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Animals, people and places in displacement

Benjamin Thomas White

Introduction

Living as an exile in Paris in the late 1920s, the Russian writer Teffi published a memoir of her flight south from Moscow during the civil war. In one scene, she describes sitting on a sealskin coat in the freight car of a train, just after she and her companions have survived a terrifying stay in an unnamed frontier town and crossed into German-occupied Ukraine in autumn 1918. 'It's not for nothing that I just mentioned my sealskin coat,' she writes (Teffi 2016, p. 104): 'A woman's sealskin coat represents an entire epoch in her life as a refugee.'

Bought in Moscow or St Petersburg before the revolution, the sealskin coat is taken on the journey south despite the summer weather because it is warm and valuable and no-one knows how long the journey will last. In freight cars or on the decks of steamers, it serves as mattress and blanket. As the refugee woman's circumstances decline, so does the coat: still luxurious in Odessa, shiny-elbowed in Novorossiisk, 'grubby collars and cuffs folded back in shame' in Constantinople. After she settles in Paris in 1922-24 it will be shortened to the knee, patched with cheaper foreign fur, reduced to scraps sewn into an ordinary woolen coat, and eventually 'obliterated by an invading horde of dyed cats'. 'Seals,' writes Teffi (p. 105), 'are remarkable beasts. They can endure more than most horses.' And again, a little later (p. 106): 'Dear, gentle beast, comfort and defence in difficult times, banner of our lives as refugee women: A whole epic could be written about you. I remember you and salute you.'

It is no accident that this reflection occurs immediately after Teffi crosses the military frontier into Ukraine: it is at this point in the narrative, in temporary and relative safety, that she becomes a 'refugee'. The seal she apostrophizes connects the exiled writer not just to Moscow and St Petersburg and her lost position of privilege, but to every mode of transport and stopping-place on her journey as a refugee, and every mental and material state she has passed through on the way. Though Teffi does not mention it, the coat also connected her to a Russian imperial economy spanning thousands of miles: the seal was probably hunted in the Commander Islands, east of Kamchatka in the Bering Strait.[1] The dyed (and dead) cats that replace the seal, by contrast, met their end in Paris alleyways.

Animals play other roles in Teffi's narrative. On the train south from Moscow, some peasant women threaten her group: their hostility is aroused by the Pekinese lapdog sitting in the lap of one of her companions (p. 51). This woman can't understand why the peasants hate her dog so much, but the reader recognizes the unthinking privilege that goes with keeping a non-working animal fed in a period of wartime food shortages. The animal's vulnerability indicates that Teffi's companion has been displaced from her position of privilege: the peasant women know it, even if she still does not. Stuck on the frontier, meanwhile, Teffi glimpses a dog dragging a human arm through the dirt down by the railway track. This sight, above all, establishes the unnamed town as a place of fearful danger.

Teffi's sealskin coat makes a good starting-point for a chapter on animals in displacement, in a section on 'the stuff of displacement'. The coat may be 'stuff', but the seal is not, and the animals in Teffi's narrative flag up three interlocking issues to explore. The first is the way animals figure in representations of displacement, whether of displaced people—as Teffi's 'dear, gentle beast', which can 'endure more than most horses' (p. 105), comes to represent

[1] I would like to thank Bathsheba Demuth for this information.

the resilience of the refugee woman—or of the spaces they move through, as the dyed cats represent her place of exile. This connects to the second theme, the role of animals in the 'emplacement' of displaced human populations: that is, their experience of place in displacement, not just the sense of being out of place (the dog by the railway) but also their establishment of connections—social, economic, psychological, ecological—with new places. And the third is the agency, in all this, of animals themselves. A stray dog is making its own choices when it decides to gnaw the arm from a human corpse, and its agency can't be reduced to that of a human owner.

