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International Geographical Union
Commission on Political Geography (CPG)
Panel Session 1 – Israel-Palestine Territorial Configurations

Bordering Disputed Territories: The European Union’s Technical Custom Rules and Israel’s Occupation

Sharon Pardo and Neve Gordon:

Ben-Gurion University

The article describes the Rules of Origins (ROO) dispute between the European Union and Israel, assuming that these technical customs rules are also instruments of foreign policy. Examining the actual consequences of imposing the ROO—which we understand as a form of bordering—we argue that they have had no direct impact on Israel’s industry in the Occupied Territories. This, we maintain, is primarily because ROO operate in a top-down manner that deflects the power of the local—in this case EU citizenry—from weighing in through, for example, consumer boycotts. We go on to claim, however, that the EU’s attempt to reassert the Green Line through the implementation of ROO has had two other effects. First, the implementation of the ROO has bolstered the Union’s self-identification as a “normative power.” Second, the bordering carried out by the ROO constitute an important legal precedent that has served to legitimize a series of other actions against Israel’s occupation.

Symbolic Borders between Jews and Arabs in Israel

Ákos Bodor and Zoltán Grünhut

Centre for Economic and Regional Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

According to the Declaration of Independence signed on the 14th of May 1948, Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people, where Jews and non-Jews live together in a democratic state. Some says that this proclamation is a paradox, as Israel cannot be Jewish and demo-cratic at the same time, cause in a Jewish state non-Jews are indisputably second-class citi-zens with limited political, economic, cultural-linguistic, etc. individual and collective rights. That’s why there are critical theories about the real character of Israel, as it is an ethno-democracy, or an ethnocracy, maybe a demographic regime, or an apartheid state (Lustick 1980, Khaklai 2011, Zureik 1979, Yiftachel 2006, Rouhana 1997, Ghanem 2001, Pappé 2011, Smooha 2010). Others do not accept these approaches, as they underline that Israel surely can be Jewish and democratic, if the non-Jewish communities can practice their autonomous collective rights freely (Reiter 2013, Peleg – Waxman 2011, Avineri 2010, Shapira 2008, Sharkansky 1997). What this paper emphasises about this dilemma are the socio-cultural cleavages between Israeli Jews and Arabs, cause the core issues are the mutual lack of trust, intolerance, social biases and preconceptions, exclusionary community-affiliations and trends to accept anti-democratic values as basic norms. These cleavages on the one hand are symbolic borders between Jews and
Arabs in Israel, while on the other these social characteristics have badly negative impacts on socio-cultural integration. The first half of the paper deals with the theoretical question of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and the importance of this issue, while the second part empirically analyses the above mentioned social features according to dimension (such as generalized trust, institutional trust, tolerance, fate control, community affiliation, etc.) aggregated about indicators from different waves of the European Social Surveys (ESS) and the Israeli Democracy Index.

Israel, “Land of Borders” Without Borders

Simona Epasto

University of Macerata

Following the essential elements of the State-Nation, Israel presents unique peculiarities in the global geopolitical survey as well as in the traditional categorizations of Political Geography.

First of all, it definitely represents a sui generis State due to the ethnic, geographic and demographic peculiarities that characterize it; at the same time, from a political and geopolitical point of view it appears "spiritually" and economically Americanist and liberalist, culturally Orientalist and geopolitically Occidentalist.

The State, founded by David Ben Gurion and Chaim Weizmann, has an autonomous identity which is not based only on history and religion, but also on the right of a persecuted people to their land. It is a legitimate State which, for very complex historical and geographical circumstances, is at the centre of a multilateral and ideological attack by Islamic fundamentalism that has nothing to do with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The recent attacks from the Syrian jihadist troops on the northern border of Israel are nothing but another proof of what have been said.

As for the security threats, the situation is indeed paradoxical; although it is the largest military force in the area, it is still the most on the alert. In order to prevent any attack, a harshly criticized wall to separate Israel from the Palestinian territories was built in 2003, followed by the announcement of the construction of a new barrier along the Jordan River in 2013, which will begin after the completion of Israel-Egypt separation wall. In January 2013, the construction of the Israel–Egypt border fence barrier was completed in its main section while the final section was completed in December 2013. In June 2014 the Prime Minister also announced that Israel would build a security barrier along the Jordanian border which would stretch all the way from Eilat to the Golan Heights. In fact, the relations with the neighbouring States (mainly all the Palestinian territories and Syria) remain the main problem, but since 2011 new concerns were added because of the widespread instability on its borders as a result of the "Arab Springs."
Precisely for these reasons, the State of Israel presents another peculiarity, from a Geographical and Geopolitical point of view, represented by the indeterminateness of its borders. If, from a Geostrategic profile, this feature may seem synonymous with uncertainty and “non-normality”, as well as a cause of isolation and even a condemnation by other States or other geopolitical actors, in actual fact it represents its real strength.

The aim of this paper is to highlight how the indeterminateness of geographical, ideological, political and geopolitical borders, far from being a weakness or even a possible cause of the end of the Jewish State, is the true strength of the only democracy existing in the Middle East. Through the analysis of “elective affinities” that the Israeli State has had and continues to have with Europe, Africa, Asia and America, it will be demonstrated that Israel is a positive model of civil cohabitation, democracy and respect for rights, since it is founded on an ideology, Zionism, to which must be recognized the merit for the survival of the State itself, as it is capable of processing Judaism in a secular sense without ever departing from it.

In Through the "Divided City" Borders: Governmentalizing East Jerusalem's Urban Systems in post-Oslo Era

Simona Epasto
Ben-Gurion University

Jerusalem is mainly studied as an ethno-national Divided City in which inner and wraparound borders play a significant role in constructing its social and political realm and the geopolitical setup of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. This line of inquiry produced in the last decade fertile concepts and themes such as Dumper’s "Many bordered city" (2014), Boano and Marten’s "border mechanics" (2013), Pullan’s “Frontier Urbanism” (2011), Shlay and Rosen’s “The shifting green line”(2010), Klien’s “Old and new walls in Jerusalem”(2005). Broadly speaking, each of these accounts conceptualize the political spatiality of colonial relations and resistance and their resulted processes of discriminative enclavisation of Palestinian villages and neighborhoods, and split in urban systems and their functional detachment from state's and municipal apparatuses.

Yet, in this paper I will present a different line of inquiry of urban borders and enclaves focusing on changes in political and governmental relations between Palestinian urban systems and the state. In analyzing changes in managerial and administrative affiliations of the Palestinian transport, health, and education systems, I will show how these systems constitute a tangible arena of autonomy and resistance to Israeli rule under the auspices of both Jordan in the 70's-80's and PA in the 90's. My main argument will present a "governmentalization era" of East Jerusalem since the 2000's, manifested in implementation of governmental practices and projects by
the state that eventually increases administrative and managerial affiliations and dependency of Palestinian urban systems on state mechanism. Furthermore, I will show how these processes are linked tightly to the emergence of grassroots organizations and claims on the state in regard to particular urban rights such as education, transport and health services. Hence, we might carefully consider the "governmentalization era" of east Jerusalem as an indicator of a creeping urban-political process of strengthening state control over Palestinian enclaves on the one hand, and local politics shifting on the other: from sovereignty claims to pragmatic adaptation of state administrative and judicatory norms.

In regard to the conference's main themes, this new development might contain a potentiality to reformulate our understanding of borders and enclaves in contested cities. This might be a suggestion for methodological challenge since it seems that the extensive borders research of Jerusalem in the last decade has dealt mostly with indentifying and locating the lines which separate between competing urban systems. This might be also a call to investigate urban borders and enclaves in relation to the dynamics of political, social and governmental arrangements and exchanges which constitute them and are constituted by them.

Panel Session 2 – African Border Towns

Located at the margin of states, but often at the center of the regional economy, border towns are different from other towns. While regional and national centers draw their wealth from their hinterland, most border towns thrive at the point of convergence of transnational networks. While most cities evolve slowly, border towns often experience sudden booms or declines due to variations in price differentials, exchange rates between currencies, taxes between countries, and bans of imports and exports. A common pattern is one in which the existence of the border has stimulated the emergence of twin towns. Against this background, the objective of this session is to explore the characteristics of African border towns in comparative perspective. Our discussion is illustrated with the case of several border towns located in West and East Africa.

