Symposium program

Tuesday 23 NOVEMBER
Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem

16:30
Opening speeches by Mr. Frédéric Desagneaux, Consul Général of France and Dr. Zaid Zeedani, Vice-President for academic affairs of Al-Quds University

17:00 - 19:00
Walls of separation in a global perspective

Evelyne Ritaine (SPIRIT/Bordeaux University)
*From one wall to numerous walls in a globalized world: a comparative politics approach*

Saskia Sassen (Columbia University)
*Title to be announced*

Wednesday 24 NOVEMBER
Al-Quds - Bard Honors College - main auditorium

9:30 - 12:30
Space, planning and rights in Jerusalem

Omar Yousef (Al Quds Centre for Jerusalem Studies)
*Dilemmas in planning in Jerusalem*

Senan Abdelqader (Architect)
*Architecture of (in)dependency. Urban planning in the suburban context of East-Jerusalem*

Coffee break

Alessandro Petti (Al-Quds - Bard Honors College)
*Decolonizing architecture*

Sandi Hilal (UNRWA)
*Voids of refugee camps*

Discussant: Thomas Keenan (Bard College, New York)

12:30 - 14:00
Lunch

14:00 - 17:00
Territorial regimes and politics

Jean François Legrain (GREMMO/Lyon 2 University)
*The political party as a means to by-pass local solidarities*

Stephanie Latte Abdallah (IREMAM/Provence University)
*Inside/outside. Living and acting on political incarceration after Oslo*

Coffee break

Nasser Abourahme (UNRWA)
*Spatial collisions and discordant temporalities: everyday life in-between a camp and a checkpoint*

Discussants: Laurent Bonnefoy (Institut Français du Proche-Orient), Robert Weston (Al-Quds - Bard Honors College)
Thursday 25 NOVEMBER
Al-Quds - Bard Honors College - main auditorium

9:30 - 12:30

Trafficking and border economy

Cédric Parizot (IREMAM/Provence University) and Basel Natsheh (Hebron University)
Smuggling and the economy of separation between Israel and the West Bank (2007 - 2010)

Véronique Bontemps (Institut Français du Proche-Orient/IRD/URMIS)
Palestinian work in Israel: between extreme coercion and individual choice

Coffee break

Arnaud Garcette (IREMAM/Provence University)

Discussant: Karine Bennafla (GREMMO/Lyon 2 University)

12:30 - 14:00

Lunch

14:00 - 17:00

Territory fragmentation and the law

Moussa Abou Ramadan (Carmel Academic Center)
Territory fragmentation and adaptation in the Shari’a Courts in Jerusalem

Emilio Dabed (IREMAM/Provence University)
A constitution for a non State: Understanding Palestinian politics through the law

Coffee break

Asem Khalil (Birzeit University)
Disintegrating and reconstituting Palestine: The powerful strength of law

Discussant: Raed Bader (Birzeit University)

17:15 - 18:00

Conclusions

Lieven de Cauter (Leuven University)
Architecture of (in)dependency. Urban planning in the suburban context of East-Jerusalem

Architecture and urban planning have been used as instruments of control on space and social transformation. Architecture, historically, has been used by forms of power not only as a means of representation but also as a mechanism to control territory and population. What makes architecture and planning so appealing to forms of power is the possibility to transform reality and to imagine a different future. If it is true that architecture has this potential, what makes its practices so relevant and powerful is its implicit connection to politics. To paraphrase the German philosopher Carl Schmitt, in every space there is an implicit political idea, and in every political idea there is an implicit spatial dimension.

Reports, documentations, films, scholarly works illustrate how urban planning and architecture have been used to establish facts on the ground in Jerusalem and throughout Palestine. However, the analytical and descriptive approach is still lacking. Architects and planners have a tragic destiny: even in such a desperate and brutal situation, they must think positively about the future. Their own practice forces them to be and to operate constructively and proactively.

This raises some relevant questions. Is it possible to plan for a future transformation in an instable political context, where asymmetry of power and violence entrap people in an endless present? Is it possible to think of architecture and planning as, rather than mere tools, arenas where new political ideas could emerge? And is it possible to frame a relationship between architects and power that can allow the architect to not be co-opted by political impositions?

The second step is to set forth an interpretation of the various types of power at work in wall politics, i.e. decision-making power (to build a wall), power of control (to sort out the «undesirables» from the rest of the people), power of categorization (to legitimate the wall by emphasizing on the risks at stake for the inner community). These policies tend to strengthen the inner political identity on the one hand and to restrict the entire outside population’s freedom on the other.

