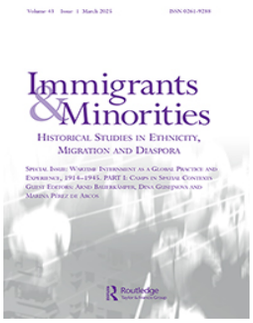

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Wartime internment in camps as a global practice and experience

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ABSTRACT

This double special issue examines internment camps in the First and Second World Wars as exceptional wartime social institutions which were intended to isolate and segregate groups considered threatening or undesirable but also had the unintended effect of becoming zones of knowledge transfer. The studies of internment in the world wars presented here connect to a broader historiography around cultures of confinement, carceral practices, and camp societies in the modern era. The First World War established the paradigm for understanding modern mass internment on a worldwide scale, with "enemy civilians" becoming an increasingly significant category of internees. The Introduction discusses how the global turn in the study of wartime internment, detention, and imprisonment, enables scholars to understand the way internment experiences were conceptualised in different societies. What kinds of expertise about society were initially produced in and around the camps? How did internment affect the way individuals from these groups related to their host countries? To what extent is the history of incarceration also a history of population movements to multiple locations? Special attention is paid to the way internment turned national or imperial minorities into "globally circulating" populations, with nationalities such as the Germans, traditionally associated with state-forming "majorities", appearing as minorities within different empires at war with Germany in both world wars. As such the special issue contributes to new approaches to internment studies, which include expanded geographies and the acknowledgment that global entanglements can be grasped through local sites and case studies.

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KEYWORDS Internment; camps; carceral societies; experience; knowledge; world wars

In the past decade, studies of the two world wars have shifted from military to civilian experiences, and from a Eurocentric to a global framework. The spotlight on wartime internment, detention, and imprisonment has enabled scholars to elucidate the effects of wars on societies at large, and to link the

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diversity of war experiences to more complex understandings of the history of statehood, violence and law.[1] Whereas previous scholarship on internment focused on individual wars, national perspectives, and specific groups, recent research has increasingly highlighted the transnational, global, and interconnected contexts of internment practices. The study of internment in the two world wars can thus be connected to a broader historiography revolving around cultures of confinement, carceral practices, and camp societies in the modern era.[2]

We began exchanging ideas around this issue more intensively during the last months of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2021. Without overstating the parallels between 'lockdown' and 'internment' – a topic itself problematised in Matthew Stibbe's contribution to Part II of this double special issue – it was clear to all of us that the intellectual engagement with the social fallout of the pandemic offered valuable insights for historians of internment. Vice versa, the insights from this past, particularly around issues such as mental health and the specific temporality of the internment experience, had also given us a sense of perspective in the present. The idea of 'time standing still' was certainly one dimension in which the internment experience began to obtain new contemporary salience, as evidenced by the reedition of classical memoirs of the genre in the immediate aftermath of the pandemic.[3]

We attempted a first approach to the comparative social and cultural histories of internment in the appropriate format of an online workshop under the title 'Camps as Microcosms of Knowledge Production: Aspects of the Cultural Legacies of Two World Wars' (4–5 April 2022). This was followed by an in-person conference entitled 'Beyond the Barbed Wire: Wartime Internment in the Global History of Knowledge Transfer, 1914–1945', held at the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) (13–14 January 2023). The latter also included a presentation of a Virtual Reality project produced by Stefan Manz in collaboration with Paul Long. Manz's and Long's presentation in turn was the forerunner of an exhibition on internment curated by Manz, Matthew Stibbe, Marina Pérez de Arcos and others, 'Behind the Wire: Civilian Internment in the British Empire, 1914–1919', which was launched at the German Historical Institute London (GHIL) in April 2023.[4] With the subtitle 'Internment during the First World War: The Global German Experience', the exhibition and an associated workshop shed light on the lesser-known history of German civilians who were interned as 'enemy aliens' in various locations across the British Empire during the First World War. Comprising 18 panels, the exhibition also provided visitors with an immersive experience through a virtual reality depiction of Fort Napier camp in South Africa.