The Ghana-Togo Borderlands in Transition: Border Towns in Historical Perspective

Paul Nugent

University of Edinburgh

For most of the period since independence, the border between Ghana and Togo has been characterized by friction between governments and a distinct lack of interest in promoting cross-border co-operation. However, commodity shortages in Ghana, a
black market for currency and price differentials led to a thriving contraband trade and to the growth of border towns. Over the past decade, the two states have embraced a regional integration agenda in which border towns have assumed a strategic significance. This paper compares the dynamics of three quite different border towns: Agotime-Kpetoe, which has no obvious twin but is located in relative proximity to administrative centres in Ghana’s Volta Region and Togo alike; Noepe, a divided twin town where a One-Stop Border Post (OSBP) is presently under construction; and Aflao-Lome where a capital city meets a border town.

Politics and Trade on the Uganda-Kenya Border: A Comparison of Twin Towns

Isabella Soi

University of Edinburgh

The Uganda-Kenya border is central to the commerce of the entire East African sub-region. Apart from the trade that is carried out between Uganda, as a land-locked country, and Kenya, most of the goods intended for South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi transit through this border. In particular, they are funneled through the two twin towns of Busia-Uganda/Busia-Kenya and Malaba-Uganda and Malaba-Kenya, whereas the smaller town of Lwakhakha is currently excluded from the trade but is expected to join them in the near future. Busia and Malaba are currently the site of One-Stop Border Posts (OSBP) which are supposed to facilitate the more rapid movement of vehicles and goods. These border towns have been shaped not merely by large-scale trade, but by the existence of small-scale trade carried out by populations who have been attracted to the border in question. Although trade is a constant, the border towns have developed in quite different ways. The towns on the Kenya side of the border are typically larger and have more infrastructures. But equally, the twin-border towns differ considerably in the size and the quality of their infrastructure. This paper compares the development and future prospects of three twin towns of Busia, Malaba and Lwakhakha.

West African Border Towns: Demography and Economic Centrality (1950-2010)

Olivier Walther

University of Southern Denmark

The aim of the paper is to analyze the demographic evolution and economic centrality of border towns in West Africa. In the first part, we are particularly interested in examining whether border towns in general have grown faster than other towns, and identifying which border towns have experienced a boom or a strong decline from 1950 to 2010. Using a database that allows to compare morphological urban areas
over the last 60 years, our study of the demographic evolution of cities located at various ranges of national borders shows that the share of the urban population located in border regions has remained constant. Focusing on economic activities, we argue that the centrality of border towns is less related to the size and qualification of their labor pool than on the business opportunities offered by their peripheral location. We illustrate this crucial aspect in the second part of the paper, in which we show that border markets are clustered in 19 functional cross-border regions in which interactions between markets are potentially high. Despite their crucial importance for regional integration, very few place-based policies have thus far been implemented to support the development of such markets and regions.

**Panel Session 3 – Euro-Asia Borders 1**

**Geopolitical Identities and Notions of Neighbourhood – The Black Sea Region.**

**Gökten Doğangün and James Scott**

Middle East Technical University and University of Eastern Finland

Employing a broader understanding of the concept of “Neighbourhood”, the authors suggest that emerging geopolitical identities within the wider European context - rather than political rationality alone – are driving cooperation initiatives between the EU and its regional neighbours. Within the current situation of political tension over Ukraine and an apparent struggle for regional influence between the EU and Russia, the Black Sea Region has become a particularly contentious area.

In ongoing research funded by the European Union the authors are interrogating the means through which the European Union, Turkey and other regional actors are communicating and negotiating geopolitical identities in the Black Sea context. This involves, on the one hand, specific policy initiatives (such as the EU’s Black Sea Synergy) that convey both policy agendas and political values. On the other, geopolitical identity-building also involves a strong bordering based on contestations of different (supra) national interests and perceptions of civilisational difference. At the same time, approximations of a notion of shared regional “Neighbourhood” can also be detected. Eschewing the notion of a unified vision of regional neighbourhood, different conceptualisations will be compared and contrasted in terms of the imaginaries of geopolitical space they reference.

Our research indicates that the geopolitical identities of both the EU and Turkey are heterogeneous and constituted of many discursive, ideational and practical strands. While both actors has been attempting to stitch a modicum of coherence from this patchwork, we will speculate as to what spaces remain open for a potentially more progressive understanding of Neighbourhood in the Black Sea context than has been
the case in the past. In addition, we will also speculate as to the role of societal engagement and development, rather than strictly security-oriented concerns, in the construction of a potential Black Sea cooperation area.

Patterns of Cross-Border Activities in the Polish – Russian Borderland.

Iwona Sagan, Klaudia Nowicka and Dominika Studzińska

University of Gdansk

Opening of borders in 2012 has changed a lot in Polish-Russian relation. Before 2012, contacts between the citizens of Poland and Kaliningrad had been limited. The border had been perceived as a barrier and a line of separation, which restricted contacts between those two neighboring countries. In 2009 only 1 million people crossed the Polish-Russian border. When on 27th July, 2012 the agreement of free visa zone came into force more and more Russians from Kaliningrad Oblast started visiting Tri-city as it is an attractive tourist destination and a place where they can do shopping. In 2013 the number of people crossing the Polish-Russian border exceeded 6 million.

Local border traffic has also changed Russian’s lifestyles. They visit Gdansk few times per month and spend time mostly in large shopping centres and groceries. Some of them take part in the largest mass events and visit local attractions. The citizens of Kaliningrad stimulate the economic growth of Pomorskie region, and this is why the local authorities have started promoting Tri-city in Kaliningrad Oblast and encouraging more Russians to visit Polish borderland.

The purpose of this paper is on the one hand to present cross-border activities in the Polish-Russian borderland after accession to the visa-free zone. On the other hand to show the impact of their activity on socio-economic development of Tri-city. The article will also answer two key questions. Firstly, how Russian visitors perceive the Polish borderland, especially Tri-city and its residents. Secondly, how the local border traffic has changed the lifestyle of Kaliningrad Oblast citizens?

The analysis is based on the surveys conducted with Russians who are crossing the Polish-Russian border and visiting Tri-city. The research has been done within the framework of the EUBORDERSCPARES project.

Europeanising Civic Cross-border Cooperation: Historical Layers and Present-day Practices of Finnish-Russian Civic Cross-border Relations.

Jussi Lane and Illka Liikane

University of Eastern Finland
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.

Zoltán Hajdú
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Results of Cold War in 1989: Iron Curtains for Austria
Socialist Iron Curtain for Soviet Union
Different role of borders for other neighbours
Changing neighbourhood and changing of functions of borders, 1990-1995:
Collapse of socialist political systems
Collapse of Socialist Federations: Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, USSR
New neighbours: Croatia, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine
European Union at the border, 1995 (Join of Austria) Forming of new types of cross-border connections. Basic Agreements with new neighbouring countries: recognition of borders vs. problems of rights of Hungarian minorities,

Panel Session 4 – Cultural Production of Borders

Altering of Regional Rhetoric in the Croatia Cultural discourse: Enquiry into the Image of Europe in the post-1989 Balkans.

Ivana Trkulja
Center for Advance Study Sofia (Bulgaria) \ University of Eastern Finland

The alteration of the Balkan ‘regional rhetoric’ remains remarkably captured in the cultural and literary discourses over the time. The changing border perceptions authentically reflect transformation of national and regional narrative following the political mobilisation in the 1980s. The present research focuses on the cultural discourses in Croatia while tracing and contextualising rhetorical shifts developed around the imaginaries: commencing with the ‘national’ in 1990s, followed by ‘Mitteleuropaen’ and ‘Mediterranean’ after 2000 and more recent discourses related to the ‘post-Yugoslav space’ and ‘European Union integration’. The transformation of ‘regional rhetoric’ in the Croatian cultural discourses reflects the processes of political change in the Balkans featured by the social upheavals, condemning of the old borders and welcoming of the new ones. The proposal correlates changing images of Europe in the context of the regional narrative offering contribution to the overall discussion on the post-1989 conceptual change in thinking European borders and society.