This chapter starts by using camps as a site for thinking about the relationship between animals, people and places in displacement: not because most displaced people live in camps (they do not), but because camps make it easier to 'see' how animals influence the lives of displaced people. By 'camps', I mean purpose-built encampments constructed by others, whether state, international organizations, or humanitarian agencies, to contain displaced people, especially refugees—that is, people displaced across a border (Black 1998; Harrell-Bond 1998; Bakewell 2014). The practice of putting displaced people in camps, rather than allowing them to self-settle, became generalized after the first world war. For historical depth this chapter looks as far back as 1918, informed by research on archival and published sources. For contemporary breadth it draws on a range of 'grey' literature (reports, policy documents) produced by humanitarian agencies, collaborations with contemporary humanitarian practitioners, and news media sources.[2] The chapter discusses domesticated animals, including livestock, working animals, and pets, as well as wild animals, from migrating birds to elephants. From an initial focus on displacements caused by war and persecution, it broadens out to consider the relationship between human and animal displacements in the twenty-first century, in situations of increasing environmental stress. The conclusion suggests directions, and methods, for future research.

Animals and displacement: representations, emplacement, and agency

In November 2015, the *Daily Mail* published a notorious racist cartoon which represented migrants entering Europe as sinister figures in face-veils and turbans mingled with gleeful rats (Mac 2015). It is not unusual for representations of displaced people by hostile observers to play on the association between displaced people and animals, whether pictorially or in the language of 'swarms'. But people who are not refugees do this, too, in ways that are intended to garner sympathy—though perhaps problematically, as when news reporters try to humanize refugees by focusing on their companion animals. One notable recent example is Kunkush the cat, who left Iraq with his refugee family, was separated from them on Lesvos in November 2015, but was reunited with them in Norway the following year: the story was widely reported, and later turned into not one but two picture books (The Guardian 2016; Kuntz et al. 2017; Ventura and Guo 2018). Other observers use animals to represent spaces of displacement—stressing proximity to rats as an indicator of the squalor of a camp, say (BBC News 2017). Displaced people, of course, can speak for themselves. "I fear we and our children will become like animals if we have to keep living this refugee life," Noor Ilyas, a Rohingya refugee at Jamtoli refugee camp in southern Bangladesh, wrote recently, and it is common for people living in camps to say that they are being treated like animals (Ilyas 2018; Neuman and Corre 2017).

[2] My work with humanitarian practitioners was supported by a Wellcome Trust Seed Award in Humanities and Social Science, 'Humans and animals in refugee camps' [award reference 205708/Z/16/Z].

In camps we can also see how animals very directly shape the human experiences of displacement and emplacement. With their twin functions of 'care and control' (Malkki 1995, p. 498), camps are heavily surveilled and bounded spaces: surveilled so that displaced people's humanitarian needs can be met, bounded so that their movements can be monitored and controlled. And when humans are displaced, they often take animals with them, especially livestock and working animals. When the organizations running a camp take an interest in these animals, the same regimes of surveillance register their presence, too, creating a record of how they shape displaced people's experiences in both contemporary and historic cases. This helps explain why the existing literature on animals in displacement, mostly produced by practitioner organizations, focuses particularly on livestock and working animals (UNHCR/IUCN 2005; LEGS 2013, 2014; Beirne and Kelty-Huber 2015; FAO 2016; World Animal Protection n.d.; Veterinarians Without Borders 2015): these animals contribute to the livelihoods of displaced people. Indeed, often the animals *are* the people's livelihoods, as well as their means of transport into displacement. If humanitarian assistance does not extend to the animals, the people's experience of displacement will worsen. For example, in 2003, some 14,000 donkeys carried internally displaced people to the Abu Showk camp in Darfur, Sudan—but 18 months later only 2,300 survived. Nearly 85% had died, mostly for lack of fodder. This left the people with no means of transport, nor of earning a living: they became much more dependent on humanitarian assistance in the camp, and much less able to return home and resume their normal lives (Sprayson 2006, p. 50). The example illustrates both how animals' presence in camps is registered in humanitarian records, and how important they are in the lives of displaced people. But it is not only livestock and working animals that are important, nor is it only in transport and livelihoods that animals make a difference.

