Policy & Impact Conference
— Borders and Bordering
in Contemporary Europe

Docklands Campus
University of East London
4—6 University Way
E16 2RD London

CMRB
The Centre for Research on
Migration, Refugees and Belonging

EUBORDERSCAPES
This project has received funding
from the European Union’s
Seventh Framework Programme
for Research, Technological
Development and Demonstration
under grant agreement 240776

UEL
University of East London
**Monday 9th November**

17.30: Public Lecture, Saskia Sassen, Colombia University (US.G.17 University Square Campus, Stratford)

Keynote Lecture for the 'Scholarship and the Social Sciences in a Global Era' conference to celebrate the opening of the new UEL School of Social Sciences.

**Tuesday 10th November**

9.30-13.00: Internal Project Meeting (SD1.08/09)

11.30-13.00 Partners registration (SD1.08/09)

13.00-14.00: Lunch for partners (vouchers to campus outlets)

**EUBorderscapes Conference**

13.00-14.00: Conference Registration, West Building Foyer

14.00-15.30: Plenary 1 (WB.G.02) and Welcome from Vice Chancellor

15.30-16.00: Tea/Coffee

16.00-17.30: Plenary 2 (WB.G.02)

18.00 -19.00: Reception and Book Launch (bar area of Yi Ban restaurant)

19.00: Conference Dinner (Yi Ban Restaurant)

**Wednesday 11th November**

9.30-11.00: Plenary 3 (WB.G.02)

11.00-11.30: Tea/Coffee

11.30-13.00: Parallel Session 1 (WB.G.02, WB.2.01, WB.2.04, EB.1.01)

13.00-14.00: Lunch (purchase from campus outlets)

14.00-15.30: Parallel Session 2 (WB.G.02, WB.2.01, WB.2.04, EB.1.01)

15.30-16.00: Tea/Coffee

16.00-17.30: Parallel Session 3 (WB.G.02, WB.2.01, WB.2.04, EB.1.01)

17.30-19.15: Film Festival (WB.G.02)

19:15-20:00: Dinner (purchase from campus outlets)

20:00-22:00: Film festival (WB.G.02)

**Thursday 12th November**

9.30-11.00: Parallel Workshops (EB1.41, EB1.07, EB1.44, EB1.45)

11.00-11.30: Tea/Coffee

11.30-13.00: Final Plenary (Main Lecture Theatre, Library Building)

13.15-16.30: – Walks (meet 13.15 outside the Student Hub in East Building, bring Oyster card)
Conference Plenaries

**Tuesday 10th November**

**14.00-15:30 Plenary 1: Reporting Research Findings**

**Chair:** Dr Georgie Wemyss

**Welcome:** Professor John Joughin, Vice Chancellor of the University of East London: *The Importance of Border Policy to HE and UEL.*

Professor James Scott, Karelian Institute at the University of Eastern Finland.

Professor Nira Yuval-Davis, Centre for Gender Studies, University of Umea and Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB), UEL.

Ms Elena Nikiforova, Centre for Independent Social Research (CISR), St. Petersburg, Russia.

Dr Christophe Sohn, Department of Urban Development and Mobility at the Luxembourg Institute of Socio-Economic Research (LISER)

**16.00-17.30 Plenary 2: EU and UK Policy Makers and Activists discussing Borderings and Borderscapes in Europe**

**Chair:** Professor Nira Yuval-Davis

Mr Keith Vaz MP, Chair of Home Affairs Committee, UK Parliament

Mr Paolo Salieri, European Commission, DG Migration, Home Affairs and Citizenship, Innovation and Industry for Security

Ms Maria Giovanna Manieri, Platform for International Cooperation on Undocumented Migrants

Mr Don Flynn, Migrants’ Rights Network

**Wednesday 11th November**

**9.30-11.00 Plenary 3: Locations and Dislocations of Borders: Theoretical Discussion**

**Chair:** Dr Jussi Laine

Dr Chiara Brambilla, Centre for Research on Complexity (CERCO), University of Bergamo

Professor Henk van Houtum, Nijmegen Centre for Border Research, Radboud University Nijmegen

Dr Cathal McCall, Queen’s University, Belfast

Dr Kathryn Cassidy, Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB), UEL
Thursday 12th November

11.30-13.00 Plenary 4: Social and Political Impacts of Contemporary European bordering

Chair: Dr Kathryn Cassidy
Dr Georgie Wemyss, Centre for Research on Migration, Refugees and Belonging (CMRB), UEL
Ms Mirjam Karoly, Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
Ms Rita Chadha, Refugee and Migrant Forum of Essex and London (RAMFEL).
Ms Lucy Jones, Doctors of the World

Films

Wednesday 11th November

17.30-22.00 Film Festival (Room WB.G.02)
Chair: Orson Nava

17.30-19.15
Houdoud Al Bahr/The Mediterranean Frontiers Mazara-Mahdia (60 mins)
The Colour of the Sea: A Filmic Border Experience in Ceuta (30 mins)

19.15-20.00 Dinner (purchase from campus outlet)

20.00 -22.00
The Invisible Enemy Across the Wall: Israeli and Palestinian Children's Perspective of the "Other" (40 mins)

Everyday Borders (50 mins)

Audio Visual Presentation

Thursday 12th November

9.30-11.00 (Room EB.1.07)
Reflections from Lesvos
Walks

Thursday 12th November 13.15-16.30

For both walks meet at 13.15 Outside the Student Hub in the East Building. You will need an Oyster card with £5.00 credit in order to access public transport (because of the darkening evenings we don’t want to spend time charging oyster cards at the station).

Growing up on the 73 Bus – Urban and Ethnic Change along the Hackney / Islington Border (David Newman)

This walk will take the participants through the changing borderlands of Islington – Hackney, with a focus on the changing ethnic composition of the Jewish neighbourhoods of Stamford Hill and Stoke Newington (but starting in Newington Green and continuing through Clissold Park and up to Stamford Hill). The tour will discuss and describe the changing inner urban neighbourhoods of a 1960’s childhood and the gentrification which has taken place since that time, and also show how the Stamford Hill region has become the home to a growing and intensely orthodox Jewish community – the largest of its type in Europe – and how they create their own walled ghettos within the urban context on the one hand, but relate to, and negotiate with, the wider ethnic communities on the other. It will show the changing ethnic composition of the area by focusing on the fate of three old, cathedral type synagogues from the twentieth century – one (Poets Road in Newington Green) which has been destroyed and replaced with council flats, the other which has been taken over by ultra orthodox Hasidic groups (Egerton Road in Stamford Hill), and the third (Shacklewell Lane in Dalston) which has been transformed into a mosque.

Bordering the Docks (Georgie Wemyss)