Making and Breaking Boundaries: Israel’s Marked and Mapped Hiking Trail Network.

Shay Rabineau
Brandeis University

Israel has the only country-wide network of marked and mapped hiking trails in the Middle East. From the beginning, trail-marking by Zionist hikers was a boundary-blurring and boundary-creating activity. The first marked trail was blazed by Jewish Palmach scouts in November 1947, in territory slated to belong to an Arab state under the impending United Nations Partition Plan. During the ensuing war, the area around the first trail was conquered by Jordan, and trail-marking served afterward to fill in undeveloped spaces in contested desert and border areas within Israeli territory. After the June 1967 war, when the territory under Israeli control dramatically increased in
size, Israeli hikers explored all of the newly-conquered areas. The national trail-marking system, however, only followed them into certain areas, and it avoided other areas entirely. The first part of this paper will describe how Israeli trail-marking served as a means of claiming contested territory, and will examine the cultural and political forces that caused trails to appear in the Golan Heights and West Bank, but not the Sinai Peninsula. The second part of the paper will explore how Israeli trail-marking has spilled into the West Bank, and has contributed to the development of new Palestinian and Jordanian trail networks. Overall, it will show how a marking system that originated in Europe impacted the Middle East, and how it continues to evolve as it moves across armistice lines and international borders.

Cross Border Cooperation Related Discourse in the Hungarian and Ukrainian Media of the Border Region.
Ráchel Surányi
ELTE

The context of this presentation is the Hungarian-Ukrainian-Slovak triborder region which went belonged to empires and old-new states starting with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy until the collapse of the Soviet Union and finally to the independent Ukraine. This paper focuses on the Hungarian-Ukrainian region where similarly to the third part of the triborder region, the Hungarians make up the biggest minority on the other Ukrainian (and Slovak) side therefore there is a strong togetherness on the two sides of the border. They do not only keep the Hungarian language as their native language throughout generations, but they also keep strong relations to their Hungarian counterpart.

Our aim was to get an impression how frequently and with what content CBC related topics such as crossing the border, EU and Europe, etc. appear in the Ukrainian and Hungarian media of the border region in general and whether there are differences between the Ukrainian and Hungarian media. The analysis is based on empirical research: the methodology was content analysis. We observed the Hungarian-speaking media on both sides throughout one year in one-week periods and looked for CBC-related articles. The content analysis of these relevant articles happened with the help of a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analyser Software, called MAXqda. This not only facilitates the process of analysis, but also has features and tools that can make our findings more interesting. The analysis goes from makro data to mikro data: we started with the description of the newspapers’ characteristics and then elaborated more on the text of the chosen articles, the words and pictures that were used and not unimportantly the content of them.

Some of our findings: starting with the differences in medium, we found that the characteristics of the available newspapers were different. Regarding the content, we found that while in Ukraine the most frequently appearing topic was cross border, in Hungary the EU-related topics dominated. The Hungarian newspapers in Ukraine dealt a lot more with the Hungarian-related topics which coincides with earlier findings. And lastly, we noted that in Ukraine the content of the articles are more positive than those in Hungary.

Representations of Israel's boundaries found in Israeli films
Zeev Zivan
Ben-Gurion University
Since the birth of the State of Israel, Israeli films have expressed the spirit of their times. The struggle for independence produced a wave of heroic films, presenting those fighting for statehood and the State, such as fighting to hold the strategic heights above the road to Jerusalem ("Hill 24 doesn't answer" 1955) or the soldiers in the Six-Day War, as part of the euphoria at that time. The days of the War of Attrition brought back images of 'the other' as an infiltrating saboteur crossing the border, like in the final scene in the movie "Siege" (1969) and in the song written by Yaron London, in the spirit of the times, "The chase."

A comic presentation of the military and its frontline positions in Sinai, while facing the Egyptians and crossing the border between the forward positions of both sides, is found in the cult film "Halfon Hill doesn't answer" (1976), starring the "Gashash ha-Hiver" [Pale Tracker] Comedy Trio. The Yom Kippur War and, even more so, the First Lebanon War aroused protest against the endless warfare. A series of movies accompanied these wars, from "Beaufort" (2007) to "Bethlehem" (2013). The soldier returning from Lebanon, who phones home right after crossing back into Israel through the border check-point, tells his mother: "I'm back home," and represents the general desire to be rescued from the Lebanese mire.

Some films, that were called 'border films' by researchers, expressed views outside the realm of politics. Movies about the period of the Intifada presented the struggle against Israel, as in the movie by Eran Riklis, "The Syrian bride" (2004) and "Lemon tree" (2008).

This series of films ends with a documentary film presenting the reality of the renewal of the frontier, directed by Ronit Ifergan from Kfar Aza, "Border living" (2013); it expresses the existential tension under mortar and missile fire along the Gaza Strip border. Currently (up to the end of the summer of 2014), with the conclusion of "Operation Protective Edge" and the reality in the borderlands adjacent to the Gaza Strip, there is special significance to the documentary point-of-view, following the thousands of rocket attacks and the question regarding the evacuation of the civilian populations from those border settlements during the days of the war. It seems to recall the distant days of the 1948 War of Independence.

**Session 5 – Euro-Asia Border 2**

**Eastern Borderland of EU: Historical, Cultural and Economic Challenges in Transcarpathia and Kaliningrad region.**

*Maria Zotova and Alexander Sebentov*

Moscow Academy of Science

Nation-building in East-Central Europe evokes the establishment of new boundaries, the change of their functions and their role. It is important to compare these processes with the “biographies” (in terms of Nick Megoran) of the borders in the “old” part of the EU. The objective of this paper is to examine the socio-economic, ethno-cultural and historical features of two regions - Kaliningrad (Russia) and Transcarpathia (Ukraine) related to the developmentof cross-border activities, as well as the institutional infrastructure framing cross-border integration.
In the first part of the paper the authors justify the choice of these regions, analyze their common features and their impact on cross-border cooperation. The second part is devoted to the socio-economic development of two border regions in comparison with neighbouring regions: counties and communes of Lithuania; provinces and powiats of Poland; counties of Romania and Hungary, territories and districts of Slovakia. The gaps separating the areas on the opposite side of the boundary are considered in the context of the existing and potential cross-border interactions and cooperation. In the third part the authors examine the influence of the border on the everyday life of population and assess the perspectives of cross-border integration.

Dissolution of Yugoslavia and Slovenian-Croatian Boundary Dispute: Expecting the Decision of the Arbitration Tribunal.
Damir Josipovič
Institute for Ethnic Studies (Slovenia)

Slovenia and Croatia have a long and winding state border – according to some sources over 670 kilometers long. As one of the results of the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the Slovenian-Croatian border has soon started to figure as a new political curtain, which has for more than two decades prevented normal cross-border communication. While after 1991 all of the former eastern Yugoslav borders opened (towards the former COMECON countries), the borders within its territory have emerged highly impermeable. The war in Yugoslavia never settled the many questions of boundary courses between the former republics.

Here we present the twenty year-old Slovenian-Croatian dispute on land and sea, which was finally relinquished to the ad hoc Arbitration Tribunal in The Hague.

When analyzing the Slovenian-Croatian boundary course, one may find some important physical shifts of its course. These shifts form also a basis for an understanding of the so-called identity formation of the local population not to mention the “creative policies” of both states’ centers. Above that, three major constituent cases within the border dispute are examined to support the thesis that the mentality shift from the former Italo-Yugoslav cold-war border shifted entirely onto the Slovenian-Croatian border dispute. A former loss of Triest due to the Iron curtain imposition was compensated in a struggle for the remnants of the Yugoslav legacy.

Awaiting its decision (due in 2015) we present some basic elements of the Tribunal’s decision making process.

Quasi-Diasporas Along the Eastern Borders of the EU.
Endre Sik
TÁRKI
The term quasi-Diaspora is derived from the general Diaspora concept, and describes a situation when while a minority group is not created by migration but by the shifts of borders, however the sociological characteristics of this minority is very similar to that of a Diaspora, i.e. emotionally heavily loaded focus on the “quasi-Motherland (QM)”, QM is a core element of the minority identity, etc..