More than three decades have now passed since the publication of *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain*, a pioneering volume which goes back to another special issue of *Immigrants & Minorities* edited by David Cesarani and Tony Kushner in 1992 (Figure 2).[5] The origins of their volume lie in a conference held in 1990 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of mass alien internment in Britain during the Second World War (Figure 1). This event aimed to highlight the importance of alien internment in modern British history and benefited from the release of archival material, previously withheld, beginning in the mid-1980s. While scholarship on internment has progressed substantially from how it was discussed three decades ago, several contributors to the original work remain leading historians in the field. The articles in this new double special issue continue to build on this work as they open new vistas on the study of internment.

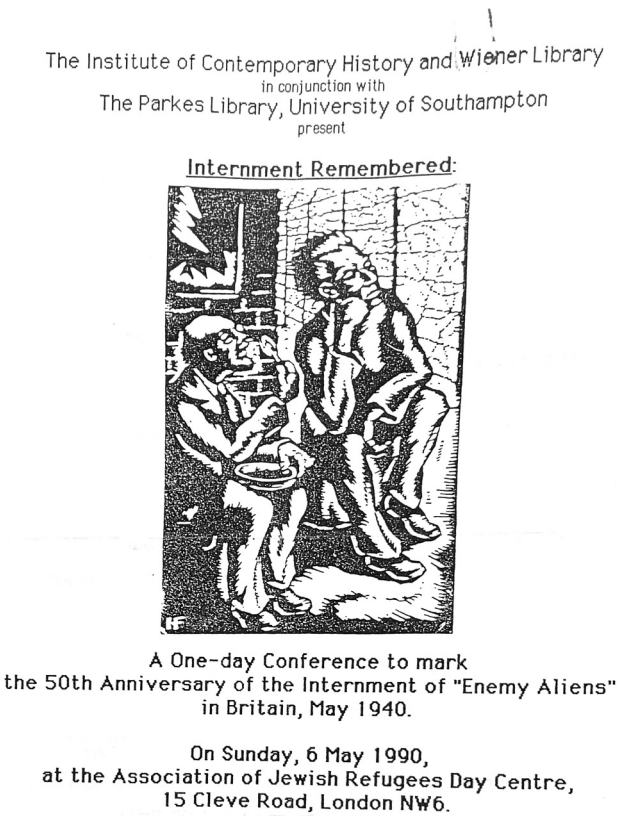

Figure 1. Cover of the programme 'internment remembered' with a print by former internee Klaus Hinrichsen (1990). Papers of François Lafitte, US72, box 11. University of Birmingham: Cadbury Research Library, Special Collections.

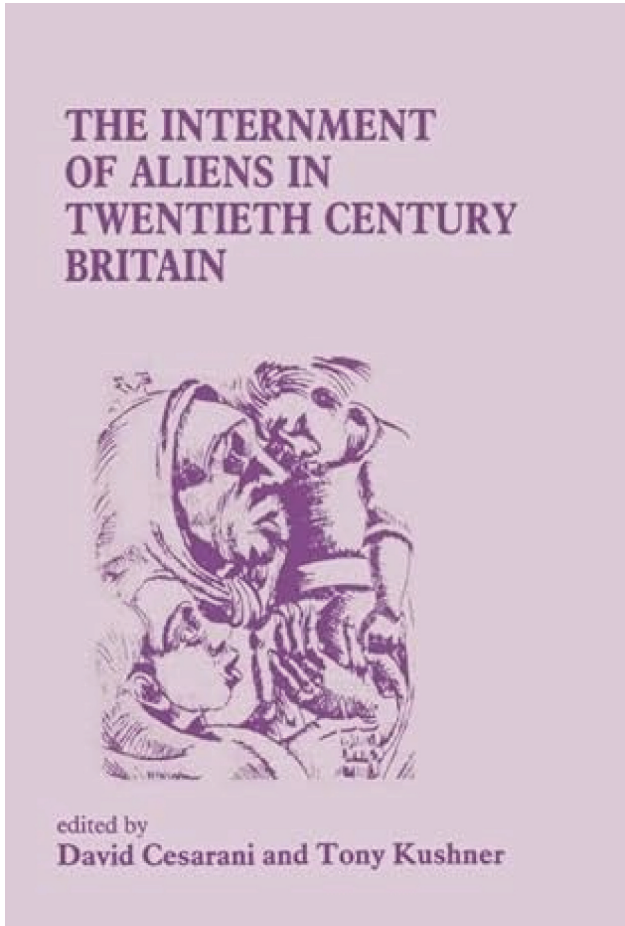

Figure 2. Front cover of the pioneering volume edited by David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, *the internment of aliens in twentieth century Britain* (Cesarani and Kushner 1993). This volume original appeared as a special issue of *immigrants & minorities* in 1992 (volume 11, issue 3). The print is by former internee Klaus Hinrichsen.