In conclusion, we can develop the idea that the political sense of a wall is always to refer to an asymmetric public space. In such a perspective, how can the so-called outer society therefore restore its sovereignty?

Dilemmas in planning in Jerusalem

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**Decolonization architecture**

On this lecture I'll try to deal with a complex set of architectural problems centered around one of the most difficult dilemmas of political practice: how to act both propositionally and critically within an environment in which the political force fields, as complex as it may be, is so dramatically distorted in the favour of the colonizer. Is intervention at all possible? How could spatial interventions be effective without becoming complicit with the distorted reality they produce? How to find an autonomy of practice that is still effective "in the world"?

As a response to this problem we suggest revisiting the term of "decolonization" in order to maintain a distance from the current political terms of a "solution" to the Palestinian conflict and its respective borders. The one-, two-, and now three-state solutions seem equally entrapped in a "top-down" perspective, each with its own self-referential logic. Decolonization assumes a process and an action of negation and implies the dismantling of the existing dominant structure — financial, military, and legal — conceived for the benefit of a single national-ethnic group, and engaging a struggle for justice and equality.

Decolonization does not mean creating a counter apparatus that restores what the colonial order had separated and divided. The goal of decolonization is to find new uses for structures of domination. The creation of a new use is only possible through deactivating an old use. As such a state of complete "decolonization" is not the starting point in the sense of dreaming the "day-after" the occupation and other colonial mechanisms have been removed, but a way of thinking the possible practices of deactivation and reorientation that are folded into the term decolonization, to think them in their present-ness, within the here and now of the given political/spatial reality. It is a process that never ends.

**Sandi Hilal**

Sandi Hilal is an architect, consultant with the UNRWA on the camp improvement program. She is a founder member of Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency (DAAR). In 2006 she obtained the title of research doctorate in Transborder policies for daily life in the University of Trieste. From 2001 to 2005 she has been teaching assistant in Visual Arts and Urban Studies at the IUAV University of Venice. She is a co-author of different research projects published and exhibited internationally: Stateless Nation, Arab City Project, and Border devices (with multiplicity).

**Voids of refugee camps**

In this paper I will try to narrate the story of two «voids», one in Deheishe refugee camp, located in Bethlehem city, and the other one in Fawwar refugee camp, located in the south of Hebron city. A «void» in a refugee camp can be immediately associated to an open public space. Building a plaza, in a densely populated area, is the first step toward improving the daily life of its inhabitants. But what is the nature of the public space in a refugee camp? What is the notion of the public? Who could or should manage a public space in a refugee camp? And what is the role of the community in the creation of these voids?

**Thomas Keenan**

Thomas Keenan teaches human rights and literary theory at Bard College, in Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, where he directs the Human Rights Project. He has been involved in the creation of the al-Quds/Bard Honors College at al-Quds University. He is the author of Fables of Responsibility (Stanford UP 1997), and is currently finishing a book on media and conflict. He recently co-curated the exhibition «Antiphotojournalism» at La Virreina Centre de la Imatge in Barcelona.

**Nasser Abourahme**

Nasser Abourahme is an urban planner and researcher whose latest scholarship focuses broadly on the intersection of political subjectivity, spatio-temporality and the postcolonial. He is currently working for UNRWA on a community-based urban planning project in West Bank refugee camps and is also a Research Affiliate and member of the Advanced Studies Group at Muwatin — the Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy.

**Spatial collisions and discordant temporalities: everyday life in-between a camp and a checkpoint**

How do we make sense of the colonial subject that is neither in revolt nor in open crisis? How do people reproduce their lives, fashion routines, etch out some...
meaning when the political is evacuated, when time is on hold? These are questions that loom over a contemporary disjuncture in Palestine marked in part by the splintering and opening up of the field of subjective bonds, attachments and associations to new modalities of production, less circumscribed by previous normative parameters and engendering a host of complexities and ambivalences in politico-social relationalities. Yet most scholarship on Palestine remains caught up in reductive binaries of violence versus resistance and heavily reliant on rigid and aggregated categories. Much of it unable to capture entire assemblages of action, subjective dissonance, productive ambiguities and contingent vitalities that so inflect much of contemporary quotidian lifelines. The refugee in particular has emerged as destabilizing figure capable of subversively using the spatio-temporality of the camp as the very resource through which to disturb ascribed categorizations. Reading the paradoxical multiplicity of actions that refugees – women, children and the elderly – perform in the space between Qalandia Camp and Qalandia checkpoint provides an insight into some of what defines contemporary refugee subjectivities – a flexibility, a readiness to take risks, an ability to maneuver through different temporal orders and instrumentalize the spatial fragmentation. These subjects, traversing and negotiating liminality in everyday life, point to lived and bodily affirmations of presence and visibility that cannot be understood through frameworks of recognition and rights.

