimes closely intertwined. But while critical academics are dismissed, refugee academics, especially from Syria, are used to fill the staffing gap on the pretext of safeguarding the cultural heritage in the Middle East. Thus, Turkey also practices the politics of forced

internationalization, although with its own set of motivations. Hünler further highlights how the state's reaction to the coup attempt of 2016 has produced positive side effects with respect to the emergence of "third spaces." Groups of Turkish academics, mostly purged from their posts with statuary decrees in the aftermath of the coup attempt, have launched independent initiatives to engage in research and teaching, creating new forms and sites for academic knowledge production.

Widening the geography to other countries in West Asia, **Nahed Ghazzoul** compares experiences of displaced Syrian academics in Jordan, Lebanon, and Turkey and examines the role of the host communities and international agencies in the articulation of these scholars' needs. In all three countries, the scholars are facing hardships in finding teaching or research opportunities to continue their academic work and sustain their livelihoods. This has halted their potentialities and deprived them of opportunities to advance their qualifications and competences. Ghazzoul argues that studying the circumstances of displaced Syrian academics more systematically would raise awareness in the international community about the challenges they encounter and thus enable a more apt response. She further suggests that such studies could engage Syrian academics as researchers. This would contribute to the improvement of their potential and the internationalization of academia in the host countries.

Finally, **David Gómez Gamboa** and **Lizzy Anjel-van Dijk** concentrate on scholars from Venezuela who left the country during the period of 2010–2020 as the result of the (re-)autocratization of the political regime and the exacerbation of the economic crisis and humanitarian situation. Most Venezuelan scholars migrated within the region, mainly to Colombia, Ecuador, and Chile. The chapter discusses the challenges and opportunities for individual scholars living abroad as well as for academia in the home and the host countries, resulting from this involuntary migration. The host countries offer the Venezuelan scholars better work and life conditions and, in turn, benefit from receiving a large number of highly qualified scholars who are in demand in these countries' rapidly developing higher education sectors. The states thus pursue, more or less, an open politics of (forced) internationalization by creating relatively attractive conditions for Venezuelan scholars to enter their academic systems. These politics are, however, driven by the host states' own demands rather than by the need for a humanitarian response. The negative consequences of these processes remain

with Venezuela. On top of humanitarian and economic crises, the brain drain only adds to the uncertainty of the country's future.

The latter three contributions provide an important glimpse into the manifold facets of academic systems and academics under pressure where forced mobility has become the rule rather than the exception. They also attempt to draw our attention away from the spotlights of infringements on academic freedom toward higher education systems under permanent pressure and in permanent exchange. It is widely recognized that the impact of flight from Syria has been more disruptive for its direct neighbors Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey, and it is still interesting to observe that researchers' mobility has barely been used to open up academic systems there, while Venezuela's neighboring countries offer relatively attractive conditions for incoming scholars.

Reflecting on exile with exiles and debating the praxis of receiving scholars with practitioners

Assuming a reflexive and participatory approach, this volume brings together authors with different academic backgrounds and mobility experiences. About half of the contributors have lived in exile themselves. Others have assumed lead positions in the management of support programs or have been involved in mentoring displaced and threatened scholars. What they all have in common is a critical reflection on a range of categories such as exile and scholar displacement, voluntary and forced mobility, academic freedom, knowledge production, and internationalization of research and higher education systems. They share the common vision that it is crucial to tell the experiences of academics in exile and make sense of the implications of these academics' re-arrival in the higher education sector.

While the primary goal of this book is to engage in the academic debate on exile, we hope that it will also provide food for thought for representatives of higher education institutions, funding agencies, and governmental entities involved in the practitioners' debates on academic freedom and the protection of scholars worldwide. A look at the Academic Freedom Index map indicates that more forced mobility of scholars is forthcoming. It is crucial to reflect on effective ways of inclusion for those on the move. Mobility and visiting programs have to integrate the specificities of forced migration, and higher education institutions need to put in place coordinated efforts to facilitate

the arrival of displaced scholars. Some readers of this volume might not expect critical contributions from scholars who have benefited from rescue scholarships, but they will find that these scholars have made significant contributions. They will also be reminded that exile has often turned apolitical writers into political writers.

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