



Jeudi 4 juillet 2019 - Première session (9h - 11h)

Atelier 24
Salle : 209

Space in Politics/the Politics of the Space in the Middle East

The “use” of the space in politics is historically documented and experimented. For the case of the Middle East, it appears evident, looking for example at the period of the European colonial penetration, that the political use of spaces/places, has played a crucial role : in the redefinition of borders and the consequent delimitation of territories on which to exercise sovereignty; but also on those, apparently insignificant, interstitial spaces where the imposition of regulatory plans or a colonial toponymy of places have completely altered space perception and fruition (Bourdieu 1977; Ferguson 1988).

The renewed attention to the spatial dimension of politics, the idea that politics is not just something that has a reflection on individuals but also on the territories on which they live, obviously has to do with the transformation of the notion of State on the one hand and with that of sovereignty on the other hand (Cohen-Kliot 1992). Mechanisms of political control over spaces through processes of bordering and ordering, for example, have increasingly offered the impression of stability and conservation in an ever more fluctuating international system. Starting from these considerations, the panel intends to propose a reflection on the role of space in politics and on the politics of the space/s in the MENA region. The panel encourages papers that :

- tackle the theoretical issues underlying the debate on the use and the role of space in politics and of the space's politics from various disciplinary angles;
- deal with the political use of the space in MENA countries with particular attention to those aspects that interweave the internal / external dimensions.
- reflect on the domestic use of spaces and places, how it has changed in the contemporary era and how and to what extent it has been used and has had an impact on mobilization movements, on the transformation of the communities' spatiality, on the management of the state sovereignty, etc.

Responsables : Daniel Meier (Sciences Po Grenoble, PACTE), Rosita Di Peri (Université de Turin)

Liste des intervenants : Chiara Loschi, Nicolas Dot-Pouillard, Francesco Mazzucotelli, Daniel Meier Clément Steuer, Federica Zardo

Chiara Loschi (Centre for European Integration Research, IPW, University of Vienna)

Italy and Libya in bordering activities: Flexing values to politicized spaces

The paper will investigate the relationship between Italy and Libya and the evolution of borders and bordering activities especially from the 2000s. Given its location at the centre of the North African coast, Libya has been used as a gateway by migrants from both West and East Africa seeking to reach Europe by boat. This created an intense activity of bordering on sea and lands borders beyond Libyan territory. EU was eager to include Libya into the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP), especially for economic development and migration management. Through the historical relations between Italy and Libya, EU increasingly relied upon Italian security institutions and bilateral agreements to strengthen its relations with the country. Despite Libya's non-recognition of UNHCR and the 1951 Convention, EU and Italy engaged with the country an externalisation of migration and asylum policy – with relevant implication for the conception of space

and state sovereignty from both Italian and Libyan side. International and Italian support ended to privilege capacity building, training, benefitting Libyan authorities, both at sea and on land, and items supply especially at sea for Libyan coastguards. After 2011, state-building efforts were left behind, especially after the 2014 political and security crises.

Before the regime's downfall, the internal conception of space and respect for Libyan state sovereignty went hand in hand with outsourcing to Libya of containment and push-back of migrants and asylum seekers, human rights violation and risks for non-Libyan nationals. Since the inception of the so-called "migration crisis" in 2015, different governments in Italy dealt with the flows of migrants, with increasing co-presence of Italian and Libyan coast guards in the Mediterranean and mounting restrictions for NGOs' actions of rescuing. Under the frame of border management, preventing deaths at sea and increasing securitization of migrants flows thanks to CSDP missions, the external conception of border space left much room for authoritarian and non-democratic forms of rule on border activities, with poor engagement for humanitarian and democratic values and commitment to international legal standards. This created continuity governance of migration in Libya, albeit less organised, with former regime. The examination is based on documentary analysis and interviews with Italian and Libyan authorities.

Nicolas Dot-Pouillard (IFPO)

The political uses of public spaces by the Lebanese left: national vision, or transnational horizon of aspirations ?

Public spaces, political spaces: in Lebanon, both merge with the calendar of communitarian mobilizations. Time and spaces are in concordance, according to a specific narrative of "remembrance" for each confessional political organization (Hezbollah, Futur Current, Lebanese Forces): certain public spaces (places, cemeteries, streets, public monuments or commemorative plaques) are "spatial fixes" for rank-and-file members and partisans that allow them to commemorate their founding events, whether tragic or heroic. Thus, the calendar of Lebanese mobilizations, inscribed in specific spaces, has two interrelated dimensions: communitarian and religious. The Lebanese public space is fundamentally divided: it is less Lebanese – as referred to a common national vision for each Lebanese citizen - than subject to partisan logics upon which confessional dynamics are grafted. It products a relative privatization of the public space.