Laurent Bonnefoy
Laurent Bonnefoy (PhD, Institut d’Etudes Politiques de Paris) is currently a researcher in political science at the Institut Français du Proche-Orient based in the Palestinian Territories. He has published widely both in French, English and Arabic on Yemeni politics and on contemporary religious transnational relations in the Arabian Peninsula. His forthcoming book published by Hurst and Columbia University Press is entitled Salafism in Yemen. Transnationalism and Religious Identity.

Robert Weston
Robert Hardwick Weston (Ph.D. Columbia University) specializes in eighteenth-century intellectual history, with a focus on the nexus between literature and educational reform. Recent work has appeared in Social Text (2008) and Rethinking Marxism (2009) and at the Guggenheim Museum in New York (2009). He is currently developing a project of experimental criticism based in the Al-Amar refugee camp in Ramallah, Palestine. Robert serves as Assistant Dean at the Al-Quds Bard Honors College for Liberal Arts and Sciences in Abu Dis, Palestine.

Cédric Parizot & Basel Natsheh
Cédric Parizot is a researcher at the IREMAM (Institute of Research and Studies of the Arabo-Muslim World, CNRS) and the coordinator of the EuroMed unit in the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme in Aix en Provence, France. He received his PhD of Anthropology in 2001 from the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in Paris. Since then, he has focused his research on cross border exchanges within the Israeli-Palestinian space, and border practices. Since 2007, he has been coordinating the research program MOFIP (Mobilities, Borders and Conflicts in the Israeli-Palestinian Spaces) sponsored by the Agence National de la Recherche and the Région Provence Alpes Côte d’Azur.

Basel Natsheh, is an economist and a teacher assistant at Hebron University. He received his PhD from Université Paul Cézanne, Aix-Marseille III in 2006. He has worked as a macroeconomic policy advisor to the Minister of National Economy in Palestine in 2010. He was also the representative of the French Ministry of Finances (ADETEF) in the Palestinian Territories on the project of establishing the Palestinian Public Finance Institute. His field of study is the Palestinian economy.

Smuggling and the economy of separation between Israel and the West Bank (2007-2010)
This talk deals with informal trafficking between Israel and the West Bank since 2007, when, the Palestinian security forces have redeployed in the main cities and towns of this region. Starting from smuggling, we will assess to what extent Israeli and Palestinian informal entrepreneurs exploit the spatial and juridical configurations created by the security arrangements. The aim is to study the link between, on the one hand, the changing security arrangements between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, and on the other hand, the development of informal economic exchanges. Hence, this study provides a unique perspective on the capacity of the Palestinian Authority to project its control over space and time. Finally, the analysis of the changing forms of transactions will help understand the new forms of regulation that prevail between the Israeli and the Palestinian economy beyond formal economic exchanges.

Véronique Bontemps
Véronique Bontemps is an anthropologist and post-doctoral fellow at the IRD and at the IFPO. She defended her PhD in 2009 on urban practices and memory in Nablus, based on her study of the local soap industry. She has also worked on the trajectories of Palestinian workers working in Israel. Currently based in Amman and Nablus, she is starting a new project on exchange and circulation between the West bank and Jordan.

Palestinian work in Israel: between extreme coercion and individual choice
Since the 2nd Intifada, the tightening by Israel of the closure policy, as well as the construction of the separation fence particularly affected Palestinian work in Israel. Because of the increasing difficulty in obtaining a permit, most of the workers had to enter Israel, then work and sleep there illegally. In this communication, I will discuss the question of coercion and choice for these Palestinians working in Israel, with a particular focus on those crossing the Green Line illegally. By considering Palestinian work in Israel as a way to “adapt” to occupation, I will compare several trajectories or life stories of workers, according to age and generation. I will discuss, for each one of them, the articulation between extreme coercion and individual choice. I will argue in turn that, beyond the diversity of cases, individual strategies tend to mingle with a collective experience.