Using the results of a recently finished (ENRI-EAST, http://www.enri-east.net/en/) and an ongoing research (Euroborders) we test the validity of the quasi-Diaspora concept by three indicators: discrimination perception, migration potential and cross-border migration.

The fieldwork of ENRI-EAST covered twelve minority groups in eight countries along the Eastern border of the EU (Map 1). The design of the research allows us to compare the same minority groups in different countries as well as different minorities in the same country.

Reinterpretation of the Language of Political Conceptualization of Ukraine-EU and Ukraine-Russia Borders: Expert Discourses.

Yana Petrova

V. Karazin Kharkiv National University (Ukraine)

Politicization of language that explains and interprets the EU and Ukraine relations is one of the key tools of design and reproduction of these relations, as well as the method of forming of domestic internal political discourse "about the relationship in the relationship". The key task for researchers here is to "unpack" the given discourse through its depoliticization and re-politization, which means to give it a new political status. The most important element of this discourse is a language for describing the boundaries/borders/frontiers of the EU-Ukraine and Ukraine-Russia, a language which is capable of forming an image of the border in the framework of the descriptive evaluation and contrasting with the mode of description of the borders of Ukraine and "non-EU states."

In no small importance this language (as a performative strategy for Ukrainian foreign policy, foreign economic, geopolitical and humanitarian integration with the EU) is able to act as a provocation to actions and to project an imaginary reality into practice by performing projective function.

During the study of the given subjects the publications and political language of the content that represents the official and alternative vision of relations of Ukraine to the programs of the Eastern Partnership (Eastern partnership) and the east European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP), containing a reference to the external borders of Ukraine.
20 interviews with experts, among whom regional politicians, civil servants, media experts, representatives of the academic community are being analysed. The main purpose of the analysis of expert discourse is the need to fix the formation of discourse of geostrategic choice of Ukraine in the context of Russia's foreign policy and military aggression as well as the transformation of border discourse, dividing it into discourse of "Ukrainian-European border" and the discourse of "Ukrainian and Eurasian border."

Session 6 – Migration and Borders

Zimbabwe on the Move.

Noa Levy

Ben-Gurion University

Location, international relations, cultural traditions and a complicated political situation drove Zimbabwe into the center of migration flows in Southern Africa. Sharing a commercially active border with South Africa, in the midst of an inter-regional boiling pot not too far from the horn of Africa and Central Africa, Zimbabwe has become a famous transit country for migrants from all over the continent.

While recovering from a financial and social crisis, Zimbabwe has not only been receiving migrants en route to South Africa, but had been losing millions of its citizens, men, women and children, in their attempt to find a better future for themselves and their loved ones. Alongside cultural traditions of migrations and poor economic conditions, having the sight of a greener grass just across the South African and Botswana borders, all led to the migration of 25%-50% percent of Zimbabwean adults for different periods of time since the country's independence in 1980.

With a struggling economy, poverty, extreme unemployment, an HIV/AIDS epidemic and social polarity, Zimbabwe has to work in multidimensional methods in order to regulate, prevent and protect migrants from in and out of the country. Trying to avoid international turbulence with the receiving and sending countries while managing its own loss of people, the Zimbabwean government is in a migration jam.

Although Zimbabwe's diplomatic relations with USA and Europe are limited, it has extensive collaborations with international human rights and aid organizations. Collaborations regarding migration are focused on finding ways to handle migration issues in a realistic and sustainable way that will also allow the country to control its borders and maintain its national security. During the most difficult years of Zimbabwe's economic crisis in 2006-2010, migration was dealt almost autonomously by international organizations like IOM and the UN but in the past couple of years the government has been playing a stronger role in addressing these issues. Even though the government has a limited ability to provide the same manpower and funds as the NOG's did, it is still increasing its involvement, taking larger responsibilities and playing a key role in adjusting policy, handling protection of migrants and prevention of irregular migration.
In this paper I shall try to suggest an insight to the migrations challenges that the
government of Zimbabwe is facing and to the ways it has been coping with them
during the post-crisis years. I will try to address the challenges that await in shifting
the responsibilities from financially stable and well-connected international NGO’s to
the hands of a struggling government, but also look at the benefits of the government's
persistence in doing so. With border-crossing being an ongoing challenge for so many
countries around the globe, there might be some interesting ideas and lessons to be
learned from Zimbabwe's experience of being one of the center points of migration in
Africa.

**Everyday Postcolonial Bordering: Partnerships, Relationships and Engagement.**

**Nira Yuval-Davis and Georgie Wemyss**

Umeå University (Sweden)

Historically a partnership has existed between state ‘Border Enforcement’ and civil
registry offices in England. For several decades couples from Britain and the ex-
Empire seeking fiancée visas have been cross examined about the intimacies of their
relationships by immigration officers in British High Commissions across South Asia
and Africa and also faced the questions of marriage registrars in England. More
recently as couples have become more diverse and borders have been opened up for
Europeans whilst being tightened against those from ex-colonies and elsewhere,
marriages between women from Eastern Europe and men from South Asia and Africa
have been targeted as potential ‘sham marriages’ (aimed at achieving ‘immigration
advantage’ by those who are not in a ‘genuine relationship’) by the British Home
Office.

The 2014 Immigration Act introduced further requirements for registry staff to work
more closely with ‘Border Enforcement’ to manage the border. Official discourses of
‘partnership’, ‘relationships’ and ‘engagement’ are used to describe the increasing
shared work of border enforcement by civil registrars and uniformed enforcers. As
well as negotiating the border during the process of marriage and civil partnerships,
the official and media ‘sham marriage’ discourses impact on the bordering
experienced by couples in their subsequent everyday lives.

In this paper, the life and border narratives of EEA /African couples are explored in
order to develop a situated, intersectional and postcolonial analysis of the everyday
bordering experiences of partnerships that embody the interface of Africa and Europe
in London.

The research brings together the themes and tasks of two work packages from the
EUBorderscapes Research project, WP9 Borders, Intersectionality and the Everyday
(RT2 The Story at the Borders: Autobiographical Narratives of Border Crossings,
Migration and Gender) and WP 5 Post-Colonial Bordering and Euro-African
Borderscapes (RT1 (a) Post-Colonial perspectives on Europe and its Borders).

**Living on Borrowed Time: Borders, Ticking Clocks and Timelessness among
Temporary Labor Migrants and their Children in Israel.**
Hani Zubida
Max Stern Yezerel Valley College (Israel)

“It’s like clockwork” the saying goes, meaning that things are orderly, dependable, based on a determined, communally shared, knowable and understandable concept of time. But, do migrants have a different sense of time because of their insecure, legally delimited tenures and aberrant social and legal status? In this paper, drawing from our field research with temporary labor migrants and their children in Israel, we propose that temporary labor migrants occupy parallel timescapes, what we call “temporary migrant time.” These timescapes reflect the peculiar experience of control and freedom that are part and parcel of being a temporary labor migrant. Further, we show how the juxtapositions of migrant timescapes alters time perception for native residents as well. The clash between these timescapes can provide potential for immigrant incorporation or result in migrants’ rejection. Our analysis builds on field research (interview and participant observation data) in Tel Aviv among temporary labor migrants in Israel. The findings may be insightful for other states attempting to manage temporary labor migration and immigrant incorporation.

Pilgrims, workers and refugees –Africans Challenge to Israeli borders.

Nurit Hashimshony-Yaffe
The Academic College of Tel Aviv Yaffo

Christian pilgrims, migrant workers and asylum seekers are all part of the African community in Israel during the last decades. As Israel is an isolated state – the massive flow of Africans entering Israel since early 2000's is an unusual and unexpected migration. This paper will portray the unique phenomenon (unique in its scope and nature) of Africans in Israel, and its different paths of challenging state territorial borders as well as social boundaries.

Work migration from Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Sierra Leon and Congo, identify Israel as part of a globalized world, as a western- modern state with strong and stable economy. Most of African migrant workers arrived to Israel as migrant workers or as pilgrims with entry permits, and stayed with no valid visas as illegal migrant workers. Work migration is challenging the globalized nature of the state and its borders (territorial borders).