We will walk with participants through the rapidly changing borderscapes of the old East India Docks, skirting the northern banks of the Thames opposite the Millennium Dome. The area was once the hub of the British Empire and now is part of the expanding edges of the Docklands developments. The focus is on how some colonial and border histories are obscured whilst others are memorialised as part of the regeneration and gentrification of the area. In particular the tour will discuss the relationship between the contested littoral histories of the maritime labour force recruited from South Asia and feelings of belonging experienced by contemporary South Asian communities. The East India Docks are located in a borough that is the heart of the British Bangladeshi community and yet many local people know very little about the 400 year history of South Asian lives lived in the East End.
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<tr>
<th>Room number</th>
<th>Panel number and Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WB. G.02</td>
<td>Panel 1: Post-Soviet borders. Shifting concepts and competing rhetorical strategies.</td>
<td>Ilkka Liikanen (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Miika Raudaskoski (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Olga Brednikova, Elena Nikiforova (Centre for Independent Social Research)</td>
<td>Jeremy Smith (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chair: Diana Mishkova</td>
<td>Competing conceptualizations of EU external relations. EU, NATO and member country perspectives</td>
<td>Shifting concepts of Finnish-Russian border in post-Cold War period</td>
<td>North-West Russia and its neighbourhood: the processes of post-Soviet reordering through media discourse</td>
<td>The decoupling of the USSR and the new border order</td>
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<td>Discussant: Henrik Stenius</td>
<td>WP 3: The Reconfiguration of Post Soviet Borders and Conceptual Change</td>
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<td>Panel 4: EU Borders and Geopolitics of Neighbourhood</td>
<td>Renen Yezersky, David Newman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev)</td>
<td>Vanya Ivanova (Centre for Advance Study, Sofia)</td>
<td>Ayşe Gunes Ayata, Yelda Karadag (Middle East Technical University)</td>
<td>Yana Petrova, Oleksiy Krysenko, Olga Filippova, (Karazin Kharkiv National University)</td>
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<td>Chair: Ayşe Gunes Ayata</td>
<td>From Borders to Regions: The Mediterranean as an Alternative Geopolitical sphere to the Middle East and Europe</td>
<td>Conceptualizing Borders: EU’s Role along Security, Legacy and Conflict in Armenia</td>
<td>Shifting Identities, Shifting Borders: Turkey and Azerbaijan</td>
<td>Political Language of Description of Ukraine-EU and Ukraine-Russia Border</td>
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<td>WP 6: Borders and Critical Geographies of Neighbourhood</td>
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<td>WB.2.04</td>
<td>Panel 7: Schengen/ Non Schengen Borders</td>
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<td>Chair</td>
<td>Giorgia Dona</td>
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<td>WP9</td>
<td>Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday</td>
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<td>Ruben Andersson (London School of Economics)</td>
<td>Migration and the Euro-African border in the Sahel</td>
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<td>Mireia Garcia-Gonzalez (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)</td>
<td>Queuing, Working and Commuting: Geopolitical Conflict and Everyday Life in the Spanish-Gibraltarian Border</td>
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<td>Ayşe Gunes Ayata and Zelal Ozdemir (Middle East technical University)</td>
<td>Rebordering through Schengen visa offices in Ankara, Turkey</td>
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<td>Giovanna Campani (University of Florence)</td>
<td>African Migrant Women: networks beyond borders</td>
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<tr>
<th>EB.1.01</th>
<th>Panel 10: Migrant Writing and Popular Culture</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary</td>
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<tr>
<td>WP10</td>
<td>Border Crossing and Cultural production</td>
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<td>Jopi Nyman, School of Humanities (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Belonging, Borderscapes, and Popular Music in Black British Writing</td>
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<td>Stephen F. Wolfe (University of Tromsø)</td>
<td>“And All that Black British Jazz”: Belonging and Making Spatial Boundaries</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>14.00-15.30</th>
<th>Parallel Sessions 2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WB.G.02</td>
<td>Panel 2: Competing concepts of re-Bordering of post-Socialist space</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chair</td>
<td>Henrik Stenius</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discussant: Hans-Joachim Bürkner</td>
<td>WP3 The Reconfiguration of Post Soviet Borders and Conceptual Change</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diana Mishkova (Centre for Advanced Study Sofia)</td>
<td>Impacts of EU policies/concepts on national discussions. &quot;New&quot; Europe, &quot;old&quot; Southeastern Europe and post-socialist national conceptualizations of region and borders.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zóltan Hájdu (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, RKK)</td>
<td>State border related discussions in the Hungarian Parliament and border questions in two different national newspapers</td>
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<td>Jussi Laine (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Europeanizing cross-border cooperation</td>
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<td>James W. Scott (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Idealist v Realist Visions of Eastern Neighbourhood – a Struggle for the EU’s Geopolitical Identity</td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Cathal McCall</td>
<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Gargi Bhattacharyya</td>
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<td>WP7 Cross-Border Co-operation as Conflict Amelioration</td>
<td>WP9 Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday</td>
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<td><strong>Yana Petrova, Oleksiy Krysenko, Olga Filippova</strong> (Karazin Kharkiv National University)</td>
<td><strong>Margaret Greenfields, Jim Davies, Petr Torak</strong> (Buckingham New University and Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association)</td>
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<td>European Regional Cooperation in Terms of Geopolitical Conflict: Ukrainian-Russian Border Zone</td>
<td>Perceptions, Prejudice and Policing: Experiences of the Criminal Justice 'Bordering Gaze' at the Interface.</td>
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<td>Rodrigo Bueno Lacy, Henk van Houtum (Nijmegen Centre for Border Research Radboud University)</td>
<td>Miika Tervonen (University of Helsinki)</td>
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<td>Maria Deiana (Queens University Belfast)</td>
<td>Viktory Varjú (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, RKK) and Shayna Plaut (Simon Fraser University)</td>
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<td>16.00-17.30</td>
<td>Parallel Sessions 3</td>
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<td><strong>WB.G.02</strong> Panel 3: Europeanisation versus Euroscepticism: EU borders as triggers or subjects of subnational political struggle?</td>
<td><strong>Parallel Sessions 3</strong></td>
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<td>Chair: Hans-Joachim Bürkner Discussant: Anthony Cooper</td>
<td>James W. Scott (Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland)</td>
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<td>WP 4 Europeanisation: European Integration and Conceptual change</td>
<td>Hungarian Border Politics as an Antipolitics of European Union</td>
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<td>Kristine Beurskens, Christoph Creutziger and Judith Miggelbrink (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig)</td>
<td>Ukraine and the big moral divide: Does symbolic supercharging hijack the debate on European borders?</td>
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<td>Securitization from below? Bordering of internal EU-borderlands</td>
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<td>If Euroscepticism did not exist borders would create it: post-communist bordering discourses and images</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>WB.2.01</strong> Panel 11: Art and Cultural Representation Across Borders</td>
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<td>Chair: Stephen Wolfe</td>
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<td>WP10 Border Crossing and Cultural production</td>
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<td>Ágnes Németh (University of Eastern Finland)</td>
<td>Sarah Mekdjian, Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary (Université Grenoble Alpes)</td>
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<td>Immigrant “others” and artistic expression: (de-)bordering via festivals and social activism in Finland</td>
<td>Crossing Maps: a counter-mapping project between art and sciences of contemporary border-crossings</td>
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<td><strong>WB.2.04</strong> Panel 8: Everyday Bordering in the Metropolitan City</td>
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<td>Chair: Corinne Squire</td>
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<td>WP9 Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday</td>
<td>Meena Patel (Southall Black Sisters)</td>
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<td>Sue Lukes (Housing Activist)</td>
<td>Women, Migration and Domestic Violence.</td>
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<td>Rooves and borders bringing bordering home</td>
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<td>Rayah Feldman (Hackney Migrants’ Centre)</td>
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<td>Healthcare charges and Migrant Women related</td>
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| 9.30   | EB.1.07 | Audio-visual presentation  
Reflections from Lesvos:  
The European island in the crossroads of two major humanitarian crises |
| 9.30   | EB.1.41 | Work Package Meeting WP3                     |
| 9.30   | EB1.44  | Work Package Meeting WP4                     |
| 9.30   | EB.1.45 | Work Package Meeting WP6                     |
| 9.30   | DL.3.18 | Work Package Meeting WP7                     |
Parallel Session Abstracts

PANEL 1: Post-Soviet borders. Shifting concepts and competing rhetorical strategies.
(Work Package 3: The Reconfiguration of Post Soviet Borders and Conceptual Change)

Ilkka Liikanen (University of Eastern Finland): Competing conceptualizations of EU external relations. EU, NATO and member country perspectives

My paper analyses spatial imaginaries of EU documents of CBC and external relations with special attention to changes in political vocabulary between the Wider Europe document (2003) and the present-day lineation of Eastern Partnership policies. As a comparative reference point I will screen key NATO and Finnish Ministry of Foreign Affairs policy documents concerning Russia, Ukraine and the post-Soviet space. The aim of the study is to identify conceptual shifts in the ways of defining Europe and European neighbourhood. How do the geopolitical identities and spatial imaginaries of EU documents change during time and differ from those used in NATO and member state policy documents? By examining the coexistence and clash of spatial imaginaries of EU CBC and security policies, the paper strives to critically comment on and to contribute to the broader discussion on the role of the EU as a new kind of international actor. The main focus of the study is on links between spatial imaginaries and changing sovereignty concepts in the process of the shaping of EU common foreign and security policies. The paper asks to what degree the sovereignty challenging spatial imaginaries of the Wider Europe document of the year 2003 are still valid part of new EU common foreign and security policies today.

Miika Raudaskoski (University of Eastern Finland): Shifting concepts of the Finnish-Russian border in post-Cold War period

Visions of deepening globalisation, new postmodern, or even post-national global order have labelled interpretations of post-Cold War political history in contemporary Europe. Lately they have been counterbalanced by discussions of re-securitization and walling of borders and the rise of nationalism. Evidently, borders have become crucial concepts, both as reflections and as objects of political transformation. This paper asks how fundamental this conceptual change has actually been during the last 25 years. What kind of conceptual shifts can be detected in Finnish political discussion from 1990 to 2014? This paper reflects on these questions in the context of debates concerning Finnish-Russian border. The paper illustrates the contested nature of the concept of border and aims to answer questions how, by whom and why the concept of ‘border’ has been used in Finnish political language. The paper focuses on few key discussion during the major waves of discussion that are characterized by politicization of the concept of border. Through conceptual analysis, this paper identifies how the Finnish-Russian border has been politicized and used in post-Cold War debate. The paper shows how powerful political tools concepts are, and how contested conceptualisations of border have been used for pushing forward political agendas, and/or challenging predominant discourses.
Olga Brednikova and Elena Nikiforova (Centre for Independent Social Research): North-West Russia and its neighbourhood: the processes of post-Soviet rebordering through media discourse

The aim of this paper is to reveal and analyze the processes of rebordering and reterritorialization in NW Russia and its immediate neighborhood for the last 20 years with the means of conceptual analysis. Our data is made of publications from several Russian newspapers of different orientation. In our analysis, we rely on ‘master’ concepts such as nation, sovereignty, ethnic identity, borders, security etc. relevant for all country cases of EUBORDERSCAPES PROJECT and, in fact, all modern states; here, we look at how these concepts have been changing in application to NW Russia and its neighbourhood. We also identify and analyze the concepts of Russia’s or/and NW Russia’s importance (ex., compatriots). Working with these concepts, we identify the main discursive events taking them as watersheds of the debate, as events, moments, at which discursive rebordering starts to unfold. By looking at the relationships of NW Russia with individual national contexts, we wish to identify specificities of each case and reveal general features of rebordering processes in the region. Among other things, we hope to describe the repertoire of bordering discourses, ‘loci’ of bordering, and the reasons behind this diversity. Since at this stage of the research it is obvious that the Second World War features as one of the most important loci of bordering in the region, we intend to consider the media debate of WWII in more detail.