First, they take account of recent historiographical trends and empirical work, which enable fresh comparisons and connections. While historians have engaged with the bureaucratic and social aspects of wartime internment, few studies have developed a sustained interest in its impact on intellectual and cultural outputs.[6] Like other forms of imprisonment, wartime internment involved both isolation and limited contact between internees as well as broader social networks. The experiences and ideas generated in this environment, characterised by unequal and disrupted patterns of communication, challenge the apparent binaries of military

and civilian, fighting fronts and home fronts, warfare and lawfare, and exceptional and 'ordinary' ways of living through wartime.

Second, as has been generally recognised, civilian internment in both world wars grew out of institutions primarily intended for military prisoners in a variety of global contexts. At the exhibition launch at the GHIL on 26 April 2023, Panikos Panayi considered the dispersed community of German internees as part of the 'imperial turn' in internment studies. The global dimension becomes particularly evident when examining the internment network across the British Empire, including Canada, West and South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and Ahmednagar in India.

Also at the exhibition's opening, Michelle Kießling presented the intriguing story of David Russell, a working-class Jamaican and Black British subject, and Anna, his German wife, who lost her German citizenship upon marriage and subsequently acquired British citizenship. During the First World War, David was interned with one hundred other people of colour at Ruhleben camp in Germany, while Anna was forced to leave Germany for Hull, where she was placed in a workhouse under harsh conditions and was separated from their children. A surviving letter written by Anna in German to the British colonial authorities, requesting that David be allowed to return to Jamaica, illustrates their efforts to improve the family's situation. Eventually, David was allowed to return to Jamaica, but the rest of his family were not.[7] This is just a small case study highlighting the globally entangled repercussions of wartime internment.

To date much of the theoretical basis for the analysis of the cultural and social aspects of internment as such remains connected to the study of the Holocaust.[8] At first sight, this makes it difficult to reflect on the specificities of carceral practices emerging around global wars, inter-imperial contact zones, and sites of colonial violence. However, on closer reflection, this comparative dimension may also add depth to historians' understanding of the mass murder of the Jews in the concentration camps of the Third Reich. As well as creating a new kind of infrastructure with a hybrid military-civilian administration, the internment camps for civilians brought minorities of different nations and empires into contact with each other in specific settings, often in colonial and regional peripheries. The emerging picture of internment has been aptly described with Michel Foucault's concept of a 'carceral archipelago'.[9]

These conceptual resonances served as springboards which helped us to think through the general and unique features of the cases under discussion in this double special issue. At the heart of many of the contributions lies the question of how camps, as social institutions, became zones of knowledge transfer. What kinds of expertise about society were initially produced in and around the camps? Other questions we explore include the legal and cultural legacies of internment regimes at the national level. Additionally, we ask: How did internment affect the way individuals from these groups related to their host country? How did internees reflect on their experiences in literary texts? To what extent is the history of incarceration also a history of population movement? These are the questions which prompted us to consider this journal, with its long-standing reputation for promoting new thinking about the relationship between voluntary and forced migration and historically produced identities, as the right home for this discussion.