Asylum seekers forced migration into Israel is an outcome of citizen wars and political disastrous in countries of origin, namely Eritrea and Sudan, but also of Israel being the interface of three major regions – Europe, The Middle East part of Asia (especially Egypt) and Africa. There is a tacit assumption in asking for asylum, that the state can assure ones safety (asylum) , but crossing the Egyptian- Israeli border is illegal and therefor defined as 'Infiltration' by Israeli law.

Apply for Asylum in Israel might be seen as a request to broaden the social boundaries of Israeli society and aspire for inclusiveness, as it is asking to include Eritreans and Sudanese as part of Israeli society. The state of Israel response has double aspects; one is a physical earthbound act of building a fence and closing the Israeli Egyptian border, the second response " they are not refugees- but migrant
workers” could be seen as relevant and impartial policy reply. I would like to suggest that the de-legitimization of the humanitarian need and rephrasing asylum seekers community as illegal migrant workers is a mere response of exclusion.

In these ways asylum seeking in Israel became a matter of border threatening, social and territorial borders. It may offer that this trend explains the policy towards African asylum seekers.

Session 7 – Securitization

Geopolitics on the Ground: Resistance in Hebron \ Al-Khalil.

Michael Neckermann

University of Bayreuth (Germany)

In recent years there has been a lot of different approaches to critical geopolitics which were related to the Israel-Palestine conflict. Stephen Graham's work on urbicide as well as Weizman's politics of verticality inspired researchers to look at the destructive side of the occupation and also at the control mechanisms of Israeli forces. These concepts take also note of the networks through which narratives and practices of security move from place to place and are materialized in concrete local phenomena. The work of Graham and Weizman has shown that the Israeli policy in the West Bank and Gaza can be described with narratives and practices of security, military dominance and a “dangerous” demographic development of the Palestinian inhabitants.

But still these approaches to geopolitics in Israel/Palestine are not unproblematic, like Harker points out: “[…] one danger of narrating the violence […] through tropes such as ‘urbicide’, a ‘matrix of control’ or a ‘politics of verticality’ is the risk of homogenizing and anaesthetizing this event discursively, which in turn allows parts of this event and what these parts encompass to be passed over far too quickly.” (2009, 324). Additionally, there has been already a claim in subaltern geopolitics for a closer look at “the global weak”, since they are the ones who are affected the strongest by geopolitical force. For having a more critical look at geopolitics in the Israel/Palestine conflict, it is necessary to “view” it at Palestinian daily live under occupation.

An important line of thought for this approach is a relational space conception which is based on the work of Doreen Massey. It allows us to move away from the normative biased constructions of local and global: „In this view local places are not simply always the victims of the global; nor are they always politically defensible redoubts against the global. For places are also the moments through which the global is constituted, invented, coordinated, produced. They are “agents” in globalization.” (Massey, 2004, 11). This conception allows us to see the spacial conflict as a struggle between two groups with different conceptions of the local (Israel – Palestine) and the wider networks they use for addressing their issues.

The city of Hebron/Al-Khalil, and especially the Israeli controlled H2 area, are an interesting starting point, because it is a highly contested area between the Palestinian inhabitants and the Israeli settlers and soldiers. The much discussed fragmentation of the Palestinians can be seen here as a very dynamic process, in which Palestinians discuss the “correct” means of engaging occupational force and the individual
responsibilities of the Inhabitants. As a result, you can find many different approaches to resistance, for example non-violent disobedience, community building, peaceful protests, and stone-throwing clashes. At the same time it is clear that Palestinian life is not only determined by occupation, but has many different facets like social and family life. These have to be taken into consideration if we want to be more critical with geopolitical thought in Hebron/Al-Khalil.

**On Securitization and Borders.**  
**Tamar Ariel**  
Tel-Hai College (Israel)

This paper focuses on borders between states of contrasting political regimes and questions the extent to which border securitization is understood and classified in border theory. The compatibility of neighboring regimes both determines their border management policies and is reflected in them, creating a chicken and egg paradox of origin regarding both. Neighboring states of contrasting political regimes are thus locked into relatively restrictive policies regarding cross-border movement. These border environments, usually dominated by security agendas, are somewhat neglected in border theory, rather patronizingly accepted as temporary stages, remnants of past conflicts and politics, in waiting for advance towards liberal border dynamics. Yet securitized borders are often longstanding realities which warrant more complex theoretical conceptualization.

"Overcoming borders" has become a common goal in post-modern border literature, especially pronounced with regard to the European Union, globalization and to human rights and freedom of movement in liberal discourse. Contemporary trends in border management, facilitating cross-border movement and shared institutional management, indeed are characteristic of democratic states' border environments. In these environments, impressions of cross-border interaction are freely conveyed, bottom up, into wider social and political circles and problem-solving mechanisms are translated to border-management policies. Yet this focus on border management dynamics of liberal regimes creates an implicit expectation that open borders are a viable option and goal for all border regions, including those of contrasting political regimes who maintain minimal communication between them. This is questionable with regard to stable securitized border regions. Thus, on the backdrop of recent Middle East turmoil, Israel-Egypt and Israel-Jordan relations demonstrate long-standing stability, based on deeply shared political interests with no apparent tendency towards increased cross-border civilian interaction. Given the stark differences in regimes and the regional unrest, securitized borders are far from "second best” realities, they fulfill local and regional needs and thus deserve more attention and respect in border theory.

**Humanitarian Consequences of Border Control Policies Towards Unaccompanied Minor Refugees in the EU Borderscapes.**  
**Martin Lemberg-Pedersen**  
University of Copenhagen (Denmark)
In the last decade Europe has faced an increasing influx of unaccompanied minors, predominantly from Afghanistan and Somalia. Yet, little academic research has been conducted into their plight in the transnational interface of borders between EU states like Greece, Italy, Spain, and between neighboring third countries, like Bulgaria, Libya and Turkey. This paper therefore inquires into the institutional, discursive and legal dimensions of unaccompanied minor refugees within the EU borderscapes. Increasingly, EU border control practices accord to a transnational rationale of transnational and multi-local securitization, such as the new EUROSUR umbrella and the Italian Mare Nostrum operation. This rationale, however, continuously place vulnerable migrants in distressing conditions, such as child fatalities in the Mediterranean and Agean Seas, child migrants caught in prostitutions networks in Athens, and the trading between Libyan militias of child migrants as labor. These inhumane conditions have the effect of traumatizing those unaccompanied minors who successfully who manage to negotiate the European borderscapes and arrive in EU states.

This paper therefore argues that the EU policy on unaccompanied minor refugees, exemplified by the Return Directive (2008) and the Commission’s Action Plan on Unaccompanied Minors (2010), suffer from four shortcomings: i) They do not take into account the humanitarian consequences or European responsibility for the effects of border-induced displacement experienced by unaccompanied minors, ii) They do not sufficiently take into account how localized geopolitics produce widely different conditions for unaccompanied minors in different states, iii) They assume that UAMs feelings of home and belonging corresponds to their countries of origin, even if they have traversed the European borderscapes for years iv) Efforts to boost return operations for UAMs ignore that minor migrants continuously view re-migration as the most viable survival strategy. The paper therefore concludes that it is necessary to pay critical attention to these discursive, spatial and legal dimensions of the EU borderscapes in order to assess the EU policies concerning unaccompanied minor refugees.

Everyday Experiences and Presentations of Self and Other: Security Forces on the Borders of Southern Israel and Melilla, Spain.

Efrat Ben-Ze’ev and Nir Gazit, Eva Bahl and Arne Worm

Ruppin Academic Center (Israel), University of Goettingen (Germany)

The border between Egypt and Israel has witnessed a dramatic change in 2012, when it was hastily closed off with a deterring fence. This came as an Israeli response to the arrival of growing numbers of illegal African migrants/refugees, in addition to the emergence of militant groups within the Sinai. These were developments on a border zone that has long been characterized by the smuggling of goods, drugs and firearms.