Jeremy Smith (University of Eastern Finland): The decoupling of the USSR and the new border order

The Belavezha agreement that formally brought the USSR to an end and inaugurated the Commonwealth of Independent States guaranteed ‘openness of borders and free movement of citizens’. The failure of such a border regime to persist is located in this paper within the broader context of the unexpected drift in the early 1990s of the countries of the FSU, especially in Central Asia, away from the close integration of the region under Russian leadership that was initially expected. The main reasons for the decoupling were a) lack of initial consensus about the role of the CIS; b) Russian economic collapse; c) perceived heavy-handedness of Russia in its near abroad; d) dynamics of nationalism. What this decoupling meant for borders was that the tension between a romanticised conception of open borders that did not change much from Soviet times on the one hand, and harder borders that symbolised nationstatehood and were attuned to perceived security concerns on the other hand were resolved in favour of the latter, as the example of Kazakhstan will illustrate in this paper. Earlier illusions in the openness of borders extended to Russian aspirations to travel to the West, and disappointment on this score has contributed to a Russian sense of embattledness.
PANEL 2: Competing concepts of re-bordering post-Socialist space

(Work Package 3: The Reconfiguration of Post Soviet Borders and Conceptual Change)

Diana Mishkova (Centre for Advanced Study Sofia): Impacts of EU policies/concepts on national discussions

"New" Europe, "old" Southeastern Europe and post-socialist national conceptualizations of region and borders

The paper examines the impact of EU concepts on national discussions in post-socialist Bulgaria concerning notions of region, borders and international order. It does so in the context of a Sattelzeit in the (re)conceptualization of space – the Yugoslav succession wars, the aftermath of the Kosovo conflict (1998-1999) in particular, and the EU instruments for pacification and securitization thereof. Using the methods of conceptual history analysis, the paper addresses broader questions concerning, first, conceptual change at the EU level and, second, Bulgaria's reconfigured role in the system of international relations after the collapse of the bipolar model and the country's self-positioning in the post-socialist regional and geopolitical map. The analysis is based on the screening of several center-right oriented, pro-European Bulgarian newspapers – “Dnevnik” (2001–2014), “Capital” (1994–2014), "Kontinent" (1992–1999) and "Demokracia" (1990–2002), as well as on basic documents concerning the EU policy towards Southeastern Europe available at the Diplomatic Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria.

Zóltan Hájdu (Centre for Economic and Regional Studies, RKK): State border related discussions in the Hungarian Parliament and border questions in two different national newspapers

Following the national elections in 1985 organised in a system of dual nomination and after that subsequent to the recall of a smaller part of elected representatives replacing them by members of the opposition, the Hungarian Parliament put some issues on the agenda which were previously strictly considered taboos. Among these were the issue of Hungarians crossing the “greenborder” since 1987 in large numbers from Romania, or the Danube-borderline in connection with the water-plant Bőş-Nagymaros (Bos-Gabčíkovo), as well as the demonstrations initiated by the demolition of villages in Transylvania and finally releasing the east German refugees at Sopron towards Austria. The Népszabadság (Freedom of Nation, the official daily of the Communist party), and the Magyar Nemzet (Hungarian Nation, the than official daily of the so called Patriotic Popular Front) first published only brief news, later commentaries, and finally even analyses about the situation of Hungarians living beyond the state borders. The breakthrough in the media in 1988 February was the article of Csaba Tabajdi and Imre Szokai (two leading fellows of the Communist Party's Central Committee’s Department of Foreign Affairs) as regards political analysis opportunities in connection with Hungarians/Magyars beyond the state borders. Following the national elections 1990 the new democratic Parliament became the action arena of real political debate. The Magyars beyond the state borders was not any more taboo but one of the focal points of political discussion. The former Magyar Nemzet became the press organ reporting on the everyday life of Hungarians outside Hungary. Népszabadság was rather moderate in this respect. The most vital debates in the Parliament were about the ratification process of the Hungarian-Ukrainian Charter in 1993. A number of Coalition Government’s and the largest governing party’s representatives criticized the Charter and especially its measures in terms of state borders. The Charter could only be passed with supporting votes by the opposition and anyway it finally lead to the rupture of the MDF Hungarian Democratic Forum. Subsequent all ratification processes of the Charters with neighbouring countries were accompanied by similar debates but by no means with such extreme contents. However these discussions implied
that a part of the political elite is still not ready reconcile with Trianon and these politicians demanded more in this respect from the government than the international circumstances allowed. The issue of state borders was many times on the agenda of the parliament on the occasion of NATO (1999) and EU accession process (2004), but by that time considering rather the opportunities of cooperation. From among the two more significant daily newspapers Magyar Nemzet gave larger space to national issues while Népszabadság rather reported on cross border opportunities. The migration wave in 2014 and especially 2015 receives more attention than ever within political and social processes. There are some differences of emphasis comparing Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet but both dailies continuously publish large scale reports on the situation of the refugees. However they judge the possible solution in many respects different ways.

Jussi Laine: (University of Eastern Finland): Europeanizing cross-border cooperation

Cross-border cooperation (CBC) between Finland and Russia transformed thoroughly following Finland’s accession to the European Union (EU) in 1995. The cross-border programmes and projects that had previously been coordinated as a part of bilateral state-level foreign politics became gradually ‘streamlined’ according to policy frames and principles defined at different levels of EU administration. The reprogramming of CBC came with high hopes of the softening old dividing lines as well as strengthening common European identity. Our paper pits practical experiences against grand scale visions and asks how thorough and how rapid was this supranational turn at the regional level and how it affected civil society cross-border relations? To what degree the practices and rhetoric of regional level CBC became to reflect the changes on EU level policies? To what degree they were contested by the securitized national framings of the border and carried traces of earlier traditions of the Finnish political culture and the Finnish-Russian relations. The focus of our paper is on the institutional and discursive practices of regional actors and civil society organisations (CSOs) involved in CBC. Through the analysis of regional level actors’ perspectives we strive for better understanding of the present-day multi-layered Finnish-Russian and EU-Russian relations and especially of the role civil society relations play in what is commonly called the Europeanisation of CBC. The analysis suggests that it is vital to make a distinction between Europeanisation on one hand as creation of new administrative structures and top-down identity politics, and on the other hand Europeanisation as shared new institutional and discursive practices that take place in a common European frame. In the interviews of civil society actors on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border, one can find evidence of the latter at the same time as the former ones paradoxically seem to be even actively opposed.

James W. Scott (University of Eastern Finland): Idealist v Realist Visions of Eastern Neighbourhood – a Struggle for the EU’s Geopolitical Identity

One important understanding of European Neighbourhood is that of a radically new approach to regional cooperation based on partnership and shared societal concerns. This is in part a deterritorialised vision of regional neighbourhood in which networks, relationships and co-operation contribute to peaceful co-existence and development. However, notions of a regional community based on ideas exist in an uneasy tension with more clearly territorial and state-centred understandings of Neighbourhood and, in fact, the principle of common regional concerns has been overshadowed by a language of “mutual commitments” that more strictly correspond to the EU’s security interests (border controls, migration and mobility management). Due to design as well as political circumstances, EU’s relations with its regional neighbours increasingly reflect a fixation with territorial delineations of spheres of influence, particularly with regard to Russia on the one hand and Ukraine, Georgia and other countries of the so-called Eastern Partnership on the other. Given the increasing tensions between the EU and its regional neighbours, we might ask to what extent the EU
will be able to define its geopolitical identity as an alternative “soft power” and thus become an effective actor on the world scene.

PANEL 3: Europeanisation versus Euroscepticism:

(Work Package 4, Europeanisation: European Integration and Conceptual change)

Kristine Beurskens, Christoph Creutziger and Judith Miggelbrink (Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig): Securitization from below? Bordering of internal EU-borderlands

It remains one of the goals of the EU to overcome most segregating aspects of its inner borders. But this general tendency is accompanied by scepticism. One example can be found at the Polish-German border where this distrust becomes visible through different forms of “securitization from below”. Some people – especially in peripheralised borderlands – feel threatened by the open borders and found neighbourhood watch groups or invest in special alarm systems. In local and regional discourses, special terms like “Grenzkriminalität” (border crime) link the border directly to any other type of crime in border regions. This discursive shift refers to different underlying elements like Poland-related xenophobia and basic forms of othering. The term that, despite or even because of its polarising effects, is being increasingly used in regional election campaigns and national political debates, builds up a new arena for harsh criticism of the EU’s integration paradigm in social networks. As discursive elements are represented in daily practices, we focus on the combination and relation of both elements in our research. The study focuses on controversial aspects of Eastern German borderlands where the enlargement of the European Union and the increasingly invisible border appear to accumulate different forms of fear, and feelings of being disadvantaged. By looking at the rise of civil engagement in establishing security at the Polish-German border and the discourses and practices involved, we aim to discuss some inconvenient questions around the functionalities of the internal EU borders and address reconfigurations of the relation of state, society and territory within these processes. With a diversity of positive aspects of the EU integration in mind, focusing on the controversial parts might help to understand the disruption in the EU-success-story that emerges at different places and countries lately.

Anna Krasteva (New Bulgarian University): If Euroscepticism did not exist borders would create it: post-communist bordering discourses and images

If Euroscepticism did not exist borders would create it. If I paraphrase Sartre, it is to emphasize that nostalgia of borders needs Euroscepticism in the same intense political and existential way as antisemitism needs Jews. I will argue for this idea by applying it to the post-communist EU member states and will articulate it in three parts: From ‘The Road to Europe’ to radical anti-Europeanism. The Road to Europe is the name of a political organisation in Bulgaria and other countries at the beginning of the democratic transition that translated the longing for leaving the closed overbordered world for the open borderless European one. The first part explores the reasons why this dream faded, as well as the specificities and the similarities of the post-communist Euroscepticism from Fico to Orban, from Tudor to Siderov, from Karakachanov to Kaczynski. ‘Eulogy of borders’ of Regis Debray defends the fundamental need for borders in a world where everything cool is ‘without borders’ - ‘doctors without borders’, ‘reporters without borders’, even the customs tomorrow will be without borders. The second part scrutinizes the post-communist overproduction and overinterpretation of borders – symbolic, ethnic, religious, cultural, national, European – and their images, imaginaries and narratives. The perfect crisis. Elites of all colours had been looking for a crisis that would allow them to
appropriate the bordering discourse of the far right and were happy to find the perfect one in the refugee crisis. They gladly transformed the inability or unwillingness to manage the crisis into a legitimization of ‘the wall’ as a master narrative for b/ordering with the favorite new/old sub-narratives of surveillance, control, and closeness.

