

Session 40. Urban mobile borders / *Ville et frontières mobiles*

Nadia ACHEHBOUN, Université de Strasbourg Laboratoire Cultures et Sociétés en Europe (CNRS / UdS) & Technische Universität Berlin, MISHA: Frontières mobiles: les villes du pèlerinage.

The borders are often thought in term of barriers. It is a wall on which we come to crash or a point which demands the payment of taxes. I suggest investigating the notion of border towards the sociology of religions, by reflecting it not in terms of lines and cracks, but by using the concept of spheres and curvatures. A shape which I take from Peter Sloterdijk's universe, in which the sphere is a plastic term. (Sloterdijk,1998; 2002)

I take as an example, the pilgrimage by choosing two cities: Jerusalem and Mecca. Both cities present a comparable political context : a political will of homogenisation of the population and an accelerated globalization.

This demonstration bases on one hand on a ground made in Jerusalem in 2010 within the framework of my researches. On the other hand for Mecca I am inspired by Omar Saghi's book (Paris - Mecca, Saghi, on 2010) and narratives of pilgrimage.

In Jerusalem and in Mecca borders stresses the complexity of the concept of the border. A subject crossing the interdisciplinary research fields of sociology, geopolitics and philosophy. The purpose of the communication is to investigate a methodology stemming from these various disciplines.

Marc BERTIER & Jean-Marc STÉBÉ, Nancy Université – Université Nancy 2: Les frontières cognitives de l'intra-urbain.

Research published by the Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques (INSEE) have allowed, through statistical figures given for micro-territories (IRIS)¹, to implement the social photograph of an urban space. These maps, representing an urban networking, show zones in which economical and social difficulties are concentrated. The borders of these fragmented zones often but not systematically, corresponds to the borders of the neighbourhood of high-rise housing estates.

The analysis made by Louis Wirth (2006)² on the jewish ghetto in Chicago points out the presence of an intangible border between the ghetto and the remainder of the urban territory. In the same way, we look for traces of symbolic borders in the city in order to define their presence- we will avoid the question of whether there are ghettos in France as it is not the subject of the communication. We can define these urban borders by considering a city as a space of communication through all items displayed in it such as building, street, bridge, urban furniture... In addition we sharpen further our analysis by focusing on a specific architectural type, the high-rise housing estate, also limiting our research to the ones built around the city of Nancy.

¹ This is the smallest unit of territory division, representing approximately 2000 people.

² Wirth L., *Le ghetto*, Grenoble, PUG, 2006.

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Like Christian Devillers (1974)³, who considers the architectural type as a meaningful structure, we can say that the high-rise housing estate allows the reading of the city ; We will explore the cognitive processes which give a meaning to architecture. We will show which social representation are linked to the high-rise housing estate, allowing us to read the hypothetical symbolic borders.

Anna DEWAELE, EHESS/CEIAS: De la ville ouverte à la ville des murs? Mutations et mobilités des frontières urbaines à Chandigarh.

Chandigarh is an Indian new town designed by Le Corbusier. The concept of urban borders in transition seems quite relevant in Chandigarh because of its history, its organization and its appropriations. Within the framework of this conference, it is especially interesting to study the contemporary transformations of the urban borders and their perceptions inside this emblematic town of the 20th century.

First, we can notice that the border between India and Pakistan has an impact on Chandigarh. This is an closed border because of the complex and turbulent relations between the two countries since the Partition. The creation of this new border is the reason of the foundation of Chandigarh, the choice of its creation's site but it also explains the strong symbols linked to this new town. Chandigarh is supposed to represent independent India, its modernity and its power against Pakistan. The Indian government decided to put Le Corbusier in charge of the design of Chandigarh because of its modern theories in architecture and urban design. Due to this context, there is a concrete but also an intangible border between the two country.

Beyond this context of foundation, we can notice that the concept of border in transition could be questioned at different scales. Nowadays Chandigarh seems to be separated from its satellite-towns and even from its country. Le Corbusier designed a green border around the city. It was an area of non-construction within a 16 km radius. This separation was reinforced in 1966 when Chandigarh became an Union Territory and the State capital of Punjab and Haryana. The urban border became a State border. In reaction to this change, the States of Punjab and Haryana decided to create each a satellite-town inspired by the urban morphology of Chandigarh. Competitiveness started between the three town and the urban border became stronger. This situation inspired an island imagination. We can observe various no man's lands between Chandigarh and its satellite-towns. The borders of the city are clearly identified and people declare that Chandigarh is not really in India. A new strong border is created between the town and the national territory.