In this religious and confessional framework, the Lebanese left, weakened since the beginning of the nineties, is trying to reinvest public spaces according to its own calendar of mobilizations, memories and remembrance – showing that the concordance of public space and the calendar of commemorations is the subject of a symbolic dispute. Through the contemporary example of the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP), we will question the political uses of remembrance places and sites in Lebanon by the Lebanese left: leftist partisans according to a calendar of mobilizations that is not religious or confessional invest these remembrance sites. Nevertheless, there is a paradox: a non-confessional calendar of mobilizations doesn't mean automatically that the Lebanese left directly refers to a national – or nationalist- use of public spaces. On the contrary, its own remembrance sites and calendar of mobilization refer to a transnational horizon of political aspirations, linked to a Panarab and third-worldist imaginary and, more specifically, to the Palestinian question.

Francesco Mazzucotelli (Université de Pavie)

Heterotopias in Lebanon: the Rashid Karamah International Fair in Tripoli

The oval-shaped grounds of the Rashid Karamah International Fair stand on the western edge of the urban sprawl of Tripoli, the second-largest city of Lebanon and the capital of its northern region. Originally planned by Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer in the mid 1960s, the area was intended to promote trading activities and attract investors in the city and the northern periphery of the country. The development of the ground was halted by the civil war, and the entire area was partly used for military purposes and cordoned off. While the construction of a new nearby stadium and the completion of real estate projects signalled a renewed interest in the early 2000s, it is only in the last few years that the fair grounds have been partially and shyly opened again to the public. Based on fieldwork visits and interviews with local activists and architects, this presentation offers a history of the Tripoli fair read against the grain of the urban history of the city and its tangled local politics. In this perspective, the exhibition ground appears not only as an infrastructure that has obvious economic expectations, but also as a

1. Bashar Saade, *Hiszbollah and the Politics of Remembrance*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2016.

2. David Harvey, *Géographies de la domination*, Les Prairies ordinaires, Paris, 2008.

place that is somewhat suspended in time and acts as a screen where different images and visions of the city are projected.

Daniel Meier (Sciences Po Grenoble, PACTE)

In-between border spaces in the Levant: emerging conceptualization

In recent years, the Middle East knew several attempts of States shaping buffer zones or safe zones in border regions, as it appeared rather clearly in Syria's borderlands in the aftermath of the civil war. The main patterns of our reflections on in-between borders refer to three interrelated aspects: space (territorial, symbolic), power (states or non-state actors) and identity (definition of the self/other). More specifically, we would like to investigate these axes of research through the notions of sovereignty and belonging in order to assess how these concepts may highlight in-betweenness through its political dimension. These in-between border spaces are not neutral zones but on the contrary are serving political purposes and look more and more like black holes without any security guarantees for refugees or inhabitants. Obviously, state or non-state actors define their content, norms, political order and goals, but because of the blurred or undefined sovereignty rules over such in-between spaces, these powers do not seem accountable for what is taking place there. Various empirical examples taken from the Levant area will be highlighted thanks to notions like margins, liminality, borderlands, buffer zones, no man's land or frontiers, thus providing tools for analyzing interstitial spaces in border regions.

Clément Steuer (LADYSS, ERC TARICA)

Le redéploiement des partis politiques dans les espaces nationaux suite aux printemps arabes

L'ouverture de la structure des opportunités politiques consécutive aux soulèvements arabes (pour un temps plus ou moins long selon les pays) a donné aux partis d'opposition une occasion de se redéployer dans les espaces nationaux en développant leur organisation territoriale en dehors des capitales. En effet, jusqu'alors seuls les partis au pouvoir et les organisations islamistes pouvaient se targuer d'un maillage territorial conséquent, les autres partis cantonnant l'essentiel de leur activité dans les capitales. Le contexte d'ouverture politique a d'abord permis de dresser une carte de l'influence des organisations de l'islam politique – dont l'activité demeurait auparavant semi-clandestine – tout en montrant que les bases sociales des régimes arabes étaient inégalement réparties selon les territoires. Les anciens partis hégémoniques se sont dans bien des cas disloqués – leurs anciens cadres parvenant parfois à se constituer des bastions territoriaux – tandis que les partis libéraux, socialistes et nationalistes partaient à la conquête de nouveaux terrains d'élection. À travers plusieurs exemples, nous verrons quelles stratégies ont présidé à ces redéploiements, sur la base des objectifs et des moyens des différentes organisations partisans considérées.

Federica Zardo (Université de Vienne)

Shrinking and expanding the Mediterranean space : EU funded instruments for migration as spatial practices

Strengthened cooperation in the realm of migration is by far one of the main developments in EU-MENA relations after 2011. The uprisings unfolding in the Middle Eastern and North African region have prompted the EU partly revise its approach to migration management and mobilize new resources to achieve its goals. Projects and programmes for migration management have not only impressively increased in number and size, but also become more complex, involving more actors and targeting different territories and goals. The new priorities put forward in the recent proposal for the EU budget post-2020 seems to confirm this pattern and support those views arguing that the EU's migration policy is key to understanding the "spatialities of Europeanization" since it is shaping and re-shaping, more than other policies, the so called Neighbourhood space (Collyer 2016; Carrera, den Hertog, and Parkin 2012). This paper advances this line of research and investigates how the instruments of the EU's external migration policy are contributing to re-designing the MENA space. To do so, it aims at identifying the agglomeration and dispersion forces that determine these patterns.