James W. Scott (Karelian Institute, University of Eastern Finland): Hungarian Border Politics as an Antipolitics of European Union

Hungary’s strategic use of its borders, both discursively and practically, has served a number of purposes within the context of EU accession and membership but also of Hungary’s post-socialist transformation. An analysis of these political uses of borders reveals that they serve as: 1) cultural resources in strengthening national identity and purpose within Europe, 2) resources for consolidating the exercise of political power and 3) a means to challenge core European dominance. With the advent and consolidation of national conservative government in Hungary, border politics have become increasingly contested and confrontational. This is clearly manifested in the border policies of 2015 which, in response to, and in exploitation of, the refugee “crisis”, have seen new border fortifications, a partial militarisation of border areas and a direct challenge to the Schengen Agreements. Hungary’s border politics are more than a story of Hungary’s ideological battles – they also reflect East-West divisions within the European Union than raise potentially serious questions regarding the future direction of European construction.

Hans-Joachim Bürkner (Leibniz-Institute for Regional Development and Structural Planning) and Martin Barthel (University of Eastern Finland): Ukraine and the big moral divide: Does symbolic supercharging hijack the debate on European borders?

The Ukraine crisis and the recently aggravating European refugee crisis brought it forward. International power politics and geostrategy have been relevant to the EU’s project of territorial enlargement and the management of immigration for a considerable time, without a larger European-wide public being aware of it. Yet the loss of recognition might not be incidental. The reasons given by EU officials and national policy leaders for their political intervention (and forbearance) have been located at a symbolic level. They unanimously claim for high morals and ultimate European values when offering EU association to Eastern neighbour states. The same happens when they sanction the armament of their national borders against alleged Russian hostility and skyrocketing numbers of refugees. They hardly ever argue at the level of economic or social interest, the protection of material and immaterial resources, or the multi-lateral management of external borders. Managing borders seems to have become a matter of a symbolic struggle between pro-Europeanness and EU-scepticism. This de-centring of European external and border-related policies, ascribed to a lack of strategic vision and diplomatic professionalism by its critics, has a contagious quality. It facilitates the progressing usage of symbols, mainly by dividing the European sphere into “good” and “bad” Europeans. A general attitude of being kind to “friends of Europe” and bashing its adversaries has come to dominate factual policies and public discourse. This tendency has become particularly palpable in media representations of symbolically charged geopolitics. Based on an in-depth study of German mainstream media discourse on the Crimea and Donetsk conflicts, the paper traces elements of moral polarizing and othering that peculiarly echo “Western” politics. It describes the staging of relevant protagonists in the media and identifies the re-bordering effects of the media’s support for new East-West antagonism. Moreover, it hints at a similar dynamic of the unfolding of parallel discourses (e.g. on the rescue of Greece or refugee migration from the Balkans and the Middle East).
PANEL 4: EU Borders and Geopolitics of Neighbourhood

(Work Package 6 Borders and Critical Geographies of Neighbourhood)

Renen Yezersky, David Ohana and David Newman (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev):

Straddling the Geopolitical Border – Israel as part of the Mediterranean Region

In spite of its sensitive location, surrounded by Moslem states, Israel's borders do not function just as a geopolitical barrier, but also as a gateway towards the west and Europe. Geopolitically and Geoculturally, Israel is located at the interface between Europe, the Middle East and Africa, but is not fully integrated into any one of these regions. As a result of global and local processes during the past two decades, most notably the Oslo accords and later the Barcelona agreements, the notion that Israel is part of a Mediterranean cultural region has emerged. Our presentation examines the Mediterranean area as an alternative, cross-border, geocultural region to that of the Europe – Middle East binarities. The borders of such a region are more diffuse and less clear, while the internal hybridity of the region encompass cultural and political characteristics of all the surrounding regions. Through media analysis of significant events which have taken place during the past two decades, along with interviews with leading Israeli figures, we will present the notion of Israel as part of the Mediterranean region as a border straddling geopolitical alternative to the traditional debate. This is examined from internal and external perspectives, namely where Israel locates itself within the wider regional setting, and as contested and contrasted with where Israel is located by the surrounding regions and countries and the extent to which these two locationing processes (internal and external) create new compatibilities and tensions, as part of a geopolitical neighbourng process which is also faced with new regional and cross-border cultural and political instabilities.

Vanya Ivanova (Centre for Advance Study, Sofia): Conceptualizing Borders: EU’s Role along Security, Legacy and Conflict in Armenia

The paper addresses the conceptualisation of Armenian borders, from the dissolution of the Soviet Union to present day. Three main aspects are in focus: (1) factors defining the conceptualisation of Armenian borders, elaborating on three major ones: security, legacy and conflict; (2) meanings and discourses attributed to EU/Europe – European values, ideals, mobility, visa liberalization, etc., seen in both positive and negative connotations; (3) stages of the EU engagement in regard to Armenia, observing three key policy periods, led by the EU in the region: the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), the Eastern Partnership, and the current agenda, tailored after Armenia joining the Russia-led Customs Union. All aspects are discussed through the lens of the role of the European Union policies. Thus, it questions whether the EU project can serve as a model for bringing more stability in the region, through various means providing security guarantees and economic incentives, along with other international players and sub-regional organizations. Although the paper provides examples from all borders of Armenia (including the borders with Georgia and Iran), special attention is paid to the Turkey and Azerbaijan ones, where the conflict factor conceptualises the borders as closed border/frozen conflict (Turkey) and “no war – no peace” situation (Azerbaijan) in the light of Nagorno-Karabakh and its self-determination process as a key issue in framing the bordering concepts in the region.
Ayşe Gunes Ayata and Yelda Karadağ (Middle East Technical University): Shifting Identities, Shifting Borders: Turkey, Azerbaijan and Armenia

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Turkey’s border with the former USSR constituent republics changed and Turkey came to be border neighbour with Azerbaijan and Armenia. After the proclamation of national independence by Azerbaijan and Armenia in 1991, Turkey recognized them as independent nation states and the diplomatic relations immediately started. In Turkish-Azerbaijani, the 70-year break provides affirmative impact due to due to the common historical, cultural and linguistic ties between Turkey and Azerbaijan. During the nation-building and state-building process of Azerbaijan, Turkey as a country having long secular and democratic experience provided assistance in political, economic and cultural levels. However, the border relations between Turkey and Armenia do not develop towards cooperation. Rather, the historical memory, which was revised in Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, prevents the improvement of border relations and cooperation between Turkey and Armenia. This paper analyses the impact of historical ties and packages on the border relations of Turkey with Azerbaijan and Armenia in the post-Soviet times. Our aim is to evaluate and discuss the impact of EU and its policies on identities and relations to understand the conceptualization of border and the border relations.

Yana Petrova, Oleksiy Krysenko, Olga Filippova (KKNU): Political Language of Description of Ukraine-EU and Ukraine-Russia Border

Political language to describe the Ukrainian-Russian border is one of the tools for extracting the discourse of Ukrainian-Russian relations in both - the formal and alternative discourses. Political language of the publications in the government newspaper “Uryadovyi Courier” is less critical towards “European subject” than the language of the similar publications both – in the alternative newspaper “Dzerkalo Tyzhnya ” as well as in other national press. It is not used and accepted to write critically about Ukraine-EU relations in the state press. This could be explained by the fact that European integration is an official, public and non-alternative strategy for national development (at the level of ideological consciousness). In Ukrainian official political language the Ukraine-EU relations is what one can and should be proud of. Any problems in the relationship are rather the result of "Loss in Translation" and the short "misunderstandings” than a loss of trust or mutual change of priorities. In newspaper “Uryadovyi Courier” “European subject” is presented as a part of the state ideology and all other issues have to comply with it: the success of the government, the President and the country in general on its way towards European integration. In an alternative newspaper “Dzerkalo Tyzhnya” the information about “the European subject” is more balanced, and the actions of the President or Presidents of Ukraine, the Ukrainian government are also considered through their imbalance towards modern European practice. Main ideas/conclusions: there is most probably the end of epoch of geopolitical balance in Ukraine, the geopolitical language of description of Ukrainian borders might be changed as well; new “Ukraine after Maydan” declares no alternative but shifting of political language of conceptualization of borders; the lack of subjectivity in Ukrainian foreign policy will put in the forepoint the European border policy and Ukraine – EU relationship.
PANEL 5: European Union cross-border peacebuilding in crisis?

(WP7 Cross-Border-Cooperation as Conflict Amelioration)

Yana Petrova, Oleksiy Krysenko, and Olga Filippova (Karazin Kharkiv National University): European Regional Cooperation in Terms of Geopolitical Conflict: the Ukrainian-Russian Border Zone

The beginning of Russian-Ukrainian conflict in 2014 marked the beginning of a new European geopolitical conflict. Neighbouring regions of the Russian Federation and Ukraine have become bridgeheads of military and political threat. Russian-Ukrainian border has become a space of geopolitical confrontation. Euroregions whose mission is to support and to develop, to renew partnership, to turn the border into a "zone of growth and development" has turned (formed) into the tools of Russia’s influence on Ukrainian politics. Euroregion "Slobozhanshina" in the north-east of Ukraine and southwest Russia was created in 2003 as a form of international integration, based on the close cooperation of territorial formations located in the border regions of neighboring countries in Europe. It was created in Kharkiv by the heads of the executive authorities and local government of Kharkiv and Belgorod regions of Ukraine and the Russian Federation as the highest form of cross-border cooperation in order to harmonize the interaction between the parties for the implementation of basic social and economic functions of the borderland. It was also formed in order to eliminate unnecessary barriers for the contacts of population and attracting investment for stabilization and growth as well as activation of inter-regional economic cooperation. In the beginning of 2015 4.3 million people live on the territory of the Euroregion. In 2011 5 strategic tasks of Ukrainian-Russian cross-border cooperation were outlined: activation of cross-border scientific, industrial cooperation and trade by removing of unnecessary border and customs barriers, improvement of transport and logistics infrastructure of the Euroregion for the efficient use of its transit position, development of a coherent environmental policy, overcoming of social asymmetry of frontier that primarily reflects the labour market, creation of a regional market information system of Euroregion "Slobozhanshina". Since 2015 no task from mentioned above has been implemented.