Towards a new approach to internment camps: more space for the First World War, more time for the comparative

Although camps for civilians were a feature of the Spanish-American and Anglo-Boer wars at the turn of the twentieth century, as well as colonial confinement practices before 1914, it was the First World War which established the paradigm for understanding modern mass internment on a worldwide scale. But what are the historical specificities of this 'globalisation' of internment? As Stefan Manz and Panikos Panayi have argued, one way to look at the global dimension of the war from the perspective of civilians is to show how the different countries fighting against Germany and Austria-Hungary treated 'enemy civilians' across the globe, and compare this with the way the Central Powers themselves used internment as a dimension of warfare.[10] Another approach stems from the new global histories of refugee regimes which emerged at the time of the First World War.[11] Historians now view internment through the lens of global 'hubs', each of which can be located in specific parts of different worldwide empires.[12] This double special issue continues both avenues, with a strong focus on Germany's role in global internment, but also extends the focus beyond this country and internment in the British Empire to consider case studies from other spaces in Africa, Asia, and the United States. Internment had inter-imperial dimensions that manifested themselves in belligerent and neutral states, and in democracies as well as dictatorships.

As mentioned, studies of internment evolve in the shadow of the historiography on the Holocaust and specifically on Auschwitz and the Nazi extermination camps. Sociologist Zygmunt Bauman has characterised this period of time as the 'century of camps', and philosopher Giorgio Agamben has claimed that they enshrined and symbolised state modernity through sovereign rule over human lives and bodies.[13] However, as we see it, it is too reductive to think of the modern carceral tradition exclusively through a teleology leading from the colonial to the totalitarian state following Hannah Arendt's interpretation.[14] Nor is the global dimension of internment exclusively tied to a colonial form of violence, as Frantz Fanon has indicated.[15] In what follows, the case studies leave room for reflection on the ambivalent evolution of internment of Europeans by other Europeans in democratic states, where internment was subject to extensive public scrutiny.

The focus on concentration camps as essentially 'German' and their specific characteristics as 'total' has overshadowed a broader, more comparative understanding of internment as a twentieth-century practice. It is important to show that this practice encompassed Germans in their role as globally incarcerated internees rather than exclusively as the institutional masterminds of internment under the Third Reich. Meanwhile, research on the Holocaust has itself broadened geographically as well as conceptually, looking beyond camps at the mobile killing squads of the SS and the German police as well as questions of collaboration and resistance, humanitarianism and law.[16]

The following articles attempt to step back from the link between this institutional and conceptual provenance to uncover different uses of the term 'camps', identify their specific characteristics, and highlight their dimensions in particular historical contexts.[17] Historians now tend to divide camps into four kinds: labour, internment, concentration and extermination sites. Their aim was to segregate undesirable groups from the rest of the population. All camps combined inclusion and exclusion, seeking to discipline inmates and integrate them into forced communities, often in isolation from the rest of society. This included camps in colonial regimes. Not least, camps were ambiguous spaces, regulated by laws and yet at the same time shaped by lawlessness. Even though these similarities and overlaps between camps are indisputable, the typological distinction is useful for analytical purposes.[18]

While the camps established in the colonies before 1914 rarely involved mass extermination, they served as models for detaining civilians deemed hostile. They also paved the way for internment to reach unprecedented dimensions during the First World War. Against the backdrop of nationalist mobilisation and agitation against adversary soldiers, civilian 'enemy aliens' and, in some cases, 'internal enemies', were subject to various restrictions on their individual liberties. Detention without trial and internment in camps were particularly common.

Despite some reservations and concerns, the British government, for instance, decided to introduce the mass incarceration of male enemy civilians in 1915. In France, marginalised and socially undesirable groups were also arrested and interned in camps. Tsarist Russia deported and isolated prisoners of war and civilian nationals of hostile countries. The Central Powers followed suit, although their governments proved ill-prepared for internment. In extra-European territories, punitive measures reversed entrenched colonial and racial hierarchies. Ultimately, camps reflected the rapid expansion of state power during the First World War.[19]

Altogether, eight to nine million military personnel were taken prisoners in the years between 1914 and 1918, and at least 800,000 civilians.[20] Civilians declared 'enemy aliens' became the main targets of this policy. Captured soldiers as well as foreign nationals were incarcerated. Also due to the vested interests of specific actors (such as officials), the intention to impose reprisals on foreign nationals and deprive hostile states of soldiers (in response to conscription) led governments to enact laws that allowed authorities to intern foreign civilians and naturalised citizens as a result of interventions 'from above' and populist or official anti-alien mobilisation 'from below'.