This paper considers some events that preceded the construction of the fence as well as its consequences, as understood and experienced by the soldiers stationed along the border. We posit that the recurrent encounter among military forces, migrants and smugglers transforms the border into a civil/martial hybrid space. This space is characterized by the blurring of boundaries of three distinct discourses: securitization, humanitarianism and criminalization.
At the ground level, the intersections of these phenomena generate tensions. The soldiers find themselves responding to the humanitarian crisis and the Bedouin smugglers, while expected to deal primarily with the threat of terror. While we explore how the soldiers deal with this confusion, we also consider the changes in the soldiers’ stance following the construction of the fence. In more general terms, we ask how do the emerging biopolitics and geopolitics filter down to the soldiers, who are expected to carry out the State logic.

**Session 8 – The State of the Debate in Border Studies**

**On Border’s Multiplicity: A Perspective from Assemblage Theory.**

Christophe Sohn  
CEPS Public Research Center (Luxembourg)

This paper is an attempt to conceptualize border’s multiplicity by mobilizing the theory of assemblage developed by Deleuze and Guattari. The aim is to examine how multiple meanings emanating from various actors constitute a border assemblage and how this heterogeneous grouping of different parts that do not form a coherent whole allows us to scrutinize in a new way multifaceted bordering dynamics and their related significance. Assemblage as a topological concept draws attention to the assembling and reassimbling of socio-spatial practices that are diffuse, tangled and contingent. By allowing to grasp the emergence of heterogeneous phenomena, it seems to fit well with a sense of the border as multiple and open-ended. Connoting to collectives with distributed agencies, assemblage also promises to unravel the uneven power relationships that are both constitutive and mediated by the border. In addition, the theory of assemblage allows us to take into consideration the non-linear processes of de-reterritorialisation and coding that stabilize or disrupt a border’s ‘identity’. From the perspective of assemblage, the question of the identity of a border cannot be of essential nature, but must be framed in relative and provisional terms. This leads us to consider how to represent a border assemblage in contextuality. Based on discourse network analysis and on the mobilization of empirical data collected in the framework of the EUBORDERSCAPES project, a tentative mapping of a real world border assemblage is presented.

**Rethinking the Cross-Border Integration Approach.**

Frédéric Durand  
CEPS Public Research Center (Luxembourg)

The idea of this presentation is to tackle the tricky concept of cross-border integration. Today many political actors (from the UE, from States, from regional or local authorities in borderland), scholars and others talk about cross-border integration, but it is very complicated to appraise the different aspects of this process. The ambition of this paper is to (try modestly to) grasp the complexity of this concept, to examine its
nature, its composition and its dynamics. What does ‘cross-border integration’ mean today in Europe? How is it defined by stakeholders and scholars? How can we study this process at work within cross-border regions under construction? In order to respond to these questions, we propose a four-step approach: First of all, we will consider various definitions of integration through scientific literature, with a specific focus on the research works carried out by O. Martinez (1994), by P. De Boe, C. Grasland and A. Healy (1999), by K-J. Lundquist and M. Trippl (2009), and by A. Decoville, F. Durand, C. Sohn and O. Walther (2013). Secondly, we will present the results of fieldwork conducted in the Oresund region (Copenhagen-Malmo) on border’s perception in the frame of the EU-FP7 project EUBORDERSCAPES. A set of political and economic actors have been interviewed on the meaning of the cross-border integration process within this cross-border region. Confronting these approaches, we will expose, in a third time, different cross-border situations which reveal the difficulties to gauge integration (e.g. when there are both convergence and divergence dynamics within a cross-border space, or when there are unbalanced cross-border interactions…). Finally, we will propose a new model which depicts the process of cross-border integration. To understand its mechanism and to better know the rationales at work, this multi-faceted concept will be deconstructed into four dimensions (structural, functional, institutional and “ideational”) and their features will be described.

**The Digital Tempo-Geo-Positioning of Borders, Events and Research.**

**Amos Israel-Vleeschhouwer**

Bar-Ilan University (Israel)

As of today, there is no digital database of maps of borders, and maps of border changes, throughout history (even the last 150 years). I propose to create such a database, working from the present backwards.

Choosing a multilayered platform, this database can then portray, present and represent images and sketches of the borders imbedded in the map in its proper temporal layer, document (cross) border activities, represent research – in theory and findings – and create a strong, innovative tool with heuristic powers. It will also become a teaching tool (think about a time-lapse), and a resource for any discursive community regarding borders. I also propose to include a feature for alternative representations of the same area, border and events.

In my presentation I will give a few examples of the advantages of the proposed project and discuss limitations, problems and challenges.
**Session 9 – Cultural Production 2**

**The Lyrics of New State National Anthems: Glories, Memories and Dreams**

Stan D. Brunn

University of Kentucky (USA)

Among the major decisions facing new states on the world political map are writing a new constitution, preparing a new map, designing a new curriculum, issuing new money and new stamps, which are for internal and external use. What may be equally as important in promoting and ensuring some semblance of national unity are designing a new flag, scheduling festivals, holidays and, preparing a new national anthem. Anthems are symbols meant to unite often divided factions, ethnic groups, and regions in an effort to build a sense of nationhood, solidarity and place on the regional or world political maps. This study examines the history and content of anthems of nearly two dozen new states looking for common threads about heritage visions and dreams.

**Session 10 – Borders and Identities**

**Re-Africanization of Judaism and Zionism.**

William Miles

Northeastern University (USA)

With the virtual completion of the resettlement of Ethiopian Jewry to Israel, the frontier of African Judaism has moved westward. New communities of Sub-Saharan communities practicing normative Judaism have been evolving within the last 2-3 decades, giving rise to an unprecedented religious interface between Black Africa and the Jewish State. Among the most dynamic of New Jewish Movements (NJMs) are the Jubos (Jewish Igbos) of Nigeria. After providing a brief overview of NJMs in West Africa (informed by recent works by Edith Bruder and Tudor Parfitt), Part One of the paper will focus on the Jubos (about whom the proposer has recently published the first book-length study - Jews of Nigeria: An Afro-Judaic Odyssey).

Part Two of the paper will examine perceptions of Jews particularly in black Muslim societies in sub-Saharan Africa. This section is based on ongoing research in West Africa, particularly Senegal, where the proposer intends this summer to be continuing his research and interviews at the Israeli embassy in Dakar.

The third and concluding part of the paper looks at non-Judaizing black Africans who have an affinity for Israel, either as a result of work/study/training experience in the Jewish State, or for theological reasons (Afro-Christian Zionism). The extent to which cultural links evolve into Judeophilia as a result of developmental partnerships rounds out the concluding section.
**Who Do We Want to Be? Imagining Israel in the Cameroon-Nigerian Borderland.**

**Leanne Johansson**

Oxford University (UK)

This paper examines the ways in which discourses about Israel and its borders affect the migratory and citizenship decisions of borderland inhabitants in the Bakassi peninsula.

The disputed, oil-rich Bakassi peninsula lies at the southernmost tip of the Nigeria-Cameroon border and is home to approximately 200,000 inhabitants who identify as Nigerian citizens. After decades of conflict over sovereignty, the Bakassi case was taken to the International Court of Justice in 1994 and was ruled a part of Cameroon in 2002. August 2013 marked the end of a transitional regime as well as the deadline for borderline inhabitants to select one of three official options regarding their citizenship: they could leave their ancestral land and relocate to Nigeria to enjoy full citizenship; they could remain on their land as Nigerian citizens with residency rights in Cameroon; or they could take up Cameroonian citizenship. There was, however, a fourth unofficial option as well: Bakassi inhabitants could utilize their liminal position as ‘stateless’ to seek amnesty in a third country.

Based on 13 months of ethnographic fieldwork in the towns and villages of Bakassi (conducted towards my DPhil degree in Anthropology), this paper traces the decision-making processes surrounding the citizenship and migratory options of Bakassi borderland inhabitants in the year leading up to the August deadline. One significant influence on these decisions, I argue, was borderlanders’ awareness and analysis of other border conflicts across the globe, their histories, ideologies and consequences, with Israel’s borders taking center stage.