Rodrigo Bueno Lacy and Henk van Houtum (Nijmegen Centre for Border Research Radboud University): The glocal puppeteering of the green line in Cyprus

Contrary to the mainstream conception of the Cypriot conflict, this article builds upon the assumption that the geopolitical foundations of the Green Line severing Cyprus lie neither exclusively nor mainly in its local ethno-religious divisions but in the geopolitical global centres that have built them and keep enabling the discourse that supports them. The thesis of this article is that geopolitical imaginations of Cyprus from these global centres have influenced the way Cypriots carry out their politics. We conduct a glocal genealogy of the conflict between the Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities that led to the partition of their island. The final section reflects on how the Cypriot conflict is a scale model of the EU’s main geopolitical conundrums.

Maria-Adriana Deiana (Queen’s University Belfast): To Cross Difficult Borders ...and Fail: Re-thinking the Politics of Perpetual Impasse in the Post-Dayton borderscape.

Post-Dayton Bosnia-Herzegovina is, in many ways, the epitome of the contemporary post-Yugoslav borderscape engendered by the dissolution of the SFRY, the emergence of nationalist politics and the break out of conflict in the region, inasmuch as by decades of considerable international intervention aimed at resolving the conflict and ultimately pacifying the region through its integration within the rest of Europe. Set against the broader context of EU peacebuilding and integration, this paper examines practices and views from below as attempts to outlive the legacy of conflict. Here I place
particular attention on cultural resources such as cinematic production and other related cultural initiatives that revolve around the Sarajevo Film Festival. It could be argued that the peacebuilding and transformative impact of these efforts is minimal: these initiatives fail to engage a significant portion of local stakeholders, fall short of producing social change, and admittedly are unable to challenge larger dynamics that continuously consign Bosnia - and as an extension the post-Yu borderscape - to a perpetual state of geopolitical impasse. However, rather than viewing these negatively as failures through the normative prism of international conflict resolution, I contend that we should read them as attempts to counter hegemonic borderscape narratives and as openings that shed a critical light on the very promises of EU peacebuilding and integration. Ultimately this is only possible if we follow the possibilities and pathways engendered by the “art of failure” (Halberstam, 2011).

**PANEL 6: Roma and Bordering**

(Work Package9, Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday)

**Margaret Greenfields (Bucks New University) Jim Davies and Petr Torak (Gypsy Roma Traveller Police Association): Perceptions, Prejudice and Policing: Experiences of the Criminal Justice 'Bordering Gaze' at the Interface**

Gypsy, Traveller and Roma (GTR) minorities are subject to disproportionate levels of social and spatial ‘othering’ in domestic and international realms. Justification for such approaches frequently draws upon stereotypical images of the ‘Gypsy’ as a member of a suspect community, legitimately excluded from positive policing contacts and the norms of freedom of movement accorded to EU citizens. Limited attention has been paid to the experiences and perspectives of GTRs subject to such policing, and even less to the impact of these stereotypes on members of the police and enforcement agencies whose attitudes and activities are often filtered through a (prejudiced) ‘bordering gaze’. This presentation on work-in-progress from the UK focuses on Gypsy/Traveller attitudes towards, and experiences of, being policed as well as interview data from police officers who are of Gypsy Traveller and Roma (GTR) ethnicity. emergent findings enable consideration of the impact on policing culture, community relations, and on individual officers, of widespread tacit condoning of stigmatization and a 'canteen culture' which typically represents members of the GTR communities as members of a criminal population regardless of whether their status is that of victim, witness, professional, or an unconvicted suspect. The paper concludes with policy and training recommendations and examples of best practice within police forces which set out to challenge stereotypes and bordering practices in everyday policing engagements.

**Miika Tervonen (University of Helsinki): Roma Migrants in Nordic Borderscapes: unwanted Europeans?**

What happens when some of the most marginalized people in Europe to move to some of the most affluent welfare societies on the continent? The presentation deals with local realities and politics of intra-European borders through the case of Eastern European Roma migrants in Nordic countries. Freedom of movement within the EU has created a class of precarious migrants neither ‘in’ nor ‘out’ national welfare structures. I argue that authorities in Nordic countries have responded to the loss of direct control over such ‘unwanted Europeans’ by innovating tacit everyday bordering techniques. The presence of Roma migrants is thus not formally challenged, yet they are effectively blocked from basic social rights and feasible pathways to integration. To a varying degree, policy towards them is ethnicized (conceptualizing ‘the Roma’ as a category requiring special measures) and ‘NGOised’
(displacing responsibility for welfare provision to third sector and private actors). Meanwhile, the migrants cope with the insecurities in legal, economic and physical ‘limboscapes’ in Nordic countries by utilizing transnational family- and social networks and flexible combinations of informal economic activities. The presentation looks at the case of the Roma migrants in Nordic countries as an ‘acid test’ on the European freedom of movement and de-bordering.

Viktor Varjú (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and Shayna Plaut (Simon Fraser University): Framing Romani Migration in the Press Between 1990 and 2013: Media Mirror of What?

The most recent migration of Roma from Central and Eastern Europe is mainly twofold. From the 1990s there is a wavering movement to Canada, and another one within the EU. There were many reasons but for Roma, the motivations not only included a drastic loss of employment, but re-emerging systemic and increasingly violent racism. This article does not focus on the reasons for Romani emigration but rather the discursive framing of motivation and the reaction within both Hungarian and Canadian newspapers from 1990 until 2013. By examining (both) Hungarian (and Canadian) press within the same time periods, we show how the press engaged in framing and counter-framing the policies and politics of host country and the country of origin through their coverage of ‘the Hungarian Roma’ issue. We argue that the journalists were in fact advocating for various positions based on the political, economic and cultural contexts of the times. We show how the ‘Hungarian Roma issue’ becomes an example and reflection of the changing political culture. We argue that ‘Hungarian Roma issue’ is not homogenous at all. There are differentiations not only in ‘country representation’ but there is distinction between ‘we’ and ‘they’ (our Roma and their Roma). Using the qualitative method of content analysis, identifying and examining special rhetoric, we revealed the changing discussions and voices of coverage in ‘Hungarian Roma migration’.

PANEL 7: Schengen/Non Schengen Borders

(Work Package9, Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday)

Ruben Andersson (LSE): Migration and the Euro-African border in the Sahel

Ever since the 1990s entering into force of the Schengen convention, the common external border of the European Union member states has kept being reinforced through new patrolling, policing and surveillance mechanisms. One aspect of this has received relatively little debate in the public arena - the externalisation of controls and the continual ‘pushing’ of the border into territories far beyond the actual borderline. This has taken place through mechanisms such as carrier sanctions and visa restrictions (see e.g. Guild 2008), but also through collaborative policing with so-called ‘transit’ and ‘origin’ states, including the swap of policing and surveillance equipment, joint patrols, intelligence-gathering and the stationing of immigration liaison officers abroad. This paper will look in some ethnographic detail at the conflictive consequences of such outsourced policing and ‘remote control’, inquiring into the negative dynamics it creates in the relationship among European states, the EU and ‘partner’ states and security forces - while so far spectacularly failing to 'halt' migration in any meaningful sense.
Xavier Ferrer-Gallardo, Abel Albet-Mas, Mireia Garcia-González (Department of Geography, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona): Queuing, Working and Commuting: Geopolitical Conflict and Everyday Life in the Spanish-Gibraltarian Border

In 2013, the British Overseas Territory of Gibraltar enthusiastically commemorated the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht. That is, the Treaty by which Spain surrendered Gibraltar to the United Kingdom and which can be interpreted as the kick-off of a long and still ongoing geopolitical game. Particularly over the last two decades, Gibraltar’s ability to recover from Spain’s geopolitical strikes has been clearly strengthened: the Government of Gibraltar has become a central actor in the political competition on the sovereignty of both the land and the waters of the Rock. It has been skilful enough to turn an originally bilateral territorial dispute between the UK and Spain into a currently trilateral one. Gibraltar’s territory has expanded and so have done its economic/financial sustainability and its international projection. To a crucial extent the output of the physical and symbolic power struggle around Gibraltar, is the direct outcome of Spain’s erratic strategy vis-à-vis the Rock. Based on fieldwork conducted in Gibraltar and on the in the surrounding cities of the Campo de Gibraltar (La Línea de la Concepción, San Roque, Algeciras) in 2014, this paper explores how geopolitical tension over Gibraltar is periodically translated into intensified border checks and border queues on the other hand, and how it constrains the everyday practices of those living on both sides of this Schengen/Non-Schengen border.