Inside the city of Chandigarh, we can notice that the urban borders move in space and time. Originally the open space was one of the main concept of the new town. Equally Le Corbusier designed the master plan on the principle of functions' segregation. Therefore some urban borders were present since the foundation of Chandigarh. But we can notice nowadays that the number of urban borders seems to increase at the different scales of the town. We can observe the construction of walls around the sectors, fences around the open spaces and extension of private houses to the detriment of public spaces. There is a mobility and a marking of those urban borders. Those changes are presented as heritage of the original principles of modernity and functionalism. Originally Chandigarh was supposed to "be open to give ; open to receive" like the

³ Devillers C., « Typologie de l'habitat et morphologie urbaine », *Architecture d'Aujourd'hui*, n° 174, 1974, p. 18-23.

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main symbol of Chandigarh, the Open Hand. According to some inhabitants, Chandigarh is nowadays a "city of walls". Those new limits are reinforced by the relations between the centre and the periphery and also by the socio-spatial segregation. In the same time, some old urban borders disappear like the green border that is nowadays turned into an information and technology park. The spaces of transition in Chandigarh become, bit by bit, real urban borders.

Beyond the list of those many urban borders in transition at different scales, this paper deals with their social and identity issues. The creation and the transformation of urban borders is a way of appropriation of Chandigarh. Within the framework of urban borders in transition, we can also deal with the evolution of this new town and its symbols.

Brigitte PIQUARD, Oxford Brookes University/ Upec Paris: Building Sumud- Borders and Conflict transformation in the old City of Hebron.

Hebron is an emblematic example of the effects of occupation upon communities and of the creation of internal urban borders. The 1994 massacre at the Ibrahimi Mosque led to the creation of the 1997 Protocol of Hebron, which divided the city into two parts. The largest part of the city, H1, is under Palestinian Authority control, while H2, which includes the Old City, was placed under Israeli Military control. The Old City is the heart of the traditional Hebronite culture. Hebron is one of the oldest cities in the world, dating back 5500 years ago.

More than 80,000 Palestinians live in the Old City, alongside a population of 400 Israeli settlers, who are protected by approximately 1500 soldiers. Within the Old City, there are 'restricted areas.' These are as a result of the Jewish settlements and the Second Intifada in 2000, which led to the gradual closure of Al Shuhada Street, transforming this lively economic centre into a 'ghost town.' These areas now have a higher presence of military control.

Considering this specific context and the need for comprehensive data regarding the impacts of the occupation in the Old City, a pilot project was conducted on two areas of the Old City: upper Al Shuhada Street and Haret Al Salayme. These areas are considered representative and significant because of their proximity to Israeli settlements and because they sit at either end of the belt of settlements stretching along Al Shuhada Street. These two areas experience the occupation in different ways. For example, Al Shuhada Street sits immediately facing two settlements, while Haret Al Salayme is close by but not immediately next to a settlement. As a result, the residents of the former are not permitted to rehabilitate their homes and transporting supplies into a restricted area blocked by checkpoints is difficult. The latter has received significant assistance from the Hebron Rehabilitation Committee in an attempt to restore the neighbourhood.

The paper will focused on results and prospects of this pilot project around four major themes; home and place attachment, hardship, symbolic violence and coping mechanisms, as they relate to the physical and social realities of occupation.

Home and place attachment:

The notion of ownership and the bond to the house and land were particularly pertinent. Despite the occupation, staying in the Old City, in order to maintain a Palestinian presence, is a form of resistance. The sense of belonging to the community is linked to the land, the built environment, kinship and ancestry.

Place attachment seems as important as home attachment. Often the place identity is expressed through the belonging to the Old City or the surroundings of Ibrahimi Mosque, more than

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belonging to a specific physical house, particularly for those renting. The notion of holiness and Hebron being their ancestral land is particularly strong.

Hardships:

Hardships can be divided between direct and indirect victimisation. Among the direct victimisations, all forms of violence (physical, psychological, structural and symbolic) are palpable: daily harassment, verbal insults, stone throwing and dog attacks, as well as the shutting or burning of shops, the closure and inaccessibility of goods and social services (such as medical care).

Indirect victimization includes the restriction of freedom of movement, denying people the right to visit family and friends freely. It has also impacted upon the fulfillment of cultural traditions. Marriage is a key issue. Moving to the Old City is not attractive for future brides or grooms and the ceremony is often required to be held outside the Old City breaking the traditional norm of holding it at the bride's family home.