In Bakassi inhabitants’ migratory and citizenship decisions, Israel rarely featured as a potential home or destination, even for those who decided to seek amnesty in a third country. Unlike in East Africa and the Islamic regions in the northern half of West Africa, the bight of Biafra has never had strong migratory links with Israel. Nonetheless, Israel remains a vivid locale in the daily life of Bakassi borderlanders and its diverse array of imagined representations had a significant impact on shaping decisions to migrate, to seek amnesty, to become Cameroonian or to remain Nigerian. Narrating, debating and gossiping about the Israel-Palestine conflict and its history became a means through which to assess their own border history, their relationship to the Nigerian and Cameroonian states, and to evaluate their own potential futures.

While discourse around Israel was especially pronounced in the decision-making processes of elites and urban populations with access to international media, it was also carried into village discussion through the influence of Pentecostal churches and
rural-urban migratory networks. By participating in these discussions, Bakassi inhabitants demonstrate their awareness of international politics and establish themselves as global citizens even when inhabiting marginalized spaces and political statuses.

We Are One! Or Are We? Football Fandom and Ethno-National Identity in Israel.

Hani Zubida

Max Stern Yezreel Valley College (Israel)

While football is considered a prominent arena for manifestation of nationality, it is usually so at the national level. Moreover, the patriotic sentiments are usually “saved” for international matches, mainly World Cup, the Mundial, and Continental championships, such as the Euro and other international competitions. However, at the local clubs level, it seems that other aspects are cultivated by the fans; local patriotism is one, and in some rare, cases we might witness a nationalist identity that diverges from the dominant national scheme of the state at the local club level. These instances are infrequent, however, they do exist. For example, we can turn to the Catalan identity manifested in Barcelona F.C., and Basque based club Atletico Bilbao. Both clubs represent a national identity that is not consistent with the dominant, Spanish national identity. Yet, both clubs play in the Spanish league and represent Spain in the international arena and its players play for the national team. Yet, these examples are rare cases. When it comes to local clubs, most of the local clubs and their fans cultivate local identity centered on the team, the city or some other local context (Ben-Porat, 2003). At this intersection between national and local identity of football fans the Israeli case poses a very unique mixture. While, on the one hand it adheres to the general pattern of local identity of fandom, on the other, there is an alternate expression of an ethno-nationalistic identity discourse. For example, one local based identity is more or less an inclusive identity that revolves around the team identity and its fans. The other identity is more complex, while it is team based, it has some ethno-national-religious features that create a divide between various Israeli groups, mostly excluding Arabs from the team fan base. This raises the following questions: who can and should be considered as Israeli? Is this identity exclusively Jewish? Or can the Arabs be incorporated into this Israeliness? Moreover, is there a consensus on the concept of Israeli identity?

In this paper, I offer an exploration of the Israeli case study, concentrating mainly on the complex nature of identities the Israeli society offers and its manifestation in Israeli football fandom. I offer an analysis of the juxtapositions between the various modes of identity present in the Israeli society and the way they affect the balance
between local and national identity at the club level. This mixture is composed of various identities: first and foremost is the religious-national identity, Arabs vs. Jews; second, is the inner Jewish ethnic identity, Ashkenazi vs. Mizrachi. Into the mixture we must also add the political orientation Hawkish vs. Dovish. All of these are expressed through club membership and fandom. The mixture between the various above-mentioned identities lingers into the local club level and plays a major role in the club and fans identity and also becomes the base for social borders and processes of inclusion or exclusion from the collective identity.

Mandela Football Academy: Integrating Ghana, Lebanon and Europe.

Itamar Dubinsky

Ben-Gurion University

Lebanese have migrated to Gold Coast (Ghana today) since the mid-19th century. Various domestic factor were central to this process, among them a rapid population growth in Lebanon, religious and political persecution, in particular the Lebanese civil war of 1860 (Hourani, 1992, pp. 3-11). Unlike other non-African racial migrants, the Lebanese came to Africa in search of a home and nationality, not to sojourn (Akyeampong, 2006, p. 303). During the colonial period they came to play an important middleman role in commerce, a role that continued to expand after independence as they emerged as a significant entrepreneurial class. Since then, the Lebanese community has integrated into the local community (marriage ties), without neglecting the connection the Lebanon (Falafel restaurants). An evidence for this integration was further illustrated recently as the two presidents, Mahama and Sleiman, signed a bilateral trade agreement that seeks to promote trade, political and cultural relations between the two countries (Frimpong, 2013).

In my presentation I will focus on another area in which the Lebanese community is influential: football. The Mandela Football Academy was founded in Ghana's capital Accra by Mr. Mohamed Issa, Lebanese by origin, in order to provide under-privileged boys the right resources to realize their full potential. The football trainings the boys receive are intended to improve their sportive abilities, with the prime objective of getting a professional contract in a European football team (Poli, 2010). Alongside the football trainings, the boys receive also vocational training, allowing the boys that won't become football players to work at Issa's factory. Drawing upon the ethnographic field work I conducted in Ghana among the academy, I will argue in my presentation that this academy illustrates the connection between Middle East, Africa and Europe, and the way each continent affects the others.

Session 11 – Internal Borders in Europe
The Paradigm Marks the Outer-Border: Thoughts on the EU’s Internal Market as Major Bordering and de-Bordering Feature.

Bernhard Köppen

CEPS Public Research Center (Luxemburg)

The Internal Market - also “Single Market” - represents a pivotal pillar of the European Union, and is maybe its most prominent, important feature.

As the free movement of people and goods is of crucial importance to a “real” single market, the absence of any borders and barriers is not only characteristic, but a basic necessity for the functioning of this market. Hence, it seems very likely that the question of de-bordering within the Union should be a significant concern within EU’s policy. Nonetheless, an analysis of most prominent official EU-documents linked to the Single Market on content referring to border issues and barriers reveals a surprising “absence” of border discourses.

Although, European economic integration is rather advanced - but still far from being complete -, this ostentatious absence of a “border discourse” is not merely a communication strategy but also following the logics of the Internal Market strategy. Within the Internal Market - the latter being a feature all EU members did agree on - there must be no border, obstacle and barrier. Given a closer look, it becomes obvious that border issues are – certainly - present in the official discourse, but they tend to be mentioned in an indirect way, if the internal borders of the EU are concerned. As a consequence the term “border” is rarely used and when it is mentioned, it is mostly linked to the EU’s outer border. Thus, the level of integration as well as the “quality” of partnership with the EU is marked by the level of integration in the – ideally borderless - Single Market with its four freedoms (free movement of goods, capital, services, and people). This also means that the borders of the European Economic Area can be considered almost as relevant to the EU, than the ‘de facto’ political borders of its member states. The immediate, angry response of the EU and EU-member governments to the recent Swiss vote, which would hinder the free movement of people from the EU into Switzerland and finally put into question all treaties on Swiss- EU economic integration, is an indicator of how important the Single Market paradigm is.


Noga Zivan

Negev Institute for Strategies of Peace and Development (Israel)

The 1921 ceasefire agreement between Great Britain and the Provisional Government of the Irish Free State created a new mile-long border, separating the six counties of Northern Ireland from the 26 countries of the Irish Free State. In drawing up this new international boundary, the parties made use of previously-existing local government divisions, whose irregularities were due to be rationalised by a Boundary commission. The failure of the commission, in 1925, left the two states with a border as geographically illogical as it was politically complex to enforce.
This paper will examine the effects of the new international boundary upon the populations living in its immediate vicinity. It will look at both the practical effects which the border had on its inhabitants, and their changing attitudes towards it. In particular, it will examine the role of those entrusted with enforcing the border: the civil and military authorities on both sides, in creating and maintaining the nationally-agreed boundary. In so doing, the paper will seek to draw conclusions about the changing practical and attitudinal nature of international boundaries, and the reality of their enforcement at a micro, community level, as it refers to other boundaries within the modern European context.

**Border-Making Dynamics: Possible lessons from Belfast’s Peace-Line interfaces?**

**Jonathan Murphy**

University College Cork (Ireland)

The Middle East remains a shatterbelt, its fragmentations reinforced by regional states and the actions of intrusive major powers. This paper argues that the main reason for the West’s failures to bring peace to the region was all along apparent in Northern Ireland: history and culture almost invariably trump democracy and prosperity thereby promoting border-making dynamics.