Animals shaped these spaces of confinement from the start: for example, in the camp created in 1918 by British occupying forces in Ottoman Mesopotamia—now Iraq—at Baquba on the river Diyala about 30 miles northeast of Baghdad. The site of this camp was chosen because it was defensible, readily accessible (and therefore easily supplied) by road and rail, with water for drinking, washing and sanitation provided by the river and two canals. This made it suitable for housing not only almost 50,000 people, Assyrian and Armenian refugees from eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, but also the thousands of animals that they had brought with them. The British commander of the camp, H.H. Austin, estimated that in the autumn of 1918 there were seven or eight thousand sheep and goats, as well as about six thousand large animals: horses, ponies, donkeys, mules, camels, and cattle. Another eight hundred ponies arrived when the 'Assyrian contingent' of armed refugees, set up under British command to protect the parties travelling south, settled at Baquba in mid-November (Austin 1920, p. 21-22).[3]

An annotated blueprint plan from the British War Office archives shows some of the place afforded to animals in the camp. At its southwesternmost corner was an animal enclosure a few hundred metres across, bisected by a canal and downwind of the rest of the camp according to an arrow showing the direction of the prevailing wind. (It is too small to be the 300-acre forage farm mentioned in other sources.) A butchery is shown nearby. In the centre of the camp was a bazaar, set up early on to stimulate economic life, in which animals and animal produce played and important role. Close to it were isolation and disinfection areas: these were intended to limit access to the camp for one specific type of animal, lice. Typhus, for which lice are the vector, killed tens of thousands across the Middle East during and after

[3] There were certainly other animals at Baquba: rats, cockroaches, and other 'pests'; wild animals including birds and perhaps jackals. But they are hardly visible in the British archival record. Perhaps surprisingly, nor are dogs, though the herders surely had some.

the first world war, and this was one of the main reasons why death rates in the camp's early days were appallingly high. Isolation and fumigation eliminated lice before refugees were allowed to move around the camp freely. A note made by the camp's senior medical officer when the site was being laid out also mentioned that mosquito nets were to be supplied.[4] The veterinary regimes for animals, meanwhile, mirrored the medical regimes for people, with segregation paddocks in use to eliminate mange and glanders, a nasty contagious disease affecting horses (Austin 1920: 22). (Sick animals, unlike sick people, could also be destroyed to control the spread of disease.) The Assyrian contingent and its ponies were housed in a large enclosure across the river from the main camp. Textual sources indicate that animals shaped the spaces of the camp in other ways, not visible on the plan: for example, it soon included a number of poultry farms and a piggery.[5]

Baquba is an early example of a modern refugee camp. In contemporary spaces of displacement there are many similar instances. Manuel Herz's study of the long-established camps in southwestern Algeria where Sahrawi refugees have lived since the 1970s notes that 'goat barns'—circular enclosures cheaply constructed from wire and scrap metal—are a prominent spatial feature (Herz 2011: 340-347). Camel butcheries are important shops (310-11), while an animal market is located outside one camp 'so that the noise and smell of the animals do not cause discomfort to the inhabitants' (302). Goats and camels are socially, economically, and culturally important animals in Sahrawi society, and this is reflected in the space of the camps even as they gradually become permanent urban settlements. We could multiply other contemporary examples, like the camel economy at the Dadaab complex in northern Kenya (Rawlence 2016), where the Dagahaley, Ifo, and Hagadera camps each have slaughter slabs and marketplaces.[6] In different ways, and across different cases separated by a hundred years and thousands of kilometres, animals have shaped spaces for displaced people in camps.