Above the factual occupation, there is a tendency for inhabitants of the Old City to create 'mental walls,' a form of self imposed occupation. Fears and unpredictability lead to self imposed restriction of movement and incapacity to imagine the future.

Symbolic violence:

As well as numerous acts of physical and psychological violence, significant acts of symbolic violence were observed. Symbolic violence can be described as a form of violence which target values, culture and social norms of a specific community. In the Old City, one can refer to Bogdanovic's concept of urbicide or Hanafi's concept of spaciocide. Destruction or harm to the built environment, cultural practices and the denial of mobility, are significant act of symbolic violence. Due to the settlements above, public spaces belonging to the Palestinian community have been spoilt by rubbish thrown on them, with no exception given to religious sites. Additionally, the difficulties of using rooftops or obtaining new items, whether furniture, building materials or otherwise, and the prohibition of repairing homes, are representative of the same form of violence. Many families have a complicated locking system, in order for them to feel safer.

Coping mechanisms and Sumud:

Despite the occupation and the continued suffering of the Palestinian people in the Old City, inhabitants in H2 have developed common coping mechanisms in order to face the current situation. Faith, relationships with neighbours, family ties and friendship were among the most prominent.

One of the major coping strategies of the people of the Old City is to avoid confrontation; by scheduling school timetables and planning spaces in a way that settlers and Palestinians do not interact with each other. In some cases this leads to the denial of occupation in order to consider life as normal as possible.

The use of social networking sites (including Facebook) and rooftops are also common coping mechanisms. The first enables the community to create a connection with the outside world and acts as an information tool. The second gives some individuals a sense of control and protection when looking out at the Old City from the rooftop. Additionally, it is a space of freedom and creativity, sometimes used as a rooftop garden.

Bernard REITEL, CEPS/INSTEAD: La « Ville du Mur » sans le « Mur »: la resémantisation de la frontière et le réaménagement de l'espace urbain à Berlin.

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The Wall is certainly the most extreme form a border can take, that which resembles the most to a complete closing between two societies (Raffestin, 2005). The Berlin Wall was not only a material object dividing “sustainably” the former capital of Germany in two, it also had a large influence at the emotional and symbolic level. The dismantling of the Wall in 1990 led to a large spatial discontinuity which divides the urban infrastructure of a reunified city. More than 20 years after the reunification (“Die Wende”), we try to understand the transformations on the space previously occupied by the Wall. What remains from this object when the actors who built it have disappeared? How have the traces left by its dismantling been managed? How have the public authorities sought to convert this space?

The challenge for public bodies was first to bring together the two Berlin on administrative, morphological and functional levels. Thus, the Wall and its traces still emerged as a discontinuity that had to be reduced. Then, a process of giving new meaning to the Wall through the implementation of different landscape plans began. The public bodies then sought to enhance some of the memory of the Wall while promoting the development of new urban functions, for instance, that of recreational activities. The way in which this space has been designed and developed not only reveals the differences of interests of each actor, but also and especially their representations.

The divergent interpretation of the history of Germany (especially the period of the division between two States) became a source of conflict. However, although dismantled and rejected by the people right after the Reunification, the Wall has become a fundamental component of the urban identity of Berlin in the beginning of the beginning of the 21st century.

Bénédicte TRATNJEK, Université Paris-Sorbonne: Frontières mobiles et fragmentations spatiales dans les villes en guerre: de la géographie des combats à la géographie de la peur.

Cette proposition de communication s’appuie sur des recherches empiriques et bibliographiques menées dans le cadre d’un doctorat en géographie sur les villes en guerre, dans une approche comparatiste (principalement Abidjan, Beyrouth, Mitrovica et Sarajevo). Au prisme de ces espaces urbains où chaque acteur en arme tente d’imposer dans la ville son discours et ses intentionnalités politiques, il est possible d’interroger le concept de frontières mobiles : en effet, les lignes de front et les lignes de fractures dans les villes en guerre ne doivent pas être entendues comme des « hasards » des batailles. Il existe, dans ces villes, une géographie des combats qui est mise en scène par les belligérants, afin d’asseoir leur contrôle territorial sur un quartier ou sur l’ensemble de la ville. Comprendre les intentionnalités des différents types de belligérants revient à mettre en exergue leurs stratégies territoriales dans la ville. Au prisme de la notion de « quartier-territoire » proposée par la géographe Elisabeth Dorier-Apprill, on se propose d’interroger les différents sens des frontières urbaines, et surtout leur utilisation par les acteurs en armes pour mettre en place une « géographie de la peur », s’appuyant sur des modifications coercitives du peuplement dans la ville. Qu’il s’agisse de rivières-frontières, de frontières mentales ou de frontières matérialisées sous la forme de barricades ou de murs, elles procèdent d’une fragmentation de la ville comme espace politique qui tend à s’ancrer dans l’immédiat après-guerre et menace le processus de pacification.