Arnaud Garcette
Arnaud Garcette is a PhD candidate in economic sociology at the IREMAM (Université de Provence). He is a CNRS doctoral fellow and received a grant from the Provence-Alpes-Côte d’Azur region.

His research focuses on the Palestinian oil industry in the framework of the Israeli politics of separation and in the context of the globalization of the Palestinian economy.

My communication will analyse the economic and social repercussions of the separation through the example of the Palestinian olive oil industry. My communication builds on fieldwork started in January 2010 and focusing on this industry from production to marketing, and from harvesting to transformation. The effects of territorial regimes and mobility on the Palestinian economy are tremendous at the local level. These create non-financial obstacles that prevent the producers from integrating themselves into the global economy. However these obstacles are more complex as they foster a number of reactions of adaptation that help some actors to by-pass the constraints of separations. They may even create a number of opportunities for some.

Karine Bennaffa
Karine Bennaffa is a lecturer in geography at the Institute of Political Science in Lyon. She has researched cross-border smuggling in Central Africa (Cameroon, Chad, Gabon, Central African Republic) and published Le commerce frontalier en Afrique centrale (Paris, Karthala: 2002). She has also worked on commercial development in the Bekaa’ valley (Lebanon). She was a research fellow at the Jacques Berque Center for human and social research in Rabat (2007-2009). Her current research concerns social mobilizations in a peripheral region of South Morocco.
M. Abou Ramadan holds a Phd from Aix-Marseille III University (2001). He has been a visiting scholar and professor in a variety of institutions (NYU Law school in 2003, McGill University in 2007, IEP de Lyon in 2007, Trento Law Faculty between 2007 and 2010, and Milano Law Faculty in 2010). He is currently assistant law professor at Carmel Academic Center in Haifa. His research focuses on issues linked to religious minorities legal status, Islamic law, and public international law.

Territory fragmentation and adaptation in the Shari’a Courts in Jerusalem

The creation of the Palestinian National Authority and the establishment of Shari’a Courts in Azaria have created a new challenge to the existing Israeli Shari’a Courts in Jerusalem. These have started to resort to a discourse that obscures their position within the State of Israel by portraying themselves as autonomous institutions that implement the Shari’a in a complete and perfect way. This discourse is based on the notion that there exists a “pure Shari’a”, devoid of any secular Israeli territorial law, or any other non-Muslim religious law for that matter. Such a discourse, however, is incompatible with the legal reality inside Israel. It ignores the processes of secularization that have, for over a century, diminished the “purity” of the Shari’a applied in the territory that has become the state of Israel.

This paper does not argue that secularization has rendered the law applied in the Shari’a Courts “un-Islamic”, or that it is impossible for an Islamic legal system to exist inside a secular, non-Muslim state. What it does argue is that Israeli advocates of the Shari’a Courts must acknowledge what is actually happening with their jurisdiction, as well as honestly address the compromises that a religious court must make in order to operate within a secular state, and the consequences of these compromises on the religious community. This paper also has implications outside of the Israel context as a case study of the application of Islamic law in a secular state, as well as the changes that must be made and restrictions that must be applied to make this possible.

Emilio Dabed

Emilio Dabed, is a Chilean jurist of Palestinian origin and a Ph.D. Candidate at Sciences Po Aix-en-Provence and at IREMAM (Institut de recherches et d’études sur le Monde arabe et musulman) in France. Former professor of Philosophy of Law and a lawyer practitioner in constitutional matters, his research focuses on a twofold subject: on the one hand, it aims at a historical and sociological deconstruction of the constitutional drafting process and constitutional practice in Palestine (between 1982-2007) in the absence of a State. On the other hand, it explores the transformative power of law and legal processes and their effects on the Palestinian social space.

A constitution for a non State: Understanding Palestinian politics through the law

Understanding social and political transformations in Palestine through the law can be useful in two ways: first, because legal and institutional processes are historical processes that bear the traces of the social and political context in which they take place, the role played by the actors, the relative positions that they occupied in different periods of time and the strategies that they deployed. I argue that the “Palestinian constitutional process” - and the institutional structures that it implied - was a “battlefield” for the actors of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. In the course of this process, significant political and social dimensions of the conflict - the nature of the actors’ power relations, their perception of the Oslo process, the role that they attributed to the PA - were spelled out in legal-institutional terms and mirrored in the political structure of PA. It is in this sense that the constitutional order can be understood as a sort of “metaphoric representation” of Palestinian politics. Second, the role that these legal processes play in understanding social and political changes in Palestine is reinforced by the fact that the PA’s legal order contributed to the ‘fabrication of social reality’. I argue that the ability of legal structures to produce reality - reshaping the Palestinian social space - became visible in two ways: materially, by creating new social groups, new power dynamics and a new regulatory frame for social and political action; and symbolically, by promoting a particular discursive practice framing the way in which Palestinian-Israeli conflict is portrayed and understood and that, at once, imposes and legitimizes political and social changes.