Animals at Baquba also shaped refugees' encounter with spaces beyond the camp, in ways that find many parallels in more recent cases. They became the means of connection between people in the camp and the people and landscape around them, partly because they were crucial to British plans to stimulate the camp's economic life, which would be recognizable to modern humanitarian practitioners concerned with refugee livelihoods. Dairy products from the refugees' own animals (sheep, goats, and presumably cattle too) were sold for cash as well as exchanged for barter. On the one hand, this took refugee herders out beyond the western edges of the camp to graze their animals. On the other, it took them to surrounding villages: refugees in groups of two or three would set out each morning, "laden with curds and other goods for which they would buy eggs and similar articles from the Arabs, returning to camp at dusk" (Austin 1920: 90). The piggery and poultry farms provided food (meat and eggs) but perhaps also feathers: a large quiltmaking enterprise run by the American Persian Relief Commission, presumably from feathers and yarn produced by the camp's animals (this is not clear from British sources), and employed thousands of women and children for cash wages. Meanwhile, men were sent to do contract labour outside the camp, and this involved animals too. Examples from March 1920 included a small party of men and oxen for a private

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[4] The National Archives (UK), War Office records WO 95/5238: war diary of Assistant Director Medical Services, 29 August 1918.

[5] The National Archives (UK), Foreign Office records FO 371/6359, folios 80-87: 'Armenian and Assyrian Refugees in Irak' (cover 22 Dec 1921).

[6] Plans for each sub-camp are available on the UNHCR data portal:
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/31535 (Hagadera);
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/31534 (Dagahaley);
https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/31533 (Ifo). (All accessed 12 December 2018.)

farm and a very large one—"2500 persons and 1000 animals"—sent north to work for the occupation administration's Labour Directorate near Mosul.[7]

Animals, then, were a means of providing a livelihood in displacement, and not only a subsistence livelihood: they were also a means of integration into the life of the host society. But this integration was defined in primarily economistic terms, which often predominate in contemporary refugee integration initiatives, too. Since 2015, for example, UNHCR has provided significant support to the animals of Malian refugees in Burkina Faso. The programme, funded by the IKEA Foundation, is intended to "help more than 6,000 people earn a sustainable income through small-scale dairy farming", as well as improving the nutrition of refugee children (IKEA Foundation 2015: no pagination).[8] It provided support for animals, including veterinary care, because UNHCR recognized that they were a means of livelihood and integration for the people—defined economistically, in terms of giving the refugees a means of access to a market economy for dairy produce.

But this is an anthropocentric conception, and it doesn't say much about *place*: landscape, natural environment, local ecology. If we go beyond the economic 'self-reliance' that has been a problematic structuring concept for refugee settlement for over a century (Easton-Calabria and Omata 2018), and think instead in terms of *emplacement*—the development of a new sense of place—as essential to integration, then we need to recognize ecological as well as economic factors (Kindon 2018).[9] As Assyrian herdsmen took their flocks of mountain sheep and goats out west of the Uthmaniyya canal each day, familiarizing themselves with the landscape, the vegetation, the predators and the local human inhabitants of the lowlands, listening to the sound of jackals in the darkness, they were developing a sense of place beyond a simple awareness of the local "market potentialities" (Austin, 1920: 90) of their produce. The connections they developed with their new place were economic and material, but they were also ecological, emotional and psychological.

In a historical case as far back as Baquba, the absence of refugee voices from institutional archives can make it hard to recover the refugees' sense of place. But in more recent cases, sources *are* available for us to develop a textured understanding of emplacement, and the roles animals play in it, informed by work in disciplines from archaeology to anthropology (Cummings and Harris 2011; Gooch 2008).[10] Not just livestock and working animals, and refugees who work with them: even at Baquba, most refugees were not pastoralists, and some were not agriculturalists at all. And not only through livelihoods, as another modern example illustrates. Animals are largely excluded from the sterile, hyper-modern, profoundly bleak refugee camp at Azraq in Jordan. Caged birds are an exception, and people seem willing to pay a high price for them: in 2016, 30-40 Jordanian dinars each (roughly €35-50), when 'incentive workers'—refugees employed by humanitarian agencies for work within the camp—were paid 10 dinars (€12) per day.[11] Why? Partly, perhaps, because looking after a pet offers some sense of agency and control to people who lack it in in other areas of their lives

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[7] British Library, India Office Records, IOR/L/PS/10/775: 'Refugee Camp, Baquba. Monthly report. For the month of March 1920', 31 March 1920.