Yet everyday life in camps varied according to historical and spatial contexts. In particular, commandants played a crucial role. They usually allowed POWs and civilian internees to pursue a wide range of activities in and (less frequently) outside the camps. Moreover, representatives of protecting powers and humanitarian relief organisations, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, inspected camps and provided internees with relief – although camps in occupied territories were often excluded, as were sites for 'internal enemies'.[21]

Even though violence continued to shape political and social developments after the Armistice of 11 November 1918, internment in camps

simultaneously promoted 'modern humanitarianism', which encompasses large-scale operations by state and non-governmental organisations based on humanitarian principles such as impartiality and humanity.[22] Pressure from humanitarian organisations also gave rise to innovations in international law that were to impose international control on camps. The Geneva Convention of 27 July 1929, for one, extended and specified regulations for the treatment of POWs. However, it was only the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 (in particular the fourth one) that adopted comprehensive provisions for the treatment of civilians in wars, including their confinement in camps. In the face of the Nazi atrocities and the Holocaust, international law departed from the almost exclusive protection of combatants, making the aftermath of the Second World War somewhat different to the situation in the 1920s and 1930s.[23]

The main focus of the articles in the double special issue is on the impact of the internment of civilian 'enemy aliens' during the world wars on the societies which practiced this form of captivity. To this end, we draw on interdisciplinary contributions connecting public history, new international history, intellectual history, and medical history. Additionally, literary studies, archaeology, the history of science and knowledge, management, and international law have provided important insights.

Since the late nineteenth century, camps have been spaces co-created under radically unequal conditions, by the inmates, guards, commanders and even inspectors as well as interaction within and between these groups. Camp inmates have occupied, defined, interpreted, and constructed spaces, thereby superseding, but not obliterating the institutional limitations and the borders, both within camps and between them and the outside world. They have thereby transformed the perceived space (*espace perçu* according to Henri Lefebvre) into a lived space created by their actions and interchange and partially shaped by their idiosyncratic intentions (*espace vécu*).[24]

Taking these conceptual deliberations as a starting point, recent archaeological, anthropological, and historical studies have specified the relationship between the perceived space and the lived space by tracing and explaining the usages and appropriations of camp spaces by diverse actors. Archaeological remains as well as written, visual and oral sources have been investigated. Apart from the diverse activities of camp self-administration, studies of 'doing space' also address parades and inspections as well as practices of control and resistance through gazing.[25]

New perspectives on the Germans in global internment studies: spatial and geopolitical considerations

Changes in internment studies of the last 30 years thus include new approaches and expanded geographies. Africa, Asia, Europe, and America are all part of this newly constructed and reflexive *histoire croisée* but equally it is acknowledged that global entanglements are often best understood through local sites and their material culture. There are, then, many textures to the global, from spatial to temporal, from the idea of internment as a 'total' experience to its analysis as part of different contact zones and exchanges. In this double special issue, the relationship between German and global history appears in an unfamiliar light. It is a kind of 'inverted' twentieth-century history, with 'the Germans' appearing mostly as subjects of internment by the Entente powers rather than as 'managers' of internment camps themselves.

In the opening research article of Part I of the special issue, Stefan Manz and Paul Long reflect on the creation of a Virtual Reality Experience in South Africa – the first such endeavour using new media to explore internment beyond the Holocaust. They also pose the question of what it means to frame the history of South Africa in the First World War as part of the broader global narrative on the treatment of enemy civilians. Here, internment becomes a story of Europeans interning other Europeans in the context of a postcolonial society still living with the legacies of racial segregation.

In the next article, Marina Perez de Arcos and Mahon Murphy investigate to what extent internment in imperial frontier zones, and forms of mobility connected to this, constitute examples of practices in which experiences from multiple empires were shared. Here, the history of internment opens up a framework to compare the relationship between political neutrality and empire in locations such as German Cameroon and neutral Spain. Broadening the sources and linking it to new international history, their article also contextualises the status of women and families within the internment management regimes of Spain in the First World War.