Ayşe Güneş-Ayata and Zelal Ozdemir (METU): Rebordering through Schengen visa offices in Ankara, Turkey

Turkey is the only EU candidate country whose citizens are obliged to obtain a Schengen visa before being allowed to enter the EU. The human dimension of the visa issue is of utmost importance for the relationship between the EU and Turkey. The experiences of Turkish nationals in obtaining Schengen visa create feelings of injustice, discrimination and humiliation. The visa torture, as voiced by Turkish public, reiterates the “Fortress of Europe” thesis and led to a perception of the EU as a Christian union in which Turkey has no place. Such a perception and feeling of “other/non-European” hinders the route which has been taken by the both sides in terms of Turkish integration process with the EU. Bordering no longer occurs merely at the border areas separating two states, but rather through a wide range of practices in multiple locations within and beyond the state’s territory. Difficult visa procedures experienced by Turkish nationals at the doors of member states consulates have long been a source of frustration for Turkish citizens as they reproduce both symbolic and physical borders between the EU and Turkey. The opening of private Schengen companies that act as intermediaries between the countries in the Schengen zone and Turkish nationals in several cities in Turkey adds to this picture because Turkish nationals are not allowed to apply for Schengen visa directly to the consulates but have to use those companies. These offices have become one of the examples of bordering sites located away from the border area. Moreover, in these offices border work is being carried on by non-traditional actors, not by the nationals of the EU such as police, guards or immigration officers but by Turkish employees. Treating those offices as significant nodes where border work is done, this paper attempts to understand multifaceted construction of borders between the EU and Turkey. Using fieldwork material to be collected in the visa offices located in Ankara, it aims to unravel the impact of this bordering practise on the Turkish nationals in terms of identity. In order to provide a situated intersectional framework, this paper tries to grasp not only the perceptions from both sides of the border – Turkish nationals applying for visa versus Turkish nationals doing border work – but also on the perceptions of different groups of people applying for visa for different aims like touristic purposes, business or education.
Giovanna Campani (University of Florence): African Migrant Women: networks beyond borders

The project, titled Learning for Female African Migrants’ Solidarity: Help-Desks for Female African Migrants in the Eastern Mediterranean Region (LeFAMSol) developed as a practice-oriented pedagogical action relying on survival strategies, focusing on networking competence coupled with gender awareness. The core idea is to train migrant women having experienced the risky trajectories between Africa and the Mediterranean countries to become “resource persons” and “counsellors” for newcomers in order to help them to mobilise their survival strategies in South Europe, and to facilitate the circulation of information and knowledge on national and transnational levels. This strategic profile is being materialised in “network facilitator”, a professional figure that brings together the tasks of mediator, informant, guide, adviser, interpreter, along with other relevant skills, to be put into practice within activity of network facilitating. The originality of the proposal consists in a strong accent on the gender perspective connoted by intercultural dimension, the target groups being African women from Sub-Saharan regions, with a focus on Nigeria, and the Horn of Africa, esp. Somalia and Eritrea. Women coming from these realities present different migratory experiences, but share the common risk of ending up in a sort of “ghettoisation” with no prospects of integration in the countries they are being stuck due to the EU migration policies. In such a scenario, an approach focusing training for survival strategies may represent a bridge towards receiving societies, especially when the vulnerable part of their population is likewise forced to resort to survival strategies.

PANEL 8: Everyday Bordering in the Metropolitan City 1

(Sue Lukes (Migration Work CIC): Rooves and Borders: bringing bordering home)

Immigration checks in housing were introduced by law 20 years ago for the allocation of local council housing (the law is made nationally but local authorities administer the waiting lists and other services) but 10 years before that we saw efforts by local authorities to decide who “deserved” council housing described in coded racial terms. It all focused right here, the LB Tower Hamlets proposed priority for “sons and daughters”, declared Bengali families “intentionally homeless” and lobbied for changes to immigration law. Within a decade, the law introduced “eligibility” for council allocation based on immigration status, EU rights to reside and habitual residence. The 2014 Immigration Act, however, brings this to the private rented sector, which in the UK is very lightly regulated, and where there is a growing awareness that the “bottom” of the sector, often seen as a largely migrant market, has close links with criminals involved with money laundering, trafficking, utilities theft and harassment. The provisions piloted in the West Midlands demand that landlords see and copy the core ID documents of prospective tenants (and any adults living with them and any documentation to prove that others are not adults) and keep copies for a year after the end of the tenancy. Failure to do so will result in a fine levied by the Home Office. The 2015 Immigration Bill, we are told, will include measures to ramp this up, making “persistent” failure to check documents a criminal offence with a possible prison sentence. The concerns (amply borne out by an independent report on the pilot areas) are that the checks: Tacitly encourage discrimination by landlords against anyone who looks like a migrant; force those who cannot produce documentation acceptable to landlords (many of who say they will only accept a fraction of those listed by the Home Office as acceptable) into the hands of criminal providers of accommodation; rents and associated fees will be increased to cover the costs of the checks and this will also have a knock on effect on the level of local
housing allowance paid by the benefits system and so the public purse; the discrimination and other problems are likely to lead to an increased and for local authority services, particularly those for the homeless and social services provision for destitute migrants, and this at a time when authorities face unprecedented levels of cuts to all budgets.

Rayah Feldman (Maternity Action): Healthcare Charges and Migrant Women.

Secondary (hospital) health care in the NHS is chargeable for most people who do not have indefinite leave to remain in the UK. This year the government significantly extended the range of people subject to charging and imposed a visa surcharge to cover NHS hospital care on anyone from outside the EU without indefinite leave to remain, staying for over 6 months. Undocumented migrants, including pregnant women and children who do not have valid visas, are chargeable for all hospital treatment other than emergency care. Hospitals are ‘encouraged’ to inform the Home Office of people with debts over £1000. Although it is free in many other EU countries, in the UK maternity care for undocumented women is chargeable, although it must be provided regardless of women’s ability to pay in advance. As a result, many pregnant women are deterred from accessing maternity care, or book late in pregnancy or fail to attend antenatal appointments. Many studies show that recent migrants face higher risks of adverse pregnancy outcomes than the general population including much higher rates of maternal and perinatal mortality. Standard midwifery policy stresses the importance of early booking and continuity of midwifery care, especially for women with high risk pregnancies due to underlying medical conditions or to adverse social situations. Many undocumented migrant women fall into this category. The government has justified charging ‘overseas visitors’ to prevent ‘health tourism’ and to save costs but there is no evidence to support the claim of ‘health tourism’ or that charging actually saves the NHS money. Instead, NHS charging is part of a raft of measures using civil society institutions to enforce border controls.

Meena Patel (Southall Black Sisters): Women, Migration and Domestic Violence.

The presentation will draw on past and present work of the campaigning organisation Southall Black Sisters to highlight how bordering legislation, including the 2014 Immigration Act and 2015 Immigration Bill impact on the lives of vulnerable women.

PANEL 9: Everyday Bordering in the Metropolitan City 2
(Work Package9, Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday)

Krisztina Keresztély, Tünde Virág (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), James W. Scott (University of Eastern Finland): Social Bordering and Rights to the City: Roma Communities in the Inner City of Budapest

The paper is concerned with Roma rights to the city and how socio-ethnic issues have been framed in conjunction with urban development. We will analyse the way in which local urban renewal policies have dealt with the challenge of multi-ethnicity in central Budapest, through among others, practises of border-making. How these urban development practises can be evaluated in the context of European tendencies? How local policies vis-à-vis Roma minorities circumvent European objectives concerning the empowerment of Roma communities? Our research is based on an empirical study conducted in a traditionally multi-ethnic area in the 8th District of Budapest. Magdolna neighbourhood became the focus of Budapest’s first socially integrative urban renewal programme, financed since 2007, by EU structural funds. This is the poorest part of Budapest’s inner city, often represented as
the ‘Roma ghetto of capital’ although ‘ghettoization’ is limited to some streets. The neighbourhood is becoming more multicultural and first signs of gentrification can be discerned. The most important results of our work indicate that the visible effects of the integrated urban renewal programme cannot hide the political intention of local government to change the neighbourhood’s character and with it its present population. The aim is clearly to gradually push out visibly ‘problematic’ groups, poor Roma families in particular, by redrawing social and spatial borders between the different ethnic and social groups that live in the neighbourhood.

Olga Brednikova and Elena Nikiforova (Centre for Independent Social Research, St Petersburg): Neighborhood - "imperceptible", "dangerous", "effective"? Neighborhood and the formation of boundaries in the metropolis (the case of migrant workers in St. Petersburg)

In this paper, we will present some preliminary results of the study "The boundaries in the metropolis” conducted within the framework of Work Package 9, «Euroborderscapes» project. Since the beginning of the 2000s, people from Central Asia have been arriving en masse to St. Petersburg as guest workers and has formed a visible minority in the city. The paper is focused on the formation of boundaries between St. Petersburg permanent residents (‘locals’) and migrants from Central Asia in the course of everyday interaction. The study is based on our observations of activities and migrants’-locals’ interactions in public places, expert interviews, and biographical interviews with migrants and permanent residents of St. Petersburg. We focus on the analysis of the phenomenon of metropolis’ neighborhood embracing people from different paths of lives; in our case, we are interested in the experience of cohabitation of migrants and locals. In the situation of sharing the everyday and daily face-to-face interactions, social and spatial boundaries between the locals and new comers are being constantly defined and redefined. In our paper, we intend to discuss the following questions: - how the phenomenon of neighbourhood is being formed and manifested in St. Petersburg, given that here, as in every metropolis, neighbourhoods are sites of coexistence of different ethnic and other groups. - Which boundaries (gender, generational, class, ethnic, civic, others) are revealed and shaped in the neighbourhood? - how social boundaries interact and manifest themselves in the space of the metropolis; how myths about migrants and ‘their places’ and ‘real migrants’ places’ relate to each other; who are those who create boundaries between migrants (and ‘their places’) and locals and how permeable (or not) these boundaries are? - can we talk about spatial segregation in St. Petersburg? How it is manifested?