[8] In late 2015, according to UNHCR, there were around 34,000 Malian refugees in Burkina Faso (https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/49009); they had brought about 47,000 animals with them (https://twitter.com/Refugees/status/1033752179025227776).

[9] This section draws on the excellent unpublished research of the geographer Sara Kindon.

[10] Gooch 2008: p. 73, "Successful pastoralism demands a strong feeling of understanding between herders and the animals they herd, tantamount to a shared world-view, whereby the world can be perceived through the senses of the animals in question."

[11] Personal communication from Ann-Christin Wagner, observed during fieldwork for Wagner 2019.

in displacement. And partly because a companion animal can make even a metal and plastic shelter into a home: making a home in a place is a step towards making that place home, however provisionally.

But working animals and livestock as well as pets can play a role in the emotional lives of displaced people. We can see this in Austin's lyrical description of the flocks returning to the Baquba camp each night, and being lavished with affection by the refugee men, women, and children, even as the female animals were milked (Austin 1920: 88-89)—a depiction that returns us to the role animals play in representations of displacement.[12] Like other British sources on the camp at Baquba, Austin's book overwhelmingly concentrates on one of the three groups of refugees living there: the Hakkari Assyrians, a population of semi-nomadic pastoralists from the Hakkari mountains now on the border between Turkey and Iraq. Not coincidentally, these were the people to whom most of the camp's animals belonged. One reason for this attention lies in nineteenth- and early twentieth- century European visions of the Middle East, which commonly juxtaposed a depiction of the region's urban life as corrupted by modernity with an idealized depiction of the 'authentic' way of life of its pastoralists, whether the Bedouin of the desert or the Assyrians of the mountains, who were viewed as more amenable to imperial rule. Austin's account uses the Hakkari Assyrians's closeness to animals as a literary means of representing them as a timeless and apolitical pastoral population deserving sympathy and support[13]: greeting their flocks with affection and 'a holy calm', and giving up their own army-issue blankets to keep the lambs and kids warm (Austin 1920: 89), in scenes that can be read as an implicit evocation of the shepherds and stable of the nativity story. Elsewhere, Austin stressed the close companionship of Assyrian men and their horses.

Humanitarians often represent refugees as, in Liisa Malkki's famous words, 'speechless emissaries' (1996): here, animals are made to speak for them. Like the humanitarian representations of refugees as passive and needy victims, the British representation of the displaced Hakkari Assyrians as an amenable client population also had real effects in their lives. It led to the incorporation of Assyrian men *and their steeds* into the coercive forces of the occupation, in ways that permanently damaged the refugees' relationship with their host society (White 2018). Assyrians were not passive in this: they made individual and collective choices to participate in the occupation. But we also need to recognize the agency of the horses that carried them in these mounted military units.

In *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things*, Jane Bennett (2010, chapter 7) offers an account of non-human agency that starts with Charles Darwin's observations of the 'small agencies' of earthworms, whose constant digestive work produces the topsoil in which human history is rooted. Bennett borrows the term *actant* from Bruno Latour to describe their position—and that of other non-humans—in an ecological assemblage "in which agency has no single locus, no mastermind, but is distributed" among humans and non-humans alike (Bennett 2010: 96). "A certain nonhuman agency", she says, is "the condition of possibility of human agency." To explore the political implications of this, Bennett expands on John Dewey's theory of conjoint action, whereby political publics emerge—are continually emerging and re-emerging—when bodies are "pulled together not so much by choice… as by a shared experience of harm that, over time, coalesces into a 'problem.'" This is an understanding, Bennett observes, of a political system as "a kind of ecosystem" (2010: 100), and it

[12] Animals mattered in Austin's own 'emplacement' at Baquba, too. The only reference in his book to his own leisure time, in what must have been a stressful and dangerous job, is a mention of long, solitary morning rides on horseback in the countryside around the camp (1920: p. 90).
[13] It goes without saying that the Hakkari Assyrians were *not* apolitical.