British and Irish citizens today tend to think that the problem of violent sectarianism in Northern Ireland was solved by the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and consigned to the history books. Unfortunately, it has not been. A resurgence of violence remains possible, while the Belfast peace-lines reflect one of the most visible consequences of an incomplete ethnic sorting process between the two major communities in the region, the predominantly Catholic nationalists and predominantly Protestant unionists. These borders are not located at the margins of a sovereign state or at the interface of major regions, but separate two groups within a city within the United Kingdom while simultaneously bringing them into mutual contact. No overarching logic guides their placement with respect to the city as a whole; rather, the walls are built in direct response to specific and chronic episodes of local violence. They all correspond to segments of interfaces where residential areas occupied by rival communities meet.

This paper draws on the most recent results from the Institute for Conflict Research and public surveys. The majority of nationalists and unionists recently polled favoured the removal of the peace-lines at some point, but more than half are not ready for such a move in the present circumstances. This paper asks whether the experience and aftermath of decades of sectarian strife continue to support a logic of separation between the two communities or whether the terms of the Good Friday Agreement established powerful border-reinforcing dynamics. More than half of the peace-lines constructed since the early 1970s were built after the Good Friday Agreement. The peace-lines express a relationship between communities and their populations that continues to evolve, a possible pattern that awaits other transition regions experiencing cultural mixing and political conflict such as Israel. While anger, disorientation and pessimism are increasingly evident among the Northern Ireland’s
dwindling and rudderless Protestant majority, their Catholic rivals are united and ruthlessly led by a party tempered in the conflict. Unionists, by contrast, are divided by church and party, poorly led, plagued by gangsterism and quietly questioning, in some quarters, whether peace was worth the loss of ancient privileges it entailed.

In the face of growing gulf in confidence between the two communities, this paper asks whether local politicians are using the peace-lines to play on nationalist and unionist perceptions of such borders as essential to preserving their collective identity and protection against domination by ‘the other.’ Here one can observe a post-Cold War paradox that has found expression in the desire to cross all borders while at the same time seeking the erection of borders of all kinds and shapes. This paradox has seen considerable border-making tension and the search for reliable community security within Northern Ireland alongside increased permeability of the Northern Irish border and the desire for a closer integration.

Knowledge Transfer and Cultural Proximity between Actors in European Cross Border Regions.

Adi Weidenfeld

Middlesex University (UK)

Learning and knowledge exchange between customers and managers are important for extracting new ideas for innovation in the service industries. When these processes occur in regions belonging to different countries such as internal Cross Border Regions (CBRs) in the EU, inter-cultural interactions including internationalization of knowledge transfer are advantageous but also pose additional constraints for learning and innovation. Therefore, due to specific socio-institutional dimensions of relational proximity knowledge transfer between neighbouring Cross Border Regions (CBRs) remains uncommon even when they share the same economic and technological knowledge base. This is evident by considering a case of two bordering regions with relatively similar national cultures, where dimensions of relational proximity between managers and customers are explored. The study is based on a survey among 91 managers of small service firms and 312 customers and 19 in-depth interviews with managers in the twin city of TornioHaparanda on the border between Finland and Sweden. The study identified 7 elements of relational proximity, explored and measured their impact on knowledge transfer on cross border knowledge transfer. Relational proximity was found to be high particularly in shared values and lower in ‘ways of solving problems’ and the use of a foreign language. The study contributes to the understanding of the impact of specific elements of relational proximity between actors from neighbouring CBRs with relatively similar cultures, which can help in facilitating a more successful cross border learning outcomes.

Session 12 – Urbanism Territories and Borders

The Need for More Resilient Cross-Border Urban Forms and Governance to Face Uncertainty: The Case of Luxembourg and its Neighboring Regions.
Antoine Decoville
CEPS Public Research Center (Luxemburg)

The debordering process in Europe has led to the intensification of cross-border flows of goods, capital, knowledge, people, and labor force. Some studies have shown that the intensity of these flows is related to the importance of the differentials in terms of economic development, employment rates, tax systems or regulations (Decoville et al., 2013). At the very local cross-border scale, some specific patterns of urban development are emerging linked to the exploitation, by entrepreneurs or households, of the comparative advantages offered on each side of the border. For instance, a lower total tax rate on business in Luxembourg than in the neighboring countries creates a pull effect, while higher land prices cause a push effect. These contradictory dynamics lead to a tendency towards a monofunctional specialization of space, in which employment tends to concentrate in Luxembourg while housing develops in the neighboring regions of France, Belgium and Germany.

Beyond this specific case-study, the aim of this paper is to create a theoretical framework aiming at identifying the problems that such a process of monofunctional specialization of space is creating. This tendency engenders more vulnerability for the territories that are being developed in a context of uncertainty. Indeed, the driving forces of such a specialization of space can rapidly disappear due to policy decisions adopted at the National and EU scales. The cross-border convergence paradigm, as supported by the European Union, will, at term, reduce the differentials which drive monofunctional spatial development on each side of the borders. Therefore, it is necessary to stress the importance of improving cross-border territorial resilience, that is to say the ability of a cross-border territory to face the important contextual changes that may occur.

This paper will first develop this theoretical framework which aims at identifying the negative effects of the actual tendency towards a monofunctional specialization of space on both sides of a border.

In a second part, it will highlight, based on the case-study of Luxembourg, the existence of three cross-border territorial development strategies with very different impacts in terms of urban sustainability and resilience.


Ekaterina Mikhailova
National Research University Higher School of Economics (Russia)

The vast Russian border belt accommodates multiple examples of border-crossing adjoining settlements both in the European and Asian continents.

To illustrate the cyclical nature of the border activation phenomenon, the paper explores relations between different border towns along the Russian-Norwegian, Russian-Finnish and Russian-Chinese borders with a particular focus on the settlements that describe themselves as twin cities.
From methodological point of view, using adjacent border towns as a unit of analysis has provided the author with an advantage of micro-level investigation and allowed applying field study techniques. Thanks to carried out interviews and surveys in cities under the scrutiny, the paper fetches out facilitating and hampering factors of the move from being adjacent settlements to rhetoric of transborder agglomeration and names steps of this evolutionary process.

Taking into account that both Russia and the neighboring states treat their borderland as a highly strategic area, the paper will show how local, regional and national agendas could collide and what are the consequences of these priority clashes for borderlanders.

**Inheritance, Ownership and Legitimacy: Interrogating the (re)Construction of Urban Iconography in Frontier Cities.**

**Olivier Legrand**

Ben-Gurion University (Israel)

The present paper aims to demonstrate the instrumental role of urban planning in the shaping of contested frontier cities’ cultural landscape. This emphasis on the planning of urban iconography challenges the assumption that urban partition in frontier cities is the outcome of their location on 'regional' or 'cultural' fault lines. It is part of a doctoral research comparing planning policies in Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Nicosia.

The theoretical premise of this research combines both notions of historical rights and imagined communities. It states that historical narratives are central in the construction both (ethnic) identity and (national) rights. Accordingly, the instrumental role of urban planning comes from its capacity to territorialize discourse on groups’ inheritance, ownership and legitimacy. In frontier cities urban planning is mobilized to produce tangible and localized markers, markers that bound such type of historical narratives. The modern nexus between history, identity, and rights is thus necessary to interrogate the function of urban planning in conflicts surrounding the issues of inheritance, ownership and legitimacy.

The paper methodology is based on an analysis of different highly symbolic urban sites in Jerusalem, Sarajevo, and Nicosia. Urban planning is here apprehended as a differentiated, non-linear, and at times contested set of processes. By breaking down the planning process into distinct phases (design, legal enactment, financing, implementation) this methodological approach interrogates not only state’s nation-building policy but also international community’s peace-building program.

The analysis of frontier cities highlights that territorial claims are at the same time historically imagined and spatially constructed. It completes previous research made on urban iconoclasm and urbicide by focusing on the ‘productive’ side of contemporary ethno-national conflicts. Finally, the paper concludes by discussing the growing importance of urban institutions and agencies, which as a regime, participate in the distribution of cultural capital among the urban residents.