Asem Khalil

Asem Khalil, Ph.D., is the director of the Ithrahi Abu Lughod Institute for International Studies at Birzeit University and is an Assistant Professor of Public Law in the same university. He is member of the network of experts in the Euro-Mediterranean Consortium for Applied Research on International Migration, at the European University Institute (Florence, Italy).

Dr. Khalil received his doctorate (Ph.D.) in Public Law from the University of Fribourg (Switzerland), Dottorato in Uteroque Iure (Lateran University, Rome) and Master in Public Administration (University of Administration, Franc.). Dr. Khalil was the main researcher and supervisor of several research projects and published several books, reports and articles in English, Arabic, French and Italian, covering the following topics: constitutional law, constituent power, Palestinian constitutional development, Palestinian refugees, migration law in Palestine, Palestinian nationality, security sector reform, legal protection of women, and methodology of legal research.

Disintegrating and reconstituting Palestine: the Powerful strength of Law

In this paper the argument I make is striking in its simplicity. It is nonetheless complex when it comes to the premises on which such argument is built and ambivalent when it comes to the conclusions. In this paper, in fact, I argue that law has a power that goes beyond what is traditionally given to it. The law has a constitutive role, in that it shapes political expectations. The case study I suggest is ‘Palestine’ that means different things for different people, exactly because Palestine was disintegrated through law, and because Palestine is now being reconstituted, again, through law.

This is why I talk in the title of this paper about the ‘powerful strength’ of the law. Being powerful does not mean that it is not detested, resisted or even rejected. It is indeed often the case. It is possible to perceive such a law, right, as a colonial tool and for that reason, resisted and rejected; others may be more realistic and see it as a natural development of human affairs, and the consequence of the current world order; for that reason they hate it, but then they accept, it until things change. In this paper, my approach is different, in that I do not make any moral judgment over the intentions and interests that motivated the law-maker(s) and the project they had in mind when they made law, or with regards to the extent such law realized or undermined the Palestinians’ right of self-determination. Rather, I will simply show how law shaped both Palestine and the Palestinians, and how, most interestingly, it shaped, since the creation of the Palestinian Authority, even the Palestinian law-maker.

The assumption on which this paper is based is an idea that is powerful in recent sociologically oriented approaches to the study of law, i.e. the law does not only regulate but also constitutes or creates social phenomena. In a sense, the law is used as a mechanism to shape consciousness, establishing framework of thought and evaluation in terms of which social life is structured. This Marxist-derived idea of law framing consciousness was a central tenet of the modern critical legal studies movement that challenged the old ideas of law as passive reflection of other social forces. Based on this assumption, the thesis I will be testing in this paper is the following: regardless of the success of the law-maker in regulating social phenomena, law had the power to shape political assumptions.

Raed Bader

Raed Bader holds a PhD in ‘Contemporary History of the Mediterranean Region’ from the University of Provence, (Aix- Marseille I). He obtained a Fernand Braudel fellowship from the Foundation of the Human Sciences Institute and the City of Paris for the year 2007/08. He previously worked as a researcher at the Institute for the Study of Islam and the societies of the Islamic world (ISSIMI), of the Graduate School of Social Sciences (EHESS), and the French Institute for International Relations (IFRI) of Paris. He has also taught and worked at the University of Aix-en-Provence, the University of Saint Charles, the Mediterranean Institute for Training in Marseille, the Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l’Homme (MMSH), Aix-en-Provence before joining the Ibrahim Abu Lughod Institute for International Studies at Birzeit University this academic year.

Lieven De Cauter

Lieven De Cauter is a philosopher, writer and activist. He teaches philosophy of culture (in Leuven, Brussels and Rotterdam). He published several books: on contemporary art, experience and modernity, on Walter Benjamin and more recently on architecture, the city and politics. Beside this he published poems, columns, statements, pamphlets and opinion pieces. His latest books: The Capsular Civilization. On the City in the Age of Fear (2004) and, as co-editor, Heterotopia and the city (2008); Art and activism in the Age of globalization (2010).