> paves the way for a theory of action that more explicitly accepts nonhuman bodies as members of a public, more explicitly attends to how they, too, participate in conjoint action, and more clearly discerns instances of harm to the (affective) bodies of animals, vegetables, minerals, and their ecocultures. (Bennett 2010: 103)

Bennett's account of non-human agency shows that we can never have the whole view without a sense of how the animal or object help shape what we might otherwise think of as a human story. It requires us to consider the agency of horses and ponies in British imperial plans for the Hakkari Assyrians, or of microbes, lice and mosquitos, and nearby stagnant water in making the camp at Baquba a place of human precarity. And it helps us to make sense of the tensions that arose around Baquba in the spring and summer of 1919, as the Hakkari Assyrians and their animals took their place in the agricultural landscape of Diyala province, and the flocks began to grow. Sheep and goats from the camp, the refugees' livelihoods, would break into fields on neighbouring farms and munch the tender new crops that were the farmers' livelihoods. The herders may not have minded too much about this damage: they may even have encouraged it. But goats are independent-minded animals (Gooch 2008: p. 70), and to understand the political problem that arose here we need to give their agency its due. Bennett's book offers a framework for understanding how the sheep and goats, the new crops, and any fences that were broken figured alongside Hakkari Assyrian herders and Arab farmers as part of the emergent political 'public' around Baquba.

Such complex situations continue to arise when humans and animals are displaced today. For example, in 2011-12 a military offensive by the Sudanese government drove nearly 125,000 people and hundreds of thousands of animals from Blue Nile state across the new border into South Sudan, where they settled in Maban county (and where their animal numbers rapidly halved, to about 50,000 cattle and 80,000 sheep and goats, stressed by the journey and the wetter conditions on arrival). They considerably outnumbered the host community. Over the next two years, animals played a complex political role in the relationship between refugees, local residents, and a third group, Mbororo nomads, also pastoralists, who regularly pass through Maban county as part of their seasonal migrations. Sources of tension included crop damage—which triggered fights causing up to 20 human deaths—as well as degradation of common grazing and competition for water. Local protocols to resolve conflicts were developed with input from the South Sudanese government, humanitarian agencies, and Vets Without Borders, taking animal as well as human agency into account. They included moving refugee animals to sparsely populated grazing zones as far as 60km from the camps where the refugee people lived, scheduling access to watering points, and rerouting the Mbororo migration somewhat to the west, further from the camps (Hoots 2018).

It is harder to reroute migrations when these involve wild animals rather than humans and livestock. After renewed persecution by the Myanmar military began to drive hundreds of thousands of Rohingya refugees into Bangladesh in late 2017, points of conflict arose between refugees and wild elephants, especially along the western boundary of what quickly became the largest refugee camp accommodating Rohingya, at Kutupalong. The camp blocks a migration route between forest ranges in Bangladesh and Myanmar for a critically endangered population of Asian elephants, which "always follow their traditional routes and corridors for regular movement": the resulting conflicts killed nine people in and around the camp between September 2017 and January 2018 (IUCN Bangladesh 2018: p. 4). The problem implicates the elephants, the refugees in the camp they are trying to pass through, and the host community, who may also be affected as elephants move around the edges of the camp.

It is representative of a larger set of issues caused by the camp's emergence, which has rapidly degraded local forests as refugees seek to "fulfill their basic needs, like food, shelter, and income generation" (IUCN Bangladesh 2018: p. 4). The acute humanitarian emergency at Kutupalong, in other words, also highlights the intersection of human and animal displacements under conditions of increasing ecological stress. The final section of this chapter zooms out to think about these at a global scale.