La question de la frontière dans la ville prend en compte trois types de division : les frontières matérialisées, les frontières vécues et les frontières revendiquées. Les premières sont visibles dans la ville, tandis que les deux autres types procèdent d’une conceptualisation mentale d’une division

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vécue ou voulue qui se traduit principalement dans les pratiques spatiales des groupes qui s'identifient comme « différents » par rapport aux « Autres », c'est-à-dire à ceux qui vivent dans « l'autre » territoire délimité par cette frontière intériorisée. Pour qu'il y ait différenciation, il faut qu'il y ait catégorisation. C'est pourquoi, les territoires vécus sont délimités dans l'imaginaire collectif en fonction d'une appartenance et d'une appropriation du territoire, qu'elles soient effectives ou fantasmées. Dans les faits, ces trois types de frontières s'entremêlent, s'alternent, voire se confrontent. L'intérêt de cette distinction est de révéler les pratiques spatiales des habitants à travers les contraintes matérielles qui leur sont imposées (telles que les murs, les barricades, les grillages, les check-points...) et les contraintes immatérielles qui leur sont inculquées (à travers les discours politiques, qu'ils reposent sur le sentiment identitaire ou l'appartenance sociale). Tous ces types de frontières urbaines sont donc le fruit d'un construit social qui traduit les rivalités entre les acteurs de la ville.

Les frontières vécues procèdent de représentations mentales : elles résultent d'une géographie de la peur qui aboutit à un enfermement communautaire et à une volonté de distanciation. Les communautés ainsi territorialisées peuvent être définies par leur identité culturelle (religieuse, ethnique, linguistique), sociale et/ou politique : il ne faut pas limiter l'analyse aux seuls critères culturels, encore moins à la seule ethnie ou religion. Les frontières vécues peuvent coïncider ou non avec des lignes de front issues du conflit et il conviendra d'interroger leur pérennité au regard de cette confrontation entre lignes de fracture vécues et lignes de combat. Bien qu'elles soient le fruit de représentations mentales, les frontières vécues tendent à se rendre visibles soit par leur matérialisation, soit par leur transformation en no man's land. Dans les deux cas, la violence de la guerre accélère l'homogénéisation des territoires perçus comme délimités par des frontières mentales. Leur visibilité et leur linéarité sont générées par les pratiques spatiales qui résultent des appropriations territoriales (réelles et/ou vécues) par les deux communautés ainsi séparées et des processus d'identification de ces groupes en rejet de « l'Autre ». Elles aboutissent à des différenciations spatiales qui produisent des discontinuités dans l'espace urbain, qui sont directement liées aux sentiments d'insécurisation.

Ces lignes de fracture perçues peuvent également se transformer en frontières revendiquées. Il s'agit alors pour des acteurs politiques de concrétiser la délimitation de leur territoire, ou du moins du territoire qu'ils revendiquent comme tel. L'analyse de la fragmentation politique de la ville en guerre doit pour autant ne pas faire abstraction des spécificités de chaque ville, mais également prendre en compte les stratégies territoriales différenciées des nombreux acteurs politiques à l'intérieur d'une même ville : tous ne militent pas pour une fragmentation de l'espace urbain en une multitude d'espaces politiques juxtaposés sans articulation entre eux. Par conséquent, la notion de frontières revendiquées relève de l'étude des intentionnalités des différents acteurs politiques et de la territorialisation de leurs objectifs entre intentions et contraintes. Il est donc primordial d'éclairer l'analyse en posant ces différents acteurs urbains, leurs discours, leurs intentionnalités, leurs actions, leurs interactions, leur place dans la société urbaine, leur rôle dans la communauté (à l'échelle de la ville ou du quartier, au niveau de la société urbaine ou de la communauté identitaire, sociale et/ou politique...), leurs moyens... Ces délimitations dans la ville sont le fruit d'un construit social et politique et traduisent de nouvelles territorialités, qui sont autant de défis dans les processus de reconstruction et de pacification.