Hayriye Kahveci (METU): Everyday Bordering in the Last Divided Capital of Europe: Nicosia

Nicosia is the capital city of Cyprus which has been divided into two parts since 1974. It is divided by a buffer zone which is called the “green line” which has been under the control of United Nations. For three decades till 2003 when the Turkish Cypriot side unilaterally decided to open check points for civilian passage two communities has been kept blinded of other side in their everyday life. For whole period of invisibility of the other side there were only few (Diplomats, UN representatives, etc) using the only exiting crossing point was the one located close to the Ledra Palace Hotel which has been used as a UN camp since 1974. Today there are two more crossing points opened on the green line which is within the boundaries of the divided capital Nicosia. The purpose of this paper is to look at evolution of everyday life in those three crossing/check points which over a decade seemed to be developing their own capacities of users with specific characteristics.
Jopi Nyman (School of Humanities, University of Eastern Finland): Belonging, Borderscapes, and Popular Music in Black British Writing

This paper will examine the ways in post-1980s black British writing uses black popular music to address the issue of belonging to place, community, and nation. While critics such as Hoene (2015) have addressed the role of music in postcolonial British narratives as playing a central role in the formation of identity, this paper shows how music plays a role in organizing space and generates diverse borderscapes where the interaction between the host and the migrant community is newly structured. Borderscapes, as the term is used in current border studies, are spaces where borders emerge as sites of interaction, as relational and moving spaces (Brambilla 2015), both transforming and transformative, hybrid and fluid rather than stable and static. I will analyse diverse musical spaces represented in black British fiction as borderscapes where new identities come into existence, negotiating their characteristics against hegemonic ideologies, as well as problematizing and reconstructing ideas of belonging. In developing the idea, the paper looks at a variety of musical spaces, including the representation of jazz clubs in the fiction of Jamal Mahjoub (Wings of Dust [1994] and The Drift Latitudes [2006]) as sites of increasing hybridity and transnational relations; the modern London clubs as lifestyle markers as represented in the works of Diran Adebayo (Some Kind of Black [1996]) and their doubling as markers of exclusionary gangsta lifestyle in Karline Smith’s Moss Side Massive (1995) set in Manchester; and the representation of the club as a spiritual space in Suhayl Saadi’s “The Dancers” (2001) where the borders of fixed identity dissolve. Finally, I will briefly address how the borderscape becomes a border soundscape that reorganizes community and belonging in Courttia Newland’s Society Within (1999), a novel set amongst black youth in West London foregrounding their own pirate radio station Midnight FM, a community station. Through these narratives, racialized urban borderscapes emerge, as Brambilla puts it, ‘paradoxical structures that are both markers of belonging and places of becoming’ (2015, p. 24; emphasis original).

Stephen F. Wolfe (University of Tromsø): "And All that Black British Jazz": Belonging and Making Spatial Boundaries

This paper will argue there are three central ideas that connect theories of migrancy and diasporic community in the West Indian community in London in the 1950s to 1980s: belonging to place, belonging to race, and belonging to practices of performance. My paper will centre on the history and representations of jazz music and musicians within transatlantic black culture. Paul Gilroy’s arguments in his still controversial The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness (1993) will be evaluated by using spatial representations of the Afro-Caribbean nightclub; jazz practice and performance spaces; and the identifiable social and cultural formation of jazz music and musicians within a particular community in London. But there is not a certain fixed style or set of features I will be discussing, rather I will be arguing that the spatial representations take on hybrid, uneven, discontinuous styles, like jazz itself. I will discuss recent scholarly work on the history of transatlantic jazz music as it impacts the roots and routes of the Black British Jazz. I will use literary examples from Samuel Selvon, George Lamming, and Hanif Kureishi. I will also focus on analysing the lyrical qualities of a number of early jazz songs, but will use performances as examples. Finally, any discussion of jazz depends upon European theories of race and national culture and Modernism. This subject has been very thoroughly covered by Gilroy, Hoving, Evans, Baker, and Gates. I will be suggesting ways a theory of migrant aesthetics might take account of the alternative public spheres of community often associated with the performance of jazz music. These spaces allow community consciousness and
solidarity that maintain identification outside the national time/space boundaries in order to live inside them, but with a différance.


Building on previous work tracing the narrative and rhetorical production of border concepts in novels and autobiographical texts which address the Somali diaspora experience in Norway, this paper assesses the impact of such narratives on bordering and borderscaping processes in the public sphere. By situating book publications by Amal Aden and Roda Ahmed in a broader field of public discourse including book reviews, social media, immigration debates and research dissemination, the paper compares the borderscape produced in the texts themselves with the borderscapes resulting from their publication. Novels and published autobiographies can be seen as media events subject to mediation and remediation processes, or in an previous paradigm as texts with receptions involving specific horizons of expectation and genre protocols. The two books which the paper takes as examples are both by women who were born in Somalia, but grew up in Norway. Roda Ahmed’s novel Forberedelsen (The Preparation, 2008) and the autobiography of the pseudonymous Amal Aden Mitt drøm om frihet (My Dream of Freedom, 2009). Both involve various kinds of topographical border crossings between Somalia and Norway or between Norwegian and British parts of the Somali diaspora, along with various symbolic, temporal, medial and epistemological border crossings. Along with major narrative border configurations concerning liberation and captivity, both present a repertoire of different border metaphors, each implying different conceptions of the border. In this paper, the focus will lie on how this repertoire compares with that found in the public reception of each book. Both books have been followed by newspaper reviews, book blog entries, social media discussions, library recommendations, public debates, and mass media interviews in which the metaphorical border landscapes in the texts themselves are remediated and negotiated. Both must be read against a background of public debate on immigration and the production of research-based documentary books, academic studies and teaching materials on immigrant cultures and the Somali diaspora in Norway. Aden has been an important voice in the public sphere, publishing books on questions related to immigration, writing newspaper columns, giving talks, etc. The paper will use discourse analyse with a focus on border concepts in the form of rhetorical figures (e.g. metaphors) and narrative configurations as “nodal points” thus allow for comparisons which reveal and suggest ways in which literary and biographical narratives affect public attitudes to borders and also border policies.
PANEL 11: Art and Cultural Representation Across Borders

(Work Package 10, Border Crossing and Cultural production)

Holger Pötzsch (University of Tromsø): Art Across Borders: Dislocating Artistic and Curatorial Practices in the Barents Euro-Arctic Region

This contribution investigates the role of artworks in processes of bordering in the Barents Euro Arctic Region. Drawing upon a neo-formalist framework, it firstly analyses works that were exhibited during the X-Border Art Biennial to identify disruptive potentials vested in the artistic pieces’ formal properties, before it, secondly, addresses potential performance effects of these works and of the curatorial decision to distribute exhibition space across three cities in Sweden, Finland, and Russia. I argue for an ambivalent role of artistic and curatorial practices that have the inherent potential to articulate opposition and de-familiarize established frames for perception and cognition, and at the same time inhere the capacity to reinforce regimes of exclusion and facilitate processes of commodification and capitalization. (withdrawn)

Ágnes Németh (University of Eastern Finland): Immigrant “others” and artistic expression: (de-)bordering via festivals and social activism in Finland

The paper analyses how cultural production and artistic activities explain the social construction and deconstruction of borders. The study focuses on the soft, cultural aspects of bordering, encounters between the immigrants and their host societies, their mutual perceptions, and is conscious as well as unintentional ways to alter these mental frames. The selected cases embody two examples of community-making processes of immigrant artists in Finland: the World Village Festival organised annually in Helsinki, and a young project titled ‘Sidelight – Is this Finnish literature?’ which is an interesting combination of cultural and social activism. In their initiatives, activities and performances, these examples represent various roles of cultural borders as mental, perceptual barriers as well as spaces for encounters and interactions. The activities analysed in this paper also indicate different ways of shaping and crossing these barriers/zones of interaction, by means of which they may either contribute to a sense of commonality or actually accentuate ‘difference’. Consequently, the more specific inquiry is directed towards the ways in which artistic expression can actually and potentially reduce perceptual barriers, as well as situations when it may actually re-enforce existing mental boundaries.

Sarah Mekdjian, Anne-Laure Amilhat Szary (Université Grenoble Alpes): Crossing Maps: a counter-mapping project between art and sciences of contemporary border-crossings

This paper presents Crossing Maps, an original research-creation project created in Grenoble, France in 2012 with twelve asylum seekers, three artists/performers and two academics in geograph. The main aim of this project, part of the ‘antiAtlas of borders’ collective, was to engage critically with the contemporary representations and functions of control systems and “mobile state borders” (Amilhat Szary, Giraut, 2015), by creating participatory and creative counter-cartographies of border-crossings. Mapping, defined as “performative, participatory and political” (Crampton, 2009) has been used by the asylum seekers, the artists and the researchers, to communicate, highlight people’s experiences and address political debates with a wide audience in a way that is at once “precise, sensitive, sensible and shared” (Latour, 2010). Crossing maps is a workshop, a fieldwork and an installation, composed of twenty hand-drawn and embroidered maps on paper and fabric, a map made out of clay, and two audio pieces, one being a walking sound installation. This device at the intersection of humanities and art has been displayed in several exhibitions in France and Switzerland and will be presented from
February to May 2016 at the Resistance and Deportation History Centre in Lyon, France, within an international exhibition on migrations and contemporary art, in cooperation with the National Museum for the History of Immigration. Through a reflexive analysis, we would like to discuss some epistemological and methodological questions raised by this experimental project: - how can art and social sciences, through mapping, simulate alternative representations of borders, border-crossings and migration experiences and what kind of political implications may these representations lead to? - Are sensitive and aesthetic ways of communication helpful to draw critical attention to the contemporary politics on borders and migrations? In the contrary, do they participate to the “politics of pity” defined by Boltanski (1999), in which suffering becomes a spectacle?

**Audio-Visual Presentation Thursday 12th November 9.30**

Erene Kaptani: Lesvos, the European island in the crossroads of the two humanitarian crisis.

On Lesvos, both the survival of the ‘locals’ and ‘refugees’ depends on decisions made in European Institutions. Refugees are currently arriving on the island at a time when an unprecedented process of underdevelopment is occurs in at the hands of these institutions.