In Mathis Gronau's work, we see Germans as internees in British camps through the lens of literary works and especially poetry. Here, the production of 'experience' as a distinct category might be usefully captured with reference to a longer German tradition of thinking about the legacies of Romanticism as a formalised type of 'experience' needed for the production of the poetic subject.[26] Both British and German traditions of

Romanticism emphasise solitude and introspection – but here both are, in a sense, distorted through the lens of internment and enforced captivity. Hannes Bock is the only contributor to deal with camps run by Germans in Germany for British internees. He turns to the category of 'normality' in the experience of civilian internees at the Ruhleben camp near Berlin from 1914 to 1918. Finally, Anne Buckley and Nigel Holden conclude Part I of the special issue with a discussion of the ways in which captivity during the First World War generated unique conditions for knowledge transmission in areas such as business studies.

Overall, then, Part I of the special issue deals with camps as spaces of experience, taking account of the multiple activities that the inmates pursued in particular locations in order to cope with what was often prolonged periods of internment. Experiences of life in camps differed between territories and political systems. Age, social status, ethnicity and gender were also important. As liminal spaces, these sites were both separate from and connected to their environment. They neither fully belonged to the military nor to the civilian spheres.[27]

Despite their spatial segregation and rigorous camp regimes, moreover, internees were by no means exclusively helpless victims of repressive state policies. In fact, many of them proved creative actors who established self-administration in camps. They set up committees and organised a wide scope of activities such as sports, theatre, musical performances, gardening and handicrafts. Educational facilities like courses and even universities provided much-desired relief and distraction, as well as discipline and (self-) control.[28]

Camps in the history of knowledge

Part II of the special issue explores camps as sites of knowledge production. To what extent did they offer new frameworks for constructing specific forms of knowledge, such as in relation to administrative practices? Perhaps camps belong to the range of wartime situations which can fluctuate between being a 'laboratory' of knowledge production and a state of exception, as Friedrich Cain has described it elsewhere for the case of Poland under German occupation.[29] Internment thwarted careers and development by creating conditions unnatural for science and learning, but it also enabled connections and became a social context in which certain strands of thought emerged.[30]

As institutional responses to immigration were absorbed into the restrictive measures that were imposed during the two world wars, the question of who counts as an undesirable or foreign presence entered public consciousness in a number of countries, both belligerent and neutral. In this process, camps became zones of both contact and isolation. Years after they had been closed, a specialised body of knowledge describing, and in some cases, 'normalising' incarceration emerged, alongside literature that discussed internment in camps with different purposes separately. We argue that it is important to recognise that camps can not only be compared, but that the administration and experience of camps sometimes connected people and disciplinary forms of knowledge, such as legal, business, and medical expertise. Processes related to the regulation of internment in legal and bureaucratic terms were linked to the expansion of state power and forms of social engineering in the aftermath of both wars.

In line with these considerations, the contributions to Part II of the special issue cover knowledge from a broad perspective, from the legal framing of internment itself to the transmission of expertise between the two wars, and to archaeological and medical knowledge produced both in and about camps. Dina Gusejnova and Kim Wünschmann open the issue with a discussion of 'tribunals' as the central but 'paralegal' institution through which internment was legitimised in the legal systems of Britain and the US during the First and then the Second World War. The focus here is on the way communities of experts emerged ad hoc both within and beyond the institution of internment. Another dimension is the transmission of legal norms from peacetime immigration controls to wartime restrictions.

Yang Chan shifts the perspective to Asia during the Second World War, investigating the contexts of civilian internment in China under Japanese occupation. Her article sheds light on a complex area of interaction between legal regimes in the Asia Pacific region, examining the importance of extra-European and non-western experiences for international law (including the Geneva Conventions of 1949).

Neville Wylie then explores another link between the First and Second World Wars, focusing on the role of next-of-kin networks in supporting POWs. While the influential position of prisoners' relatives was central to the 1929 POW Convention, their role diminished during the Second World War, leading the 1949 convention to emphasise neutral inspections to ensure humanitarian obligations were met. Harold Mytum's contribution examines how archaeological theory has developed in prewar and wartime Britain. Whereas in this period, internment is merely a background

context for knowledge transfer, as he argues, in recent years, internment camps have themselves become objects of study and even of re-enactment. His exploration of new trends in internment archaeology in turn connects back to the focus on 'media' representations and re-enactments of internment experiences in Part I of the special issue. The idea of 're-enactment'–a term taken from the work of R. G. Collingwood, who had used it to describe the generic intellectual process of the historian – is linked in Manz and Long's contribution to Part I of this special issue to the process of creating public history and representing internment in South Africa through new media such as Virtual Reality.[31] In the case of archaeology, 're-enactment' has the potential to connect scholars as well as visitors to the spatial as well as social contexts of their object of study.