Human and animal displacements in the twenty-first century

In our time, the intersection of human forced migrations with animal migrations is increasingly recognized. The prolonged Syrian drought in the years up to 2010, one important factor in the political crisis that ignited in 2011, is an example. Worsened in its intensity and duration by anthropogenic climate change, it had already pushed over a million rural Syrians off the land shortly before the war began (Kelley et al. 2015). Those people were pushed into worse poverty than would otherwise have been the case because of the liberalization of the Syrian economy over the previous decade and the state's retreat from providing basic services, among other reasons: ecological factors are not separate from political factors. But they were important, and their impact has been felt by animals as well as humans, in complex interlocking ways. Syria's total livestock fell by as much as a third because of the drought (ACSAD 2011), while in the Jordanian desert, the water table is falling—the impact of the regional drought exacerbated by the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Syrian refugees in what was already one of the most water-scarce countries in the world. The falling water table means that oases are shrinking, and bird species that migrate across the desert are losing the important staging posts they provided. The Syrian war highlights the intersection of human and animal displacements under environmental stress, and we are likely to see more such conflagrations.

You could argue, indeed, that a 'great displacement' is going on all around us right now: the displacement of all other species within the biosphere to make way for human beings and the things we like to eat. Vertebrate animal populations are estimated to have fallen, across the board, by around 60% between 1970 and 2014 (WWF 2018: p. 70), from a baseline that had already shifted a long way since the start of the Holocene. The steep decline in invertebrate populations is, if anything, even more alarming (Dirzo et al. 2014).

We tend to conceptualize this displacement as a displacement *of* other living things *by* humans. But the processes that have driven this destruction of biodiversity have also displaced humans. In the archaeological record the relationship between the spread of settled agriculture and the shift away from hunter-gatherer societies is uncertain (Leary and Kador 2016; Cummings and Harris 2011), but in recorded history the geographic marginalization of hunter-gatherers is clear (Scott 2009). If Britain has one of the most depleted natural environments in the world, it is not just because of early industrialization and urbanization, but also the related processes of the early commercialization of agriculture, which pushed people off the land through enclosures and clearances, and its early mechanization. Translated to colonial settings, commercial agriculture displaced indigenous peoples; in settler-colonial settings these displacements reached genocidal intensity. Plantation economies also displaced people for labour: enslaved Africans or, later, indentured labourers. The spread and intensification of industrialized agriculture, the relentless march of urbanization, the pharaonic routines of resource extraction all continue to displace and re-place human populations today, at the same time as they diminish animal habitats. One of the great drivers of biodiversity destruction is anthropogenic climate change, which literally

displaces animal species out of existence. It is also already contributing to human displacement, as humanitarian NGOs and journalists have signalled (The Guardian 2018; The New York Times 2018), and this is only likely to increase. The people who will be worst affected by climate change are those who have contributed least to it.

It is not, then, simply a case of displacement of other animals by humans: the processes that drive the 'great displacement' are processes of human displacement, too. Our understanding of human experiences of displacement deepens when we recognize the roles that animals play in them, and the reverse is also true: we will understand the destruction of biodiversity, the displacement of other species, better when we think of them not (only) as a human impact on a natural environment but also a displacement and destruction of human lives and livelihoods.

Conclusion

How should we research human and animal displacements? As the processes causing them interlock in increasingly clear but increasingly complex ways, we need to bring them into a single conceptual frame, capable of making sense of them together, not as separate phenomena studied on the one hand by natural scientists and on the other by social scientists and a smattering of humanities scholars. Interdisciplinary animal studies already offers the methodological toolkit and cross-disciplinary approach that are required: it is more a question of defining the object of study.