In this presentation, the speaker, who has been involved since 2009 with refugees arriving to her hometown, reflects on the way refugee arrivals are managed by the different statutory and non-statutory European bodies. This presentation envisages creating an understanding and a discussion on what the social and political changes between Greece and Europe have been in the past five months and how these continue to affect the management and monitoring of refugees. It aims to encourage a discussion of the trends formed, by both European institutions and society, regarding their humanitarian and social welfare responses.
Film Synopses

Houdoud al bahr/Confini del Mare

Mazara – Mahdia

The film is intended to dis-orient spectators in an attempt to ‘emancipate’ them, by favouring an active engagement of spectators who are called to critically interrogate the images they are seeing. In this sense, the film wishes to contribute to overcoming the essentially passive mass-media routines visualizing the Italian/Tunisian borderland in the Mediterranean. Gazing into the Mediterranean border-migration nexus through the borderscape lens, Houdoud al bahr provides an alternative ‘multi-sited choreography’ of the Italian/Tunisian borderland that is perceived as mobile and relational, resembling a fluid terrain of socio-cultural, political and economic negotiations, claims and counterclaims that are actualized at the level of everyday practice. In so doing, the documentary illustrates how the Mediterranean Europe and North Africa have become enmeshed in multiple layers of competition and integration through trends of colonialism, migration, and the formation of transnational communities. In the film, attention is given to ‘traces’ in the border landscape on both the Northern and Southern shores telling us about the genealogy of the Italian/Tunisian borderscape. Houdoud al bahr describes how ‘pluritopical’ and ‘pluriversal’ experiences of borders often clash with the assumptions of geopolitical theory and dominant mass-media representations, and it investigates how the rhetoric and policies of borders impact, conflict and are in a dynamic relationship with everyday life. The documentary is also aimed at responding to the need to search for new ways to give voice to these experiences and ‘make them visible’. We have worked with young people living in Mazara del Vallo (Sicily), whose families are originally from nearby Tunisia, to capture their kaleidoscopic perceptions, experiences, representations, and imaginaries of the Italian/Tunisian borderscape. Young people’s viewpoints have been incorporated into a broader ethnographic work, also involving other kinds of actors, on both sides of the borderland and mainly focusing on urban borderscapes of Mazara del Vallo, in Italy, and Mahdia, in Tunisia. Houdoud al bahr attempts to take the chance to relate the somewhat abstract level of conceptual change in critical border studies with actual borderscaping as practices across the Mediterranean. This could help move toward alternative border imaginaries ‘beyond the line’ able to describe the shifting processes of b/ordering in-between Europe and Africa.


The Colour of the Sea - A Filmic Border Experience in Ceuta

After a long journey departing from Guinea Conakry, Aliou, Diakité and Boubacar find themselves immobilized in the EU-African city of Ceuta. For them, the waiting time in Ceuta is uncertain. The waiting can take months or even years. Migrants who have irregularly crossed the Spanish-Moroccan land border are settled in the Centre of Temporary Stay for Immigrants (CETI). This is not exactly a detention centre. Those who are settled there can get in and out by showing an identification card.
However, they cannot leave the city of Ceuta. They must stay there until the Spanish authorities transfer them to the Iberian Peninsula. During their waiting in Ceuta, migrants find themselves immobilized between two EU thresholds: a land border represented and marked by a fence with the surrounding Moroccan forest; and a sea border represented by the waters of the Strait of Gibraltar which separates Ceuta from mainland Europe. The forest and the sea, both are part of the border landscape of this Spanish enclave in North Africa.

“The Colour of the Sea - A Filmic Border Experience in Ceuta -” is a short documentary film performed in participatory action with their protagonists. It registers a filmic border experience that takes place in Ceuta. The filmmaker bursts into this waiting time with the aim of shooting a film on the border. The main characters, Aliou, Diakité and Boubacar, knew that this film did not look for a representation of the experience of the border based on their migratory biographical travel. Instead it sought to both produce and activate a border experience through the performing of a film in this spatial and temporal threshold in their journey. By entering in these migrant everyday waiting landscapes that the forest and the sea represent in Ceuta, we perform there the play of shooting a film. With this mission the film grows up mixing theatrical scenes with improvised dialogues. In the forest the film deeps into this transitional waiting through oneric situations in which one of the characters narrate a short story based on a legend about the arrival of the white colonizers in Africa. Along with the oral tradition of the legend, the film captures a conversation between the protagonists, which takes place at the seaside and during which they discuss the border landscape around them.

“The Colour of the Sea” is an ethnographic documentary performed with a poetic and symbolic language, which plays with the porous boundaries between reality and representation. The film contains a reflection about the film itself, a reflection about the filmmaking process. It reveals the conflict triggered by the shooting of a documentary film about the EU border regime and the dilemmas some immigrants must confront vis-à-vis their participation in the filming process. After this filmic border experience the characters talk about the process, about what has happened and about how the border could be represented in different places and by different narratives far away from official media visions victimizing the migration and associating it with images of the nexus border-security. The film aims to create another vision, another imaginary disrupting and dislocating the physical border from visual icons as the border-fence and its geopolitics. In so doing it attempts to portray the city of Ceuta as a limbo-scape between two EU thresholds where migrants' trajectories are spatially and temporally suspended.

The Invisible Enemy Across the Wall: Israeli and Palestinian Children's Perspective of the "Other"

Our documentary focuses on the growing separation between Israeli and Palestinian populations, and its implications for the long term processes of conflict resolution and management. The building of the security / separation barrier / fence / wall during the past decade is an additional symbol of the growing separation between the two people, which began during the first Palestinian uprising in 1989, and which has strengthened despite the relatively short period of conflict resolution following the signing of the Oslo Accords in the mid 1990's. Following two decades of conflict escalation, Israeli society has become even more segregated within its self erected borders, protected by sophisticated technologies aimed at preventing infiltrations and "illegal" border-crossing. The documentary suggests that, contrary to the classical securitization discourse which argues that the new fences and walls enhance physical security, they create – at one and the same time – a new sense of insecurity resulting from the perceptions of fear and threat, especially amongst younger populations who have
never previously crossed to the other side, because of the invisibility and lack of knowledge about the "other".

The documentary explores the attitudes and perceptions of children on both sides of the separation barrier, as contrasted with some local, grassroots, initiatives aimed at promoting cross-border cooperation – for reasons of quality of life enhancement, rather than based on any political motivation. The video shows how the lack of cross-border policies has profound psychological implications on people who live in close proximity to the border. By interviews of two groups of children from neighbor cities in the West Bank, one from the Palestinian city Hebron and the other from the Jewish city Kiryat Arba, we demonstrate how securitization policies trickle down to daily life and create narratives of the "other" as invisible enemy. Moreover, the children’s drawing of the other side, and their responses concerning the way in which they imagine and perceive the people (like themselves) on the "other" side, express a sense of fear, threat and insecurity from the unknown and unfamiliar enemy, despite, and precisely because of, the existence of the "security barrier". This, in turn, raises difficult questions concerning the next generation of young adults (now children) and their contribution to renewed conflict rather than conflict resolution.

**Everyday Borders**

Everyday Borders is a documentary film that grew out of a partnership between the Centre for research on Migration Refugees and Belonging (CMRB) at the University of East London, Migrants' Rights Network (MRN), Refugee and Migrant Forum of Essex and London (RAMFEL) and Southall Black Sisters (SBS). It examines how increasing numbers of people are becoming border-guards as employers, landlords, health workers and educators are legally required to administer the UK border as part of their everyday lives. The film was shot as the 2014 Immigration Act pulled more people into border-guard roles. It examines how those who are their subjects experience being denied jobs, accommodation, healthcare and education because these border administrators may not be able or willing to understand the complexities of immigration law, may act on racist stereotypes or, threatened by fines and raids, exclude racialized minorities in order to minimize risk to themselves. The film considers the implications of these developments to all of us in our daily lives and for British society as a convivial pluralist society. As further immigration legislation is introduced in 2015 the film asks us to consider not only the effects of these increasing everyday technologies of bordering on diversity in the UK but also on the ways we think, talk about and experience diversity.

**Concept:** Nira Yuval-Davis and Georgie Wemyss. **Direction:** Orson Nava. **Research and Production:** Georgie Wemyss. **Camera Operators:** Orson Nava. **Editing and Post-production:** Orson Nava. Financed by CMRB of UEL as part of the Project “Bordering, Political Landscapes and Social Arenas: Potentials and Challenges of Evolving Border Concepts in a post-Cold War World” (acronym EUBORDERSCAPES) funded under the European Commission’s FP7 – Cooperation Programme: Socio-Economic Sciences and Humanities (Grant Agreement 290775).
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Keith Vaz was first elected in June 1987 and was subsequently re-elected as a Member of Parliament 7 times. He was the first person of Asian origin to sit in the House of Commons since 1922. He was Britain’s Minister for Europe under Tony Blair. In 2007, Keith was elected as a member of the Labour Party’s ruling National Executive Committee and was appointed by the Prime Minister in 2006 to chair its Ethnic Minority Taskforce, a position he still holds. Born to Goan parents in Aden, Yemen, Keith was educated at Cambridge University where he studied law and then became a solicitor. Elected as the youngest Labour Member of Parliament in 1987 he was appointed an Opposition Spokesman on regeneration and established the City 2020 Commission. When Labour was elected to government in 1997 he was made Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Attorney General. He then became a Junior Justice Minister and was quickly promoted to become a Minister of State in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office where he helped negotiate the enlargement of the European Union. In 2001 Keith became the senior Labour member on the Justice Committee and in 2007 was elected Chairman of the Home Affairs Committee and was re-elected in 2010 and 2015 by a vote of the whole Parliament. His interests include health issues, in particular diabetes prevention, Yemen, and Tamil issues. He has previously chaired the All Party Parliamentary Group on Yemen, founded the All Party Parliamentary Tamil Group and is a former President of the Indo-British Parliamentary Group.

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