Finally, Matthew Stibbe explains how the concept of 'barbed wire disease' – itself a product of internment experience and the medical 'gaze' during the First World War – resonates in the world after the recent experience of the Covid-19 pandemic and the emergence of contested understandings and misunderstandings of post-viral conditions such as Long Covid. Equally important here are contemporary debates about the impacts of immigration detention, not least in the wake of Donald Trump's statements in early 2025 about the planned use of the US military detention centre at Guantánamo Bay for the purpose of housing up to 30,000 'criminal illegal aliens'.[32] In his afterword, Tony Kushner, who has done much to shape the field since the 1980s and early 1990s, situates our endeavour within the long-term perspective of research on wartime internment.

In bringing this special issue to the journal *Immigrants & Minorities*, we would like to conclude by reflecting on its relevance to the journal's core themes. Forced displacement and internment turned certain national or imperial minorities, such as Jews in Europe, Europeans in the colonies and dominions, Allied civilians in Japan, and Africans subject to different imperial regimes, into 'globally circulating' minorities. But internment also placed nationalities such as the Germans, whose understanding of themselves had been linked to a long history of state-building in Europe, into the position of a globally interned diasporic group. While the relationship between minorities and majorities has recently been strongly tied to debates about multiculturalism and its prospects from the 1980s to the twenty-first century, we have shown that such debates had already crystallised prominently in the context of internment during both world wars.[33]

Moreover, the internment practices directed at enemy aliens by the Central Powers and the Allies meant that the relationship between majorities and minorities could shift depending on the location of the populations concerned. Thus, due to the configuration of wartime alliances, national groups that had traditionally defined themselves as state-forming ('staatsbildende') communities in their home countries, such as the Germans, could also be viewed as minorities within the British Empire. The multi-stage transfer of populations in wartime, including internal displacement within a nation-state, was a significant factor which shaped the subjectivity of those minorities who had been subjected to deportation. These are some of the key insights suggested by the authors gathered here. They hope to have inspired – or at least provoked – readers to pursue further research, including in respect to the place of gender as a category defining experience and segregation in the camps.[34]

We are grateful to all the authors for their inspiring contributions. As editor-in-chief of *Immigrants & Minorities*, Matthew Stibbe has strongly supported the publication of this double issue and provided invaluable intellectual and practical guidance at every step. Saima Nasar (University of Bristol) also provided indispensable assistance. The project originated from our work in the Department of International History at LSE and was funded through the Research Infrastructure and Investment Fund (RIIF) and the GHIL. Additional support was obtained from a United States National Library of Medicine Michael E. DeBakey Fellowship. Our thanks go to our colleagues at all institutions for their financial and organisational support throughout this project, with special appreciation to Matthew Betts, Edlira Gjonca, Demetra Frini, Piers Ludlow, Sallyann Oates, and Max Smith (LSE), as well as to Christina von Hodenberg and Kim König (GHIL).

Notes

1. Manz and Panayi, *Enemies in the Empire*; Bauerkämper, *Sicherheit und Humanität*; Stibbe, *Civilian Internment*; and Jones, *Violence Against Prisoners of War*.
2. Cf. Forth and Kreienbaum, "A Shared Malady"; and Becker et al., *Konzentrationslager als Gesellschaften*.
3. Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*; Topalović, *For Our Prisoners*; and Abe and Cheung, *The Literature of Japanese Incarceration*.
4. The other contributors to the exhibition were Robbie Aitken, Susan Barton, Michelle Kießling, and Panikos Panayi. See also Gusejnova, "Behind the Wire."
5. Cesarani and Kushner, *The Internment of Aliens*.