The scope of this handbook shows how broadly but coherently displacement can be defined, beyond the war- and persecution-related displacements that this chapter began with. In urban displacements from informal or 'slum' districts, animals—'vermin'—can figure in the construction of the squalor to be eliminated, as well as in representations of the populations to be relocated. In disaster evacuations, the importance of providing for companion animals is increasingly recognized, both to persuade people to leave and to sustain their mental health later. Catastrophic recent floods in North Carolina (2018) and Queensland (2019) have highlighted the impact of natural disasters on livestock and wild animals, in the global north as well as the global south. The extreme weather events that caused them are becoming more frequent as a result of anthropogenic climate change; their impacts are exacerbated by human practices of land-use and patterns of settlement. Such moments of acute crisis also bring us back to human and animal displacement under chronic, though intensifying, ecological pressures: the Queensland floods followed a five-year drought that had put cattle herds as well as wild animals under stress.

The scale of such studies, meanwhile, could run from the micro to the macro. At the micro scale, the case of Jamal, the 'Bird Man of Red Road', shows how a single human/companion animal relationship can bring together different forms of displacement and illustrate the themes explored in this chapter (Leslie 2016: 11, 18). An asylum seeker from Iraq, Jamal was, with his two canaries, the last resident of the Red Road tower blocks in Glasgow—an immense housing complex born of 1960s slum clearances, and demolished in 2015. At the macro scale are global changes displacing animal populations and the humans that depend on them.

Figure 1: Derek Robertson, 'The Desert is Full of Promises' (by permission of the artist)

As for methods, I would like to suggest that this work should start *with* humans in displacement. The Scottish wildlife artist Derek Robertson, who also has hands-on experience of participating in scientific studies of bird migrations, has recently been exploring this intersection. His series Migrations—"a field study of diversity"—follows the parallel routes of human and bird migration from the Middle East across the Mediterranean, through Europe, and as far as Scotland.[14] One image **(fig 1)** illustrates the environmental pressure of the falling water table in the Jordanian desert: it shows a desert bird (a horned lark) that can tolerate extremely dry conditions, and a group of children gathered around a migratory bird (a bee-eater) that had come to ground by an abandoned blue bus, perhaps mistaking it for water, and been unable to fly on. In the Middle East or in the Calais 'Jungle', Robertson worked with refugees and exiles to capture a sense of place in spaces of displacement, including the place within them of migrating birds. Naomi Press and other clinical psychotherapists working at Calais with a small British NGO, ArtRefuge, found that exiles represented their own displacement by modelling or drawing animals.

At Kutupalong, meanwhile, Bangladeshi artist Kamruzzaman Shadhin recently produced an 'Elephant in the Room': an installation commissioned by IUCN and UNHCR, taking the shape of a life-size pair of papier-mâché elephants coated in discarded clothes **(fig 2)**.[15] Shadhin worked with refugees to produce this artwork, with the process as much as the finished product aiming not just to warn refugees about elephants but to create mutual understanding. Taking Jane Bennett's (2010) approach, the artwork could be seen as a focus for articulating an emerging human/non-human public, recognizing the elephants' agency and trying to make it comprehensible to the human inhabitants of Kutupalong. It could also be seen as a way of establishing interspecies solidarities (Coulter 2016) among what Donna Haraway (2003, 2007) has termed companion species.

Figure 2: Kamruzzaman Shadhin, from 'Elephant in the Room' (by permission of the artist)

In these examples, scientific practice informed the artwork that was produced, but the art in turns informs (natural and social) scientific practice. More important, in all of them displaced humans were active participants in the production of artworks that exist at least as much to benefit them as to benefit the other, undisplaced humans who were involved. These artistic examples can all inform scientific research on human and animal displacements—but they also provide a model for *doing* ethical research at the points, and in the spaces, where those displacements intersect. We need such ethical research urgently.

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[14] Paintings from the series have been exhibited in the UK and internationally. They can be viewed at https://www.creativepastures.com/migrations.

[15] These details come from the Facebook page of UNHCR Bangladesh (saved to the Internet Archive, since Facebook content is highly dynamic): https://web.archive.org/web/20181212233809/https://www.facebook.com/UNHCRBangladesh/posts/art-used-as-a-way-to-promote-to-co-existence-between-wild-elephants-and-rohingya/513555982401033/ (accessed 12 December 2018).

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