6. Some recent works are opening up this topic through vivid accounts of paradigmatic cases. These include Hájková, *The Last Ghetto*, which has an analysis of the cultural life of the ghetto; and Parkin, *The Island of Extraordinary Captives*, which recounts a cultural history of the internees on the Isle of Man. See also Gusejnova, "Gegen deutsches K.Z. Paradies."
7. Panayi and Kießling, Presentations at *Behind the Wire: Internment during the First World War*. The Global German Experience. Accessed January 29, 2025. https://blogs.shu.ac.uk/c3riimpact/exhibition-launch-german-historical-institute-2023/.
8. Gestrich, "Konzentrationslager." For a comprehensive history of camps, cf. Pitzer, *One Long Night*; Katz et al., *Camps Revisited*; and Bochmann and Fischer von Weikersthal, *Institution Lager*. See also Herbertet al., *Die nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslager*, who locate a shift from a site-specific memorial culture to academic research in this area in the 1980s.
9. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*; and Anderson, *History of Convicts and Penal Colonies*.
10. Manz and Panayi, *Enemies in the Empire*.
11. Anderl et al., *Internment Refugee Camps*; Bürgschwentner et al., *Other Fronts, Other Wars?*; Kowner and Rachamimov, *Out of Line, Out of Place*; and Gatrell and Zhvanko, *Europe on the Move*.
12. For an overview, see Stibbe and Wünschmann, "Internment Practices during the First and Second World Wars," 29, 30.
13. Bauman, "A Century of Camps?"; and Agamben, *Homo sacer*.
14. Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism*.
15. Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism*.
16. On the latter, see Steinacher, *Humanitarians at War*.
17. Stibbe and Keil, "State of Emergency Regimes"; Gestrich, "Konzentrationslager," 43, 44; Jahr and Thiel, "'Das Lager'," 79; Jahr and Thiel, "Prolegomena," 7, 8; and Stibbe, "Disentangling the Local, the National, and the International," 42, 43
18. Gestrich, "Konzentrationslager," 49–53; Jahr and Thiel, "'Das Lager'," 79, 81, 85, 88; and Jahr, "Diese Concentrationen sollten," 24, 32, 33. For further details, see the contributions to Anderl et al., *Internment Refugee Camps*; Greiner and Kramer, *Welt der Lager*; and Jahr and Thiel, *Lager vor Auschwitz*.
19. Jones, *Violence Against Prisoners of War*. Cited from Jones, "Kriegsgefangenenlager," 66, 67, 74, 75.
20. Jones, *Violence Against Prisoners of War*, 269; and Stibbe, *Civilian Internment*, 1.
21. Cohen-Portheim, *Time Stood Still*; Stibbe and Wünschmann, "Internment Practices during the First and Second World Wars"; Horne, "Wartime Imprisonment in the Twentieth Century"; and Caglioti, *War and Citizenship*, 45.
22. Piller and Wylie, *Humanitarianism and the Great War*, 12, 14, 15.
23. Stibbe and Wünschmann, "Internment Practices during the First and Second World Wars," 30. For further details, see Cabanes, *The Great War and the Origins of Humanitarianism*; Morsink, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, esp. 36–91; and Duranto, "The Legacy of 1789 and the Birth of International Human Rights Law."
24. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*.

25. Bernbeck, "Komparatistische Analyse von Lagern," 65, 70–4, 77, 80, 81; Bochmann, "Ambivalenz der Ausnahme und Normalität," 48–53, 56–9; and Kestler, *Gefangen in Kanada*, 203–17.
26. Dilthey, "Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung."
27. Mond, "Alexandra Palace."
28. Jahr, "Diese Concentrationen sollten"; and Jahr and Thiel, *Lager vor Auschwitz*; Rachamimov, "Camp Domesticity"; and Kowner and Rachamimov, *Out of Time, Out of Place*.
29. Cain, *Wissen im Untergrund*, 57–196.
30. Crawford et al., *Ark of Civilization*.
31. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, 282–2.
32. Phillips, "America's Gulag."
33. de Waal and Duyvendak, "The majority oppressed?"; and Sandelind, "Linking Minority Rights and Majority Attitudes."
34. As a starting point, see Stibbe, "Gendered Experiences."

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